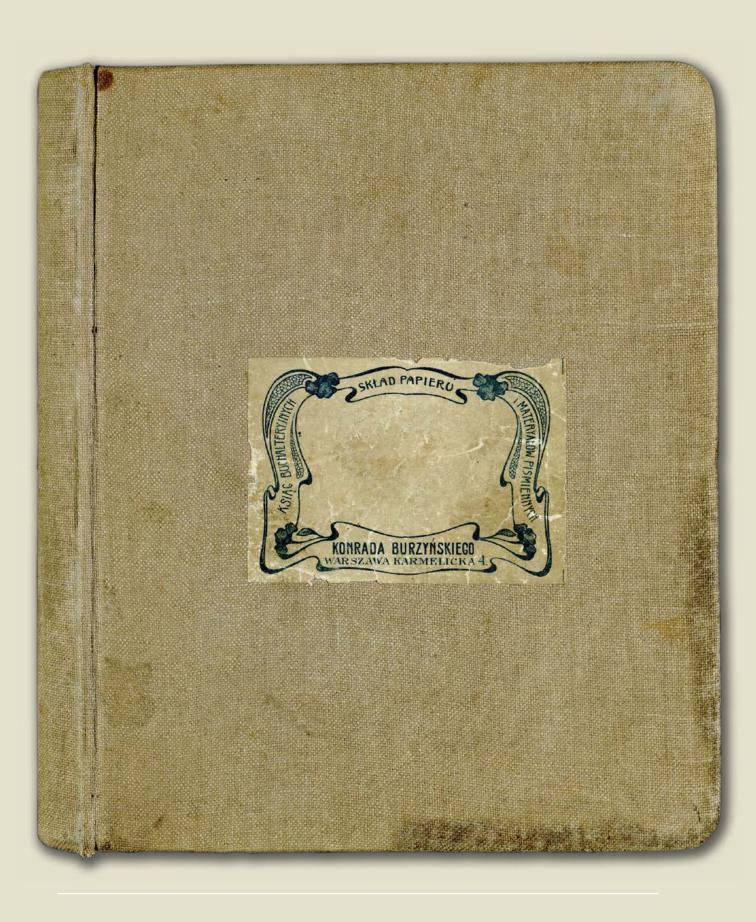
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Abstract

The article "Wittgenstein in the Polish Galicia" draws attention to three realms of Wittgenstein's wartime: 1. the underestimated, perilouswar circumstances of the eastern front of war in Polish Galicia, 2. the value and role of maintaining a diary with a special impact on the coded left pages of the notebooks MS 102-103, and finally 3. the religious experience, the craving of which brought Wittgenstein to war, and which has been nourished mainly by reading Tolstoy's *Gospel in Brief*, but also many other novels and books (like Nietzsche or Keller) that have

been sent to Wittgenstein between 1914-1917. The theater of war is opened like a box, which creates the "right perspective" on everyday life events and their influence on Wittgenstein's thought. Reading the three notebooks containing the diary 1914-1916 in their integrality, we are able to approach the "unwritten part" of the *Tractatus*, which according to Wittgenstein was more important than the written work that has become one of the most important philosophical books of history.

Wittgenstein in Polish Galicia

By Dr. Urszula Idziak-Smoczyńska, Jagiellonian University Cracow

1. The War

"[War] saved my life; I don't know what I'd have done without it."

Ludwig Wittgenstein, private communication with Felix Salzer ¹

In July 1951, more than two months after Ludwig Wittgenstein's death, Bertrand Russell delivered his obituary in the prestigious philosophical quarterly review "Mind" in which he reminisced about his contact with Wittgenstein as "one of the most exciting intellectual adventures of my life". In this very brief recollection he found room to mention the event that had been the reason of their estrangement since wartime. He wrote: "Once in a village in Galicia during the war (Wittgenstein) found a bookshop containing only one book, which was Tolstoy on the Gospels. He bought the book, and, according to him, it influenced him profoundly."2

