

Notes

p. 2

- 1) Franz Schoenberner, Confessions of a European Intellectual, n. 48.
- 2) These books, as well as the other published writings of Lou Andreas-Salome, are listed in the attached bibliography.

p. 4

- 1) Schoenberner, p. 41.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salome, "Im Spiegel", Das literarische Echo, XIV, 2, (1911) p. 88.
- 3) Lou Andreas-Salome, "Gottesschöpfung", Die freie Bühne, III, (1892) p. 169.

p. 5

- 1) Thomas Mann, Dr. Faustus, Stockholm 1947.
- 2) Schoenberner, p. 42.
compare also
Charles Andler, Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensee, IV, p. 282.

p. 7

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salome, "Aus der Geschichte Gottes", Die Neue Rundschau, VIII, (1897) p. 1220.:

"Wie der Rationalismus der Mystik die er tot schlug, so starrt allen solchen gelegentlichen Gefühlsüberhebungen daher erbarmungslos die Wissenschaft ins Antlitz. Aber diese ist nicht zum mindesten deshalb eine so kostbare Errungenschaft unserer Entwicklung geworden, weil sie so oft einen Sieg über uns selbst bedeutet hat und uns doch nie etwas zu nehmen vermag, was aus tiefer Wurzel des Lebens erwächst. Und wenn sie kalt, schweigsam und ruhig über die Sehnsucht der Zeit hinweg schaut, so gewährt sie doch dem modernen Menschen die fast pervers überlegene Zuschauerspannung, ob seine eigenen Nöthe und Sehnsuchten ihm noch einen Heiland bescheeren können - oder nicht."

- 2) Nietzsche, Gedichte, (Inselverlag Nr. 361) p. 42.

p. 8

- 1) Franz Overbeck, Professor of theology at the university of Basel since 1870. His special field was the history of Christianity, the bishops and popes who were its early representatives.

Malwida von Meysenbug, author of Memorien einer Idealistin, an intimate friend of Richard and Cosima Wagner. She met Nietzsche in Bayreuth on May 22, 1872, when the corner stone of the Opera House was laid. Nietzsche, having been ill, visited her for

half a year in Sorrento (Winter 1876-77). During the eighties she remained in Rome, where Nietzsche occasionally visited her.

- 2) Nietzsches Briefwechsel mit Franz Overbeck, p. 169.
- 3) Paul Reé, author, philosopher in the positivistic tradition, friend of Nietzsche.
- 4) Andler, Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée, IV, p. 282.
- 5) Nietzsche, Werke, V, 13-30.

p. 9

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 18.
- 2) Ibid. p. 19.

"Einen ähnlichen Eindruck des Verborgenen und Verschwiegenen machte auch Nietzsches Benehmen. . . Dieses innere Alleinsein, diese Einsamkeit ist in allen Wandlungen Nietzsches der unveränderliche Rahmen aus welchem sein Bild uns anschaut. . . . Leiden und Einsamkeit, - das sind also die beiden grossen Schicksalszüge in Nietzsches Entwicklungsgeschichte, immer stärker ausgeprägt, je näher man dem Ende kommt."

- 3) Nietzsche was mistaken. Lou Salomé was actually 21.
- 4) Nietzsche in a letter to his sister, quoted from Der einsame Nietzsche, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, p. 164.
- 5) Ibid., p. 164.

p. 10

- 1) The preceding analysis of Lou Salomé's character, including the quotation, has been borrowed from Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 470. The evaluation is somewhat idealized, but it is doubtlessly closer to the truth than the slanderous description which Nietzsches sister gives of Lou Salomé. c.f. Elisabeth Förster Nietzsche, Der einsame Nietzsche, the chapter called "Bittere Erfahrungen".
- 2) c.f. Reyburn, Nietzsche, pp. 285 - 295.
- 3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 83.

p. 11

- 1) This visit proved pivotal in Nietzsches friendship with Lou Salomé. Elisabeth Förster claims (Der einsame Nietzsche, p. 179) that Nietzsche arranged a meeting between Lou and Frau Overbeck in order that Frau Overbeck might correct the "wrong impressions" which Malwida von Meysenbug's insinuations concerning a possible marriage might have given Lou. According to the official Nietzsche family version, Nietzsche

was only "fooled" momentarily by Lou and never had the intention of marrying her. Furthermore the Overbecks, according to Nietzsche's sisters, proved traitorous friends, saying that Nietzsche was no intellectual giant. "Fräulein Salomé sagte sich enttäuscht, 'Also nicht berühmt, nicht gross.'" Frau Förster's imagination fed by a jealous hate of Lou throws considerable doubt upon the veracity of her story.

2) Förster, Der einsame Nietzsche, p. 179.

3) I have been unable to find the source of this report. It is accepted by most recent biographers of Nietzsche. The most authoritative version is given by Andler, and yet with regard to Lou Salome, Andler's work is filled with factual errors. The subsequent correspondence between Nietzsche and Lou, in so far as it is available, does not point to an offer of marriage which, according to the story, was rejected. In itself, the question is altogether unimportant, but since a goodly number of critics insist upon relating Nietzsche's writings to his attitude toward women, (H.W. Braun, Nietzsche und die Frauen; E.F. Podach, Nietzsches Zusammenbruch) it should be pointed out that this reported marriage offer is hypothetical, as must be all analyses which hinge upon it. Probably Frau Overbecks report (c.f. p. 11 note 4.) is closest to the truth. Thomas Mann has given a very fine artistic but a very inaccurate historical interpretation in chapter 30 of his semi-historical novel Dr. Faustus. Lou Salome in Th. Mann's version has been replaced by Marie Godeau. A recent biography which unlike Th. Mann's novel was published as non-fiction gives the following version, charming, imaginative, and inaccurate:

"... Nietzsche swiftly admitted the young girl to an intimacy which for long, he had conceded to no other, and associated her in his thought with the deepest and most moving things in his life. The natural result followed. After giving her his thoughts, he gave her his heart also: as far as in him lay, he fell in love with her."

"But Nietzsche, the hermit of the desert, the man who in the midst of his fellows hides himself from them by masks and guises, and by the formalities of precise well-bred behavior, was once again, as in a previous, slighter love affair, unable to plead his cause by word of mouth. He confessed his secret to Reé and asked Reé to approach Lou for him. Meanwhile, as in the previous case, he fled to Basle where for a few days he displayed his enthusiasm and inner excitement to the Overbecks.

"Lou, however, accompanied her romantic interest with a cool judgment, and her absorptions in the dreams of a philosopher's soul was not confused by her with love for him as a husband. Nietzsche was a delightful enigma, and it was entrancing to be admitted to the hidden recesses of his mind; but on the whole for daily use he was not so good a companion as Reé.

Therefore she gently refused him, also by proxy, in the traditional fashion, promising unshaken friendship, not however so much in the likeness of a sister as of a learner and disciple.

"On receipt of this news Nietzsche returned to Lucerne, and put his fortune to the test again. But Lou was firm, and with the promised friendship and intellectual interest Nietzsche was forced to be content."

-quoted from H.A. Reyburn,
Nietzsche, the Story of a Human Philosopher, p. 288.

- 4) Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, Nietzsche und Overbeck, p. 337.

Frau Overbeck is quoted to the effect "that passion existed, and with it the will not to be torn away by it." Nietzsche told her when he was in Basel that he was afraid that something which he had said to Lou in Rome had been interpreted by her as an offer of marriage. A letter is printed by Bernoulli in which Nietzsche asks Frau Overbeck to enlighten Lou regarding him and his intentions.

Nietzsche's visit to Basel occurred on May 8, 1882. He returned to Lucerne on May 13. The Tuesday after Pentecost, or about two weeks later, Lou visited the Overbecks in Basel.

- 5) June 25, 1882.

p. 12

- 1) First Nietzsche went to Naumburg. After breaking with his mother he went to Leipzig where he remained until November.

p. 13

- 1) quoted from Reyburn, Nietzsche, p. 294.
2) Ibid.
3) Ibid.; see also, Podach, Nietzsche's Zusammenbruch, pp. 51 ff.
4) Nietzsche's Briefe an seine Mutter und Schwester II, p. 493.
5) Bernoulli, Nietzsche und Overbeck I, p. 342.
6) Ibid., I, p. 345.

p. 14

- 1) quoted from Bernoulli, Nietzsche und Overbeck I, p. 343.
2) Ibid., I, p. 344.
3) Ibid. I, p. 345.

p. 15

- 1) Nietzsches Briefwechsel mit Overbeck, p. 178.

- 2) Schopenhauer als Erzieher, (1874)
- 3) "An den Schmerz", cf. p. 19.
- 4) quoted from Reyburn, Nietzsche, p. 296.
The original German may be found in Förster-Nietzsche,
Der einsame Nietzsche, p. 193.

p. 16

- 1) preface to the new edition of Die Morgenröthe, 1886.

"Scheint es nicht . . . dass er vielleicht seine eigene lange Finsterniss haben will, sein Unverständliches, Verborgenes, Räthselhaftes, weil er weiss, was auch er haben wird: seinen eigenen Morgen, seine eigene Erlösung, seine eigene Morgenröthe ? . . ."

Nietzsche, Werke, IV, p. 3.

cf. also from a letter to Lou Salomé:

"Auch ich habe jetzt Morgenröthen um mich, und keine gedruckten ! Was ich nie mehr glaubte . . . das erscheint mir jetzt als möglich, als die goldne Morgenröthe am Horizonte all meines zukünftigen Lebens."

Lou Andreas-Salomé, Nietzsche, p. 125.

p. 17

- 1) It is significant that Scherz, List, und Rache was the first instance where Nietzsche expressed his philosophy in verses. Scherz, List und Rache is the first part of Die fröhliche Wissenschaft.

"Einmal den Boden verlieren! Schweben! Irren! Toll sein."
(Fröhliche Wissenschaft # 46, Werke, V, p. 82.)

