



The Russian Mephisto

Magnus Ljunggren

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A Study of the Life and Work
of Emilii Medtner

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Emilii (Emil) Medtner is an undeservedly forgotten key figure in early twentieth-century European culture. He had a central position in the Russian Symbolist movement, where he made it his mission to bind the young writers (especially Andrei Belyi) closer to German literature, philosophy, and music. After the outbreak of World War I he moved to Zurich, where he became a patient, friend, and—later—colleague of Carl Gustav Jung. Through his unique Russian experience he confirmed and corroborated vital aspects of Jung's new psychological theory. As his role of intermediary demonstrates, there is a strong kinship between Russian Symbolism and Jungian analytical psychology. The letters and most of the photographs in this volume have never been published before.

Cover illustration: Emilii Medtner, circa 1910

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Finally, a couple of technical details: Whenever possible, references are to the English translations of Jung's and Freud's collected works. The transliteration of Russian names follows the Library of Congress system. For the sake of consistency, Russian dates have been adjusted to the Western Gregorian calendar.

Stockholm, December 1994
Magnus Ljunggren

INTRODUCTION

Emilii Medtner was a central figure in the early twentieth-century Russian Symbolist movement. Characterized above all by cultural synthesisism, the very foundation of this movement was the dream of calling forth a new spiritual age, in which art would point the way, and literature, music, philosophy, and religion would interact on a new basis.

Medtner made it his special mission to bind Symbolism closer to the German cultural legacy of Kant, Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner. Very little has been written about his attempt to realize this goal, which culminated in 1909 in the founding of the Musagetes (Musaget) publishing house in Moscow.¹ He also assumed the role of mentor and impresario for his brother, the composer Nikolai Medtner,² and as a philosophical guide, intellectual stimulus, and friend, he was particularly close to Andrei Belyi, setting his mark on all of the writer's novels. The expressive portrait of him in Belyi's memoirs provides us with the only coherent testimony we have to his personal and ideological influence in Russia during these years.³

When Symbolism disintegrated and Belyi turned to anthroposophy, Medtner entered an emotional crisis that was exacerbated by the outbreak of World War I and led him in August 1914 to begin psychoanalysis with Carl Gustav Jung in Zurich. After the break with Sigmund Freud and the psychoanalytical movement that same year, Jung was himself in the middle of a deep crisis in which a "lava stream" of visions and dreams seriously threatened his sanity.⁴ Under the influence of these and later cataclysmic psychic experiences during the years he was treating Medtner, Jung developed his so-called analytical psychology in opposition to Freud's theory of neuroses. According to his account in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, everything he later wrote was "a more or less successful endeavor to incorporate this incandescent matter into the contemporary picture of the world."⁵

It is obvious that Medtner, by virtue of his affinity with Jung and his unique experience in the Russian Symbolist movement, confirmed and corroborated vital aspects of his analyst's new theory. Medtner recognized Belyi's brand of Symbolism in Jung's psychology, which he perceived to be a further development of the Russian movement. In both cases the symbol was interpreted as bridging the catastrophic gap within modern man between intellect and emotion, between spirit and nature, and point-

ing toward resurrection and rebirth. Both Belyi and Jung emphasized the basic significance and collective human roots of Myth. In the Russian Symbolist ambience life and art were inseparably united. Medtner viewed Jung in a similar light, regarding him as above all a brilliant artist, or, to use Barbara Hannah's phrase, a man who *was his own psychology*.⁶

As time went on Medtner became Jung's friend and colleague. Despite certain friction, he remained a member of Jung's circle—occasionally even as an analyst—until his death in 1936. When in the 1920s and especially the 1930s Jung broadened his theory to include cultural speculations on the problem of East and West and on questions of national psychology, Medtner had an impact on him in this phase as well. He appears to have been influenced by Medtner's ideas on race and his enthusiasm for Mussolini and Hitler. Medtner exemplifies the prefascist streak in early twentieth-century culture, and militant anti-Semitism was fundamental to his outlook.

Owing to the considerable gaps in Jung's biography, especially before he achieved broad international recognition, Medtner has remained even more obscure in the annals of psychoanalysis than he has in the history of the Symbolist movement. Although he was close to Jung for some two decades, he is entirely ignored in monographs on the psychiatrist.⁷

Exceptionally receptive and standing on the threshold between two great European cultures bound to each other by special historical ties, Medtner is a man in whom the ideas of the period are refracted. The present study will attempt to recreate the organically integrated world of Medtner's life and thought. It will identify his contributions, for better and worse, as a mediator of German-Russian culture and will try to elucidate the significance Russian Symbolism may have acquired through him for Jungian psychology. To a considerable extent, I will be basing my account on unpublished materials: mostly letters from Medtner's very extensive correspondence, but also manuscripts and diaries, all in archives in Russia, the United States, and Switzerland.

MEDTNER'S LIFE-LIE

Emilii Karlovich Medtner (Metner, when transliterated from the Russian spelling) was born in Moscow on 20 December 1872. His father and mother were both descended from German families that had immigrated to Russia. His father, Karl Medtner, was one of the managers of the Moscow lace factory. He reproached himself his entire life for his unfortunate choice of career, which denied him the possibility of developing his cultural interests, especially in literature. Emilii's mother, Aleksandra (née Goedicke) grew up in a genuinely musical family. Her maternal grandparents (Gebhard) had come to Russia in the early 1800s and had worked at the German Court Theater in Petersburg. Her father was a pianist and music teacher, and both she and her mother were singers. Her brother Fedor was a pianist and professor at the Moscow Conservatory.¹

We know very little about Medtner's childhood, for he was quite reticent about it. He was tormented early on by nightmarish visions which culminated at the age of eight after the assassination of Tsar Aleksandr II in 1881. In later diary entries he speaks of having been consumed by a "mystical anguish."² A little over a year earlier, in January 1880, his brother Nikolai was born. (Between them were two brothers, Karl and Aleksandr, and their sister Sof'ia.) In his early puberty he appears to have developed a narcissistic infatuation with Nikolai, who became the pet of the family when he demonstrated exceptional musical talent at a very tender age. The youngest brother, Vladimir, was born in 1881; he seems to have been sickly.

Nikolai began taking piano lessons at the age of six. Aleksandr, three years his senior, had already learned to play the violin, and soon, without any real formal training, Nikolai became proficient on that instrument as well. Medtner's fixation on Nikolai was stimulated in particular by the fact that, encouragement and a lively interest notwithstanding, he himself did not show any musical promise and never learned to play an instrument. Nikolai and Aleksandr, on the other hand, were soon playing the violin in a much noted children's orchestra together with their cousin Aleksandr (son of Fedor Goedicke, who was also Nikolai's piano teacher). At about the same time, Nikolai began to demonstrate an interest in composing, jotting down his first attempts on scraps of paper even before he had acquired any knowledge of theory.

Medtner was at the time a student at the First Classical Gymnasium in Moscow. When he reached puberty he began to suffer from increasingly

troublesome symptoms of pseudo-Ménière's disease in the form of nausea, vertigo, and noise in the ears. These neurotic manifestations—which especially afflicted his sense of hearing—had to do, of course, with his relationship to music. Otologists soon found that his right ear (which was particularly affected) was healthy; the symptoms were due to “nerves.”³ His fixation on Nikolai intensified during this period. Living through his younger brother, he gave free rein to secret dreams of grandeur to compensate for a growing sense of frustration. Nikolai appeared to be surrounded by the maternal love that Medtner himself hungered for, and early on, due in part to this active care, he developed passive personality traits. It would seem as though here Medtner identified both with his mother-protectress and with his father. Karl Medtner, who was troubled by his unfortunate choice of career and his unrealized artistic interests, was tender and inquiring where Aleksandra Medtner was gruff and robust, and he seems also to have projected his own dreams onto the *Wunderkind*. Moreover, Medtner's and his father's literary and verbal talents coincided, while it was music which, on conditions set by his mother, had come to dominate family life.

Henceforward Medtner strove to lead and shape his younger brother. He tried to live through Nikolai, who accepted without protest the roles Emilii had chosen for them. Medtner had a strong theoretical interest in music, and as his erudition grew he rendered his unexperienced brother invaluable assistance. At the same time, however, his Ménière's disease, nightmares, and chronic insomnia threatened to paralyze him. At school he felt so persecuted by one eccentric and strict pedant, a Latin teacher by the name of Kazimir Pavlikovskii, that at the age of 17 he was forced to transfer to another classical gymnasium.

In 1891 the youngest brother, Vladimir, died. Two years later Medtner entered the Moscow University law school. He was disharmonious, unsure of the future, troubled by a sense of failure. Nikolai had begun studies at a grammar school, but as a mere twelve-year-old he managed to get himself accepted at Moscow Conservatory, naturally with the support of his uncle and piano teacher. Medtner later contended that he sacrificed himself, giving up his plans to become a conductor so that Nikolai could afford to study at the Conservatory. In actual fact this was one of the lies he lived, but he probably did actively try to convince his parents of Nikolai's right to enter the Conservatory at such an early age. Soon the notion of his unrealized career as a conductor became central to his fantasies of grandeur. Henceforth, instead of standing at the conductor's desk himself, he regarded it as his mission to “conduct” Nikolai's musical career, controlling his brother's professional development at the same time that he magnanimously abandoned his own artistic ambitions. Thus his aggressive dreams of power paralleled his sense of inadequacy.

In 1894 Nikolai played in his first student concert. The following year Medtner embarked upon his second professional career as a free-lance music critic. It seemed a natural choice, since his relationship to music, after all, was theoretical and verbal. In 1896 Nikolai began his three years of study of the piano at the Conservatory. That same year Medtner traveled to Vienna during a break in his studies. There he went to the opera frequently and also met the successful music critic Eduard Hanslick (at whose home he glimpsed Johannes Brahms several months before the composer died). During this period, Medtner's dream of becoming a conductor came to be associated with the German-Hungarian orchestral leader Arthur Nikisch, whose temperamental and dynamic performances at guest concerts in Russia made an extraordinarily strong impression on him. After one such appearance in Moscow in March 1897 at which he also was introduced to his model, he noted in his diary: "Well, I have quite simply fallen in love with Nikisch."⁴

In the mid-1890s, the middle brother, Karl, had married Elena Braten-shi, from a Jewish family that had converted to Orthodoxy. Nikolai soon fell in love with Elena's violinist sister Anna, three years his senior. Their parents, however, opposed their relationship, and it gradually began to unravel. At this point Medtner stepped in, showing interest in both Anna and a third sister, Mar'ia. His diary from 1897–99 contains declarations of love to especially Anna.

In 1896–97 Nikolai wrote his first serious compositions, the so called *Stimmungsbilder*.⁵ On Medtner's suggestion they included motifs from Mikhail Lermontov's poetry, which at this time held a special attraction for him.

While Medtner was studying for his examinations in the spring of 1899, his insomnia became acute. He gained some temporary relief from suggestive therapeutics with Nikolai Dal', a doctor reputed to be the best hypnotist in Moscow. After completing his law degree he served in the artillery, which "had a very beneficial effect on my physical and spiritual condition."⁶ It was evidently the strictly regulated (and moreover exclusively masculine) barracks life that appealed to him.

At the turn of the year 1899–1900 Medtner had an unforgettable nightmare which he was at first able to relate to only one person, his friend Aleksei Petrovskii, nine years his junior. He saw a battle between two snakes, one white and one black. The black snake, whose eyes were especially terrifying, was destroyed by the white one. This dream expressed the continued menace from dangerously destructive forces in his narcissistic personality, the struggle going on within him.

As soon as Medtner attempted to recount his nightmare he had an attack of nausea similar to that brought on by reading Dostoevskii's novels. When he attempted to return to the writer early in the century he felt an instinc-

tive hatred for him.⁸ As he admitted later, he was at once “bewitched” and “traumatized” by Dostoevskii, who intimately challenged and gambled with chaos yet was unable ultimately to “exorcise” or “appease” it. His involvement in Dostoevskii’s characters was so intense that it triggered attacks of “nervous asthma.”⁹

In the spring of 1900 Nikolai graduated from the Conservatory, where he had studied with musicians such as Sergei Taneev, Anton Arenskii, and Vasilii Safonov.¹⁰ That fall he began giving public concerts in Russia, playing works by especially Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin. Medtner’s notions of his brother’s artistic mission fused the intense hopes he had set on the new century.

Medtner was now working for the state censorship. His insomnia returned, and a new course of suggestive therapeutics proved ineffective. He tried to convince himself that his job was temporary and that he must find a way out of it. He harbored hopes for a future with Anna, who for a considerable part of 1901 was in Germany (and thus evidently no longer involved with Nikolai). When she returned toward the end of the year Medtner drew even closer to her.

Medtner had attended lectures on philosophy at Moscow University, and he now began to devote himself to a cult of German philosophers and writers centering on Goethe, also his father’s favorite and model. Medtner’s maternal grandfather Friedrich Gebhard, who had immigrated from Germany, may have met and corresponded with Goethe, and he as well seems to have taken Goethe as an ideal for his multifaceted artistic activities.¹¹ Medtner regarded Goethe as a universal man who had shaped himself into his own work of art.¹² In his eyes, Goethe’s life and works were an indivisible whole. Both *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister*, in which Medtner was especially interested, were life-works reflecting the author’s path toward insight and maturity. Here Medtner’s identification with his grandfather was also important, for Gebhard had been mainly an actor and thus a colleague of Wilhelm Meister. Tormented by his own sense of unproductiveness and artistic failure, Medtner looked to the continuously productive Goethe as the ideal personality to which he must aspire. He also associated Goethe with Kant, since Goethe had experienced within himself the Kantian split between spirit and nature and had succeeded in bridging it.

Medtner’s worship of Goethe was closely related to his empathy for Friedrich Nietzsche, the only “truly free” man, as he calls him in his diary.¹³ He sensed a fundamental affinity with the philosopher, who had just been introduced to the Russian reader. Especially in *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (Russian translation 1898 and 1899) Nietzsche seemed to be speaking directly to him, clothing his own hunger for power in words, concretizing his own dream of grandeur in prophesies of the impending new culture, the spiritual aristocracy of the “blond beast” and superman. The mus-

icality of Nietzsche's prose harmonized with his own attempts at self-expression, and it was also related to Zarathustra's dancing gait; the entire rhythmic sense of body communicated by Zarathustra was bound to appeal to the narcissist Medtner's heightened awareness of his own body.

Medtner's attitude toward Goethe and Nietzsche was deeply influenced by his involvement in the music of Richard Wagner. Nikisch, who had played under Wagner, was instrumental in introducing the composer to Russia in the late 1890s. In the new operatic synthesis of words and music of the *Gesamtkunstwerke*, Wagner demonstrated the fundamental significance of Myth. The heroic Teutonic saga of *The Ring of the Nibelung* seems to have been all too close to Medtner at this time, for the apocalyptic atmosphere it had inherited from Schopenhauer echoed his own inner sense of catastrophe. He was well aware of the fact that his maternal grandfather had also met and corresponded with Wagner.

Medtner was soon entertaining ideas about new human constellations that would release thus far unknown chemical energies. His lust for power was channeled into dreams of new collectives under strong, creative leaders such as Pericles, whose Zarathustrian oratory recast the chaotic masses into a homogeneous organism.¹⁴

THE ENCOUNTER WITH BELYI

Medtner first met Boris Bugaev in the fall of 1901, when they were briefly introduced to each other by their mutual friend Petrovskii. In his memoirs, Bugaev—who after his literary debut in the spring of 1902 took the pen name Andrei Belyi—describes this first contact with his “destiny” as follows:

A well-built, supple man in a black, wide-brimmed hat and greenish-gray overcoat loomed up; striking details: the narrow, chesnut goatee and the red kid glove which lifted his walking stick when he stopped dead; he seemed to sniff the air with the flared nostrils of his slender nose and flaunted the tan of a thin face that breathed arrogance and stubbornness.