This reminiscence has been repeated by Brian McGuinness in his biography of young Wittgenstein and after him by numerous philosophers and biographers who changed the village into a town and variously modified its name -"Tarnów". Tarnów - the town that was the first to proclaim the independence of Poland in 1918, witnessed the fulfillment of a mythical foretelling in which Poland would gain independence once the River Dunajec was filled with blood up to the mountain of Saint Martin - obtained a place in the history of philosophy. In fact it was probably Tarnów's bookstore of Konstanty Jele, under which one even today can visit the oldest Hungarian wine cellars in Poland, where Wittgenstein could have found between Polish literature and pious books perhaps the single book in German - Tolstoy's Gospel in Brief. A few days after Wittgenstein's visit, the town was occupied for a couple of months. This was the fate of Galician towns such as Szczucin, Tarnobrzeg, and Baranów among others that Wittgenstein mentions in his diary on its left pages between intimate remarks, prayers and descriptions of

his everyday experiences. The towns were passing from hand to hand, burned and destroyed by the actual occupants just before being lost and finally plundered by infamously brutal Cossacks. The war was waged to dominate the Vistula River, on which Wittgenstein's ship was floating; it was a war to capture the river harbors where Wittgenstein was waiting for further orders, a war for the bridges that construction by his unit was meant to supply. The war was about the partition of Poland. Hence we can only speak about Wittgenstein in Poland if we uncover from the shadows of Verdun and the Somme, the eastern front of war, that is the "war of the Carpathian mountains" that had been paid by the blood-spattered sacrifice and great suffering of multinational armies dispatched in the Galician and Lodomerian lands.

^{1.} B. McGuinness, Wittgenstein: A Life. Young Ludwig 1889-1921, The University of California Press, Berkeley Los Angeles London 1988.

^{2.} B. Russell, Obituary. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Mind, vol. 60 no. 239 (July 1951), p. 297-298.

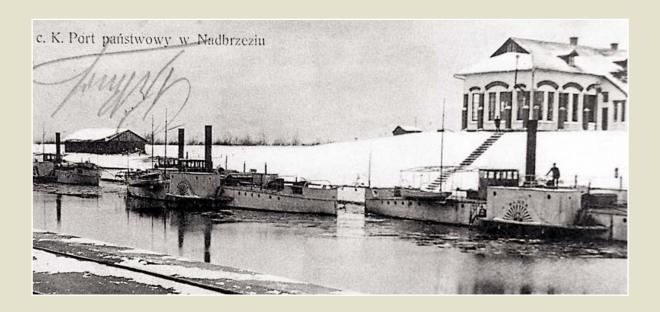


The three notebooks from the years 1914-1917 (MSS 101-103) with an intimate personal coded diary on the left pages and philosophical remarks on the right ones should be reread in the context of combat events of the succeeding days of war. The imagery of Wittgenstein who reads and works on the *Tractatus* in the first months of war at the Austro-Hungarian Empire's periphery gives a false impression of trench warfare, still allowing for a customary or normal life. Life conditions in Cracow were different from Wittgenstein's patrol mission on the boat sent to the northern front line. Between the two fortresses - Cracow, where Wittgenstein appeared on the 9th of August 1914 and Przemyśl – a symbolic line was drawn to stop the Russian forces from making their way towards Budapest and Vienna. The boat moved beyond the border and passed towns that within weeks were captured and consequently lost by either Russians or Austrians. Battles were taking place in close proximity to Wittgenstein's boat's route (The Battle of Kraśnik, The Battle of Sandomierz).

Ferenc Molnár, the Hungarian writer, at the time a war correspondent living in Cracow, described an evening at the Słowacki theatre where he attended the opera show entitled "Pan Twardowski":

"I realized that I am in a theatre by the river Vistula. How important is the word 'Vistula'? Vistula means a Russian war. The Vistula is the river of war. To the Vistula flow all the other war rivers, to the Vistula they carry blood - the rivers Dunajec, Białka, Nida - so often mentioned Nida... towards the Vistula head the waters of San, Pilica, Bzura... how much blood flow into the Vistula! Not so long ago a whole Siberian army corps drowned in its waters. The Germans have thrown 20000 people into it. 20000 dead bodies are floating down this river while we are sitting in a theatre on its bank and clapping hands."3