"Incipit tragoedia" (Fröhliche Wissenschaft # 342, Werke, V, p. 266)

p. 18

- 1) Menschliches Allzumenschliches, I, viertes Hauptstück:
"Aus der Seele der Künstler und Schriftsteller."
cf. # 161 Cultus des Genies aus Eitelkeit. (Werke, II, pp. 155-209)
- 2) Menschliches Allzumenschliches, I, # 222. (Werke, II, p. 206)
- 3) Ibid., II # 192; (Werke III, p. 301)
- 4) Lou Andreas-Salome, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 82
- 5) Ibid., p. 87.

- 1) Podach, Nietzsches Zusammenbruch, p. 41.
A prose translation reads as follows: Friend, said Columbus/
trust no Genoese henceforth/ always stares he into the blue/
the furthest (things) attract him all too much. / Whom he loves
he entices gladly/ far away into space and time/ Above us shines
star by star/ around us roars eternity.
The friend is Lou Salomé; Columbus is Nietzsche's appellation
for himself, since he had lived in Genoa, and considered him-
self an explorer in philosophy. In lines 5 and 6 the pedago-
gical element is dominant, in lines 7 and 8, the personal.
- 2) Suppressed, accd. to Podach by the Nietzsche Archiv.
- 3) Podach, Nietzsches Zusammenbruch, p. 41.
A prose translation reads as follows: Courage, you yourself
stand at the helm/ loveliest Victoria.
- 4) A prose translation reads as follows: Who can flee you, when
you have seized him/ when you turn your serious glances upon
him?/ I will not flee, when you have seized me/ I will never
believe that you only destroy./ You must ~~xx~~ pass through
every earthly existence, I know,/ and nothing upon earth re-
mains untouched by you:/ Life without you - it would be beau-
tiful, / and yet - even you are worth being loved.

Podach prints further stanzas not given elsewhere:

Gewiss, du bist nicht ein Gespenst der Nacht,
Du kommst den Geist an seine Kraft zu mahnen,
Der Kampf ist's der die Grössten gross gemacht,
- Der Kampf ums Ziel auf unwegsamen Bahnen.
Und drum, kannst du mir nur für Glück und Lust
Das Eine, Schmerz: die echte Grösse geben,
Dann komm und lass uns ringen, Brust an Brust,
Dann komm und sei es auch um Tod und Leben.
Dann greife in des Herzens tiefsten Raum
Und wühle in dem Innersten des Lebens,
Nimm hin der Täuschung und des Glückes Traum,
Nimm was nicht wert war unbegrenzten Strebens.
Des Menschen letzter Sieger bleibst du nicht,
Ob er auch deinem Schlag die Brust entblüsse,
Ob er im Tode auch zusammenbricht, -
- Du bist der Sockel für die Geistesgrösse. -

Podach (p.40) quotes Nietzsche as saying of this poem:
"Es gehört zu den Dingen, die eine vollständige Gewalt
über mich haben; ich habe es noch nie ohne Tränen lesen
können: es klingt wie eine Stimme, auf welche ich seit
meiner Kindheit gewartet und gewartet habe."

p. 19

- 5) Peter Gast, actually Heinrich Köselitz, musician; inspired by Nietzsche's early writings, he went to Basel in 1875 in order to hear Nietzsche lecture. Personal friendship soon developed. He helped Nietzsche, read to him, took dictation from him, and copied manuscripts. After 1878 he lived in Venice and wrote an opera "Der Löwe von Venedig". Even so, he continued proof-reading for Nietzsche.

p. 20

- 1) July 13, 1882. quoted from Reyburn, Nietzsche, p. 289.
- 2) July 15, 1882. quoted from Reyburn, Nietzsche, p. 290.
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Jacob Burckhardt, professor for history of culture and art in Basel. Highly respected by Nietzsche, who knew him personally after 1869. They exchanged ideas on Greek history and culture.
- 5) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 15.
- 6) Im Kampf um Gott

p. 21

- 1) Many years later (1920) Frau Förster-Nietzsche made the discovery that the poem had been set to music not by Nietzsche, but by Peter Gast at Nietzsche's behest. Nietzsche was responsible only for the melody, but Gast for the orchestration. The moral is that Nietzsche never fails. (Inselschiff I, pp. 209-215.)

A prose translation of this poem reads as follows: Surely, thus loves a friend his friend/ as I love you mysterious life/whether I have rejoiced or weep in you,/whether you have given me pain or pleasure;/ I love you with your good fortune and your griefs,/ and if you must destroy me, I painfully tear myself from your arm,/ as a friend tears himself away from the breast of a friend/ With my whole power I embrace you/ let your flame enkindle my spirit;/ let me in the heat of battle/find the solution to the riddle of my nature./ To think and live thousands of years,/ throw into it your contents fully -/ If you have no luck left to give me,/ still you have your pain.

p. 22

- 1) quoted from Reyburn, Nietzsche, p. 290. (July 15, 1882)
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 17.

n. 23

- 1) quoted from Reybrun, Nietzsche, pp. 296-297.
The original German may be found: Förster-Nietzsche, Der einsame Nietzsche, p. 189.
- 2) Nietzsche, Also sprach Zarathustra, (Werke, VI, p. 97.)
Notice the complete quotation:
"Wen hasst das Weib am meisten? - Also sprach das Eisen zum Magneten: "ich hasse dich am meisten, weil du anziehst, aber nicht stark genug bist an dich zu sehen."
- 3) Same quotation as n. 23, note 1.

n. 24

- 1) Written to Overbeck in July 1883 from Sils Maria, Switzerland.
quoted from Bernoulli, Nietzsche und Overbeck, I pp. 339-340.
- 2) Nietzsche's Briefwechsel mit Overbeck, # 163, p.184.
- 3) Ibid., # 171, p.198.

n. 28

- 1) Bernoulli, Nietzsche und Overbeck, I, p. 339.
- 2) Nietzsches Briefwechsel mit Overbeck, # 161, p. 181.
- 3) For the purpose of this essay I have not found it necessary to differentiate between the first part of Zarathustra and the last three parts which were written later, although differences in style do exist. The tacit assumption of the discussion is that the last three parts of Zarathustra were written from the same motives as the first, and represent merely a continuation. This assumption is only partially true.
- 4) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Zum Bilde Friedrich Nietzsches," Die freie Bühne, III, (1892) p. 249ff; p. 485ff.

n. 29

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, pp. 47-137.
- 2) Nietzsche, Gedichte, Leipzig. (Insel Bucherei Nr. 361) p. 3.

The first stanza is as follows:

Noch einmal, eh ich weiterziehe
und meine Blicke vorwärts sende,
heb ich vereinsamt meine Hände
zu dir empor, zu dem ich fliehe,
dem ich in tiefster Herzenstiefe
Altäre feierlich geweiht,
dass allezeit
mich deine Stimme wieder riefte.

p. 29

- 3) Richard Wagner in Bayreuth, (Werke, I)
- 4) Schopenhauer als Erzieher, 1874, (Werke, I)
- 5) Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie 1873-1874, (Werke, I)
- 6) Die Geburt der Tragödie, 1874, (Werke, I)

p. 30

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 96.
- 2) Menschliches, II, # 214, (Werke, III, 311)

on La Rochefoucauld in particular of.:

Menschliches I, # 35, 36 . . . (Werke II, p. 58 ff.)
Ibid., I, # 50. (Ibid., II, p. 71)
Ibid., I, # 133. (Ibid., II, p. 138.)
*Ibid., II, # 214. (Ibid., III, p. 310.)

Other aspects of Nietzsche's positivism:

a) Scientific man as the development of the artistic man.
Menschliches, I, # 159, 222.

b) Rejoicing over the discovery of rational thought,
Morgenröthe, # 544.

c) General aspects of Nietzsches positivism:

Menschliches, I, # 33, 38, 40, 49, 46, 56, 74, 79, 104, 107, 129, 146,
 147, 155, 158, 254, 260, 292, 375, 386, 456;

Menschliches, II, # 38, 46.

Wanderer und sein Schatten, # 14, 16, 31, 181, 285, 310.

Morgenröthe, # 35, 45, 49, 50, 429, 507, 543, 548, 551.

- 3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 86.
- 4) Der Wanderer und sein Schatten, # 86. (Werke, III, p. 248.)
- 5) Menschliches, II, # 184, (Werke, III, p. 102.)
- 6) Preface to Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, by E. Förster-Nietzsche. Kröner Taschenausgaben of Nietzsches Werke, III, p. XXXI
 The day was May 30, 1878.
- 7) "Meine Schriften reden **nur von** meinen Überwindungen. Ich bin darin, mit allem, was **mir feind** war. . . Einsam nunmehr. . . . nahm ich . . . Partei gegen mich und für alles was gerade mir Wehe tat und hart fiel."

Introd. to new edition of Menschliches, quoted by Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 92.

p. 31

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 120.
- 2) Ibid., p. 125.
- 3) Die Ewige Wiederkunft, Werke, XII, 1-115.

p. 31

- 4) Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, # 125; (Werke, V, p. 163.)
- 5) The last sentence of the Fröhliche Wissenschaft as it was in 1882. In 1886 a fifth part was added.
- 6) "Siehe! Dieser Becher will wieder leer werden, und Zarathustra will wieder Mensch werden." Also begann Zarathustra's Unter-gang." -Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, # 342. (Werke, V, p. 266.) That Nietzsche's family was aware of the significance of this sentence for him, may be gathered from the fact that his sister taunted him with it, when he went to Leipzig to meet Lou Salomé.

p. 32

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Gotteschöpfung", Die Freie Bühne, III, (1892) pp 169.

p. 33

- 1) Im Gespräch über die Wandlungen, die schon hinter ihm lagen, aussprach Nietzsche einmal halb im Scherz:
"Ja, so beginnt nun der Lauf und wird fortgesetzt, - bis wohin? Wenn alles durchlaufen ist, - wohin läuft man alsdann? Wenn alle Kombinationsmöglichkeiten erschöpft wären, - was folgte dann noch? Wie? Müsste man nicht wieder beim Glauben anlangen? Vielleicht bei einem katholischen Glauben?"
"In jedem Falle könnte der Kreis wahrscheinlicher sein als der Stillstand." Friedrich Nietzsche in s. Werken, p. 222.
cf. Zarathustra, III, 23: "Siehe den Fluss der in vielen Windungen zurück zu seiner Quelle fließt."