Suddenly his face exploded in a glitter of large teeth in a wolfish grin and a flash of green eyes that pierced you through as he tore off his hat and swept the sidewalk with it in a well-executed bow, squinting from beneath his brows; he had a premature bald spot, and his long, sparse, but curly locks fluttered in the breeze; I could see his bulging veins and the ridges along the joining lines of his skull bones.

The light in his eyes died out; a pause resembling the frozen posture of a bristling wolf ready both to leap forward and to spring lightly away from us deep into the alley. Petrovskii introduced him: “Emilii Karlovich Medtner.”

We cautiously stared at each other; I remember Medtner’s pose: his suspicious defiance, a teased curiosity that could turn both to sullen silence and a gesture of childlike trust. Subsequently it seemed to me that this first encounter on the street contained the leitmotif of our future, stormy and complex relations, where feasts of ideas and the fury of mutual attacks were colorfully interwoven even before the first conversation, the only one, which lasted for years as a duel of mutual penetration, recognition, denial.¹

Medtner soon arranged to get to know Bugaev better. The occasion appears to have been carefully chosen: they saw each other again in April 1902 at Arthur Nikisch’s general rehearsal of Schubert’s Symphony in C-major at the Club of the Nobility (Dvorianskoe sobranie) in Moscow. Nikisch had first come to Bugaev’s attention in 1901. Now Medtner interpreted the music verbally for Bugaev, explaining the various thematic strands of the symphony much as he often did with Nikolai. Belyi was greatly impressed. His debut work, the symphony in prose he wrote in 1901, was structured on musical principles which he had in part shaped through

improvised etudes on the piano. He frequently attended concerts at the Club of the Nobility. Medtner's commentaries soon expanded into a cultural-philosophical exposition replete with references to Beethoven and Schumann, Novalis, and particularly to Nietzsche. It is not difficult to see that already here Medtner's lively gestures and freely associative mode of expression must have conveyed to Bugaev that he was something of a Zarathustra figure, a herald of new truths that he himself had thus far brooded upon in monastic solitude. Belyi emphasizes in his memoirs Medtner's symphonic interpretation of human culture; the approach was largely in line with his own endeavors, which were now suddenly verbalized and given concrete form. When the general rehearsal was over, Bugaev noticed Medtner talking with Nikisch, and he was struck by the thought that he saw before him two conductors—one an "orchestra conductor," the other a "conductor of souls."²

A short while later Belyi published his first work, *Symphony (the 2nd, Dramatic)* (*Simfoniia (2-aia, dramaticheskaiia)*). Medtner immediately suspected who was concealed behind the pseudonym "Andrei Belyi." This symphony in prose, which was derided by conservative critics for its radical formal innovations and mystical prophecies, made an overwhelming impression on him, and he sought out the young author to tell him about his feelings. This lyrically musical experiment in prose, with its Solov'evian and Nietzschean premonitions of a new spiritual epoch satirically punctuated by the young heroes' anguished visions and an impending mental disintegration reminiscent of Nietzsche's own—all of this spoke Medtner's own language and expressed the duality in his own being. He recognized himself, and he also thought he detected a final chord of liberating joy. Waving his cane, he "conducted" the symphony for Belyi and underscored its revolutionary significance.³ He correctly perceived its center to lie in its symbolism of dusk and dawn, which derived from both Vladimir Solov'ev's poetry and *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. In turn-of-the-century Moscow, the hero of the symphony seeks to incarnate "the woman clothed with the sun," taken from the prophecy in *Revelations* about the Mother of God in Heaven who will give birth to the savior of the new age, symbol of the resurrection of the "World Soul" envisioned by Solov'ev. Here there is also a connection with Goethe. In what was Solov'ev's perhaps most famous poem "The Eternal Feminine" ("Das Ewig-Weibliche") the very title links its prophetic visions to the image of Faust's heavenly union with the Eternal Feminine in the final stanza of *Faust*; the poem was written only three years before Belyi's symphony. Besides the influence of Nietzsche and Goethe, Medtner also discovered that of Wagner in the leitmotif technique and mythicizing dimension of the work. Medtner's mission was clear: to bring Belyi (like Nikolai) even closer to the German models and to foster him in especially the spirit of Goethe.

Belyi expressly states in his memoirs that he found a “mirror” in his older friend; indeed, he was himself markedly narcissistic and deeply split.⁴ Medtner now transferred his “little-brother syndrome” to Belyi, who, incidentally, was the same age as Nikolai;⁵ Belyi, who after all worked in the same verbal medium as himself, was a new Russian artist to be directed and shaped in the German spirit, while Medtner, responding to his own sense of creative sterility, similarly deferred to Belyi’s talent and sacrificed himself for the sake of his genius. Thus Belyi was included in his grandiose ambitions on the same conditions as Nikolai. This seemed all the more natural in view of the fact that Belyi was looking for the paternal older brother he had never had, an authority who in this first moment of success for himself and Symbolism could offer him guidance and support. Medtner’s appearance, then, was timely, for Belyi was himself deeply involved with German culture and was consciously striving to bring his prose closer to music. His understanding of Kant, Beethoven, and Wagner was still relatively fuzzy, and Medtner saw to it that the gaps in his knowledge were filled. They had complementary needs, and it was on this basis that their fanciful friendship developed.

Belyi had a messianic cultural mission of his own which is satirically reflected in the symbolic fabric of his symphony. In accordance with the aesthetics of Solov’ev (who like Nietzsche had died in the summer of 1900), he viewed himself in the role of theurgist of the feminine “World Soul” (Sophia)—a modern Christ with traits of the blond superman.⁶ He very deliberately attempted to fuse art and life. In his largely unpublished “Material for a Biography (Intimate)” (“Material k biografii (intimnyi)”) he later described his first work as “almost a documentary record” of the powerful inner symphony he experienced in 1901.⁷ Medtner, of course, interpreted the symphony from his own personal perspective, and that interpretation was now reinforced by what he learned about the biographical background of the work. Belyi told him of the raptures at dusk and dawn that had culminated in the spring of 1901 when he sought a hypostasis of the “World Soul” in Margarita Morozova, whom he had observed at a distance at concerts in Moscow (and who is recognizable in the object of his literary hero’s worship). Medtner dubbed 1901 “the year of the dawn.”⁸ He and Belyi soon discovered remarkable similarities in their biographies: both had been tormented by nightmares in their childhood, both had been persecuted by the same schoolmaster Pavlikovskii (in their respective gymnasiums), both were painfully ambivalent toward Dostoevskii.⁹ Medtner already entertained the notion of a connection between the individual and the species, between the “dragons” of childhood nightmares and prehistoric experiences stored in the collective human memory.¹⁰ He and Belyi were equally concerned with questions centering on Nietzsche’s mental illness and disintegration; Medtner

was collecting materials for a projected biography of the philosopher.

Medtner soon arranged for Belyi to meet Nikolai. During the early autumn Belyi was an almost daily guest at the Medtners', where he met many of the younger figures in Moscow's musical life. In a diary entry from this period which shows his early interest in craniology, phrenology, and physiognomy, Medtner characterizes him as follows:

Bugaev is a tall, slender 21-year-old student. His head is formed very well; it testifies to the capability of his colossal mind eventually to achieve a balance, to become "white" ("belyi"); this head, the back and forehead of which are striking taken separately but which harmonize together, is the head of an optimist, a buoyant optimist, a poet and philosopher at the same time. Mysticism is glimpsed only in his eyes, in which there is something wolfish, chaotic, and unbearably strong. His figure is well-proportioned, although insufficiently supple; his movements are impetuous and not lacking in savage grace. Bugaev is for me the touchstone of the Russian individual. If something very significant does not come of him, something of greater dimensions than Vlad. Solov'ev, I will give up on the capabilities of the Russian. No Russian, save Pushkin and Lermontov, has begun as strongly as he. His "Symphony" is brilliant.¹¹

Thus in relating their first impressions both Belyi and Medtner emphasize each other's lupine characteristics.

Medtner now stressed the affinity between his brother and Belyi, not least the fact that the F-minor sonata Nikolai was working on attempted in the second theme to capture the same "sound of dawn" that underlay Belyi's symphony in prose.¹² Belyi and Nikolai most certainly had significant points in common, and they seem immediately to have realized this themselves.¹³ At times Belyi was uncertain whether he should have become a composer instead of a poet. Even a few years later he suddenly got the idea that he was probably after all "a composer who was not sure about his correct path in life."¹⁴ Nikolai for his part had a great love of Russian poetry, and with his brother's help he wanted to continue setting favorite poems to music. In the formal aesthetic sense, the two artists were different: Belyi was an experimental avant-gardist, whereas Nikolai proceeded cautiously in his attempts to broaden and renew the counterpoint and rhythm of especially the sonata. At the same time, of course, this meant that both were working with related symphonic structures in their respective branches of art. Their formal differences had to do with distinctions in temperament: both had something Dionysian about them, but Nikolai was considerably more reserved than the volatile Belyi. To a certain extent they also reflected Medtner's duality, for although he embraced a classical aesthetic ideal and preferred to read artistically and politically conservative Russian writers such as Konstantin Leont'ev and Vasilii Rozanov, he was

irresistibly drawn to the radical innovators of the period. His mission as he saw it was to restrain Belyi's modernistic extravagances and impart contour and substance to his genuinely Russian mysticism. Calling Belyi's attention to the leitmotif adjective clusters in the symphony, he stressed that what these obscure symbolic words in the neuter lacked was a noun to put flesh on them.¹⁵ In brief, what he hoped for in the future was that he—through German culture—could help provide Belyi with such a noun.

As early as the autumn of 1902 Medtner was planning to marry Anna Bratenshi. At this same time he was offered and accepted a post with the censorship in Nizhnii Novgorod. He wanted to break completely with the Moscow life that filled him with such anxiety. He confessed to Belyi that he was in fact a *Wälsung* with the same secret love of doom that runs through Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*. It was as if he had "drunk of the sun," as if this central symbol in his life threatened to become the poison that would slowly kill him.¹⁶ Life was already lost, a thirty-year-long failure, for the conductor genius within him had still not come forth. The move to Nizhnii Novgorod with Anna was a desperate attempt to change his routine and flee depression. Medtner was in fact already dreaming of another, more complete journey which he told himself soon must become reality: emigration to Germany. Symbolically enough, Belyi and Nikolai were invited to be ushers at his November wedding. Although shocked by his departure, Belyi turned it into something positive by starting a correspondence with his friend that came to function as a lyrical diary, personal confessional, and chronicle of emerging Moscow Symbolism.¹⁷ Soon Belyi had also begun a parallel correspondence with his Petersburg contemporary Aleksandr Blok, who was moving along the same path as he from the same starting point in Solov'ev's cult of Sophia.

Medtner also maintained a frequent correspondence with his brother, continuing to offer him philosophical and literary guidance and receiving in exchange lessons in harmony that proved useful in his own exercises on the piano. In December 1902 Nikolai performed Tchaikovsky's Concerto in B-minor at the Moscow Conservatory under the baton of Arthur Nikisch, who now had begun including more and more Russian music in his tour repertoire.

At an early stage, Medtner's marriage seems to have been marked by physical estrangement and emotional anxieties. In a letter to Belyi already in February 1903 he brings up his dream of the snakes in reference to the ambivalence he found in Blok's "Solov'evian" poems, which Belyi had just sent him.¹⁸ In letters and in early writings in the Ekaterinoslav newspaper *Pridneprovskii krai* (*The Dnepr Region*) dealing with both music and the new Symbolist literature, he reiterated warnings against erotic mysticism and orgiastic tendencies which obviously had something to do with his marital problems.¹⁹ Soon Belyi sent him his newly completed third sym-

phony in prose, which bore the Nietzschean title *The Return (Vozvrat)*. The hero is a young Moscow student who lives simultaneously in a trivial everyday reality with his boring wife and in visions and dreams. His tragedy, which finally ends in the mental hospital, includes experiences of prehistoric reality. The enemies who harass him in early twentieth-century Moscow appear in his visions as reptiles and monsters that attack him as a child of the cosmos in a distant past. The symphony was obviously influenced by Medtner's notion that the individual "remembers" the origin of the species. At the same time, the two levels of this work reflect Belyi's reaction to Nietzsche's personal tragedy. In his correspondence with Medtner he discussed Nietzsche's mental illness, interpreting his death as he had his hero's as an act of freedom, a move into a different dimension.²⁰ Medtner was himself at this time reading Nietzsche's collected works in the original.

Belyi's father, professor of mathematics Nikolai Bugaev, died in June 1903. One result of his father's demise was the poem "Ancient Friend" ("Starinnyi drug"), addressed and dedicated to Belyi's paternal surrogate Medtner. In this poem, the lyrical "I" awakes from the dead. When the coffin lid is opened he sees above him his "ancient friend's" warm smile: they have journeyed together through the millenia, and now they can sense universal rebirth and resurrection.²¹ In the early fall Belyi published his newly written article "On Theurgy" ("O teurgii") in Dmitrii Merezhkovskii's Petersburg journal *Novyi put'* (*New Way*). The essay contains an extensive commentary on Nikolai's *Stimmungsbilder* that discusses the theurgic element in the music,²² but it was primarily intended as a manifesto of the Argonauts, the Symbolist collective that had emerged around Belyi that autumn. The name was suggested by Belyi's close friend Lev Kobylinskii (Ellis) and alluded on the Greek myth of the sailors who set out across the Black Sea in search of the Golden Fleece. For Belyi this symbolism, which he elaborated in a programmatic poem dedicated to Medtner,²³ was closely connected with Nietzsche's puzzling demise, and he associated the Golden Fleece with the solar symbols in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Thus Medtner's vision of new human constellations now became a concrete reality.

That same fall Medtner came into contact with Anna Schmidt of Nizhni Novgorod, who in her tracts claimed to be the incarnated "World Soul" in her relationship to Solov'ev; her mystical aspirations are obviously to some extent echoed satirically in Belyi's second symphony. Medtner became acquainted with her through Andrei Mel'nikov, a friend in Nizhni Novgorod. This local ethnographer was the son of Pavel Mel'nikov, famous in the late nineteenth-century for literary depictions of religious sects published under the pseudonym Andrei Pecherskii. Around the turn of the year Medtner reviewed Belyi's second symphony in *Pridneprovskii*

krai in what was perhaps the first truly perceptive commentary on the work to appear in the Russian press.²⁵

Nikolai soon settled down for a time in the Medtners' Nizhnii Novgorod home, and he and Anna began to renew their relationship. Inspired by his brother's fascination with the Dionysian symbolism of snowstorms, he set Pushkin's poem "Winter Evening" ("Zimnii vecher") to music and worked on the music to poems by Goethe.²⁶ Medtner was now erecting increasingly rigid intellectual fortifications against his frustration. He convinced himself—and this became his next life-lie—that he, the descendant of immigrants, was actually a Teuton: "Yes, I am a German," he wrote to Petrovskii in February.²⁷ He now filled out his dream of grandeur. Germany, he told himself, had been chosen to achieve spiritual hegemony. Russia (a synonym of the dark forces within himself) represented an immature cultural stage in need of German discipline. In his diary entries he speaks of weariness brought on by "sexual surfeit." At the same time he states that the "great liberation, de-Judaization, Germanization" of his thought is developing rapidly and that he possesses a "thoroughly" Aryan understanding of original sin: a "de-Judaized" thought meant "liberation" from what to him were the intertwined notions of Judaism and sex.²⁸

Medtner later maintained that the racial question had occupied him "from childhood."²⁹ The anti-Semitism he developed in Nizhnii Novgorod was rooted ideologically in the conservative Russian intellectual tradition to which he adhered. He had grown up under the active anti-Semitic state policy of the 1880s and 1890s. At precisely this time, in 1903, this policy bore fruit in the form of violent pogroms; a Petersburg journal carried a preliminary version of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (*Protokoli Sionskikh Mudretsov*), the spurious document purporting to reveal details of an international Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world.³⁰ He also found support for his racism in his reading of German writers: there were anti-Semitic diatribes in Nietzsche and particularly in Wagner, in whose late polemical essays hatred of the Jews is an inevitable component of his vision of a German renaissance. Medtner now seems to have tended to project his own instincts onto Jews, transferring to them hidden aggressive and libidinous impulses. This particular sexual fixation seems early on to have led to an association in his mind between femininity and Judaism. Anna and Mar'ia were merely the first of several Jewesses to whom he was very ambivalently attracted. One factor of possible significance here was the rumor circulating among the Medtners about Semitic elements in the family background.³¹ Wagner's anti-Semitism was also alleged to contain a suspicion of Jewish roots.