Molnár described the theatre like a box whose lid can be opened in a way that permits the scenography to blend with the painful path of the eastern front. When the box opens to the bottom it is meant to "spread the savage shouts of triumph in the dark night to reach the Russians". During this evening the nymphs of Slavic mythology narrate the tragic fate of a nation that has been deprived of its land for nearly 200 years. This loss, this tripartite rupture lay at the foundation of "The War of Three Caesars" that emaciated the most multinational armies alona Polish villages and towns. While the image of the Vistula River filled with blood symbolizes the artery of this land without body, on this river, on a boat named after another nymph from Slavic mythology - the Goplana - Wittgenstein had been on duty since the beginning of the war. Goplana is the name of a water nymph, goddess of the lake Gopło in Kujawy in the northern Poland, who played a mephistophelic role in the tragedy "Balladyna" by Juliusz Słowacki. She is a nymph fallen in love with a man, like Echo or Galatea in love with Acis. The boat that used her name SMS (The Boat of Her Majesty) Goplana was a side wheel steamer, one of the few river boats constituting



the Weischsel Flotille, a flotilla, forgotten and modest as compared with the Danube flotilla, although its fate during the first months of war was equally dramatic because her main waterway constituted the rift between the enemies (in the north Russia and Prussia, in the south Russia and Austria).

The flotilla was established on 30th July 1914 under the command of Mijo von Philippovi – the First Lieutenant of Engineers. Its main core included ships belonging to the Galician River Regulation Administration that was ceded to the 1st Austro-Hungarian Army. On the 5th of August the flotilla captured two Russian ships near Brzesk Nowy, the "Nadwiślanin" and the "Goplana" (built in 1895 in Drezno under the name "Nixe"). The captured ships have been armed and equipped with lamps manufactured by the Zieleniewski factory in Grzegórzki, and further on sent in Nadbrzezie in order to escort equipment on barges closer to the frontline. According to historians the Goplana was one of the best armed patrol ships of the Vistula flotilla. It had two cannons

L 26 with a 3,7 calibers and a machine gun "Schwarzlose".

Beyond firearms a searchlight had

been installed whose stream of light consisted of a combination of hydrogen and carbon. Two years before the war broke out, the inventor of this new form of lighting, Gustave Dalénlost his sight during an explosion because the hydrogen was highly explosive. When Wittgenstein was injured during an accident in the Cracow artillery workshop in 1915 he may also have been a victim of this substance. Wittgenstein was assigned to operate the searchlight due to his technical education and skills. This duty gives a specific character to his war experience; while operating the source of light he stood in a very exposed position and he worked at night "until 3:30 am" (29.08.1914). Therefore his schedule diverged from the rest of the crew. On August 16th he wrote: "The night on the Vistula is amazing". When his 'brothers in arms' - whom he truly despisedwoke up, he could go to sleep;"

When on the next day he wrote that they "are now on Russian territory" it meant that the Goplana passed beyond the border posts. During Poland's partition the border checkpoint between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russia was a simple deckhouse with characteristic black and yellow stripes placed on a river ferry crossing the Vistula at the level of Baranów Sandomierski. But at this time the boundary was moved 40 km up north beyond the rivers San and Sanna - it is difficult to establish which boundary Wittgenstein was referring to. Nevertheless around this time, on August 19th the Fourth Russian Army set off for Przemyśl. Undertaking defensive actions, the "Krummer Group"4 moved along the east side of the Vistula from Cracow while on both sides of the river San the troops of the 1st Army of General Victor Dankl were concentrating their forces. On August 23rd the first skirmishes took place between the 13th Cavalry Division of the Russian army and the Austrian cavalry close to Annopol, then around Janów Lubelski-Frampol; in effect the

^{4.} Group of Landwehr under the command of General Heinrich Kummer von Falkenfeld.

^{5.} xxxxxxxxxxxxx ????

Russians were forced to withdraw to the east, first to Ludmiłówka and afterwards to Kraśnik, a town they also rapidly surrendered. If Wittgenstein was still near the border line on the Vistula, as it is believed he was, it means that he was in the centre of the skirmishes that were the background of what has been called "the Battle of the Vistula River" (29 Septembe –

31 October 1914). Therefore, we read with some anxiety in his diary that over three days they were immobilized on a sandbar (22 nd August 1914) because a couple of days later under the same conditions and perhaps on the same sandbar two Austrian ships had been lost and destroyed by the Russian artillery (SMS Wawel II and another ship5). At the same time, a hundred

kilometers east of Wittgenstein's position on the Vistula, at the same latitude in Izbica, on the north of Zamość, Paul Wittgenstein was shot in the right arm, also during a patrol mission. During those last days of August theyoungbrothers Wittgenstein represented the two extreme points of the frontline which was meant to stop the Russian "steamroller".