- 2) Fröhliche Wissenschaft, # 125; (Werke, V, p. 163.)

p. 34

- 1) Werke, VI, p.i. (Nachbericht)
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Bernoulli, Nietzsche und Overbeck, I, p. 338.
- 4) Ibid., p. 338.
- 5) Ibid., p. 351.
- 6) Nietzsches Briefwechsel mit Overbeck, # 159, p.179. (Oct. '82)

p. 36

- 1) "Gottesschöpfung", Freie Buehne, III, p. 177.
- 2) The argument concerning Nietzsche's disease has not been solved yet. Most recent are the books and pamphlets of E.F. Podach whose veracity is vehemently disputed by the Nietzsche Archiv. Thomas Mann's discussion of the subject in "Nietzsches Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung" (Neue Rundschau, # 8, (1947)) appears to be based on the information published by Möbius, a large part of which is not founded on facts.
- 3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 125.
- 4) Scherz, List und Rache, Werke, V, p. 24.

A prose translation of this poem reads as follows:

God loves us, because he created us ! / "Man created God!" - say you smart ones/ Should he (man) not love what he created/ should indeed deny it, because he created it?/ That statement limps it has the devil's hoof.

A good example of Nietzsche's lighter poetry. The argument is negligible, more a play on words than anything else.

p. 37

- 1) Quotation from Zarathustra; quoted from Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 42.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) "Das Nachtlied" Zarathustra, II. (Werke VI, p. 153.)
A prose translation is as follows: It is night: now like a spring my longing breaks out of me, - I long after speech./ It is night: now speak all springing wells. And my soul is also a springing well/ It is night: now awake all the songs of those who love. And my soul is also the song of one who loves.--/ Thus sang Zarathustra.

p. 38

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 153.
- 2) "Vom Wege des Schaffenden" Zarathustra, I. Werke, VI, p. 94.
(Translation of this and the following excerpt from Levy.)

p. 39

- 1) "Von den Predigern des Todes" Zarathustra, I. Werke VI, p. 63.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken, p. 197.

p. 40

- 1) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 491.

"... eine andere Tragoedie des "religiösen Freigeistes" (wie Lou auch Nietzsche nannte), den dieselbe seelische Dunkelheit umlagerte."

- 2) Erwin Rohde had been a friend of Nietzsche's ever since their student days in Leipzig, when together they founded the "Philologischen Verein". In 1872 Rohde defended Nietzsche's Geburt der Tragödie against Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's pamphlet Zukunftsphilologie. The title of Rohde's opus was "Afterphilologie, Sendschreiben eines Philologen an Richard Wagner". In 1872 Rohde became professor for classical philology at Kiel, 1876 at Jena, 1878 at Tübingen, 1886 at Leipzig, and soon after at Heidelberg. Rohde is famous for his work, Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen.

- 3) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 491.

"Bei allen grossen Fehlern des Romans - seiner Geiblosigkeit und gespensterhaften Geistigkeit - zieht er doch sehr an durch die reine Flamme der Innigkeit, der Wahrheit, des Gefuehls, die ueberall heraus schlaegt. Aber eine schreckliche Melancholie, nicht abgeschwaecht durch den freiesten Lebenswillen, geht von allen Blaettern aus! Wirklich etwas, wie es in Nietzsche's spaeteren Sachen sich regt, schauriger als der schwaerzeste Pessimismus, ein unterdruecktes Weinen bei angenommener - als Heilung angenommener Starkmuetickeit. . . . Gesundheit mit seiner brutalen aber Lebenskraeftigen trascuranza ist gar keine drin, und doch, besseres haben wir nicht."

Im Kampf um Gott is unavailable in American libraries. The ideas and facts concerning it which are given in this essay are all derived from secondary sources, mainly from Gestalt und Wandel.

p. 41

- 1) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 492.

p. 42

- 1) Angelus Silesius, German 15th century mystic, author of Der cherubinische Wandersmann. His philosophy which is mirrored in Rilke:

"Was wirst du tun, Gott, wenn ich sterbe?"

can be summarized in Silesius' own verse:

"Ich weiss, dass ohne mich Gott nicht ein Nu kann leben:
Werd' ich zumicht; er muss von Noth den Geist aufgeben."

- 2) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 496.

n. 42

- 3) Nietzsche, Zarathustra I; Every prophecy of Zarathustra is mingled to some extent or other with a psychological judgment. Good examples are "Von den Freuden- und Leidenschaften," "Von alten und jungen Weiblein," "Von Kind und Ehe," etc. Werke, VI,
- 4) Nietzsche, Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft, # 125. (Werke, V, p. 163.) "Göttliche Verwesung"

n. 43

- 1) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 497.

The difficulty of translating the German into idiomatic English has led, particularly in this passage, to rather free paraphrasing which attempts to translate the ideas expressed rather than the words themselves.

"Wenn aber, . . . , die Macht der religioesen Kraft in der Welt - - dem Tode zugeweiht waere ? Wenn sie gleichsam einer Jesusgestalt gliche, welche an ihrem erlösenden Werke wirklich untergeht - wirklich ohne Hoffnung auf Wiederkehr oder Jenseits gleichsam den Tod am Marterholz des Unglaubens, das Jesuskreuz statt der Jesuskrone erwirbt ? Wenn sie sich als religioese Macht gerade dadurch ausweisen sollte, dass ihr Untergang im Laufe der Entwicklung durch die allein ewigen beharrenden Mächte des Gemeinen, des Gewöhnlichen, des Rohen herbei geführt wuerde ?

"Nun denn, . . . , wenn alles Hoechste , Groesste und Schoenste zugleich das Zarteste, Verletzlichste und Vergaenglichste sein sollte, das, wie es aus dem Schosse des Groben und Gemeinen hervorgegangen ist, auch von diesem ueberlebt werden soll - wohlan, kaempfen wir fuer untergehende Goetter!"

- 2) Ibid., p. 498.

Im Kampf um Gott also gives the clue to Lou Salomé's attitude toward the figure of Jesus:

"der psychologische Reiz der Jesusgestalt," . . . "ihr Wesenszauber, dass sie meinem, in unversoehnten Gegensätzen ringenden Charakter gegenueber, im Licht der Sage, in grossartiger, innerer Einheitlichkeit und Einheit dasteht, in urwuechsiger Ungebrochenheit und Naivitaet ihres Idealismus und ihres Glaubens, ein Kind und ein Gott zugleich. Aus einer Zeit geboren ist sie, wo noch kein Riss durch Glauben und Denken gegangen, wo noch das religioese Genie unmittelbar aus seinem religioesen Gefuehl heraus alle glaeubigen Vorstellungen, alle kindlichen Glaubenssaetze entlassen durfte, welche frei und autonom nicht das richtigste Denken, sondern das tiefinnerste Wollen und Weben des religioesen Geistes aussprachen und deuteten." - Ibid.

The concept is theological and sceptical, sentimental and historical, psychological and mystical in nature.

p. 43

- 3) cf. Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, Der einsame Nietzsche, the chapter called "Bittere Erfahrungen."

The fact that Nietzsche was ever "taken in" by Lou must be attributed to his bad eyes (p. 165). She describes Lou's book as "ein Racheakt verletzter weiblicher Eitelkeit gegen den armen Kranken." (p. 177) Elisabeth Förster's apology: "Ich kann es aber nicht aendern . . . Frau Andreas mag es als Ausgleich hinnehmen fuer all den Kummer, den sie meinem teuern Bruder und mir zugefuegt hat. Im uebrigen mag sie sich bei Frau Overbeck und Herrn Bernoulli bedanken.

p. 44

- 1) For the important books written for either faction, see the critical biography.

p. 45

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Leo Tolstoi unser Zeitgenosse", Die neue deutsche Rundschau, IX, pp. 1145 - 1155. (1898)

p. 46

- 1) Ibid., pp. 1145 - 1147. The passages which are indented and single spaced are paraphrasings of the most significant phases of Lou Andreas-Salomé's thought. Only passages of particular importance, those which are remarkable for style or content, are given in the original.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Tendenz und Form russischer Dichtung", Das literarische Echo, XXIV:7; pp. 398 - 401. (1922).