The necessity of asceticism and the relationship between eroticism and the new spirituality were central questions in Medtner and Belyi's 1903 correspondence. Belyi and his seventeen-year-old friend Sergei Solov'ev,

nephew of the philosopher and Aleksandr Blok's second cousin, speculated a great deal on Blok's marriage in August of that year to Liubov' Mendeleeva, the earthly object of his lyrical cult of Sophia. They were particularly interested in the correlation between spirituality and eros. During the fall Belyi made advances toward Nina Petrovskaiia in the Argonaut circle with the intention of experiencing with her a "vital mystery." He was eventually drawn into a sexual relationship that caused the self-appointed ascetic considerable confusion and anxiety. During Easter week 1904 he chose to "flee" for help to Medtner in Nizhnii Novgorod. In view of his own problems, Medtner evidently considered himself well qualified for the task.³² He now "healed" Belyi with the example of Goethe, reading aloud from Goethe's works and pointing out the parallels between Belyi's experience and that of the young Romantic.³³ He persuaded Belyi to realize his dangerous affinity with Novalis, the von Schlegel brothers and Ludwig Tieck, and he described how Goethe had achieved self-control by "casting Werter out of his life" and "crushing his shadow."³⁴ To the entire Romantic syndrome he contrasted Kant's epistemological distinctions, urging Belyi to follow Goethe and arm himself with Kantianism.³⁵ He interspersed their conversations with daily visits to Andrei Mel'nikov, who, on the basis of thorough knowledge passed on to him by his father, told Belyi about the Khlyst sect of the region. Medtner drew parallels between the orgiastic rites of the Khlysty and dangerous tendencies he perceived in Blok's cult poems, and pointed to "Fairy-Tale," as the mystical object of worship resembling Margarita Morozova is called in the second symphony, as a model for Belyi in his aspiration to invoke the Feminine.³⁶

Nikolai arrived on a visit immediately after Belyi. He had just succeeded Aleksandr Skriabin (who had gone abroad for several years) as Morozova's piano teacher. Together with Sergei Rakhmaninov, Skriabin was the most noted of the younger generation of composers. He was supported economically by Morozova and was also a close friend. Morozova came from one of the wealthiest merchant families in Moscow (the Mamontovs) and had married into another one. Upon being widowed in 1903 she had taken over her husband's role of patron of the Russian arts. Medtner approved of his brother's association with her in every respect, well aware of its possible significance to his future career. Nikolai and Anna had now begun a sexual relationship. Medtner confided to his diary that he felt literally displaced at the piano by his brother.³⁷ He began planning a trip for the three of them to Germany which would ease the pressure and also introduce Nikolai to German musical life. The pressure soon became intense when Anna discovered that she was pregnant. A social catastrophe seemed imminent, for she was about to give birth to a child not by her husband but by her brother-in-law. She evidently saw no solution to her shameful

situation. In November 1904 the still unaware Nikolai performed his Sonata in F-minor in Moscow, dedicating it, with gratitude and indebtedness, to his brother.

Soon after this the trio left Russia. They stayed first with German relatives in Dresden, where Wagner had been a conductor at the Court Theater and Goethe had also spent considerable time. Nikolai gave a concert in Berlin, performing the Sonata in F-Minor and *Stimmungsbilder*. The critics were generally negative. Medtner and Anna went on to Weimar, which Medtner regarded as his spiritual home. The Gebhard family came from the surrounding state of Thuringia. Goethe had spent the last forty years of his life in Weimar; Nietzsche was born in Thuringia and lived his last years in Weimar, which had also been a stopping place on Wagner's professional path. Anna was in poor condition, and soon she was admitted to the hospital for acute abdominal pains. On 2 January 1905 she gave birth to a stillborn child. That same day, Medtner informed Nikolai of her pregnancy and what had happened. He suggested that his brother immediately come to Weimar and, with an allusion to his own Ménière's disease, try to enter the hospital as a Russian musician with an ear inflection.³⁸ There is much to suggest that the stillbirth was caused by Anna's anxiety and reluctance to become a mother. The three of them were now linked even more tightly together by guilt and pain. No one, not even their parents, knew their secret. Anna seems not to have been prepared to forego either of her two men. She needed both, for they complemented each other and, bound together as intensely as they were, were in essence a kind of single cohesive personality.

Nevertheless, Medtner wrote in his letter to Nikolai that he wanted to liberate himself, to leave the "prison" in which he had been locked up in Nizhnii Novgorod.³⁹ He visited the Goethe museum, the Goethe-Schiller archive, and the Nietzsche archive, located in the house where the mentally ill philosopher had been nursed by his sister. He introduced himself to this woman, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, who kept the archive and had recently published the second and final volume of her brother's biography.⁴⁰ He also met Nietzsche's friend, the composer Peter Gast (Heinrich Köselitz), who worked at the archive and with whom he naturally felt a particular affinity.⁴¹ There were definite reasons for him to establish these contacts. He was trying to fathom the riddle of Nietzsche, and he also dreamed of starting a journal in Moscow that would become a platform for Belyi and at the same time serve as a bridge between German and Russian culture, binding Russian Symbolism even closer to German thought. Here he believed he could recover his role as conductor.

Medtner soon returned with Nikolai and Anna to a Russia in the midst of violent change. Almost at the very moment they crossed the border, "Bloody Sunday" occurred in Petersburg. Russia was on the way into her

first revolution. Andrei Belyi was in Petersburg, and now he entangled his personal drama in that of the entire nation. He had fallen in love with Blok's wife the moment Blok was no longer able either to worship her as a manifestation of the "World Soul" or to play the role of her husband. He combined his secret hopes of assuming Blok's cultic role with the entire Russian dream of revolution. His position in the Blok family—where his ties to and identification with his "brother" Blok were the source of his fantasies and where the object of his worship variously gave him to understand that she reciprocated his feelings—began to resemble Nikolai's place in Medtner's and Anna's life. In the spring of 1905 he finally became personally acquainted with Margarita Morozova, the original object of his cult. In Morozova's salons artists and politicians, the now established Symbolists of the younger generation and the academic intelligentsia of the older generation met each other in the new revolutionary atmosphere. At the same time, under Nikisch's baton and with Morozova's money, Scriabin's mystically tinged third symphony, *Poème divine*, was performed in Paris. In Nizhnii Novgorod Medtner felt increasingly alienated from his work in the service of the tsarist authorities. Nikolai made regular visits and continued his liaison with his sister-in-law.

In August, as the revolutionary events in Russia were approaching their climax, Medtner wrote to his mother that he was prepared to "send to the devil" anyone who tried to advise him to be sensible.⁴² He was already revolving plans for a new and longer trip to Germany in order to break free of Nizhnii Novgorod and afford his brother the possibility of composing in a German milieu and rooting his career in German soil. He also wanted to integrate Belyi more completely with German culture. His life with Anna had become more and more intolerable; in a later letter to her he recalled "my furious excesses, your tears, the mad look in your eyes, those thunderstorms whose discharge brought no relief."⁴³ During the fall and winter Anna fled on several occasions to Moscow. Her (less complicated) sister Mar'ia came to Medtner and managed the household; he still felt a certain attraction to her. In early 1906 he read Søren Kierkegaard's letters to Regine Olsen (which he had bought in Germany shortly after their publication) and identified strongly with him.⁴⁴ In a letter to Anna he drew parallels between Kierkegaard and his Danish compatriot Hamlet.⁴⁵ Their hesitation resembled his, for they were similarly forced to reject the woman they felt most strongly about. He said that in dark and wrathful moods Kierkegaard would command Regine to leave him, and he added: "A familiar theme, isn't it?"⁴⁶ He wrote that Kierkegaard, aware that he must break off with his fiancée, pretended that she bored him, causing her to marry another, and he commented: "Perhaps besides his fear of making her unhappy he also harbored a mystical thought about the need to *sacrifice* the dearest thing in life." He quoted what Kierke-

gaard wrote to the effect that his relationship with Regine belonged to a category other than the erotic and exclaimed spontaneously: "How deeply, to the very bottom, do *I* not understand this transformation of the amorous into the horrible."⁴⁷

In February 1906, after the climax and bloody suppression of the revolution, Medtner resigned from his government position. Ironically, this seems to have happened almost at the very moment he was appointed titular councillor. He had already been engaged as the head of the music section of the newly founded Symbolist journal *Zolotoe runo* (*The Golden Fleece*), which was financed by millionaire Nikolai Riabushinskii. In his diary he speaks of a "final nervous breakdown" at this time which parallels the crucial insight that "Kolia and I are a single inseparable whole." He notes that he now understands that marriage and his position as censor have merely been "postponements" of "*real* life and *real* activity."⁴⁸ Sympathetic and conscious of his own guilt, Nikolai declared in a letter: "I myself have experienced all your anguish and no one in the world understands you better than I."⁴⁹

A NEW CAREER

In March 1906 Medtner and Anna moved in with his parents and Nikolai in Moscow. Like Belyi, he began writing under a pseudonym, and it was also Belyi who selected it for him: Wölfing (“wolf cub”), the name Siegmund first uses in *The Valkyries*, the second part of Wagner’s tetralogy. Siegmund, a persecuted, motherless *Wälsung* in search of his origins, takes the name as the son of Wölfe (Wolf). Eventually he finds his lost twin sister Sieglinde, who gives birth to their hero son Siegfried. Belyi thought the pseudonym a natural one for Medtner.⁵ Medtner, after all, was aware of the at once chosen and doomed *Wälsung* within himself, and from the very first Belyi had perceived something lupine in his appearance. Later Medtner admitted that the mask—which he refers to, significantly, as “Siegfried’s visor”—was so important to him because it gave him freedom and courage and strength in battle, and was moreover “collective” in the sense that it also left room for Nikolai’s increasingly sophisticated musical ideas.²

Medtner’s apparent strategy at first was to attempt to neutralize and dominate Nikolai’s two major rivals, Rakhmaninov and Skriabin. In the January 1906 inauguration issue of *Zolotoe runo* “Wölfing” reviewed Rakhmaninov’s operas *The Covetous Knight* (*Skupoi rytsar*) and *Francesca da Rimini*, which had recently opened at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow under the baton of the composer himself, who had just been appointed conductor. The internationally already famous Rakhmaninov’s dual roles were a particularly bitter pill to Medtner, who declared him to be a very diligent but unimaginative composer. This “spoiled maestro who has all too early been covered with veneration,” he concludes, has bluffed his way through his operas.³ At this same time Medtner invited Skriabin to contribute articles on musical theory to *Zolotoe runo* but was refused.⁴ In the April issue Belyi followed up with a review of Nikolai’s Goethe works which strongly echoed Medtner. In his comparison he declares that Rakhmaninov is original but lacks depth and that Skriabin, although he like Nikolai Medtner “bears forth the new word” in his music, is nevertheless demandingly complex and lacks the brilliant simplicity of the latter.⁵ This combination of simplicity and technical sophistication unites Nikolai Medtner with the great German geniuses Beethoven, Schumann, and Wagner. His music promises an inextinguishable dawn of life, the joy of a new age. Here Belyi is very close to Medtner’s interpretation of his own sec-

and symphony. He emphasizes that Nikolai has bared the Nietzschean demonism concealed in Goethe's poems and brought out their magical depth.

Medtner now met several of Belyi's fellow Argonauts, including Ellis. At his parents' home in Moscow, however, he was in an acute crisis, and his Ménière's disease intensified. In early June he could take it no longer and fled abroad to take cures at sanatoria in Steiermark in Austria. This meant turning the editorship of the music section of *Zolotoe runo* over to the composer Arsenii Koreshchenko, a friend of his youth. He intended instead to continue to report to the journal on musical events in Germany. His plans for a long sojourn in Germany were now much clearer, and they centered on the journal and perhaps publishing house through which he hoped to be able to serve and direct Belyi and Russian Symbolism. Another guest at a sanatorium in Graz—ironically enough a Jewess—introduced him that summer to Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Arische Weltanschauung*, published in Berlin the previous year. Its notion of German hegemony and its militant anti-Semitism blended well with his current compensatory needs. He wrote to Anna that its "... views (based on thorough research) on race, the Semites, on the Aryans and especially on the Teutons are literally identical to my own, which are based on intuition and insignificant observation. Certain passages could have been written by me."⁶

As Belyi's relationship with the Bloks deteriorated, Medtner's misgivings about his interest in Liubov' Blok were confirmed. Belyi's plans of moving to Petersburg and uniting with the couple in a mystical triad were dashed a few months after the defeat of the revolution when Liubov' gradually and with much vacillation finally decided to repulse the intruder. The drama ended with Belyi following Medtner's earlier advice and going to Munich. At this same time the Bratenshi family was shaken by a tragedy. Anna's brother Andrei, a student of philosophy at Moscow University, committed suicide after murdering a married woman with whom he had been entangled in a complex relationship. Medtner was deeply shocked, especially in view of his own situation. It was also easy for him to associate Andrei Bratenshi with Andrei Belyi, for the latter opened up to him about his affair with the Bloks, confessing that Liubov's shifting attitudes aroused in him fantasies of murder and suicide.⁷ After a couple of months in Moscow, Medtner, feeling as though he was suffering from a bout of "typhus," finally went to Munich, arriving in December just after Belyi's departure.⁸

In Germany, the young composer Max Reger's experimental counterpoint had already brought him considerable fame. Medtner's rival critic Viacheslav Karatygin had recently invited him to Petersburg, where his performances had met with success, and he had also reviewed him in *Zo-*

lotoe runo as a revolutionary genius and a worthy heir to Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner.⁹ This modernist composer appeared all the more threatening to Medtner in view of the fact that he was both very productive and a conductor. Together with Nikolai, in January 1907 Medtner attended a recital of Reger's works in Munich that elicited a heated response in the article "Sixtus Beckmesser Redivivus," the first of a series of reports he sent to *Zolotoe runo* from Germany. There he describes "the new Bach" as empty and false.¹⁰ Reger's renowned modulation technique, he goes on, develops only the weakest side of Wagner's style. He has broken up the sonata form; his counterpoint lacks melodic and rhythmical focus. His amateurish, half-finished works are disastrously reminiscent of Sixtus Beckmesser's noisy volleys in Wagner's *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*. Beckmesser cuts a ridiculous figure in the singing contest he loses to Hans Sachs, whose professional skill is contrasted with his intriguing and bluffing. Hans Sachs represents the genuinely Teutonic, whereas Beckmesser, who is meant to suggest Wagner's "enemy," the Jewish music critic Hanslick, is a latently anti-Semitic character. Medtner's article set the tone for his subsequent reports, in which attacks on the superficiality in German musical life would become increasingly racist.