The Diary

"If I had no paper I would write on sand"

Remark to a friend during WWI ⁶

In 1929 Wittgenstein wrote: "Strange that for so many years now I have scarcely ever felt the least need to make notebook entries. The very first time in Berlin when I began to write down thoughts about myself on slips of paper it was a need. It was an important step for me. Later it came partly from the impulse to imitate (I had read Keller's diaries) and partly from the need to preserve something of myself. So it was in large part vanity. But it was also a substitute for a person in whom I could confide. Later I added an imitation of (Samuel) Pepys's diary. Of course it is hard to be fair here, as always, because natural motives and vanity were thoroughly intermixed in what I was trying to do." (MS 107, 74) 7

This remark draws our attention to the importance of keeping a diary during the war. Ferenc Molnár in his memories of the Great War remarked that sometimes one had the impression that everyone was keeping a diary.8 If he were right, how much better our understanding of war would have been at least within the perspective of everyday life. Writing down memories was nevertheless a luxury which required some spare time and tools. Wittgenstein noted that he was writing on a table made from a wooden box costing 2,5 Kroner. Only three notebooks survived; there is a nearly yearlong hiatus in the diaries from the war between MS 102 and 103. Following a remark from a letter to Russell sent after the war (1922) in which Wittgenstein suggested that he might have used pages from his journals to light a fire9, we are sufficiently convinced that he was not intending to publish them. This fact might be also considered in terms of vanity mentioned in the citation above. Wittgenstein was torn between confession and vanity, between the urge "to preserve something of himself" and be vain about that something. The repetitive forms appearing in the coded diary are comparable to sketches in which two realms meet the external world and the movements of the hand of a draftsman who examines his soul. This metaphor could be supported by the image of color samples that must have been made with color pencils in the notebook MS 102 between the entries of December 18th and December 20th 191410.

- 5. xxxxxxxxxxxxx ????
- 6 B. McGuinness, op. cit., p. 57.
- 7 Ibidem, s. 56.
- 8 F. Molnár, Galicia 1914-1915, p.
- 9 Unpublished correspondence between Russell and Wittgenstein, ed. B. McGuinness& G.H. von Wright, s. 121
- 10 See MS 102, 56r in: (2015-) Wittgenstein Source Bergen Nachlass Edition (WS- BNE). Edited by the Wittgenstein Archives at the University of Bergen under the direction of AloisPichler. In: Wittgenstein Source (2009-). (Norway) Bergen: WAB. Last entry 14th May 2018.

This leads me to think about the famous exchange between Wittgenstein and his wartime friend Paul Engelmann concerning the poem by Ludwig Uhland, "Count Eberhard's Hawthorn"11. The count cuts a "little fresh green spray" from a hawthorn that he passed during his pilgrimage to Palestine; back home he "placed it in the earth" and from that sprig a tree grew under which he could "sit in rêverie" and remind himself about "Palestine's strand". The metaphor of a branch that keeps a germ of life and becomes a link between past and future resonates with the diary. In holding a journal the facts are not the most significant but life itself. Within this perspective it is important to analyze the role of Gottfried Keller¹² whose stories and famous novel Green Henry (1855) were highly appreciated by Wittgenstein. Heinrich Lee, the main protagonist of the novel, after enduring a disappointment in his plans to become a painter decides to write down his memoirs and after finishing them brings the sheets to a bookbinder who mistakenly wraps them in a luxurious green silk cover with golden fittings. In effect his journal becomes a valuable object, a piece of art that plays an important role in the future life of Heinrich Lee. This story turns our attention to a remark from Culture and Value that once again evokes Paul Engelmann:

"[He] told me – wrote Wittgenstein – that when he rummages round at home in a drawer filled with his own manuscripts, they strike him as so splendid that he thinks it would be worth presenting(them) to other people [...] But when he imagines publishing a selection of them, the whole business loses its charm & value & becomes impossible" 13.