"Denn nicht sich als einzelne dichten diese Deuter, sie erfassen ihr Objekt erst an der hinlebenden Naivitaet des russischen Massenvolks. Ja, sie erfassen in ihm erst sich selber, ihre gesteigerte Bewusstheit daran belehrend ueber die eigene, unbewusste, uneingestandene Wesenstiefe. Um deswillen ist diese Einstellung dazu kein Sich-darueber-stellen, im Gegenteil, ehrfurchts, fast demutvolles Offenbaren von etwas gewissermassen Vorbildlichem, Normgebendem. Und deshalb der durchgaengige Realismus der Dichter, vornean der groessten - nicht eine literarische Richtung in unserm Sinn, sondern bereits das dichterische Gerichtetsein als solches, das ehrlich treu, ja exakt, Tatbestaenden nachzuspueren hat, eben hieran aber das Seelenbeschwingende, Herzensverwandelnde, das wahrhaft ohne alle Schönfaerberei der Prosa erfahren darf. - p. 398.

p. 47

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Zum Bilde Strindbergs", Das literarische Echo, XVII:11; pp. 645-653. (1915).

p. 48

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Agnes Henningsen", Das literarische Echo, XXII:8; pp. 456-464. (1920)

p. 48

- 1) (ctd) "Ueber den Gaerten, wo voll farbigen Reichtums in der Bildersprache des Erotischen ganze Beete bepflanzt wurden wird es langsam Herbst; vielleicht bleibt bald davon nur ein Duft aus dem Dunkel, und er soll uns in die Seele fahren, wie nur je Dichtung tat. Die Liebe soll uns bleiben, wenn wir auch mit anderm Wort von der Liebe reden, als "einst im Mai." p. 464.

n. 49

- 1) Albert Soergel, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit, p. 329.
- 2) i.e. all of the characters discussed in the book. They are: Nora (A Doll's House); Mrs. Alving (Ghosts); Hedwig Ekdal (The Wild Duck); Hilda Wangel (The Master Builder); Rebecca West (Rosmersholm) and Hedda Gabler.
- 3) Rebecca West, (Rosmersholm).
- 4) quoted from Die Freie Bühne, I (1890), p 874. where the introduction to Ibsen's Frauengestalten was published in serial form, under the title: "Die Wildente".

p. 50

- 1) cf. "Ein hollaendisches Urteil ueber moderne deutsche Dramen", Die Freie Bühne II, (1891), p. 541 ff.
- 2) Schoenberner, p.48.
- 3) Ibid.

p. 51

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Hannele", Die freie Bühne, IV, pp. 1343-49.

p. 52

- 1) Ibid., n. 1347.
- 2) Ibid., p. 1348.

p. 53

- 1) Rilke, Werke, II, 337-343.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Kind und Kunst", Das literarische Echo, XVII:1; pp. 1 - 3. (1914)

p. 53

- 3) Rilke, Malte Laurids Brigge, (Werke, V, p. 47-48.)

The same idea is expressed by Rilke in his "Requiem für Wolf Graf von Kalckreuth," a young poet whose suicide made a deep impression on Rilke:

Dies war die Rettung. Haettest du nur einmal
gesehn, wie Schicksal in die Verse eingeht
und nicht zurückkommt, wie es drinnen Bild wird
und nichts als Bild, nicht anders als ein Ahnherr,
der dir im Rahmen, wenn du manchmal aufsiehst,
zu gleichen schweint und wieder nicht zu gleichen-:
du haettest ausgeharrt. (Werke II, p. 342.)

- 4) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Grundformen der Kunst", Pan IV:3 pp. 177 - 181. (1898).

p. 54

- 1) Ibid.

p. 55

- 1) This evaluation of art which is given by Lou Andreas-Salomé differs from Rilke's opinions on aesthetics in the very fundamental point of view: Lou Salomé regards art as a bridge between the artist and the reader (or spectator). But Rilke would never consent to look at his own work from the reader's position. "Ein Kunstwerk ist gut, wenn es aus Notwendigkeit entstand. In dieser Art seines Ursprungs liegt sein Urteil: es gibt kein anderes." (An einen jungen Dichter, p. 12.) "Zugleich muss ich aber, nicht ohne eine gewisse Beschämung, eingestehen, dass es meine unueberwindlichste Schwache ist, nie zu lesen, was meine Veroeffentlichungen an einschaeztenden oder kritischen Schriften hervorrufen moegen; ich kenne nichts davon. . . So wie ich zu meiner kuenstlerischen Beschaeftigung stehe, erscheint sie mir als ein Verhaeltnis der kuerzesten Verbindung-, jede von aussen hereingereichte Meinung waere eine zu lange Waffe fuer oder wider mich selbst. (Briefe aus Muzot, p. 249 - 250.)
- 2) Most important are Rilke's letters to Sofia Nikolajewna Schill, # 42 and #43 in Briefe 1892 - 1904.
- 3) Briefe und Tagebücher 1899 - 1902. The diary takes up the last part of the book.
- 4) Verse und Prosa aus dem Nachlass, p. 41 - 48.

p. 56

- 1) "Grundformen der Kunst", p. 180.

p. 56

- 1) (etc.) Alle Dinge sind ja nur durch unser Verhalten zu ihnen diejenige Welt, die wir an ihnen besitzen, und in dem menschlich gesteigertsten, dem schoenferischen Verhalten gegen sie, empfangen sie erst recht nicht laenger ihre Bedeutsamkeit aus sich selbst, als letzte Zwecke, die mittelst der Seelenwerkzeuge realisiert werden, sondern sind nur noch bedeutsam sofern sie Mittel sind zum Zweck, eine andre selbststaendige Welt bauen zu helfen, die auf der Spitze des Menschentums, gleich einer zweiten Weltschoepfung ein hoeheres Analogon des Lebens ueber dem Leben wiederholt. - n. 179.
- 2) quoted from Gertrud Bäumer, Ich kreise um Gott, p. 30.
A prose translation is as follows: But the things must willingly hold/ what one has placed into their hands.
- 3) Ibid., p. 31. "Jedes Ding ist nur ein Raum, eine Moeglichkeit, und an mir liegt es diese vollkommen oder mangelhaft zu erful-len."

p. 57

- 1) "Dichterischer Ausdruck," p. 180.
- 2) Rilke, Die fruehen Gedichte, (Werke, II, p. 269.)
A prose translation is as follows: You must not understand life/ then it will be like a feast./ And let every day happen to you,/ like a child in passing on/ from every breeze,/ accepts many blooms.
- 3) "Dichterischer Ausdruck," p. 178. "Die Kunst redet nur deshalb in einer andern Sprache als der Alltag, sie kombiniert, setzt, verwandelt nur deshalb die Worte des Alltags in einer ihr eigentuemlichen besonderen Weise weil sie von anderen Dingen redet als er, von seinen Dingen aber nur symbolisch und also auch in seinen Worten nur symbolisch. . . .
Die Schoenheit an den Dingen ist nichts, was wir ihnen hinzufuegen, und nichts was wir aus ihnen herausdestillieren, sondern sie beruht auf dem Umstand, dass wir uns ihrer als einer Zeichensprache bedienen, um uns einander unsere Geheimnisse zuzuraunen."
- 4) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Expression", Das literarische Echo, XIX:13, (1917) p. 783.

p. 58

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Harnack und das Apostolikum" Die freie Bühne III, (1892) pp. 1214 -1222.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Aus der Geschichte Gottes", Die neue deutsche Rundschau, VIII. (1897) p. 1219.

p. 59

- 1) Ibid.

p. 60

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, "Der Mensch als Weib", Die neue deutsche Rundschau, X, (1899) pp. 225-243.

p. 62

- 1) quoted from Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 494-495.

p. 65

- 1) Soergel, p. 330.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Im Zwischenland, p. 222.

"Dichten, das ist so: man geht herum und sieht alles an, was es zu sehen gibt, aber ~~in dem~~ man das tut, setzt man jedem Ding noch irgend ein Hütchen auf, das ihm fehlte, man macht jedes Ding ein bisschen zurecht, ein bisschen anders: man macht es eigentlich erst fertig. Jedes Ding wartet auf seinen Dichter."

p. 66

- 1) This evaluation is drawn from Gertrud Bäumer's Gestalt und Wandel, p. 478.
- 2) Rilke, Die frühen Gedichte, (Werke, I, p. 299 - 305.)
- 3) Rilke, Die frühen Gedichte, (Werke, I, p. 305 - 323.)

p. 67

- 1) Rilke, Die frühen Gedichte, (Werke, I, p. 304.)
- 2) The date I have been unable to discover.

p. 68

- 1) Rilke, Werke, I, pp. 9 - 251. Strictly speaking, Advent overlaps into the period of the friendship with Lou Andreas-Salomé. It was not published until December 1897.
- 2) R.M. Rilke, Briefe, Verse und Prosa aus dem Jahre 1896, p. 5 - 14. This fact and the account of Rilke's early poetry in general is based upon Prof. von Mises introduction to this edition.
- 3) Ibid., pp. 5-6.

p. 69

- 1) Ibid.

p. 70

- 1) Rilke, Ewald Tragy, p. 31. (New York 1944, ed.: R. von Mises.)

"Man wird es kaum glauben: Ewald Tragy schlaeft volle vierzehn Stunden. Und das ist ein fremdes elendes Hotelbett und auf dem Bahnhofplatz gibt es Lärm und Sonne seit fünf Uhr früh. Er hat sogar vergessen zu träumen, trotzdem er weiss, dass "erste" Träume besondere Bedeutung haben. Er troestet sich damit, dass sich jetzt alles erfuellen koenne, gleichviel ob man es traume oder nicht, und zieht diesen leeren Schlaf hinter allem Gestrigen aus wie einen langen, langen Gedankenstrich. Fertig. So, und jetzt ? Und jetzt kann es beginnen. - das Leben, oder das, was eben zu beginnen hat der Reihe nach."

- 2) Ibid., p. 61.

"Und manchmal laeuten grosse Glocken irgendwo, die er frueher nie gehoert hat, und dann faltet er die Haende ueber der Brust und schliesst die Augen und traemt, dass Kerzen brennen zu seinen Häupten, sieben hohe Kerzen mit ruhigen roten Flammen, die wie Blüten stehn in dieser festlichen Traurigkeit. "

- 3) This description and that of the preceding paragraph is of course taken also from Ewald Tragy, pp. 31 - 60.

p. 71

- 1) Rilke, Ewald Tragy, p. 62.

"Und gerade in diesen Tagen ist sein Beduerfnis nach Teilnahme so gross; es waechst in ihm fort und wird ein ungestuemer trockener Durst, der ihn nicht demuetigt, sondern ihn bitter und trotzig macht. Er ueberlegt ploetzlich, ob er nicht das, was er umsonst erbittet von aller Welt, fordern kann von irgendwem, wie ein Recht, wie eine alte Schuld, die man einzieht mit allen Mitteln, ruecksichtslos. Und er verlangt von seiner Mutter: 'Komm, gib mir, was mir gehoert.'