In February Medtner and Nikolai heard Richard Strauss's new opera *Salomé*, which evoked an even more vehement reaction. Strauss was another of Karatygin's favorites. He was very productive and already well established both as a representative of the new music and as a conductor (head of the Royal Opera in Berlin, he led what Medtner regarded as perhaps the best orchestra in the world). He had set *Thus Spake Zarathustra* to music, and his works had been conducted by Nikisch. Now he had brought his flair for sensual and dramatic effects to bear on Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* theme, which was very much in line with Medtner's misogyny. The theme itself would seem to suggest Medtner's reaction to his brother-in-law's tragedy: *Salomé* has John's head brought to her in a charger, after which Herod has her killed. Medtner needed time to digest his disturbing impressions of the opera. The April issue of *Zolotoe runo* carried his article "Cagliostro in Music" ("Kaliostro v muzyke"), in which he calls Strauss a musical adventurer, much like Reger despite their differences in style. Strauss, he says, shows the same impotence and lack of talent, both as a composer and conductor. His intent is doubly destructive: Medtner has heard him conduct Wagner and has the impression that he deliberately tries to weaken the effect of the music. He is a clown, a commoner, a trickster trying to pass himself off as Zarathustra. His saccharine melodies and his banality show the influence of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer (the two Jews whose success first aroused Wagner's anti-Semitism). The intensified Romantic style of *Salomé* ultimately expresses only "the sly magician's utterly undisguised derision."¹¹

Driving Medtner's diatribes in *Zolotoe runo* is his envy of Strauss' and Reger's steadily growing popularity, which merely underscored the fact that his brother had not yet been recognized by the German critics. It is not difficult to see that his polemical attacks are at the same time actually a reflection of himself, a projection of his own frustration onto his enemies. Medtner accuses Strauss and Reger of the very sense of impotence and disintegration that he bears within himself.

Paralleling Medtner, in the journal *Vesy* (*The Balance*) Belyi had inaugurated a furious polemics of his own with literary Petersburg that was ultimately aimed at his rival Blok. Symbolism had now entered its second phase, in which (concurrently with the deepening political reaction) the religious expectations from the turn of the century were degenerating into decadence and pseudomysticism. Blok himself had to a high degree confirmed Medtner's doubts by reducing the cosmic feminine principle in his poetry to a Petersburg harlot. Belyi (spurred on not least by Ellis and supported by editor-in-chief Valerii Briusov) took a line of attack against the so called mystical anarchists similar to that Medtner used against Strauss and Reger. In his philippics he argued that they were hollow and faddish, artistically impotent. Even more markedly paranoid than Medtner, he later perceived in Petersburg an infernal plot against Symbolism in the service of chaos that was related to the darkest scenes in Dostoevskii's novels. As a reaction to the debacle of his "mystery" he now steered his idea of Symbolism away from Solov'ev's theurgy toward neo-Kantian epistemology, surrounding himself more and more with cerebral Kantian abstractions upon which he based his attacks on the traitors. In his case as well, his polemical wrath was to a large extent aimed at a self-projection. He accused the Petersburg decadents of transforming the religious mystery into an erotic experiment, precisely what he himself had done in his relationship with Liubov' Blok. He lashed out at them for an ideological collapse that at bottom was his own.

Fueling Belyi's crusade were Medtner's early warnings and exhortations.¹² At the same time, however, Belyi was led by his obdurate Kantianism to attack certain of Medtner's basic ideas. In an article entitled "Protiv muzyki" ("Against Music") in the March 1907 issue of *Vesy* he declared that he no longer embraced Schopenhauer's hierarchy of the arts, in which music was supreme. Medtner replied in *Zolotoe runo* that when music failed to fulfill Belyi's theurgic expectations he found himself in the same situation as Nietzsche when he parted ways with Wagner. The reason Nietzsche was so deeply disappointed in his friend was precisely because the philosopher had so greatly idealized him that he expected actual miracles to take place on the Bayreuth stage.¹³ Belyi responded in a critical letter to the editor that Riabushinskii refused to publish. *Zolotoe*

runo thereby also became involved in Belyi's "war," and it took some diplomacy to avoid a serious conflict with Medtner.¹⁴

At about this time, Belyi completed his fourth symphony, which at publication a year later was called *A Goblet of Snowstorms* (*Kubok mete-lei*). Both formally and thematically, the symphony is deeply influenced by Medtner, and he in fact held it in high esteem. As for Belyi, he calls it an overly ambitious and therefore unsuccessful attempt to transfer a Wagnerian contrapuntal and leitmotif technique to prose; here the polemical doubts he raises on the leading role of music are much in evidence.¹⁵ In his foreword Belyi declares that he has attempted to establish a connection with Goethe's presentiments of love as a religious mystery, while at the same time he demonstratively disassociates himself from contemporary "prophets of eroticism" and charlatans.¹⁶ The essential material for the symphony was drawn from his experiences with the Bloks in Petersburg. Not without reason he dedicated it (besides to Zinaida Hippus) to Nikolai Medtner, who "inspired" its theme. Its Dionysian blizzard symbolism owes much to Nikolai's compositions based on Lermontov's "The Blizzard Howls" ("Metel' shumit") in *Stimmungsbilder* and on Pushkin's "Winter Evening" ("Zimnii vecher"), two works that seem to reflect the two phases in his relationship with Anna.

Soon Anna was again carrying Nikolai's child, and the prospect of giving birth aroused the same anguish as in 1904. Medtner perceived a special connection between her despair and acute nausea and his own Ménière's disease, further associating their shared "seasickness" with Wagner's *The Flying Dutchman*, which they had recently seen at the opera.¹⁷ As on the earlier occasion, he now traveled with Anna and Nikolai to Weimar to bolster his spirits in Goethe's milieu and deepen his contacts with Förster-Nietzsche and Gast. Late in the summer he visited the Wagner festival in Munich, eventually reporting on the event in articles designed as pedagogical reviews of Wagner's operas.¹⁸ Nikolai prepared some projected autumn concerts. He had already completed a series of new compositions to works by Goethe.¹⁹ In September he finished the music to Belyi's poem "He Believed the Golden Glitter" ("Zolotomu blesku veril").²⁰ Belyi's poem, written in Paris early in the year and still unpublished, expressed his disillusionment after the personal drama in Petersburg, his feeling of inner death after the solar ecstasies of the turn of the century. Symbolically enough, it was dedicated to Nina Petrovskaja, whereupon Nikolai decided to dedicate his own work to Morozova. In early October Nikolai went to Dresden, where a few days later he was overtaken by the same alarming news as three years previously. Soon Anna gave birth to another stillborn baby. The tragedy had repeated itself, and once again shame and sorrow bound the triad together.

In late October Nikolai participated in a concert in Berlin conducted by Sergei Kusevitskii. Only 33 at the time, Kusevitskii was already recognized as the best double bass player in the world, and he had performed with the Bolshoi Theater under Rakhmaninov and others. He was now embarking upon a career as a conductor himself, taking Nikisch as his model. He was Jewish and therefore also a threat to Medtner, although the latter realized he could be used to strengthen Nikolai's position. Nikolai went on in November to give three concerts of his own material in Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden. The critics were generally rather reserved. It was noted, for example, that he brought something Slavic to Goethe's poetry and that his sonata form displayed some originality, but that the harmony, rhythmic "frills," and dissonance were overdeveloped, destroying the lyricism of the pieces.²¹ It was a shock to Medtner to see his brother accused of being a subversive modernist. The trio stayed another month in Weimar before returning home at the end of the year. During this period Medtner wrote a second article entitled "Modernism and Music" ("Modernizm i muzyka") which took the form of a combined attack on Strauss, Reger, and the "corrupt" German music critics. There he declares that "deformity" is contaminating pure music in Germany. Few composers adhere any longer to time and tonality. Instead, dissonance is intensified to the point where music becomes a mere "heap of sounds" indistinguishable from ordinary noise. The two "anti-Teutonic Supergermans" Strauss and Reger lead the devastation.²² They are plagiarists busily destroying music who have surrounded themselves with the most unprincipled publicity. In reality they have concluded secret agreements with the critics. German musical life is sick, and the musical stage needs radical reform if it is to be cleansed of the dangerous contagion.

Medtner returned with notions of another trip to Germany. In Dresden Nikolai had taken up with Hedwig Friedrich, a young woman very involved in music whom he and Anna had met in January 1905. She had fallen in love with him, unaware that he was having an affair with his sister-in-law. Medtner as well had begun paying attention to her, and his interest was not diminished by the fact that she had just inherited a fortune. As things stood, there was every reason for Medtner to encourage his brother's relationship with her, not least in view of his own plans for starting a publishing house. Immediately after their return at the turn of the year Medtner met Belyi again in Moscow at a lecture delivered by the poet in which he spoke of the Zarathustrian Nietzsche as a modern Christ who had been crucified together with his revolutionary teaching.²³

A month later, Medtner attended Rakhmaninov's presentation of his newly written Second symphony, his thus far most monumental and nationalistic work. It is evident from Medtner's review in *Zolotoe runo* that Rakhmaninov made a strong impression, but it is shrugged off as due to

his wondrous skill as a conductor. As an artist, Rakhmaninov displays a boldness that borders on despotism: he relishes power and is capable of leading his listeners wherever he wants against their will. This time Medtner could not defend himself against Rakhmaninov's spiritual "demonism."²⁴ The review is of interest in that it so clearly demonstrates that Medtner's relationship with music—centering as it does on his obsession with conducting—was in substance a question of *power*.

In the spring of 1908 Medtner drew closer to Margarita Morozova. His identification with Belyi led him to assume the poet's sublimated infatuation with her, thus repeating the pattern with Nikolai and Anna. In reality, Medtner appears to have been almost incapable of involvement with women unless his "fraternal rival" was at his side. These triangles (which were also typical of the time) were reproduced continually. He was at the same time interested in Morozova for the crasser reason that she was a potential financier for his planned publishing house and journal. To him she remained "Fairy-Tale" from the dawn atmosphere of Belyi's second symphony. As for Morozova, she admired him and reinforced his belief in his cultural mission.²⁵ Belyi describes in his memoirs how he, Medtner, and Morozova formed a new trio in the wake of his abortive Petersburg experiment. Things went so far that at times he absentmindedly confused the other members of the triangle, addressing Morozova as Medtner.²⁶ On the other hand, he emphasizes that like other trios to which he belonged (for example, with Medtner and Ellis), this one was forcefully directed by Medtner. Even more than before, Medtner now served as his confessor and mentor, a "sparkling" interlocutor who soon assumed an "all too great" significance in his life.²⁷ Once again Medtner showed Belyi how he had repeated the emotional excesses of the Jena Romantics and held up Goethe to him as a model.²⁸

Medtner was again living at his parents' with Anna and Nikolai. Their uncertainty about the future was as great as ever. He was often in the company of writers, artists, and composers at the Society of Free Aesthetics (*Obschestvo svobodnoi estetiki*), one of the most important Symbolist strongholds. He met the religious philosophers in the Symbolist periphery at the Religious-Philosophical Society (*Religiozno-filosofskoe Obshchestvo*) quartered in Morozova's patrician villa in central Moscow. He was surrounded by creative individuals—the role of conductor in Belyi's life gave no relief from his sense of frustration. During the fall Belyi developed a cautious interest in theosophy. He read Elena Blavatskaia and certain works by Rudolf Steiner. This was not least a reaction to the Kantian cerebralism that threatened to encase him in purely intellectual armor. Medtner, who had always warned of unbridled mysticism, had no effective defense against the temptations of these esoteric spiritual creeds. Finally, he saw but one way out of the painful daily deceit that he, Anna,

and Nikolai were forced to perpetrate upon everyone including their own parents. Again, this time alone, he must travel to his “spiritual homeland.” In November he went to Berlin, intending to study philosophy and Germanic philology in the vague hope of laying a foundation for a new career. Nothing came of these plans, however; instead, despite his declared anti-psychologism, he was attracted more and more strongly to psychology. With highly ambivalent feelings, he attended lectures by (Jewish) art theorist and philosopher Max Dessoir, who had long been interested in unconscious psychic processes. He also went to Rudolf Steiner’s lectures at the Theosophical Lodge and met Steiner personally, but most of what he heard here he found repugnant.²⁹ Now, isolated from Anna and Nikolai, he seemed to be staring the disaster of his life straight in the eye.

During this sojourn in Berlin Medtner appears to have read Chamberlain’s works on Wagner and his *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (1899). As he himself noted, the similarities to his own ideas were striking, and it is with some justification that Belyi states in his memoirs that Medtner anticipated Chamberlain in Russia, independently developing some of the leading theses in the latter’s book.³⁰ From the same point of departure as Wagner’s militant Germanism and racial mythology Chamberlain declared the Jews to be the mortal enemies of Aryan culture. History as he saw it was an ongoing racial conflict which was now approaching the decisive struggle between Teutonic and Jewish blood. The Germans had created the central cultural values of the West and had by dint of their genius been chosen for world hegemony. Now, however, Semitic infiltration and racial mixing threatened to raze everything they had built up. The Catholic French also served the interests of anti-Germanism. According to Chamberlain, the cultural role of the Jews was sterile, for they had been born with no sense whatever of the spiritual and eternal.

Chamberlain’s life and personality display some remarkable parallels to Medtner’s. In him, the English immigrant’s unqualified admiration of all things Germanic was coupled with contempt for his own origins. In his youth (he was fifteen years older than Medtner) he had suffered a nervous breakdown that interrupted his studies for some time. He very painfully broke off his first marriage with a woman who may have been Jewish.³¹ The *Ring of the Nibelung* he heard performed in Bayreuth in 1878 (while Wagner was still alive) exerted a decisive influence on him. The most powerful impression was made by *Parsifal* and its notion of a Christian-Germanic renaissance when this “testament” of Wagner’s was first given in Bayreuth in 1882. His fanatic Wagnerianism—combined to an extent with his cult of Goethe—had nourished an hysterically exorbitant lust for grandeur that was ultimately rooted in feelings of inferiority. His hatred of the Jews, which solidified in the course of four years he spent

in Dresden in the 1880s, seems to have been fueled by his fear of contagion. As he was writing *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts* he sensed he was being chased by inner demons from which only writing offered a temporary refuge.³² His identification with Wagner went so far that in 1908, after having managed the Wagner festival for quite some time, he married Wagner's daughter. In 1909 he settled down in Bayreuth.

From now on Medtner began to speak the language of racial struggle and bloody strife. In the article "The Musical Stage" ("Estrada"), written mainly in December 1908, he declares that the Jews have transformed musical life in Berlin into commerce and industry. They have produced a horde of coquettish little *Wunderkinder* whose empty instrumental showpieces are touted by hired reviewers. The stage has therefore come more and more to resemble the circus and vaudeville. Berlin is the capital of the German Empire, and yet time and again the first Jewboy from Lodz who comes along has the critics chanting away about art that knows no boundaries. They would react differently if a genuinely Teutonic artist, an heir of Brahms or Wagner, were to arrive from, say, Livonia, and perform on the stage: he would quickly be rejected as an alien. Medtner argues that the only reason Jews are successful musicians is that they are raised on musical instruments and so many of them are occupied with music. The Jews are ultimately barbarians who belong to the past; with their Asiatic cultural background they can achieve virtuosity, but they can never penetrate the essence of true—Teutonic—musical art. This is a question not of the creative impotence of individuals, but of the sterility of an entire people. They are and will remain soloists; they can never become composers. Day by day, an alien musical army is quietly Judaizing European music. The Jewish composer and conductor Gustav Mahler stole motifs from Beethoven and is praised for it. Little by little all sense of the genuine, the darkly inaccessible, is being erased from the great German tradition. The Jews have conquered the musical stage and mixed the Jewish and the German to the point where German originality risks being lost. According to what Medtner is apparently amazed to learn, neither Strauss nor Reger are Jews, yet it is clear that their careers could only have arisen in the age of the Jewish spirit of publicity and virtuosity. It is urgent that new conditions be created for German musical life. The notion of the musical stage must be refreshed, and the two races should be separated. The Jews have won thanks to their stamina and will-power; now the Germans must overcome the characteristic phlegm and passivity noted by Wagner and finally offer them resistance.³³

Thus Medtner portrays the Jews as aggressive invaders. Vicariously through Nikolai, they have outmaneuvered him and excluded him from German musical life. They as well, of course, are from the East and have roots in the Russian Empire (Lodz). They are alien Asiatic elements, how-

ever, whereas he through Nikolai is a genuine Teuton from Balto-German Livonia (where his father was born and was still registered).³⁴ They have simply managed to turn things upside down. These Jews were in reality his mirror images, malevolent doubles onto which he projected his own destructive emptiness. Ultimately his fury issued from his secret envy of his brother and the anxiety generated by his voluntary deference to Nikolai's (and Belyi's) genius. Nikolai crowded him out both at the piano (as he openly admitted in his Nizhnii Novgorod diary) and in his marriage, much as the Jews have eliminated the true Teutons from the musical stage. Just like these *Wunderkinder*, most of whom were about the same age as Nikolai when he began to play in the children's orchestra, Nikolai grew up on the piano and the violin, and his talent was pampered by the entire family from the very beginning.