Wittgenstein replied to him with such a simile:

"Let's imagine a theatre, the curtain goes up & we see someone alone in his room walking up and down, lighting a cigarette, seating himself etc. so that suddenly we are observing a human being from outside in a way that ordinarily we can never observe ourselves; [...] surely this would be at once uncanny and wonderful. [...] We should be seeing life itself. -But then we do see this everyday & it makes not the slightest impression on us! True enough, but we do not see it from that point of view. - Similarly when E. looks at his writings and finds them splendid [...] he is seeing his life as God's work of art, & as such it is certainly worth contemplating, as is every life & everything whatever. But only the artist can represent the individual thing so that it appears to us as a work of art; [...] The work of art compels us - as one might say - to see it in the right perspective but without art the object is a piece of nature like any other..."14

Reading the MS 102-103 by Wittgenstein (alias Lee alias Keller), both the coded verso and philosophical recto of the pages, turns them into an artifact. Theatrical distance is also linked with an oral discourse which we have difficulty understanding because of our typographical sensitivity towards language. Wittgenstein preferred to speak rather than write; he enjoyed reading novels and fables aloud and in the same way the diary took the place of a

friend with whom he could speak and be heard by. Often writing was just a prelude to a face-to-face address, as in the 1930s when Wittgenstein felt an urge to confess and sent letters of confession from Norway to his friends and family members.¹⁵

Discussing the diaries of 1914-1916 we usually refer to philosophical reflections published for the first time in English in 1961 under the title Notebooks 1914-1916, although the proper diaries are the so-called secret diaries (Geheime Tagebücher) corresponding to the left margins of the same notebooks where philosophical remarks are occasionally made. These sides of the notebooks' pages had been covered until the 1990s, following G. E. M. Anscombe's decision^{16.} The code used by Wittgenstein to keep his entries secret from his companionship in which a=z, b=y etc. corresponds somehow to his converse way of life during night shifts. It is only while reading the notebooks in their totality as a "work of philosophical art", page after page, that we are able to grasp the tension between meaning and life.

On the 5th of October 1914 in the coded part Wittgenstein wrote that he thought about Russell in significant words that at times of well-being they did not think about the weakness of the body while when things turned worse one immediately realizes it and hence turns to the spirit.¹⁷ On the same day in the philosophical part of the notebooks he mentioned "logic is only interested in reality. And thus in sentences ONLY in so far as they are pictures of reality. But how CAN a

¹¹ Ludwig Uhland "Count Eberhard's Hawthorn" transl. A. Platt, 1848 quoted by P. Engelmann, Letters from Ludwig Wittgenstein with a Memoir, Blackwell, Oxford 1967 p. 83-84

¹² As far as I know the only author who did justice to the importance of Keller for Wittgenstein is Jacques Bouveresse in Le Danseur et sacorde. Wittgenstein, Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Gottfried Keller et les difficulties de la foi, Agone Paris 2014.

¹³ L. Wittgenstein, Culture and value (revised edition), ed. G. H. von Wright, rev. Ed. A. Pichler, Transl. P. Winch, Blackwell, Oxford 1998, p. 6e.

¹⁴ Ihidam 6a 7a

¹⁵ L. Wittgenstein, Movements of Thought: Diaries 1930–1932, 1936–1937, ed. I. Somovilla, in: Ludwig Wittgenstein. Public and Private Occasions, Ed. James. C. Klagge, A. Nordmann, Rowman& Littlefield, Lanham/Boulder/New York/Oxford 2003.

¹⁶ For the story of how GeheimeTagebücher were brought to light (Spanish edition in: "Saber" 1985, German edition Turia & Kant 1990) see: I. Somavilla "Verschlüsselung in WittgensteinsNachlass" in: Sprache und Welt. Proceedings des 32.Internationalen Wittgenstein Symposiums in Kichberg am Wechsel, OntosVerlag 2010, p. 327.

^{17 &}quot;Dachte in den letztenTagen oft an Russell. Ob ernochanmichdenkt? Es was dochmerkwürdig, unserZusammentreffen! In den letzten des äußeren Wohlergehens denken / wir nichtan die Ohnmacht des Fleisches; denktmanaberan die Zeitender Not, dann kommt sie einem zum Bewußtsein. Und man wendetsichzum Geist. ... ", MS 101, 34v/35v, p. 27.

17.12.14 Sie ab funktorusgescher sond word ma le des our fac went er zu er kenne els ? ~/ es pachverhas beight home and went wheelen Anima. en hørende and so flag enn iog jum joses des bes jung und einem Anderen



single word be true or false?" The next day they received the order to sail to Russia, which meant that they were expected to recapture towns that had been lost about three weeks earlier. On October 7th Wittgenstein must have been in Ostrówek in the place where the river Wisłoka flows into the Vistula; he spoke about a deep interior cold and noted down one of the most existentially intensive fragments of the GeheimeTagebücher.