"Das wird ein langer, langer Brief und Ewald schreibt weit in die Nacht hinein, immer rascher und mit immer heisseren Wangen. Er hat damit begonnen eine Pflicht zu fordern und, ehe er es weiss, bittet er um eine Gnade, um ein Geschenk, um Waerme und Zaertlichkeit. 'Noch ist es Zeit -' schreibt er, 'noch bin ich weich und kann wie Wachs sein in Deinen Haenden. Nimm mich, gib mir eine Form, mach mich fertig. . .'

"Es ist ein Schrei nach Muetterlichkeit, der weit ueber ein Weib hinausreicht, bis zu jener ersten Liebe hin, in welcher der Fruehling froh und sorglos wird. Diese Worte gehen niemandem mehr entgegen, mit ausgebreiteten Armen stuermen sie in die Sonne hinein. -"

This quotation points to the fact that Lou Andreas-Salome took the place of his mother in Rilke's life, - to a large extent. Rilke was alienated from his mother among other things by her excessive piety. For Rilke's opinion of her see Werke I, p.261.

p. 71

- 2) Butler, Rainer Maria Rilke, p. 22; quoted from as yet unpublished documents.
- 3) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 475.

"Es hat mich keinen Augenblick erstaunt, dass sie mir sagte, sie habe Rilkes Gedichte in der ersten Zeit ihrer Freundschaft (von 1898 ab) nicht gemocht. Wenn man die manchmal anmutige, manchmal rührende Zartheit (und doch auch Schwäche!) der frühen Gedichte mit ihrem Bilde zusammenhaelt, der Dreissigerin mit dem kuenen naturhaften und genkerischen Temperament, so ist ohne weiteres klar, dass sie diese Gedichte ungeduldig machten."

This statement must be balanced against Lou Salomé's judgment:

"Sterbend hauchen sie Schoenheit aus als ihren Anteil an der Ewigkeit, und dementsprechend ist der Ton, der von ihnen (Rilkes frühen Werken) zu uns sagt, ein leiser ueberschwenglich zarter, hie und da von fast unbegreiflicher Musikalitaet, hie und da doch auch das Sentimentale streifend."

- Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rainer Maria Rilke, p. 7.

p. 72

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rainer Maria Rilke, p.26 quotes a letter from Rilke to her:
"Denn, Lou, das aus dem Vor-Wolfrathshausenschen stammend, das Du auch empfindest, ist stark in mir, und ich glaube ich bin noch nicht Herr darueber."

p. 73

- 1) Rilke, Werke, II, p. 57. A prose translation of this poem is as follows: Progress; And again my deep life murmurs more loudly, / as though it were passing now within wider banks. / The things (die Dinge) become ever more closely related to me / and all pictures become more intimately observed. / To that which is nameless I feel myself closer: / with my senses as with birds I reach / into the Windy sky from the oak / and in the broken off day of the ponds / sink my feelings, as though standing on fishes.
- 2) "Die Dinge", literally translated: the things, is Rilke's term for the supernatural reality in nature; the supersensual perception through the senses teaches us the metaphysical reality of objects. This term is the key to Rilke's symbolism; it assumes various meanings in different stages of Rilke's development. Much literature has been written on it. A full discussion is beyond the scope of this essay; see the appropriate chapter in Kippenberg, R.M. Rilke, ein Beitrag, and Bäumer, Ich kreise um Gott.

p. 73

- 3) Nietzsche, Werke, VII, p. 278.
A prose translation reads as follows: I was a different one and foreign to myself/ sprung from myself?/ a wrestler who too often overcame himself/ too often braced himself against his own power/ wounded and held back by his own victory?.
- 4) R. von Mises, R.M. Rilke: Briefe, Verse und Prosa, p. 9.
An analysis of Rilke's change is given in this introductory passage.

p. 74

- 1) cf. "Zwei Prager Geschichten", Erzählungen aus der Frühzeit, pp. 117 - 270. (The date given is 1899)
- 2) Werke, V. As in Joyce's description of Dublin, naturalism and symbolism fuse in Rilke's depiction of Paris.
- 3) p. 72.
- 4) Butler, Rilke, p. 26.
- 5) Werke, V, pp. 31-47. is only one example.
- 6) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 17.
- 7) Ibid., p. 18.
- 8) Christiane Osann, Rainer Maria Rilke, p. 64.

p. 75

- 1) March 1897.
- 2) This is the theme of Malte Laurids Brigge.
- 3) cf. such poems as "Terzinen ueber Vergaenglichkeit", "Erlebnis"; The motif recurs in Der Tor und der Tod and Der Tod des Tizian. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Gedichte und lyrische Dramen, Stockholm, 1946. pp. 10, 18, 250 - 293.
"Das ist der Zauber auf versunkenen Tagen/Und ist der Quell des grenzenlosen Schoenen,/Denn wir ersticken wo wir uns gewoehnen."
p. 261.
- 4) The most complete exposition of Rilke's ambitions may be found in a letter to Lou Salomé from Rome, May 12, 13, 1904. Briefe 1902 - 1906, p. 149 - 166.

p. 76

- 1) Osann, Rilke, p. 65.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Ibid. p. 66.
- 4) R. von Mises (editor), R.M. Rilke: Briefe, Verse und Prosa, p. 9.

p. 77

- 1) Rilke, Werke, I. p. 353.
- 2) Ibid., pp. 365 - 401.

p. 78

- 1) Ibid., p. 260.

p. 79

- 1) Rilke, Briefe, Verse und Prosa, p. 61 - 62.
- 2) cf. p. 74 note 1.

p. 80

- 1) Rilke, Werke, I, p. 271.
- 2) Rilke was a poet of death. These two works are cited because in the Requiem (Werke II, pp 335 - 343.) Rilke says that art is a means of overcoming death. Matte Laurids Brigge is Rilke's climactic attempt to put his theory into action. As will be shown, as he himself admits, it was a failure. Rilke's theory of one's proper death (der eigene Tod) appears to have been the symbolist's solution to a problem which Rilke the naturalist painted in expressionistic colors. It was derived at least in part from Niels Lyhne of J.P. Jacobsen. A full discussion is beyond the scope of this essay. cf. Werke V, 25 - 47.

p. 81

- 1) Osann, Rilke, p. 79.
- 2) Ibid., p. 79.

p. 82

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, pp. 16 - 17.
- 2) Osann, Rilke, p. 80.
- 3) Ibid., p. 81.

p. 83

- 1) Rilke, Briefe und Tagebücher 1899 - 1902, # 5.
"Tostoi, den ich besucht habe, der erste Mensch im neuen Lande, und der rührendste Mensch, der "ewige Russe."
- 2) Rilke, Briefe 1902 - 1906, # 58, p. 144.
"Mir war ein einziges Mal Ostern; das war damals in jener langen, ungewöhnlichen, ungemeinen, erregten Nacht, da alles Volk sich drängte, und als der Iwan Welikij (in Russian script in the original) mich schlug in der Dunkelheit, Schlag für Schlag. Das war mein Ostern, und ich glaube es reicht für ein ganzes Leben aus; die Botschaft ist mir in jener Moskauer Nacht seltsam gross gegeben worden, ist mir ins Blut gegeben worden und ins Herz."
- 3) Osann, Rilke, p. 84 - 85.

p. 84

- 1) Rilke, Stundenbuch, (Werke II, p. 180.)
A prose translation reads as follows: You darkness from which I am descended,/ I love you more than the flame,/ which limits the world,/ in that it shines/ for some circle,/ out of which no being knows of it.
- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rodinka, p. 47 - 53.
- 3) A philological study of the composition of the Stundenbuch, which is beyond the range of this essay, is given in Rainer Maria Rilkes Stundenbuch by Ruth Mövius.
- 4) These facts along with most of the concrete details of Rilke's journeys to Russia have been drawn from the corresponding chapter in Osann, Rainer Maria Rilke, pp. 78 - 107. A more extensive analysis from both the philological and the literary standpoints is given by Sophie Brutzer, Rilkes russische Reisen.

p. 85

- 1) Osann, Rilke, p. 100.
"Weit, weit war alles, man lernte 'alle Dimensionen um.'
'Wieviel mal vierundzwanzig Stunden seid ihr denn her?' fragte sie ein Bauerlein. Und Lou freute sich an Rainers erstauntem, überwältigtem Gesichtsausdruck."

Rilke's concept of loneliness was patterned after the Russian plains:

"Was not tut, ist doch nur dieses: Einsamkeit, grosse innere Einsamkeit. In-sich-Gehen und stundenlang niemandem begegnen, - das muss man erreichen können."

- 2) Rilke to Lou Andreas-Salomé:
"Dass Russland meine Heimat ist, gehört zu jenen grossen und geheimnissvollen Sicherheiten, aus denen ich lebe."
quoted from Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 22.
- 3) Briefe und Tagebücher 1899 - 1902, pp. 24 - 37.

p. 85

- 4) Osann, Rilke, p. 102.

p. 86

- 1) Herder believed that Shakespeare was folk poetry and should be sung.
Rilke met the peasant poet Droshin and stayed at his house. The description he gives of the poet who works in the fields in summer, who writes verse in winter, is married and has four daughters and a grandson, lives up to the romantic idealization.
- 2) Werke, IV, pp.35-208.
- 3) Werke, IV, p. 52.
A translation reads: "In spite of all life is something quite marvelous."

p. 87

- 1) Werke, IV, p. 76.
- 2) The concept of God as a limit or boundary appears already in Die frühen Gedichte, Werke, I, p. 353:
"Ihr Garten und Gut grenzt grade an Gott."
- 3) This statement is qualified, explained, and limited by the preceding quotation. Rilke tended toward pantheism, and attached various differing meanings to the term God. See Rilke, Ueber Gott, Leipzig, 1934.
- 4) Ellen Key acted as publicity agent for Rilke in Sweden. An author herself, she was also a friend of Lou Andreas-Salomé through whom she heard of Rilke. Ellen Key invited Rilke to Sweden for a lecture tour. He dedicated Die Geschichten vom Lieben Gott to her, she misinterpreted their relationship to Rilke's own life. See "Rilke und Jens Peter Jacobsen", (Publications of the Modern Language Association, LIV, 1132 - 1141,) by Lydia Baer.
- 5) Only the first part of Das Stundenbuch was written under the direct influence of Russia and of Lou Andreas-Salomé. It was composed between September 20 and October 14, 1899, in Schmargendorf near Berlin.

p. 88

- 1) Werke, II, p. 172.

p. 88

- 2) Werke, II, p. 175.