In Moscow, Belyi wrote a letter in verse, "To E.K. Medtner" ("E. K. Metneru"), published in the collection *Um (Uma)* in 1909, in which he recalled the early phase of his fellowship with his "ancient friend" and its accompanying intoxicating blizzards and glowing dusks. He remembered the portrait of Goethe on the wall of the Metners' home and the strains of Nikolai's Sonata in F-minor from the next room, and he urges his friend not to abandon faith in the eventual resurrection of their "golden youth."³⁵ In Berlin, Medtner was in turn working on his friendship with Belyi, albeit in a different manner. He was writing a foreword to Nietzsche's article "Richard Wagner in Bayreuth" that was to be included in a projected Russian edition of Nietzsche's collected works. This essay shows that his study of psychology had perhaps yielded results, for it seems to contain a germ of self-knowledge.³⁶ He lived, after all, with Nietzsche and the riddle of Nietzsche's psyche, convinced early on that here he would find the solution to his own problems. He seems to have proceeded from the notion that the "tragedy" of Nietzsche's friendship with Wagner was the ultimate cause of the philosopher's illness, and that this illness was also closely connected—as, historically speaking, indeed it was—with his solitary immersion in *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. Here Medtner evidently read Belyi into Wagner, the boundlessly productive, original object of Nietzsche's excessive admiration. The tension between Belyi and Medtner lay the whole time just beneath the surface. In 1907 it came out in the open, and Medtner, albeit in a different key, had immediately made associations to the break between Nietzsche and Wagner. Vaguely sensing what would eventually happen between him and Belyi, in his foreword he attempts to explain why Nietzsche's exalted friendship with Wagner was fated to end in crisis. No fewer than eight times in this context he characterizes Nietzsche as a double (split) personality, emphasizing how this duality steadily intensified during his relationship with Wagner. He mentions explicitly Nietzsche's "envy" of Wagner and maintains that Nietzsche saw a more

splendid and idealized version of himself in the composer. As Nietzsche himself described it in one of his aphorisms, this was how Plato had enviously regarded Socrates. Nietzsche has also admitted, notes Medtner, that in Wagner's music he was searching for the Dionysianism that resounded in his own soul. Much as Medtner and Belyi, Nietzsche and Wagner were united by their childhood experiences and their "symphonic intelligence." Peculiar to Nietzsche was the ability "himself to recognize and to force others to perceive the incarnation of his idea in real persons past or present."³⁷ It could hardly be stated better of Medtner himself. After finishing his essay, in March 1909 he returned home via Weimar, where he made his obligatory visit to the Goethe-Schiller and Nietzsche archives.³⁸

Skriabin had returned to Moscow after several years abroad. Morozova soon saw to it that he and Belyi met in Medtner's presence at her home. She had hopes that the two men would establish a deeper relationship, for there were many points in common in the cosmic awareness that nourished their art. Skriabin, whose interest in Blavatskaia's theosophy had preceded Belyi's, had just triumphed at the Moscow Conservatory with his newly written *Poème de l'Extase*. Their acquaintanceship, however, proved a failure, and it is not difficult to conclude that the main obstacle was Medtner, who was antipathetic to Skriabin both as a critically acclaimed mystic and as a rival for Morozova.³⁹ To Medtner's great satisfaction, Skriabin had a falling out with Morozova shortly after this meeting.

From now on it was Sergei Kusevitskii who became Skriabin's patron. Kusevitskii had married into one of Moscow's richest merchant families and was planning to establish his own touring symphony to complement Russian Music Publishers (Russkoe Muzykal'noe Izdatel'stvo), the publishing house he was starting in Berlin to support the new music. He wanted to make Skriabin's musical experiments the center of these paired activities. That spring, Medtner helped secure Nikolai a position on the "council" of the company, which also included Skriabin and was to be headed by Rakhmaninov. In the fall, Nikolai and his cousin Aleksandr Goedicke were offered professorships at Moscow Conservatory, and Nikolai with some hesitation accepted. Medtner's intent was to build up stable platforms for both Nikolai and Belyi. He dreamed of playing the same role in Belyi's life that Kusevitskii was creating for himself in that of Skriabin.⁴⁰ To aid him here, he counted on Hedwig Friedrich, whom he had met in Berlin and had briefly glimpsed upon returning to Moscow, where she was visiting relatives.

Belyi worked during the spring on his first major novel, *The Silver Dove* (*Serebrianyi golub'*), which he had been planning for some time. In April he became acquainted with the artist Anna (Asia) Turgeneva, barely nineteen, on whom he cautiously began pinning his hopes. He met her at the

so called "Maison de Lied" ("Dom pesni"), which had been managed for the past six months by Asia's mother's cousin, the singer Mar'ia Olenina and her husband Petr d'Alheim, a music critic of French descent. Maison de Lied was established to further the art of the romance and folk song. It was situated opposite the Medtner home, and considering its ties to French culture, it was bound to meet with Medtner's disapproval. Medtner had by this time become acquainted with theosophist Anna Mintslova, upon whom Belyi had become more and more dependent as work on his novel progressed. Mintslova had been Rudolf Steiner's Russian "emissary," and her teaching was still deeply influenced by what she had learned from him. As Belyi mentions in retrospect, her almost hypnotic intensity and obvious psychic imbalance lent her a certain resemblance to Elena Blavatskaia herself.⁴¹ With her assistance, Belyi immersed himself in occult magic, astrology, and the Cabala. She already occupied a place in the life of his Symbolist colleague Viacheslav Ivanov, and it was in fact in Ivanov's Petersburg "tower" that he had come into closer contact with her earlier that year. She reinforced not least his sense of election as she suggested founding a secret Rosicrucian order led by Belyi and Ivanov to defend against the threat of Oriental forces in Russia. Medtner, who was anti-theosophic on principle, found himself (like Belyi, Ellis, and Aleksei Petrovskii) attracted to her, for she skillfully played also on his (and Nikolai's) sense of mission.

Belyi was still writing *The Silver Dove* as it appeared in installments in *Vesy*. The protagonist is the young Symbolist Petr Dar'ial'skii, whose heady contemplation of dawns and dusks draws him into the orgiastic rituals of an Orientaly influenced Khlyst sect. He believes he has been called to impregnate the "Virgin" of the sect with the modern Messiah, in whom he senses his own reincarnation. Underlying this entire web of intrigue are Medtner's warnings against the emotional aberration of Romanticism and the degeneration of mysticism into eroticism, and his surveys in Nizhnii Novgorod of the sectarianism and decadent "Khlystism" into which he felt (especially Blok's) Symbolism was in danger of lapsing. Instead of heeding his advice, Belyi had followed Blok and played out his "Petersburg mystery" in precisely the direction Medtner had warned against, a direction the "mystical anarchists" soon would claim as their own. To counterbalance the overheated eroticism centering on the "Virgin" Matrena (who bears a resemblance to Liubov' Blok),⁴² Belyi sets as an alternative for his hero the reserved aristocratic girl Katia. She is based on Asia Turgeneva, and in this way the various temporal planes in the autobiographical background to the novel become interwoven.

Late in the spring Medtner's parents finally learned about the realities of his marriage. The false facade could no longer be maintained as Nikolai and Anna went on their first trip abroad on their own, to Marstrand

in Sweden. There Nikolai took the waters and worked on new compositions based on Goethe's poetry and on Nietzsche.⁴³ In July he and Anna joined Medtner in Pillnitz near Dresden, where they stayed with Hedwig Friedrich's. Friedrich had understood that it was not Nikolai but his brother who was free, and Medtner was already successfully working on her, persuading her to donate a large sum toward founding a publishing house in Moscow that was expressly intended to further a rapprochement between Russian and German culture. Medtner Slavicized her name to "Iadviga." As for her, she was well aware of his recurrent ideas of emigrating, and she hoped through the publishing project eventually to entice him to settle for good in Germany. With an allusion to his Wagnerian pseudonym, Medtner had her call him "Wolf." She suffered from migraine and was still excessively attached to her mother.

Apparently to please Medtner, that summer Belyi wrote an article entitled "Stamped Culture" ("Shtempelevannaia kul'tura"). It appeared in the September issue of *Vesy*, and it indicates that Belyi had been deeply impressed by the racist arguments in "The Musical Stage." In fact, it transfers to Russian literary life Medtner's account of the racial struggle in the Berlin musical world. Jewish critics and publishers have transformed culture into a stock market and a bazaar, Belyi declares. It is these cosmopolitans who now dictate conditions to Russian writers. They consistently seek to Judaize and censure spiritual and national values and shrink the creative genius of Russia. The result is the same as when the "full-blooded *Aryan*" Nietzsche was once ignored into silence in Germany.⁴⁴

MUSAGETES

In the early fall of 1909 Medtner informed Belyi from Pillnitz that his publishing project would soon become a reality. Symbolism was already in a crisis at the time, and its two leading journals, *Vesy* and *Zolotoe runo*, were both about to discontinue publication. The new house was named Musagetes after Apollo, the leader of the muses, whose likeness also became its emblem. Medtner had decided beforehand that the name would be given either to the publishing house or to the journal he was planning. Apollo was the god not only of prophecy and music, but also of sunlight and medicine. To Medtner, he recalled Goethe in that his protection of the arts was coupled with a concern for human ethical development. Exemplifying the Nietzschean view of culture in *The Birth of Tragedy*, Goethe had overcome the Romantic-Dionysian element within himself and had risen to Apollonian lucidity. Through his art he had succeeded in subduing the Kantian conflict between subject and object. To Medtner the goal of the house was clear: to elevate Russian literature in the spirit of Goethe to Apollonian maturity, to curb Dionysian modernism and pave the way for a new, “organic” culture, to mould the Russian Symbolists into Germans. Through Musagetes he now quite literally began collaborating with Germany, establishing a Russian filial publication of the German journal *Logos*, which included several prominent philosophers among its editors and was to begin publication the following year. Medtner’s “organic” cultural ambition was to some extent in keeping with the spirit of the period: the central figures of Symbolism—Belyi, Blok, and Ivanov—were moving toward a more traditionalist, synthesizing phase of recovery after the excesses that followed upon the mystical expectations at the turn of the century.

Medtner returned to Russia from Pillnitz via Weimar, where he as usual visited the Goethe-Schiller and Nietzsche archives, and he now invited Peter Gast to collaborate on the journal he was planning in conjunction with Musagetes.¹ After his arrival a series of founding meetings were held in the rented editorial offices. All of Moscow Symbolism around Belyi had been recruited to Musagetes, and the original circle of Argonauts was thus revived in a broadened realization of Medtner’s notion of new collective constellations. A telling passage in Belyi’s memoirs describes the publishing house as an orchestra conducted by Medtner and with Belyi, Ellis, the philosopher Gustav Spett, Hellenist Vladimir Nieländer, and Grigorii

Rachinskii on various key instruments.² Rachinskii, who had a broad philosophical, theological, and literary background, had figured variously in Moscow Symbolist circles, currently serving as the chairman of the Religious-Philosophical Society.³ He was also among the publishers of the edition of Nietzsche's collected works, which had begun appearing with Moscow Book Publishers (Moskovskoe Knigoizdatel'stvo); Medtner was on the editorial committee. First to appear was volume two, containing *Untimely Thoughts* and the sketch "Richard Wagner in Bayreuth" with Medtner's foreword; like the other volumes in the series, it carried Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche's introductory and concluding commentaries from the German edition of Nietzsche's collected works. Facing what seemed to be the fulfillment of his mission in life put Medtner under considerable strain. Belyi had sensed it the moment his friend returned to Moscow, and his impression was intensified by the fact that now for the first time he had become directly dependent upon Medtner.

Belyi's memoirs eloquently describe the change that had taken place in Medtner's appearance and manners:

What happened to those long locks? His bald spot with its clearly visible ridges gave his face an expression of obstinacy; his once green eyes had become hard little eyes; his flickering, very soft smile had become sarcastic, expectant, ready to burst into a wild guffaw or to vanish altogether in his compressed, stubborn lips; and then, his nostrils flared; a sudden wrinkle creased his tensed forehead; the elasticity had also disappeared from his springy movements and been replaced by the precise force of legs thrown out in front of him or a hand slashing with a pencil; his other hand flew up higher than his waist and was clenched at his side; settling back, he argued clamorously and strenuously: Karatygin's musical criticism must be torn out by the roots; and suddenly he began rushing from wall to wall, choking as he actually screamed out gibberish to the effect that culture was in flames; eyes to the floor, his hand thrust at the ceiling; it was clear: a fanatic!⁴

Medtner became more and more openly despotic in his ambition of guiding Belyi into the "arteries of Indo-Germanic culture." Belyi realized more clearly than ever that Medtner was setting him and Nikolai on "a pedestal," that he was attempting to make them "the way he wanted us," that he was quite simply trying to transform them into "his idea of Germans."⁵

Medtner's fanaticism led him to interpret Moscow reality through the prism of Wagnerian myth, with Belyi as Siegfried. Maison de Lied, where the d'Alheims arranged not only concerts but also courses and seminars, he regarded as a hostile bridgehead in Moscow, reading into d'Alheim features of both the evil wizard Klingsor (in *Parsifal*) and Siegfried's slayer Hagen.⁶ Actually, there seemed to be a certain interplay here between Medtner's paranoid tendencies and similar traits in d'Alheim's personality (which would later develop into mental illness). It was a fact that

Medtner's rival music critic had just had a falling out with Nikolai, who like Belyi had actively participated in Maison de Lied's program. Besides French musical culture, Maison de Lied promoted Liszt and Musorgskii. To Medtner, the former was a decadent precursor of Strauss and Reger comparable to Mime, the dwarf who sent the dragon Fafner against Siegfried, and the latter was an unbridled Russian barbarian of Dostoevskii's ilk.⁷ D'Alheim was versed in various mystical doctrines. In his concert programs he had displayed a marked interest in Jewish folk music, and this appears to have confirmed Medtner's notion about the "Judaism" of French musical life. He gave Belyi to understand that contact with d'Alheim could prove "disastrous," and that Turgeneva (to whom d'Alheim had practically been a stepfather after her own father's untimely death) was not at all the partner Belyi needed. Turgeneva, Medtner declared, was connected with a superficial French Catholic culture that belonged to the past. Significantly, in his reports from Germany he had also described the Jews' exercise of power as pluperfect.⁸ "Goethe would not have encouraged you in this," Belyi recalls him emphasizing.⁹ For the final issue of *Zolotoe runo* he composed an article in which he attempted to demonstrate the corrosive effect Maison de Lied had had on the position of "musical Germanism" in Moscow. There he notes that "the two acculturated German Jews Meyerbeer and Offenbach" set the tone for Parisian opera and operetta. Not surprisingly, at Maison de Lied he found "a deficient faith in the triumph of the Aryan principle" in the racial struggle.¹⁰

Belyi now provided his major theoretical works with detailed notes and collected them in a volume entitled *Symbolism (Simvolizm)* intended as a programmatic statement for Musagetes. In "The Emblematics of Meaning" ("Emblematika smysla"), a new article he wrote for the volume, he attempted to address the Kantian question. Following Kant, he distinguishes here between theoretical and practical, ethically contingent reason. In opposition to Kant, however, he argues that it is possible to attain knowledge of a transcendent reality on the basis of practical reason. Toward the end of the year he also completed *The Silver Dove*, concluding it with Dar'ial'skii's destruction in the diabolical toils of the Khlyst sectarians. Prior to this he had had a learned theosophist with the Germanic name Schmidt interpret the hero's fate on the basis of the Cabala, astrology, and occult sciences. Schmidt had unsuccessfully tried to entice Dar'ial'skii to follow him abroad so that he and his brother theosophists could save him from the dangers surrounding him. Like everyone close to him in Moscow, Belyi was attracted to German theosophy just now, and there are echoes of Rudolf Steiner in Schmidt.¹¹ This happened at about the same time that Medtner, describing Steiner to Ellis on the basis of his own conversations with him, dismissed him as a philosophically naive "monist" (who, that is to say, had not taken Kant seriously), a man so pre-

tentiously banal that "Goethe surely would not have wanted to know him."¹² Medtner found Belyi's novel generally difficult to accept. It was too open to chaos, too ambivalent in its attitude toward the murky charm that the Khlyst sect held for Dar'ial'skii. The truth of the matter was that Belyi was still under the suggestion of his "Petersburg mystery." In brief, the novel aroused in Medtner the same kind of anxiety as his reading of Dostoevskii.