"I can still not conceive myself to do my duty only because it is my duty while preserving all my humanity for the life of spirit. I can die in an hour, I can die in two hours, and I can die in a month or (only) in a few years. I can't know or help or do anything about it: that's how life is. So how do I have to be consistent in any of those moments (Augenblicke).

Live in the beautiful and the good until life itself ceases." (MS 101, 35-36v) 19

On the 8th of October they were already in Tarnobrzeg, an initially Austrian town some 15 kilometers from Sandomierz. Tarnobrzeg was ruined and devastated by the Russians who left but remained very close. Wittgenstein wrote down that he heard twelve hours of constant cannonade. These were battles with the Russians entrenched behind the banks of the river San; the cannonade took place in the vicinity of Zaleszany, some five kilometers from the borders of Tarnobrzeg.20 On the 9th in the philosophical part Wittgenstein reflected about the "relation between relations" and observed that he must be somewhere fundamentally mistaken and wrote: "the question of the possibility of existential phrases is not in the middle but at the very beginning of logic"; whereas in the coded part the same day he wrote: "All this day a violent cannonade. Have done a lot of work. All the time I lack at least one fundamental thought." (MS 101, 37v) During those three days in the uproar of war Wittgenstein was examining the beginning of logic. If truthfulness can correspond only to sentence as an image of reality (see 4.032. 4.03 of the Tractatus Log.-Phil.), what about the truthfulness of a single word? The Augenblick of life, life itself corresponds to a single word. You can die in an hour or in a year - you can live a meaningful life or die a meaningless death, this is what was troubling Wittgenstein logically and existentially and this is why he was praying for both a meaningful life and meaningful death.

¹⁸ On the twelve of September 1914 Russian have captured Sandomierz (originally their town) and have destroyed the Austrian river harbourNadbrzezie where Austrians have gathered important supplies of food and ammunition. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages like Trzeł, Ostrówka, and Zarzekowice were recalling the acute brutality of the Cossacks. (see B. Budzi o, Gorzycei Wrzawy. Zarysdziejów, Kraków 2000, p. 14.

¹⁹ Iquote the original transcription because the translation is problematic especially the underlined sentence: "Ich verstehe es noch immer nicht, meine Pflicht nur zutun, weil es meine Pflicht ist, und meinen ganzen Menschen für das geistige Leben zu reservieren. Ich kann in einer Stunde sterben, ich kann in zinem Monat sterben oder erst in ein paar Jahren. Ich kann es nicht voissen und nichts dafür oder dagegen tun: so ist dies Leben. Wie muß ich also, um in jedem Augenblick zu bestehen? Im Guten und Schönen zu leben, bis das Leben von selbst aufbört" (MS 101, 36v, p. 27-28 underlinedby UIS).

Translated in French "Commentfaut-lidoncque je vivepourne pas lächer la prise en chacun de ces moments?" (LesCarnetssecrets, transl. to French J. P. Cometti, p. 45); English from webpage www.wittgensteinchronology.com "How should I live so as to be able to die at any moment?" Transl. J. Preston.

²⁰ About the fights around Tarnobrzeg see J. S omka, Pami tnikiw o cianina. Od pa szczyzny do dnidzisiejszych, Tarnobrzeg 1994, s. 130

The Apostle

"Tmgg org ori"

"Gottmit Mir" in Wittgenstein's code 21

"If you use a trick in logic, who can you be tricking but yourself?"²²

22MS 146 35v: 1933-34

At this point we come across Tolstoy's book which Wittgenstein did not part with during the entire war, to the point of being known by his comrades as "the man with the Gospel", which can also mean: the one with a good message, a good word. When Wittgenstein found the "Commentary to the Gospel"23 he must have been struck by the - surprising for a novelist - analytical division of twelve chapters into double points that aimed to mirror the verses of the Lord's Prayer.24 Equally striking for us to read in the coded diaries is a repeated call to God in prayer, particularly often under the form of two expressions - "God be with me" (Gottmit Mir) and "Your will be done" (Dein Willegeschehe).²⁵ Both of these correspond to the performative verse of the Lord 's Prayer: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Inside the prayer this clause constitutes an axis on which the three first verses of second-person praise discourse ("Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done"), then changes into a first-person intimate appeal ("And forgive us our trespasses [...] and lead us not into temptation But deliver us from evil"). Wittgenstein expressed his fascination with the Lord 's Prayer in an address to M. O'C. Drury, adding that "Christian religion does not consist in saying a lot of prayers [but] that in some way our lives are different." ²⁶ Instead of words – one word, the Logos in singular, coded and perhaps symbolized by the simplest sign ever – a straight line²⁷ – life becomes meaningful or meaningless in its totality.