A prose translation : The hour inclines and touches me/ with a clear, metallic, blow:/ my Senses tremble. I feel: I can - / and I touch the palpable day.

p. 89

- 1) Werke, II, p. 175.

A prose translation: Nothing had been completed before I had seen it,/ and all that was growing stood still./ My eyes are mature, and like a bride/ to each comes the thing which it will.

- 2) Werke, II, p. 175.

A prose translation: Nothing is too small for me, I love it indeed,/ and paint it on golden background, and large,/ and hold it high, and know not whom/it may liberate the soul.

- 3) Werke, II, p. 175.

A prose translation: I live my life in growing rings,/ which extend over all things./ I shall perhaps not complete the last,/ but I will try it.
I circle about God, about the ancient tower,/ and I circle for thousands of years;/ and I know not yet: am I a falcon, a storm, or a great hymn.

p. 90

- 1) Werke, II, p. 179.

A prose translation: I read it out of your word/ out of the history of the expressions/ with which your hands about the growing/ curved themselves, limiting, warm and wise./ You said "to live" loudly, and "to die" quietly,/ and repeated again and again "to be."

p. 91

- 1) Werke, II, p. 181.

A prose translation: I believe in all things that have not been said/ I would free my most reverent feelings/ What no one has ever dared to want,/ will sometime be unconsciously inevitable for me.

- 2) Werke, II, p. 182.

A prose translation: If that is haughtiness, then let me be haughty/ for my prayer/ which so earnest and lonely/ stands before your cloudy brow.

p. 91

3) Werke, II, p. 176.

A translation: We take from the old dishes of paint/ the same strokes and the same beams/ with which the saint concealed you./ We build up pictures like walls in front of you/ so that there are already a thousand walls around you./ For our reverent hands conceal you/ as often as our hearts open see you.

p. 92

1) Werke, II, p. 177.

A prose translation: You neighbor God, when sometimes I / disturb you in the long night with hard knocking/ it is because I seldom hear you breathe/ and know you are alone in the room./ And should you need something, no one is there,/ to pass to your groping a drink:/ I always listen. Give a small sign/ I am quite near.

Only a narrow wall separates us/ by accident; for it could be/ a shout of your mouth or of mine/ and it breaks down/ without a noise or sound./ Of your images it is built up.

2) Gertrud Bäumer approaches Das Stundenbuch as the greatest work of religious conviction in modern German literature. See Ich kreise um Gott, pp. 36 - 54.

p. 93

1) For an earlier version of the mystical identification of God with night or darkness, see Novalis, Hymnen an die Nacht.

2) Rilke, Werke, II, p. 192.

A prose translation: You are so dark; my tiny brightness/ on your fringe has no meaning./ Your will proceeds like a wave:/ and each day drowns therein.

3) Werke, II, pp. 176 - 177.

A prose translation: I love the dark hours of my being/ in which my senses seek their depth/ in them have I, as in old letters/ found my daily life already lived,/ and like a Legend wide and overcome.

4) Werke, II, pp. 184.

A prose translation: We work (build) on thee with trembling hands/ and we put atom upon atom,/ but who can complete you/ you dome.

p. 94

1) In this case alone can one speak of actual influencing on the part of Lou Andreas-Salomé because: 1. the idea of man's creating God is not a common one; 2. Rilke was not convinced of it before he met Lou Salomé, as a matter of fact he rejected all religion, so far as I have been able to ascertain. 3. There appears to have been no other decisive influence in Rilke's life. (Jens Peter Jacobson, according to the analysis of Lydia Baer: Rilke und

p. 94

- 1) cdt.) Jens Peter Jacobsen influenced Rilke's idea of one's proper death (der eigene Tod), but Jacobsen was an opponent of formal religion and its enticing bait of salvation for the penitent soul. Jacobsen's deism must have appealed to Rilke. Niels Lyhne like Malte Laurids Brigge is a sort of a prodigal son, who does not return. Hence it is most likely that Rilke received his idea of the god whom man creates from Lou Salomé. At this time he was particularly susceptible to her superior intellectual insights.
- 2) Rilke, Werke, p. 191.
A prose translation: Workers are we: apprentices, disciples, masters/ and build you, you high central vault. ("Mittelschiff" is actually an architectural term for the center nave of the conventionally patterned church.)
- 3) Werke, II, p. 198.
A prose translation: What will you do, God, when I die ?/ I am your cup, (when I am shattered)? I am your drink (if I go bad)? I am your robe, I am your task,/ with me you lose your purpose.
- 4) see "Wie der Fingerhut dazu kam, der Liebe Gott zu sein", Geschichten vom Lieben Gott, Werke, IV, p. 138.
- 5) see the third part of Das Stundenbuch, "Das Buch von der Armut und vom Tode," also Malte Laurids Brigge, Werke, V, pp. 7 ff.
also:
Denn, Herr, die grossen Städte sind
Verlorene und Aufgelöste;
... etc. Werke II, p. 271.

"Gott und der Mönch können sich verlieren, davon zeugt das Buch von der Armut und vom Tode." - Gertrud Bäumer, Ich kreise um Gott.
- 6) Werke, II, p. 207.
A prose translation reads: You were lost by the thousands,/and all sacrifices became cold/ until in high church choirs you/ stirred behind golden gates;/ and a timidity was born,/which girded you with a shape.
- 7) Werke, II, p. 207.
A prose translation is as follows: I know you are the enigmatic one/ about whom time stood in hesitation./ Oh how beautiful I created you/ in one hour which strained me/ in the haughtiness of my hand.

p. 95

- 1) Werke, II, p. 207. (You were lost by the thousands.)
- 2) see p. 94, note 5.

p. 95

- 3) Werke, II, p. 189.

A prose translation: I run out, I run out/ like Sand which runs through fingers./ I have at once many senses/ which are all separately thirsty./ I feel myself at a hundred places/ swelling and aching./ But most of all right in the heart./

I would die./ Leave me alone/ I believe I shall succeed/ to be so afraid/ that my pulses will break.

p. 96

- 1) quoted from Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 29.

"Was war mir mein Haus anderes als eine Fremde, für die ich arbeiten sollte, und was sind mir die nahen Menschen mehr als ein Besuch, der nicht gehen will." (1903)

p. 97

- 1) quoted from Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 28.

- 2) quoted from Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 41 - 42.

- 3) cf. "Requiem", Werke, II, p. 342.

"Dies war die Rettung. Hättest du nur einmal/gesehn wie Schicksal in die Verse eingeht und nicht zurückkommt. . ."

- 4) quoted from Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 43.

p. 98

- 1) Rilke, Briefe 1892 - 1904, # 132. (Aug. 15, 1903)

- 2) Ibid., # 127. (July 18, 1903)

- 3) Ibid.

p. 99

- 1) Rilke, Briefe 1902 - 1906, pp. 99 - 100.

"Da gab es alte Frauen, die einen schweren Korb absetzten an irgendeinem Mauervorsprung (ganz kleine Frauen, deren Augen wie Pfützen austrockneten), und als sie ihn wieder greifen wollten, da schob sich langsam und umständlich ein langer rostiger Haken aus ihrem Ärmel hervor, statt einer Hand, und ging gerade und sicher auf den Henkel des Korbes los."

- 2) Rilke, Werke, V, p. 291.

- 3) Ibid., p. 300.

"Es muss für ihn unbeschreiblich befreiend gewesen sein, dass ihn alle missverstanden, trotz der verzweifelte Eindeutigkeit seiner Haltung. Wahrscheinlich konnte er bleiben. Denn er erkannte von Tag zu Tag mehr, dass die Liebe ihn nicht betraf, auf

die sie so eitel waren und zu der sie einander heimlich ermunterten. Fast musste er lächeln, wenn sie sich anstrebten, und es wurde klar, wie wenig sie ihn meinen konnten.

"Was wussten sie, wer er war. Er war jetzt furchtbar schwer zu lieben, und er fühlte, dass nur einer dazu imstande sei. Der aber wollte noch nicht."

n. 99

- 4) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 44.

The interpretation of Rilke's life and his writing given in this essay is by no means the only one. It is, however, the interpretation given by Lou Salomé, as it becomes clear from her from her book.

n. 100

- 1) Ibid., p. 61.
- 2) Spinoza, Ethics, V, prop. 17 and corol.

p. 101

- 1) Rilke, Briefe. 1907 - 1914, # 65. n.147. (Dec. 28, 1911)
- 2) Ibid., n. 150.
- 3) Ibid., # 69, p. 169.
- 4) Ibid.

n. 102

- 1) Ibid., # 70, p. 172.
"Etwas wie eine desinfizierte Seele kommt dabei heraus, ein Unding, ein lebendiges, rot korrigiert, wie die Seite in einem Schulheft."
- 2) Ibid., # 65, n. 151.
- 3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 52.
- 4) Ibid.

p. 103

- 1) Ibid., p. 96.
"-Lou, liebe Lou, diesen Samstag, am 11. Februar, um 6,

leg ich die Feder fort, hinter der letzten vollendeten Elegie, der zehnten. ----- Denk! Ich hab ueberstehen duerfen bis dazu hin. Durch alles. Wunder. Gnade. - Alles in ein paar Tagen. Es war ein Orkan---: Alles, was in mir Faser, Geweb war, Rahmenwerk, hat gekracht und sich gebogen." . . .