In February 1910 Nikolai went to Petersburg with Anna and Medtner to perform concerts of his own works. There Medtner again ran across Mintslova, and Belyi was also on hand in Ivanov's "tower." Medtner moved into the "tower" for a few days and conversed long into the night with his host. He was successfully persuading Ivanov, the other great theorist of Symbolism, to work for Musagetes. One of the central notions in Ivanov's theory of symbols was his union of Hellenistic and Christian; in the rebirth of the suffering god in the ancient Greek Dionysian Mysteries he saw a foreshadowing of the resurrection of the crucified Christ. He was strongly oriented toward German culture in general and Nietzsche, of course, in particular, and he had also been deeply influenced by Vladimir Solov'ev. He and Medtner seem even at this early stage to have discussed publishing in book form his central study *The Religion of the Suffering God (Religiia stradaiushchego boga)*, which thus far had only appeared in journal installments.¹³

Through Mintslova Medtner met Margarita Sabashnikova, an artist who was formally married to the poet (and fellow artist) Maksimilian Voloshin. In the autumn of 1906 she had participated in a mystical and erotic communal experiment at the "tower" together with Ivanov and his wife. Now she had a studio in Petersburg where she housed Mintslova, whose theosophy had exerted an early influence on her. In certain respects she resembled Hedwig Friedrich: like her, she came from a wealthy family (the famous Moscow publishers), and she had the same uncertain and searching nature. She herself has admitted how attracted she was to Medtner: "I have never met anyone who despite training in philosophy could live cultural history with such subjective passion as he. He would rush back and forth through the room like a madman, brimming with hatred for some historical figure who lived 2000 years ago." She claims that, glancing at Belyi, he turned to her and said: "People have demanded I give my publishing house a motto; Belyi's genius is my motto, my banner."¹⁴ Sabashnikova immediately painted Medtner's portrait, which was soon included in Morozova's collections. Ivanov had already led her toward Goethe, so she quickly understood Medtner's Goethe-syndrome and even thought she perceived in him an external resemblance to the writer.¹⁵

Musagetes began publishing that spring with Belyi's *Symbolism*; somewhat later it was followed by Ellis's essay collection *Russian Symbolists*

(*Russkie simvolisty*), which portrayed Belyi in a messianic light.¹⁶ Parallel with Musagetes, Morozova (who, incidentally, contributed financially to Medtner's publishing activities) also founded a house called The Way (Put'), which displayed the same patriotic and Solov'evian profile as the Religious-Philosophical Society. Belyi, of course, was attracted to what The Way, as opposed to Musagetes, could offer.

In June Medtner attempted to persuade Sabashnikova to accompany him to a series of lectures Steiner was about to hold in Kristiania on the theme "Die Mission einzelner Volksseelen in Zusammenhange mit dem germanisch-nordischen Mythologie." He wanted once again to test Steiner, who had become increasingly important among those in his immediate entourage. Sabashnikova was unable to go, however, so these plans never materialized. Medtner, Anna, and Nikolai spent part of the summer in Brittany, continuing on from there to Pillnitz. In early October Medtner went on to Zurich, where he finally met up with Sabashnikova. She told him that she had just shown his portrait and a sample of his handwriting to Rudolf Steiner, who declared that Medtner needed inner peace and theosophical training.¹⁷ Medtner and Sabashnikova now traveled through the Splügen Pass to Italy, following Goethe's itinerary and reading his *Italian Journey* on the way. They visited Perugia, Bologna, Rome, and Florence. Their final destination was Assisi, where Mintslova (who had recently disappeared without a trace) had implied there was a secret Rosicrucian center that looked toward Russia.¹⁸ Medtner thought that Sabashnikova's paintings were works of "genius." In a letter to Anna he wished he could have loved her despite her artist's egotism.¹⁹

Just before his trip with Sabashnikova Medtner had received a letter from Belyi informing him that Sabashnikova's fellow artist Asia Turgeneva was to be regarded more or less as his fiancée. "Take Asia to your soul," Belyi implored, "as you once for some reason took me." He went on to express his hope that in the future the three of them would become "a single family."²⁰ Here he was trying to soften the blow, which was powerful nevertheless. Medtner viewed Belyi's relationship with Turgeneva as utterly unacceptable. He could not conceal his jealousy. Somewhat later he learned that Belyi and Turgeneva were themselves planning to come to Italy on what was in fact an informal honeymoon. He had already been struck by one disappointment when Nikolai abandoned his professorship because it burdened him with onerous duties and left him little time for composing, and now Belyi's journey seemed like nothing but a betrayal. He was naturally unable, therefore, to muster interest in the travel notes that Belyi promised as a means of financing the trip. Also, *Logos* made demands on his time. He ran the journal together with the editorial board, which consisted of two young neo-Kantian philosophers trained at German universities: Sergei Hessen and Fedor Steppun.²¹ He devoted less

attention to another subsidiary project, the publication of mystical religious literature under the emblem Orpheus (Orfei) (for which Sabashnikova had been engaged to translate sermons and meditations by Meister Eckehart).²²

Under these circumstances, Belyi spent more and more time on his circle in Musagetes for the study of Russian verse rhythm and prosody and, to some extent, on Young Musagetes (Molodoi Musaget), a literary studio for young people started by Ellis. The grayish-green walls of Musagetes, which resembled those of official tsarist institutions, soon seemed to him a bureaucratic civil service department in which Medtner held tyrannical official audiences beneath Goethe's portrait.²³ More emphatically than ever, Medtner warned Belyi that living with Turgeneva threatened to split him, and he accused him of shirking his mission and betraying himself. Medtner struggled desperately to retain his waning power over him; it is significant that this same year, as a member of the editorial committee for Nietzsche's collected works, Medtner was involved with the publication of *The Will to Power* in Russian. When he then evaded paying the advance on the travel sketches to which Belyi thought he was entitled as a matter of course, Musagetes, and with it all Moscow, soon became for Belyi a "prison" from which he and Turgeneva must immediately "flee."²⁴

Before Belyi and Turgeneva finally left in December, he held a lecture entitled "The Tragedy of Creation in Dostoevskii" ("Tragediia tvorchestva u Dostoevskogo") at the Religious-Philosophical Society. As he later revealed, it was actually a ritual message to Medtner.²⁵ Because of the anxieties that Dostoevskii aroused in him, however, Medtner was not even present to hear it. In this lecture, Belyi abandoned his earlier efforts to steer Symbolism away from the "diseased" labyrinths of the soul explored by Dostoevskii and instead moved toward his great predecessor and the entire national literary tradition; it was not for nothing that the forum for his talk was the circle around *The Way* at Morozova's. Although the lecture strongly reflects ideas he learned from Medtner, it also proceeds beyond his mentor. Illustrating his thesis with the examples of Gogol', Dostoevskii, and Tolstoi, Belyi states that the artist-genius undergoes three phases of creative activity. The final stage, in which life and art engage in a duel with each other, represents an aspiration to synthesize the two earlier experiences of romantic ecstasy and classical contemplation. Dostoevskii sensed his alliance with the soul of the Russian people, but at the same time there was an abysmal split within him. As he was writing *The Brothers Karamazov* he attempted finally to integrate art and life, to incarnate his dream of resurrection. Starets Zosima delivers his tidings of the *sun* and *joy* of spiritual perfection; here Belyi is alluding to the emphasis Medtner laid on the two central symbols in his second symphony.²⁶ Dostoev-

skii ultimately failed in his theurgical mission and took refuge in death with his work uncompleted. Nietzsche similarly went astray, a victim of his own duality, after writing *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, the “bomb” he threw.²⁷ What the Symbolists had to do now was to take note of the experience that their generation and Dostoevskii had in common and admit that the split within them bordered on emotional collapse; undaunted by Dostoevskii’s tragedy, they must try to continue where he failed. Perhaps, Belyi summarizes in a lavishly improvised introduction occasioned by Lev Tolstoi’s famous flight from Iasnaia Poliana the day before the lecture, Tolstoi has now suddenly shown a way out of the artist’s dilemma; perhaps he is the first to resolve the conflict between art and life. This lecture was of great theoretical significance to Belyi, for it represented his comment on the continuing crisis of Symbolism, and he had for that reason especially invited Blok to attend it. At bottom it was a challenge to Medtner’s control of his writing, the first rebellion against his “ancient friend.”

Medtner took advantage of Blok’s visit to Moscow to make the acquaintance of the poet. Blok owed him a certain debt of gratitude, since it was Medtner, urged on by Belyi, who had allowed Blok’s debut work *Verses on the Beautiful Lady* (*Stikhi o prekrasnoi dame*) to clear the censorship in Nizhnii Novgorod in 1904. Now Medtner attempted to tie him to Musagetes through a contract for the publication of his collected works in three volumes. He followed up this preliminary contact a few weeks later, traveling to Petersburg to secure Blok’s and Ivanov’s entry into the Musagetes circle. Thus all three major Symbolists were now associated with the publishing house. At the same time, Medtner pursued his old dream of a journal, setting the stage for a regularly appearing publication to which Belyi, Blok, and Ivanov would be the main contributors.

THE CONFLICT WITH BELYI

In a patriotic mood yet with Goethe's *Italian Journey* firmly in mind, Belyi left for Italy. Goethe's trip, to which Medtner attached enormous significance, had, after all, been his great break, a flight from a stagnated life which also became an inner rebirth that had an exceptionally favorable effect on his writing. For Belyi as well, the final destination was Sicily, where, as his travel notes suggest, he regarded the meeting of different cultures in a syncretistic, Goethean spirit.¹

At the age of 38, Medtner was still living with Anna and Nikolai in his parents' home. Finally he as well was forced to break away somehow. In January 1911 the trio rented a house near the village Khovrino at an appropriate distance from Moscow in order to alleviate the social pressure on their ambiguous relationship. Soon they had a visit from Friedrich, who was now studying Russian.

Belyi's letters and travel sketches reveal how deeply he had been influenced by Medtner's racial theories. From Sicily he and Turgeneva went on to Tunisia. From there he reported to Medtner that the proud Arabs knew how to keep the local Jews in their place: here there was "not a trace of *Yidness* (*zhidovstvo*) or *Mongolism*."² Influenced by Medtner's version of an incident involving Nikolai, who was to play with Kusevitskii's orchestra, he had shortly before this warned against Kusevitskii's duplicity, which was so closely connected with "the corruption and *Yidness* of the *Berlin musical stage*."³ Belyi now wrote an (unpublished) article on Nikolai in the same spirit as the Dostoevskii lecture which reveals his continued strong emotional ties to him. He discusses the union of classicism and innovation in Nikolai's works, their tamed Dionysianism, their brilliant message of rebirth in the intoxicating whirl of the blizzard.⁴

Belyi's ingratiating letters in reality foreshadowed an aggravation of the friction between him and Medtner. Soon he was criticizing his friend for breaking up his advance fee into inadequate monthly installments; here he was evidently reminded all too keenly of his painful economic dependence on his father during puberty. Medtner was offended and replied accordingly. In Cairo Belyi received what he regarded as an insulting letter from him. It appears to have contributed to his powerful reaction in the middle of March to the Sphinx and the Giza pyramids, which seemed to return him to his childhood nightmares and fill him with inner "terror."⁵ In letters and cards to friends, including Medtner, he described this

anxiety, which proved extremely fruitful for the new novel he was planning.

From Jerusalem, where he and Turgeneva found themselves around Easter, Belyi wrote a letter to Morozova that shows him moving closer and closer to *The Way*. On the basis of his encounters with Europeans in Africa and the Near East, he maintains that true European culture is a Russian creation, that Goethe and Nietzsche can only truly be understood on Russian soil, that "*the real Europe*" can be found within Russia's borders.⁶ When he returned home a short while later it was as if he saw straight through the aggressive Medtner, who seemed to shrivel like a mummy. Drawing upon his Giza nightmares, in his memoirs he depicts Musagetes and with it central Moscow as beginning to resemble the dead culture of Egypt.⁷ It was as if Medtner was not Medtner any longer, but a Minotaur, a rabid, inexplicably furious animal in human shape that rushed wildly out from its den to attack the visitor.⁸ Belyi was finally forced to "flee" to his unofficial in-laws' estate in Volynia.⁹ Naturally, his terror of Medtner was intensified by his feelings of guilt, since the entire future of the publishing house as Medtner had shaped it was at stake.

Ellis was also moving out of Medtner's grasp. During the spring he edited Musagetes's Symbolist poetry collection *Anthology (Antologiiia)*, which included 30 contributors ranging from Blok, Belyi, and Ivanov to Sabashnikova and the young Marina Tsvetaeva. This was his final project with the publishing house. Like Aleksei Petrovskii, he had for some time been a follower of Rudolf Steiner, held his own occult seminars at Musagetes, and was drawing closer and closer to the theosophical community. Supported by Turgeneva, Belyi now also resumed his study of Steiner.

In June, Medtner, Anna, and Nikolai moved from Khovrino to Trakhaneevo. There a letter came from Belyi lamenting that Medtner had pretended not to see him for quite some time.¹⁰ A couple of weeks later Belyi complained in another letter about his permanent economic problems, explicitly comparing himself to Dostoevskii trying to evade his creditors. This was a direct attack on Medtner, who, because he was not prepared to invest in the travel sketches Belyi was working on, had put him in debt to Musagetes for 3000 rubles. Insulted, Medtner retorted with an accusation of "Dostoevskianism." Belyi's agitated thirty-page reply followed immediately. First he apologized for his tone in earlier letters, pleading chimeras, migraines, and recurrent insomnia. Then he again attacked: he called Medtner a prosecutor, accused him of ignoring *The Silver Dove*, of being unable to understand either Dostoevskii or Russian literature generally, "the greatest in the world." Continuing the theme of his Dostoevskii lecture he declared: "I am not with the diseased Russia, not with the Romantic proponents of chaos; I am against them and with Goethe (and

you); but higher than Goethe I place Tolstoi's gesture of departure."¹¹ To Medtner, this sounded almost like blasphemy.