Within this tridimensional realm of war experience, philosophical work and prayer, the Geheime Tagebücher can be read as a variation about the parable of the rich young man who asks Jesus, "What good deed must I do to have eternal life?" (Motthew 19, 1628). Jesus' answer is deeply philosophical: "Why do you ask me about what is good? There is only one who is good" (Matthew 19, 17). Whereas eternal life is something different from this singular absolute good. Referring to this goal Jesus advises the young man to "keep the commandments". But when it appears that the young man is righteous and has kept each of the commandments, Jesus gives an additional answer: "If you would be perfect, go sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me." (Matthew 19, 21) Jesus' answer corresponds to the singularity of the word "good" - "only one is good". Good is therefore not a relation, it is not an image of reality. "There is only one Good" – this is a tautology and this goodness cannot be expressed meaningfully according to Wittgenstein's Lecture on Ethics (1929) because it corresponds to the absolute goodness that cannot be reduced to facts in respect of deeds. The next striking analogy between Wittgenstein and this parable corresponds to the desire to be perfect. For everyone who knows Fania Pascal's memoir about Wittgenstein this desire was explicitly and fervently expressed when Wittgenstein confessed his misdeeds to her, bursting out, "Of course I want to be perfect," when she tried to alleviate (but possibly relativize?) his moral ambitions. There is only one good and it cannot be therefore ex-

²¹ Phrase repeated a number of time in journal entries MS 101 under the dates 6/9/11/12/20.10.1914 etc.

²² L. Wittgenstein, Culture and Value, p. 28e.

²³ This is the way Wittgenstein referred to the book using a short version of the title of a larger work of which "The Gospel in brief" was just a section – "Collection, translation and commentary (analysis) of the four Gospels" (published in 1894)

²⁴ Regarding the similarities in the structure of the proto-Tractatus, Tractatus and Gospel in Brief we have to mention several articles:

P. K. Westergaard article "A Note on Wittgenstein's Tractatus and Tolstoy's Gospel in Brief" 2009 in Wittgenstein repository

http://wab.uib.no/agora/tools/alws/collection-9-issue-1-article-107.annotate#index.xml-back.1_div.1

accessed 14. 05.2018), C. Thompson "Wittgenstein, Tolstoy, and the Meaning of Life" in: Philosophical Investigations 20/1997, T. E. Vaughan "Wittgenstein and Tolstoy: The Authentic Orientation in: Religious Studies, 33/1997.

²⁵ For example 28.10.1914 (MS 101, 50v) For a typology of the different forms of address to God see M. Pilch "Wittgensteins "Gebetsstriche" in den Kriegstagebüchern (MSS 101-103)

²⁶ M. O'C. Drury in Ludwig Wittgenstein: Personal Recollections, ed. R. Rhees, Blackwell, Oxford 1981, p. 109.

²⁷ See M. Pilch, Wittgenstein 'Gebetsstriche' in den Kriegstagebüchern (MSS 101-103)

²⁸ Gospel according to Saint Matthew, chapter 19, transl. English Standard Version.

pressed meaningfully, but the desire to be perfect – to be good in an absolute, unconditional way, is something that Wittgenstein "personally cannot help respecting deeply and [...] would not for my life ridicule" (Lecture on Ethics).

Finally a last analogy is evidenced, the fact that Wittgenstein actually gave away his fortune "to the poor" (artists).²⁹ This analogical semblance gives the impression that we are dealing with a different but similarconclusion to this parable in Wittgenstein's

life. Repeating nearly each day the words "God be with me", the philosopher followed the path of Leo Tolstoy and became just as he was, "another lieutenant whom war has turned into an apostle." 30

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²⁹ See A. Waugh, Wittgenstein. A Family at War, chapter "19. Money Matters"; R. Monk, Ludwig Wittgenstein. The Duty of Genius, p. 196-199 chapter "Behind the Lines"; B. McGuinness, Wittgenstein: A Life: Young Ludwig 1889-1921, p. 205-210.

³⁰ F. Molnár, Galicia 1914-1915, p.