"Sie sind. Sie sind."

p. 103

- 2) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 99.
- 3) Ibid., p. 100.
- 4) Ibid.
- 5) Ibid., p. 101.

p. 104

- 1) Rilke, Werke, III, p. 302. (Tenth Duino Elegy)
A verse translation: Rilke's Duino Elegies, New York, 1939. p. 79
"Someday, emerging at last from this terrifying vision,
may I burst into jubilant praise to assenting Angels!
May not even one of the clear-struck keys of the heart
fail to respond through alighting on slack or doubtful
or rending strings."
translated by J.B. Leishman and Stephen Spender.
- 2) Rilke, Werke, III, p. 264. (Second Duino Elegy)
A verse translation: Duino Elegies, p. 29.
"Every Angel is terrible. Still, though, alas!
I invoke you, almost deadly birds of the soul,
knowing what you are. . . .
Early successes, Creation's pampered darlings,
ranges, summits, dawn-red ridges
of all beginning, - pollen of blossoming godhead,
spaces of being*, shields of felicity, tumults
of stormily rapturous feeling, . . ."
translated by J.B. Leishman and Stephen Spender.
(*mistranslation)
- 3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 103.

The inadequate and somewhat superficial discussion of the elegies that is given in this essay may be supplemented by Rilke's own interpretation in Briefe aus Muzot, p. 330 - 338. See also Katharina Kippenberg, Rainer Maria Rilkes Duineser Elegien und Sonette an Orpheus. Leipzig, 1946.

n. 104

- 3) (ctd.) "Der Engel der Elegien hat nichts mit dem Engel des christlichen Himmels zu tun (eher mit den Engelgestalten des Islâm)... Der Engel der Elegien ist dasjenige Geschöpf, in dem die Verwandlung des Sichtbaren in Unsichtbares, die wir leisten, schon vollzogen erscheint. Für den Engel der Elegien sind alle vergangenen Türme und Paläste existent, weil längst unsichtbar, und die noch bestehenden Türme und Brücken unseres Daseins schon unsichtbar, obwohl noch, (für uns) körperhaft dauernd. Der Engel der Elegien ist dasjenige Wesen, das dafür entsteht, im Unsichtbaren einen höheren Rang der Realität zu erkennen.- Daher "schrecklich" für uns, weil wir, seine Liebenden und Verwandter, doch noch am Sichtbaren hängen."
Rilke, Briefe aus Muzot, p. 337.

- 4) Rilke, Werke, III, pp. 265 - 266. (Second Duino Elegy.)
A verse translation, Duino Elegies, n. 31.

" "...Does the cosmic space
we dissolve into taste of us, then? Do the angels really
only catch up what is theirs, what has streamed from them,
or at times,
as though through an oversight, a little of our existence
existence in it as well."

n. 105

- 1) Rilke, Werke, III, pp. 299 - 300. (Ninth Duino Elegy)
A verse translation, Duino Elegies, pp. 75 - 76.

"Praise the word to the Angel, not the untellable: you
can't impress him with the splendour you've felt; in the
cosmos
where he more feelingly feels you're only a tyro. So show him
some simple thing, remoulded by age after age,
till it lives in our hands and eyes as part of ourselves.
Tell him things. He'll stand more astonished: as you did
beside the roper in Rome or the potter in Egypt."

- 2) Rilke, Werke, III, p. 259. (First Duino Elegy)

A verse translation, Duino Elegies, p. 21.

"Who, if I cried, would hear me among the angelic
orders? And even if one of them suddenly
pressed me against his heart, I should fade in the strength
of his
stronger existence."

n. 106

- 1) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Mein Dank an Freud, p. 83.

"Leise nur lässt sich reden von so Hintergründlichem, wie
diesem schmerzvollen Durchbruch der Elegien, der ein Jahr-
zehnt währte, als sträubte sich dagegen, wie gegen einen sich per-
vertierenden Produktionszwang, der Mensch, der sich dazu als

dessen ungeheuerliches Opfertier darzubringen hatte: "denn jeder Engel ist schrecklich". "Es gelang", die Form verkündete das Letzte, sie hielt - der Mensch ging in Scherben. Still steht ein Kunstwerk in lauter Frieden und Verheissung, doch nur dünn hängt darüber der transparente Schleier, der seine letzten Ermöglichungen verbirgt und die furchtbare Nichtharmlosigkeit dessen, was wir, so freundlich interessiert, "Aesthetik" heissen.

"Daran erfand Rainer Maria Rilke sich jene Definition des Schönen, -worin kaum noch hoffend - doch eine zaghafte Fürbitte fuer die Menschen vorweggenommen ist:

"Denn das Schöne ist nichts," etc.

The quotations may be translated: "Every Angel is terrible." "It was a success, " and

"For beauty's nothing
but beginning of terror we're still just able to bear,
and why we adore it so is because it serenely
disdains to destroy us."

(Duino Elegies, p. 21)

p. 106

2) Osann, Rilke, p. 323.

"Vergessen Sie nie, Liebe; das Leben ist eine Herrlichkeit!"

3) Lou Andreas-Salomé, Rilke, p. 112.

p. 107

1) "But hark to the suspiration, / the uninterrupted news that grows out of silence." First Duino Elegy. p. 25 in Leishman and Spender's translation.
quoted by Lou Salomé on p. 6 of her Rilke biography.

2) Lou Andréas-Salomé, Mein Dank an Freud, p. 6.
Sigmund Freud himself is quoted as saying: "...er (Th. Mann) scheine eine Romantiker-Studie halb fertig gehabt und sie dann, wie die Tischler sich ausdrücken, mit Psychoanalyse furniert zu haben." - p. 6.

p. 108

1) Gertrud Bäumer, Gestalt und Wandel, p. 470.

2) Ibid., p. 471.

"In diesem Europa?" sagte sie leidenschaftlich, "Wo alles nur noch auf die ultima ratio herauskommt, einander umzubringen? Nein, ich will nichts dazu tun, dass dies weiter besteht! Europa hat verlernt, was der Osten noch kann: von einer andren Wirklichkeit her zu leben. Europa hat keine Hintergründe und keine Tiefen mehr. Es ist im Grunde tot!"

Bibliography

Lou Andreas-Salomé's books are not readily available in America. The magazines and newspapers to which she contributed are even more difficult to procure. Hence this bibliography can make no claim to completeness. In order to give an indication of the extensiveness of Lou Andreas-Salomé's writing even unobtainable books and articles have been listed in parentheses. Books and articles consulted in the preparation of this essay have been marked by asterisks.

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(A detailed analysis is given by Gertrud Bäumer. Nietzsche found in this book some of his own ideas.)
- * Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken. New edition, Dresden, 1927.
(Sympathetic, critical, and first-hand, it is an indispensable book for the scholar interested in Nietzsche's thought related to his character. The second edition contains facsimile reproductions of letters, which the first (1894) lacks.)
- (Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Ruth, Erzählung. Stuttgart, 1895.)
(Nietzsche's sister says that the "immoral" heroine is an autobiographical portrait.)
- (Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Aus fremder Seele, eine Spätherbstgeschichte. Cotta, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1896.)
- (Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Menschenkinder, Novellensammlung, Cotta, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1899.)
- (Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Der Egoismus, edited by Arthur Dix, Leipzig, 1899.)
- Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Man, ein Portrait, Stuttgart ?, (n.d.)
- * Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Im Zwischenland. Second edition, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1902.
(Avowedly autobiographical, these stories give insight into Lou Salomé's home and the problems of her youth. They are relevant to the interpretation of Rilke's "Mädchengedichte"; they show a transition from naturalism to symbolism in style, from theology to psychology in thought.)
- Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Drei Briefe an einen Knaben, Wien, (n.d.)
(A psychological study; the only book of Lou Salomé's which Rilke mentions in his letters.)

1) This data is accordg. to G. Bäumer. Nietzsche, however, refers to Im Kampf um Gott in a letter of 2 Sept. 1884 as having been published in May by Auerbach in Stuttgart.

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(A family novel which reveals Lou Salomé's notions about modern society and her limitations as an author.)
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(An unpalatable melange of lyrical symbolism and naturalistic crudity. The deeper psychological meaning escapes the non-Freudian reader.)
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- (Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Die Stunde ohne Gott. Jena, 1922.)
(A collection of children's stories)
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(An idyllic Russian farm, characters imitated from Tolstol, a credible plot, sensitive descriptions of men and places, and a very obvious love for Russia make this one of Lou Salomé's best novels. Descriptions of churches, monasteries, and pilgrims reflect Rilke's Stundenbuch.)
- *Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Rainer Maria Rilke. Leipzig, 1928.
(This book is the fruit of a long friendship, of sincere sympathy and deep understanding. Although short (124 pages) and incomplete, it is one of the most helpful and illuminating biographies of Rilke that have yet appeared. The interpretation of Rilke's work given in this essay is based largely upon it.)
- (Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Die Geschwister.)
(A short story mentioned by Gertrud Bäumer.)
- *Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Mein Dank an Freud. Wien, 1931.
(A eulogy of Freud and an exposition of Lou Salomé's psychological faith this booklet (109 pages) in its non-technical aspects is reminiscent of Dr. Krokowski's lectures. To the uninitiate only the criticism of Th. Mann and the psychological interpretation of Rilke's Duino Elegies are interesting.)
- *Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Henrik Ibsens Frauengestalten. Second edition. Jena, 1906.
(Studies of Ibsen's women characters, Nora, Mrs. Alving, Hedvig Ekdal, Ellida Wangel, Rebecca West, Hedda Gabler. This book which was popular in Germany is the best example of Lou Salomé's critical work, of her interest in Scandinavian literature and in naturalism.)

- *Andreas-Salomé, Lou. "Die Wildente," Die freie Bühne, I (1890), 840-852, 873-875.
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(These essays were included in the later biography.)
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- *Andreas-Salomé, Lou. "Jesus der Jude," Neue deutsche Rundschau VII, (1896) 342-351.
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Nietzsche, Friedrich. Briefe an Mutter und Schwester. Edited by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1910.