In early autumn Belyi wrote articles for the projected Musagetes journal, which by now had assumed clearer contours and had been given a name, *Trudy i dni* (*Works and Days*), from Hesiod's didactic poem.¹² He could no longer stand Moscow, for the entire city seemed to be tainted by the "hysteria" around Musagetes.¹³ Instead he and Turgeneva moved into a cottage in the countryside. As is clear from his memoirs, he was already having serious problems with his companion.¹⁴

That fall Medtner traveled with Anna and Nikolai to Pillnitz. For some time he had been entertaining diffuse plans of marrying Friedrich. These thoughts filled him with very contradictory feelings which were complicated further by the facts that divorce in tsarist Russia was exceptionally difficult, and that Anna (who did not want to lose him, especially since her life with Nikolai was still in flux) was actively opposed to the idea. Nikolai gave concerts in Berlin and Leipzig. Medtner worked on the foreword and comments to his selected polemical articles, which he intended to publish in 1912 as *Modernism and Music* (*Modernizm i muzyka*), a declaration of war on avant-gardist "anti-Germanism." He was also writing some of his own contributions to the first issue of *Trudy i dni*, which beginning in 1912 was to appear every two months under his and Belyi's editorship. Medtner's notes soon grew to a 200-page appendix. Under the rubric "Judaism" ("Judaizm") he attempted to define more clearly his attitude toward Judaism and music. "Judaism" clearly echoes Chamberlain, who as a "prominent racial theorist" is apostrophized in a note to an expanded version of the article on *Maison de Lied* in which Medtner explains the relentless advance of the Jews as largely owing to their extraordinary will-power.¹⁵ Now he warns even more emphatically against racial assimilation, declaring that European culture must be purged of the Semitic elements it has absorbed from the Old Testament and Asia Minor. He attempts to characterize these "horrible masked individuals, entirely devoid of creativity yet with an amazing aptitude for usurping the role of leaders and organizers of intellectual life." They have donned the costume of universal humanists, but in reality they are merely eclectic cosmopolitans who have superficially assimilated the culture of the great peoples of Europe. They are as far from genuine (Goethean) "universality" as a Meyerbeer from a Beethoven.¹⁶

According to Medtner, it was not until he had begun writing his comments that he learned of Otto Weininger's dissertation *Geschlecht und Charakter*. Published in Vienna in 1903, almost at the same time his own militant anti-Semitism erupted, it was translated into Russian in 1909 and reviewed the same year by Belyi in *Vesy*. He regrets not being able to avail himself earlier of "this talented Jew's" insights.¹⁷ That is understandable,

considering that the dialectics through which Weininger expresses his self-hatred so strikingly coincides with Medtner's phobias. *Geschlecht und Charakter* expresses a thoroughly dualistic cultural philosophy in which the feminine and the Jewish represent sterile and unproductive forces subverting the progress of Aryan manhood toward genius and cosmic spirituality. Weininger experienced this unresolvable conflict himself, and committed suicide the year the book was published. It is not for nothing that Belyi notes in his memoirs that Medtner anticipated Weininger, whose ideas were largely unknown in Russia before 1909.¹⁸ In "Judaizm" Medtner cites in particular Weininger's declarations that "the Jew cannot sing," that the simple song, the melody (thus contrary to what d'Alheim contended) is "something thoroughly un-Jewish."¹⁹

Under the impress of his latest visit, Medtner states that Berlin, the capital of Germanism, has lost its soul to the Jewish "cultural conductors."²⁰ The background here was that Nikolai had again failed to achieve critical recognition. The soul of Berlin, he continues, has lost its creative power; all that lives within it is the Jewish dream of final hegemony over the European continent. To support his argument he cites anti-Semitic statements by not only Wagner, but also Goethe and Nietzsche. In the second section of his appendix he launches new attacks against the Jewish *Wunderkinder*, especially the ten-year-old violinist Iosif Kheifits—soon to be the master virtuoso Jascha Heifetz—whose debut that spring in Petersburg had met with enthusiastic reviews and who had just performed Tchaikovsky's Violin concerto in Berlin under Nikisch, who had given him a special invitation.²¹ He also criticizes the modernists for a lack of masculine vigor, calling them a pack of "effeminate snobs, hermaphrodites."²²

One section of the appendix which Medtner intended to publish as a separate article in *Trudy i dni* is entitled "Liszt." Here Franz Liszt is declared the father of the modernist movement, the man who bears most of the blame for the decay of European musical life. Medtner cannot make him a Jew, but he does surround him with all the negative epithets that would be associated with Jews in *Modernism and Music*. Although Liszt was born in the Germanic cultural sphere, he was still no Teuton, but a Magyar, possibly of Gypsy descent. (In "Judaism" explicit parallels are drawn between Gypsies and Jews.) He first appeared as a "virtuoso" and *Wunderkind*.²³ He has introduced internationalism, that is, deficient national identity, into music. He is at bottom an undisciplined eroticist, a purely libidinous personality. Here Medtner uses the term "libido," which had just become the central notion of Freud's depth psychology, although he was as yet unfamiliar with psychoanalytical literature.²⁴ Liszt is a Klingsor-figure who went to Thuringia in order to plant the artistic characteristics of his own race in the heart of Germany (and Medtner's spiritual homeland). He had the audacity to tackle *Faust* and give the name *Faust-*

symphonie to what was in truth his "Mephisto Symphony." He is an aesthetic materialist, true to himself only in the figure of Mephisto. His dual nature has a captivating appeal for the Slavic soul, but if the Russian psyche submits to this Klingsorlike illusionist, the result will be the destruction of Russian music and culture.

Medtner also wrote a manifesto for *Musagetes* in *Trudy i dni*. Its publication there was natural, since the journal was intended as a mouthpiece for the philosophy of the publishing house. The mission of *Musagetes*, Medtner writes, is to pave the way for new cultural forms, to influence the process extending "from intuited, implicit insight into the culturally necessary to the realization of this necessity."²⁵ To create culture is to fulfill the highest human destiny, and a coordination of religion, philosophy and artistic activity is in this context essential. *Musagetes* intends to promote the development of "a true Symbolist art" in which myth will also be a central element.²⁶ Medtner cites Nietzsche and Kant to support his contention that art must take possession of life. The *power* of art and culture are in fact key notions in his programmatic article, for his entire publishing venture issued from his neurotic compulsion to conquer life, especially life in Russia.

Medtner's aggressiveness was fueled in particular at this time by the fact that theosophy had made further inroads into the *Musagetes* circle. In October 1911 Ellis left Moscow and joined the theosophical colony in Berlin, whence he sent Belyi enthusiastic reports that achieved the desired effect. Sabashnikova was attending Steiner's lectures in Karlsruhe and finally decided to become a follower. Thus *Musagetes* was surrounded by an esoteric doctrine rooted in both Buddhism and Christianity which Medtner had in a letter to Belyi that spring dismissed as "a mish-mash of semi-religion and semi-culture."²⁷ When he returned to Moscow in December Medtner felt burned out and unable to work. Around the turn of the year he went together with Friedrich to the Adriatic resort of Abbazia to revitalize himself.

In October 1911 Belyi had begun working on what would become his novel *Petersburg* (*Peterburg*). Medtner influenced the plot, the ideology, and even in some measure the form of the work, since it drew so extensively on the experiments in the symphonies. On this occasion Belyi had more consistent recourse to material derived from his "Petersburg mystery," which was filtered through experiences he was undergoing as he wrote: his conflict with Medtner, problems with Turgeneva, the deepening crisis of Symbolism.

The hero and focal character of the novel is Nikolai Ableukhov, an over-intellectualized Kantian student in Petersburg in 1905. Blonde as an Aryan, his handsome aristocratic exterior conceals an inner split, an unresolved conflict between intellect and soul. His duality is manifested in the city

itself, where linearly arranged blocks around the Ableukhov home on the mainland are contrasted with the restlessly seething, fog-shrouded islands on the other side of the Neva. The main bridge connecting the two halves of the Russian capital seems identical with *the symbol* in Belyi's definition, the link between logos and a transcendent reality, and it is not for nothing that it is called the Nicholas Bridge (Nikolaevskii most). Nikolai has inherited his Apollonian spirit from his father, Senator Apollon Apollonovich Ableukhov, a pillar of tsarist power. Like an emissary from Nikolai's Dionysian unconscious, "the stranger" arrives from the islands and provides him with the terrorist bomb that he has secretly promised to throw at his father. The bomb is the outer manifestation of the acutely intensifying tension within him. His promise to commit patricide comes in the wake of erotic involvement with Sof'ia Likhutina, the unambiguously emotional and intellectually feebly endowed wife of an army officer.²⁸ Thus his erotic trauma is interwoven with revolutionary events, just as Belyi's own mystical experiment with Liubov' Blok had become intertwined with the political drama in Russia.

"The stranger" turns out to be controlled by a double who has emerged out of his almost occult trances. It is this shadowy figure, "Lippanchenko," a feminine "she" with an unpleasant Semitic-Mongolian physiognomy, "the stranger's" concealed inner self, who organizes the terror. "She" declares explicitly that Mongolian blood flows in Russian veins. "She" regards herself as an "artist" who "conducts" the planned act of terrorism as if it were a concert. Ultimately, "she" intends to lead Russia into chaos.²⁹ As "the stranger" confides to Nikolai, he himself has something of "her" destructive instinct and yearning for death. This diabolical Jewish-Mongolian conductor on the spiritual stage of Russia bears an external resemblance to agent provocateur Evno Azef, who both was Jewish and had Asiatic physical features. He is colored by Vladimir Solov'ev's concern about the intrusion of "Panmongolism" into Russia and by Anna Mintslova's comments on the dark Oriental elements among the people, but he also derives from Medtner's warnings against the infiltration of blood from "Asia Minor" and the destructive influence of Jewish "conductors of culture."³⁰ In a letter to Blok written as he was beginning the novel, Belyi predicted racial war on the Russian battlefield;³¹ these premonitions of disaster recur in the vision of the Mongolian invasion and apocalyptic bloodbath that appears to "the stranger" in front of the statue of the Bronze Horseman. Significantly, Belyi wrote this letter just after having read a work entitled *Freedom and the Jews (Svoboda i evrei)*, written in the wake of the 1905 Revolution by Aleksei Shmakov, one of the most rabid anti-Semites in Russia. There the Jews were portrayed as enemies of the nation engaged in subversive underground activities intended to destroy the foundations of Russian culture.³²

The theme of father-son conflict in the novel seems to have been directly influenced by Belyi's dispute with Medtner. Senator Apollon Ableukhov heads a huge governmental department.³³ The austere audiences he accords his visitors and the predominantly grayish-green walls of his office appear to be a grotesquely satirical echo of Belyi's reaction to Musagetes, which may have played a role in the selection of Ableukhov's Christian name and patronymic. His environment, the geometrically petrified Petersburg mainland, is reminiscent of the dead culture of the Egyptian pyramids that Belyi perceived around Musagetes in central Moscow.³⁴ Both Ableukhov and Lieutenant Likhutin are shriveled and have the mummified characteristics Belyi sensed in Medtner upon returning from North Africa.³⁵ Likhutin, who occupies a meaningless civil service post, is clearly reminiscent of Medtner as he swings between masochistic submissiveness and passivity in his asexual marriage, on the one hand, and, on the other, uncontrolled fits of rage in which he resembles a wild beast and rabid dog. Besides Belyi's interference in Blok's marriage, the amorous triangle between Nikolai and the Likhutins may also reflect Nikolai Medtner's intrusion into his brother's conjugal life.

Deeply rooted though the novel is in Russian literature, Nietzsche is also an essential presence. The Dostoevskian cityscape expresses the Nietzschean duality that is the distinctive characteristic of the young heroes: both Nikolai and "the stranger" approach the breakdown and inner explosion that destroyed Nietzsche. In fact, in his 1910 Dostoevskii lecture Belyi had associated "the bomb" with Nietzsche, perhaps on the basis of his description of himself as "dynamite" in *Ecce Homo* (written on the verge of mental collapse, published posthumously in 1908 and translated into Russian in 1911).³⁶ The lecture was now published by Musagetes together with a commemorative article on Tolstoi under the title *The Tragedy of Creation. Dostoevskii and Tolstoi (Tragediia tvorchestva. Dostoevskii i Tolstoi)*.³⁷

In Petersburg in February 1912, Belyi and Ivanov delivered lectures in which they attempted to define the tasks confronting Symbolism. Belyi's "On Symbolism" ("O simvolizme") again spoke explicitly in Medtner's racial terms. He discussed "the symbolism of the Teutonic race during the latter half of the nineteenth century" as the development of a new worldview that now must be established in Russia. He declared that "the symbolism of the Latin race," in contrast, had during this same period merely assumed the form of a new literary school. He concluded: "The symbolism of the Teutonic race has given us *a new sight and a new hearing*; the meaning and truth in the art and thought of Wagner, Nietzsche, and Henrik Ibsen consists in the fact that all three declared that it is life itself that is the sphere of art, that life is reborn."³⁸ It was precisely this synthesis of art and life, this rebirth under new conditions, that Belyi increasingly

tended to seek in Rudolf Steiner's theosophy as he worked upon his novel. For his part, Ivanov pointed to the "link" between Symbolism and the wholeness of the personality, that of the artist as well as that of those who experience the epiphany of art. He declared Goethe to be "the distant father of our Symbolism" and defined the goal of Symbolism as the expansion of the psyche, liberation of the soul, inner catharsis.³⁹

The first issue of *Trudy i dni* appeared in March. It carried a brief editorial note formulated by Ivanov on the synthetic mission of the journal, the above-mentioned articles by Belyi and Ivanov (Belyi's was cut in two, the second half appearing in the following issue), Medtner's polemical presentation of Liszt (signed "Wölfing," of course), and the Musagetes manifesto. Belyi felt at this time that he was being "persecuted" by Medtner, who was demanding new contributions to the journal yet was indifferent toward his novel and the difficulty he was having getting it published.⁴⁰ Through a new publishing contract he finally managed to collect the money he and Turgeneva needed to "flee" Moscow and Musagetes to Western Europe, where he intended to complete the work.⁴¹

Shortly after Belyi's departure Medtner was visited at Musagetes by the young poetess Marietta Shaginian, who brought him an article on Rakhmaninov which she hoped to publish in *Trudy i dni*. Medtner was immediately interested, and soon she was captivated and dominated by him more completely than any of his other female acquaintances. As Medtner was well aware, Shaginian had previously figured in Belyi's life during a short but intensive correspondence in the fall of 1908.⁴² She was afflicted by a sexual inhibition that manifested itself in puberty in impaired hearing, which doctors had unsuccessfully treated. This hysterical "aural disease" had appeared in connection with revelations about early sexual experiences confided to her by some of her girlfriends.⁴³ She sublimated in the same way as Medtner, and had recently broken away from a two-year-long spiritual community of three with Dmitrii Merezhkovskii and his wife Zinaida Hippus in Petersburg. She was not Jewish but Armenian, and thus in Medtner's view from the same culture of "Asia Minor" as the Jews. In February 1912 she had sent Rakhmaninov a letter in which she attempted to encourage him by praising his significance to Russian youth. This she did on the basis of what she had heard about his faltering self-confidence in the wake of the catastrophic performance of his First symphony 15 years previously. The creative paralysis this failure produced was only cured through hypnosis.⁴⁴ She had signed the letter "Re," a central key in his music. The letter had made a favorable impression on Rakhmaninov, and they had begun a correspondence. Now she wanted to summarize her view of his art in the draft of her article. Medtner balked, however, for he could not tolerate her one-sided praise of Nikolai's greatest rival. Shaginian tried desperately to defend Rakhmaninov. As she says in

her article "Reminiscences of Sergei Vasil'evich Rakhmaninov" ("Vospominaniia o Sergee Vasil'eviche Rakhmaninove"): "It was as if I sensed before hand how this peculiar, shaven ascetic with the face of both Luther and Bismarck would outrage all of my values and tyrannize all our disputes."⁴⁵ Medtner accepted the article, but only on condition of revisions.