(This edition contains some letters which were not addressed to Nietzsche's family, in particular the unsent fragment to Lou Salomé.)

Nietzsche, Friedrich. Briefwechsel mit Franz Overbeck. Edited by Dr. Richard Oehler and Carl Albrecht Bernoulli. Leipzig, 1916.

(This edition contains many interesting hitherto unpublished letters from Nietzsche to one of his best friends. A co-operative effort of the two opposing factions, it is a scholarly and apparently uncensored edition.)

Nietzsche, Friedrich. Briefe. Edited by Dr. Richard Oehler. Leipzig, 1917.

(Only a scanty selection.)

Nietzsche, Friedrich. Gedichte. Inselbücherei Nr. 361. Leipzig, n.d.

(A convenient source of Nietzsche's important poems.)

biographical sources and critical background; Nietzsche;

Andler, Charles. Nietzsche, sa vie et sa pensée. 6 vols. Paris, 1920-1931.

(Andler, who thinks that Nietzsche tends toward socialism, is very sympathetic in his exposition. He defends Lou Salomé's position, but unfortunately his kindly and paternal observations include some factual errors.)

Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Friedrich Nietzsche in seinen Werken. (See p. I)

Bernoulli, Carl Albrecht. Franz Overbeck und Friedrich Nietzsche: eine Freundschaft. Jena, 1908.

(A basic work, this book takes the opposite standpoint from Elisabeth Förster. The material was collected by Overbeck and neatly assembled by Bernoulli, who, unfortunately, wrote the book with a frank polemical purpose. Lou Salomé is ardently defended by Frau Overbeck herself. The publication of this book signalled the renewal of Elisabeth Förster's feud with Lou.)

Brann, Hellmut Walter. Nietzsche und die Frauen. Leipzig, 1931.

(A much better book than the title might lead one to fear. However, the author's view that Nietzsche wanted very much to have a "normal" sexual life, - "normal" standing for some sort of average, - is clearly not applicable to a personality like Nietzsche. Th. Mann's Adrian Leverkühn is probably closer to the truth.)

Bertram, Ernst. Nietzsche. Berlin 1918

(A sympathetic, profound work on Nietzsche, which was very popular in Germany, and says almost nothing about Lou Andreas-Salomé.)

Brinton, Crane. Nietzsche. Cambridge, 1941.

(Frankly antagonistic, this book elaborates upon the relationship between Nietzsche's philosophy and National Socialism which undoubtedly exists, but is less tangible than one is led to believe. About Lou Salomé there is some new speculation to which I have not been able to find supporting factual evidences.)

Cohn, Paul. Um Nietzsches Untergang. Hannover, 1931.

(Another attack of the Nietzsche Archiv on Podach, Lou Salomé, and Bernoulli.)

Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth. Das Leben Friedrich Nietzsches. Leipzig, 1904.

(A detailed biography by Nietzsche's sister, who, although devoted to her brother had no inkling of his philosophy or of his suffering. She hates Lou Andreas-Salomé and makes many unkind and untrue statements about her.)

Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth. Der einsame Nietzsche. Leipzig, 1914.

(The second volume of the larger work cited above which was convenient for the purposes of this essay.)

Halevy, Daniel. The Life of Friedrich Nietzsche. Translated from the French by J.M. Hone. New York and London, 1911.
(A sympathetic treatment; not much space devoted to Lou Salomé.)

Meyer, Richard M. Nietzsche, sein Leben und seine Werke. Munich, 1913.

Podach, Erich F. Nietzsches Zusammenbruch. Heidelberg, 1930.
(A sound and at times overly scientific treatment of Nietzsche's physical and mental ills. A good deal of new material on Lou Salomé is included, but its value is diminished by an unscholarly style. Usually it is impossible to determine whether Podach's conclusions are hypotheses, facts, or speculation. His veracity has been questioned by the Nietzsche Archiv.)

Podach, Erich F. Gestalten um Nietzsche. Weimar, 1932.
(Very valuable on Nietzsche's friends, but Lou Salomé is hardly mentioned.)

Rayburn, H.A., Nietzsche, the Story of a Human Philosopher. London, 1948.
(Based on no more than the usual sources of Nietzsche biography, written in popular style from a sympathetic point of view which verges on sentimentality, this book was of little help, although it contains a whole chapter on Lou Salomé.)

Römer, Heinrich, Nietzsche. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1921.
(A self-appointed disciple worships. He hardly mentions Lou Salomé.)

Mann, Thomas. "Nietzsches Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung," Neue Rundschau, #8, (1947), Stockholm.
(Thomas Mann, who is probably the greatest modern author influenced by Nietzsche, gives his own interpretation of Nietzsche's ills and Nietzsche's work, an interpretation which colored this essay.)

Rilke's works:

- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Gesammelte Werke. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1930.
(The standard edition of Rilke's works, this is not complete but must be supplemented with various other editions of less well known works.)
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Erzählungen und Skizzen aus der Frühzeit. Leipzig, 1930.
(Contains short stories and sketches dated 1896 to 1903.)
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Verse und Prosa aus dem Nachlass. Leipzig, 1929.
(Contains a few poems, sketches, and discussions on the nature of art and the artist.)
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Ueber Gott, zwei Briefe. Leipzig, 1934.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Ewald Tragy. Edited by Richard von Mises, New York, 1944.
(A new edition of an early story which has long been unobtainable, and was indispensable for this essay.)
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe, Verse, und Prosa aus dem Jahre 1896. Edited by Richard von Mises. New York, 1946.
(Previously unpublished material, with a valuable introduction.)
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe und Tagebücher aus der Frühzeit 1899 bis 1902. Edited by Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Carl Sieber. Leipzig, 1931.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus den Jahren 1902-bis 1906. Edited by Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Carl Sieber. Leipzig, 1930.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus den Jahren 1906 bis 1907. Edited by Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Carl Sieber. Leipzig, 1930.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus den Jahren 1907 bis 1914. Leipzig, 1933.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus den Jahren 1914 bis 1921. Leipzig, 1937.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus Muzot, 1921-1926. Leipzig, 1935.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus den Jahren 1892 bis 1904. Leipzig, 1939.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria. Briefe aus den Jahren 1904 bis 1907. Leipzig, 1939.
(The last two volumes cited overlap with earlier editions. The later editions of Rilke's letters contain some significant additions and a great many omissions. The various editions were used simultaneously. All of them are edited by Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Carl Sieber, Rilke's daughter and son in law. The letters are not reprinted in their entirety, but carefully edited to obscure all details of personal relationships.)

Rilke, Rainer Maria, Briefe an einen jungen Dichter, Leipzig, n.d.
(These are some of Rilke's finest letters not included in the standard editions.)

Rilke, Rainer Maria, Briefe an Baroness von Oe. Edited by Richard von Mises. New York, 1945.
(Contains a good introduction.)

Rilke, Rainer Maria, Duino Elegies. Translated by J.B. Leishman and Stephen Spender. New York, 1939.

Biographical sources and critical background; Rilke:

Andreas-Salomé, Lou. Rainer Maria Rilke, (See p. II)

Bäumer, Gertrud. Ich kreise um Gott. Der Deter Rainer Maria Rilke, Berlin, 1935.
(A very German work of criticism, profound in emotion and understanding, well-written. A lack of perspective and an uncritical approach is compensated by sincerity and warmth.)

Butler, E.M. Rainer Maria Rilke, London, 1941.
(Contains many new biographical data, but even straightforward facts are misrepresented to such an extent that this narrow, prejudiced book loses its only raison d'être.)

Brutzer, Sophie, Rilkes russische Reisen. Königsberg. 1934.

Dehn, Fritz. Rainer Maria Rilke. Leipzig, 1934.
(Quite theoretical)

Dehn, Fritz. "Rilke und Nietzsche, ein Versuch," Dichtung und Volkstum, 1936..

Kippenberg, Katharina, Rainer Maria Rilke, ein Beitrag. Third edition, Leipzig, 1942.
(An indispensable commentary on Rilke's writings by a friend who knew him well.)

Kippenberg, Katharina. Rainer Maria Rilkes Duineser Elegien und Sonette an Orpheus. Leipzig, 1945.
(A good, detailed explanation, as objective as possible and without psychological elaboration.)

Mövius, Ruth. Rainer Maria Rilkes Stundenbuch, Entstehung und Gehalt. Leipzig, 1937.
(A very thorough study with more emphasis on the philological aspect of Rilke's Stundenbuch than is usually found.)

Zech, Paul. Rainer Maria Rilke, der Mensch und sein Werk, Dresden, 1930.

REPORT ON THESIS FOR DISTINCTION

Name of Candidate Ernst J. Meyer
 Title of Thesis Reflections from a Mirror - Lou Andreas-Salomé, Nietzsche, Rilke
 Grade cum laude plus (B+) or magna cum laude minus
 (Indicate whether rank is summa cum laude, magna cum laude, or cum laude, or not of distinction grade.)

Remarks (Please indicate more fully the special excellences or defects of the thesis.)

Author uses a great mass of material of somewhat eclectic character without demonstrating much more than average critical insight. He is to be admired for attempting to encompass his vast topics within the limits of one

monograph, although the result Stuart Atkins (Signature)
that Lou Andreas-Salomé fails to (Germanist languages and literatures)
fill the important place theoretically assigned her. One is not always sure that

REPORT ON THESIS FOR DISTINCTION

Name of Candidate ERNST J. MEYER
 Title of Thesis REFLECTIONS FROM A MIRROR
(Lou Andreas-Salomé)
 Grade ■ (magna cum laude)
 (Indicate whether rank is summa cum laude, magna cum laude, or cum laude, or not of distinction grade.)

Remarks (Please indicate more fully the special excellences or defects of the thesis.)

An excellent study both from the literary and the historical and biographical viewpoint

Renato Poggioli (Signature)