BELYI'S ENCOUNTER WITH STEINER

After settling down in Brussels, Belyi and Turgeneva had a series of occult experiences that drove them towards Steiner. From Moscow came letters in which Medtner vented his indignation over Belyi's latest betrayal. Finally they decided to attend one of Steiner's lectures in Cologne. Here Belyi found a new spiritual guide to replace Medtner, a theosophist who not only had a profound knowledge of Oriental wisdom but was also steeped in German intellectual life and was more and more inclined to speak of a special cultural mission for Russia.¹ Steiner possessed a charisma which in combination with his lecture theme on Christ and the central significance of the Golgotha Mystery in the twentieth century had an almost hypnotic effect on Belyi.² To Belyi he evidently seemed to be both an initiated master and a spiritual healer. Significantly, Belyi sought his leadership at the very point where his literary hero, Nikolai Ableukhov, was gaining his first insight into his psychic reality and preparing to step physically over to the islands on the other side of the Neva. Belyi later spoke of his adherence to Steiner as an inner bridge-building.³

The second issue of *Trudy i dni* and *Modernism and Music* appeared a few days before Belyi's meeting with Steiner.⁴ Besides the continuation of Belyi's "On Symbolism," the journal carried Medtner's commentary on the tenth anniversary of the publication of Belyi's second symphony and Wölfing's "Invectives Against Contemporary Music" ("Invektivy na muzykal'nuiu sovremennost'"). Medtner's commentary, of course, was part of his strategy to keep Belyi on the correct path. He promises that the "golden little sunset glow" of Belyi's first work will never die for anyone who once has "burned" within it.⁵ His abusive remarks, which contained new attacks on Strauss and Reger, grew directly out of the appendix of *Modernism and Music*. In the "Wagneriana" section, which was to become a regular feature, the issue also contained an essay by Chamberlain on Wagner's autobiography (which had just been translated into Russian).

Belyi returned to Brussels to find another aggressive letter from Medtner. Belyi replied that the devil himself seemed to have perverted their relationship and went on to inform him of his meeting with Steiner.⁶ This came as a hard blow to Medtner. His publishing project appeared to be seriously threatened. Confronting him was a formidable rival of superior personal charisma who was moreover a native speaker of German and thus might appear more knowledgeable than he in his own special field.

When he was only 21, Steiner had been invited to assist in editing Goethe's scientific works. In 1886 he had published a study of Goethe's epistemology.⁷ Two years later he was invited to help prepare a new edition of Goethe's collected works. This meant that for seven years beginning in 1890, he lived in Weimar and worked on Goethe's scientific manuscripts at the Goethe-Schiller archive.⁸ There he became acquainted with Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche just as he was preparing his *Friedrich Nietzsche, ein Kämpfer gegen seine Zeit*, which he published in 1895. She employed him to organize Nietzsche's library in Naumburg. Thus for a brief period he had an opportunity to study Nietzsche's marginal notes and follow the development of his ideas as reflected in his reactions to his reading. He also met Nietzsche, by then mentally ill; it was a profound experience, and Steiner's empathy with Nietzsche's suffering seems to have bordered on identification. He became convinced that Nietzsche possessed a hidden insight which the scientific world-view of the nineteenth century had distorted and perverted into illness. Nietzsche's superman was in fact an attempt to emphasize the spiritual dimension of the individual, and his theory of the "eternal return" pointed toward the evolution of the spiritual ego through a series of incarnations.

Steiner focused more and more now on the Goethe-Nietzsche polarity—Nietzsche had perished for translating the Apollonian-Dionysian dialectic into material terms, whereas Goethe had instead perceived pure spirit in the outer form of nature. As he left Weimar in 1897 Steiner published his *Goethes Weltanschauung*. The research he had done on Goethe provided the basis of the "spiritual science" within theosophy which he began moulding around the turn of the century. It was from Goethe's example that he gathered strength to show his experience of the reality beyond, and it was with Goethe's support that he sought clairvoyant perception in meditative thought and declared it compatible with scientific methodology. This also meant that the German section of the Theosophical Society led by him was later obliged to accentuate its independence as the movement began to gravitate toward the Orient and Buddhism. In that situation it was natural that he should look to Russia as a meeting place for Eastern and Western cultural impulses. His friend and colleague Marie von Sivers from Petersburg was a native speaker of Russian who would now serve as his interpreter to his growing Russian following.

Belyi's adherence to Steiner brought the Kantian problem even more into the foreground for Medtner. Steiner claimed that his instructions for cerebral meditation satisfied Kantian epistemological criteria, but Medtner considered him not only an incompetent Goethean but also an epistemological humbug. He regarded Steiner's theosophy as purely monistic. The fusion it promised between inner and outer worlds meant to Medtner a total loss of the "power" of spirit over nature. This was why it seemed

so frightening. At this point Medtner decided to write an article criticizing Steiner's Goetheanism and thus indirectly also his interpretation of Kant. He knew very well that Goethe was the foundation of Steiner's esoteric "science." What he had to do was to raze the foundation to save Belyi and Symbolist culture as a whole from destruction by this Mephistophelean fisher of men. He sent Belyi forcefully worded letters warning him that occult training under Steiner (which Belyi was thinking of beginning) would inevitably dry up his creative fantasy and result in artistic castration. Belyi reacted through the medium of his still unfinished novel, where (in a kind of self-castration) Lieutenant Likhutin first shaves off his beard and mustache, just as Medtner had done in 1909 as his "fanaticism" hardened,⁹ and then, in a state bordering on idiocy, stages a tragicomical suicide attempt. To some extent this might seem to be an objective description of Medtner's already half exhausted spiritual condition. Contrary to Medtner's warnings, Belyi's guilty vacillation between his two authorities proved exceptionally fertile artistically,¹⁰ for in combination with his beginning meditation exercises and study of Steiner's cosmogony under Ellis's guidance, this charged situation lent the novel a new psychological and satirical dimension. In June outside Paris, where he was staying with the d'Alheims, Belyi worked on the fifth chapter, where he confronts Nikolai Ableukhov with a dream world colored by Steiner's interpretations of myth: Nikolai becomes aware of the "decayed" Mongolian blood in his veins and of his secret mission to raze Aryan culture through the neo-Kantian nihilism of values that in reality guides his revolutionary commitment.¹¹

Medtner now sought refuge with Goethe in Weimar.¹² He soon helped cool the seriously depressed Blok's reaction to Belyi's passion for Steiner. He tried to point out to Blok that Belyi and Ellis were unprepared for training in occult meditation and that meeting Steiner actually merely threatened to exacerbate their spiritual disharmony.¹³ As Belyi was being initiated into spiritual science at the Steiner colony in Munich, in August Medtner, Anna, Nikolai, and Friedrich traveled to the Wagner festival in Bayreuth, where they attended performances of both *The Ring of the Nibelung* and *Parsifal*. Belyi's intimate association with Steiner prompted Medtner to issue new warnings, which, together with Belyi's unpaid debt and growing economical problems, led him to respond with threats of leaving Musagetes. The farthest he actually went, however, was to abandon the position of responsibility for *Trudy i dni* he shared with Medtner and simply become one of the staff.¹⁴ This proved to be a death blow to the journal, which had to such a degree been structured around Belyi. It no longer appeared regularly, and its first year became its last with complete (albeit delayed) publication. The principal and immediate reason for Belyi's retreat, however, was evidently that work on the novel intimately com-

bined with occult training far away from Russia had quite simply made it impossible for him to continue as editor.

Soon Medtner's Goethe article began growing into a book. Shaginian helped him with practical tasks such as copying. She was now living off and on with the Medtner's in Trakhaneevo. Medtner laid the foundation to what she calls in her memoirs an "enormous power" over her personality which in certain respects seems to resemble that of Steiner over Belyi.¹⁵ At the same time, its sometimes sadistic overtones definitely derived from Medtner's need for revenge after the "loss" of Belyi. He taught Shaginian German literature, not least through reading aloud; she learned work discipline and was shaped under Medtner's hand into a writer and Goethean.¹⁶ He persuaded her to see Wilhelm Meister in him and even, like Sabashnikova before her, to perceive his physical resemblance to Goethe himself.¹⁷ One result was that she was filled with unreserved admiration for Nikolai and his music, and her infatuation with Medtner was to some degree extended to him as well. Thus a new community of three arose in Medtner's life which with Anna's participation in fact became a group of four. It was reminiscent of Shaginian's experiences with Merezhkovskii's "triangle," which was similarly a square, since it also contained the journalist Dmitrii Filosofov. Influenced by Medtner, Shaginian regarded Nikolai as a creative genius and an ideal human being, reading into his external appearance the same features of Luther and Bismarck she had found in Medtner.¹⁸ She continued at the same time to cultivate her intensive correspondence with Rakhmaninov. With Medtner behind her, she held out Nikolai as a model to him in his artistic torment. Rakhmaninov, troubled by his "inferiority complex" (as Shaginian calls it in retrospect),¹⁹ responded by presenting himself as "mentally ill," in contrast to the "healthy," concentrated, productive Nikolai, whom he had always regarded highly and whom he now proclaimed "the most talented of all contemporary composers."²⁰ Shaginian felt called to rescue him, just as she wished to deliver Medtner from *his* torment. Rakhmaninov made the eloquent gesture of dedicating to her his "The Muse" ("Muza"), one of several poems by Pushkin she had suggested he set to music.

Medtner's influence is vividly apparent in Shaginian's "musico-psychological etude" entitled "S.V. Rakhmaninov." On a couple of occasions she even refers explicitly to Wölfling. She lashes out openly at theosophy and the excesses of modernism. Theosophy has led Skriabin's compositions toward chaos and "dehumanization." The two greatest composers today are instead Rakhmaninov and Nikolai Medtner, who each in his own way is trying to save music from disintegration.²¹ Medtner's racial theories are also in evidence. Rakhmaninov's profound humanity, his subjectivization of phenomena from external reality, are perhaps a distinctively Slavic feature, and despite all differences he has a certain Slavic "racial affinity" with

Tschaikovsky. Similarly, Nikolai Medtner's Germanism is manifested in the fascinating narrative skill of his "fairy tales" and in his enormous melodic richness.²² Rakhmaninov's music, she emphasizes, is above all chaste: it can be impassioned but is never emotional, never rooted in self-sufficient eros. It is a courageous challenge to the impotence of the times which arouses in the listener feelings of "active love."²³

Under the impressions of his visit to Bayreuth, Medtner also attempted to mobilize Wagner against Steiner, holding up the composer as a creative model for Belyi in contrast to the castration threatened by occultism. He prepared a guide into Wagner's mythical world intended for publication in *Trudy i dni*. Trying to avoid calling Steiner by name, he shaped his text into a more or less hidden polemic with theosophy. By way of introduction he declares that the Idea, the highest truth, can be approached in two ways—through religion and art or through science and philosophy. The artist avails himself of a system of mystical symbols, while the thinker uses a system of metaphysical allegories. Between the two is the mystic, who approaches truth from both points of departure and therefore runs considerable risk of creating infelicitous syntheses and reducing the mystery to scholastics and dialectics. In the thought of many mystics (read: Rudolf Steiner) the clear distinction between religion and science threatens to be dissolved and replaced by a fuzzy and unhealthy monism. Mystics find it difficult to withstand the discrepancy between the religious and scientific reflections of the world and often aspire to achieve unmediated insight into the secret of existence. Mysticism is unavoidable for both the artist-theurgist and the philosopher, but not as a diffuse hybrid manifestation of the various components of inner experience. In such a case, it is transformed into a surrogate mystery, a subjective and illusory momentary experience that can be only incompletely reflected in what is created.

No one who lacks an inborn sense of the past and its manifestation in the present, Medtner goes on, can ever hope to penetrate the core of myth. Like Goethe, Wagner was capable of seeing into the future at the same time as he experienced the present in the past and the past in the present, and this capacity of his was distinctly German in nature. Contact with genuine myth induces in the myth-making artist a state of sleep and dream which sooner or later leads to clairvoyance. This clairvoyance—a key concept in Steiner's theosophy—opens to the artist a new relation between external phenomena that is impossible to perceive in the waking state. Myth was for Wagner a knot in which poetry, music, and religion were interwoven. He contended that myth had originally influenced human lives, serving as a regulatory principle for their interrelations that confirmed their aspirations and summoned forth the energy needed for great deeds. The religious view of nature, deeply rooted in the Teutonic consciousness that once gave birth to the original myth, created harmony and

generated Medieval legends based on the authentic experiences of various tribes and heroes. Wagner possessed a special capacity for retrospective mythical perception, whence his brilliant simplifications of the old legends, his removal of the literary deposits they had accumulated through the renderings of Medieval poets. A sincere acceptance of Wagner is a measure of true Aryan Europeanism. The myth rediscovered by Wagner will not be lost as long as there exists at least one nation with Indo-Germanic blood in its veins.

Medtner goes on to a more detailed presentation of the gods in *The Ring of the Nibelung*, discussing what they stand for and the originals upon which they are based. Here he refers to contemporary mythological scholarship, which is far more substantive than the “fantasies” of the theosophists about the origin of the gods in hierarchies of the spiritual world.²⁴ The god that particularly commands his attention, of course, is Wotan, and his remarks are in fact a veiled self-portrait that comments incisively upon his own predicament. He perceives a similarity between Wotan and Dionysus: Wotan is also a suffering god with a cleft being who is painfully aware of the irreconcilable conflict between universal and human, spirit and nature, to which the Teuton has sought a resolution from time immemorial. As the god of the sun Wotan possesses certain Apollonian features. Thus he is beset by incompatible opposites: he is both the god of wrath and the god of goodness. He is a conquerer, and his unquenchable thirst for struggle and new conquests has brought him to Valhall. He represents the divine aspect of human genius and the northwest Aryan Teutonic character. It is his fighting spirit that gives rise to his tragedy. Both the followers of Schopenhauer and the theosophists have identified him with Buddha, but Buddha implies abandoning the will to live, whereas Wotan instead confronts the earthly mother Erda, his own fate. Wotan explores the secret of existence much as the tireless Faust descending to the Mothers. Like Nietzsche, he overcomes his fate by meeting it. The stagnant knowledge of the passive goddess of fate is dissolved by his actively tragic will to live. He is forced to condemn his own son Siegmund to death and must reject his beloved daughter Brünnhilde. To the best of his ability he tries to counter his curse and soften the relentless blows of fate. It now seems to him that it is only with the help of a human who has been freed from the curse of the gods that he can cast off the guilt that weighs on him and threatens to destroy the world. His intended heir Siegfried, however, is only partially victorious. The only divine privilege that ultimately remains to Wotan is to desire his own end. His heroic self-conquest is the turning point of the entire drama. His parting with Brünnhilde is a hymn to love unparalleled in world literature.

Medtner wrote his portrait of Wotan in October, just after Belyi left *Trudy i dni*. His self-projection on to Wotan was so strong that in his life

with Anna he described his own soul as “Erda.” His fixation on his own trauma had of course been with him all the while, and now his strong death instinct emerged as his life-work approached collapse. To accept “the end,” to meet “the curse” also implied voluntarily rejecting the love that his “daughter” Shaginian (15 years his junior) offered him.²⁵

Four days after his retreat from *Trudy i dni* Belyi sent the journal a series of aphoristic improvisations entitled “Circular Movement” (“Krugovoe dvizhenie”), which like Medtner’s “Invectives” were Nietzschean in tone and also had the philosopher’s personal drama as their unifying theme. They grew out of conversations about Symbolism with Viacheslav Ivanov, who had met him that September in Basel, where Belyi was attending a cycle of Steiner’s lectures. Intricately weaving together Nietzschean and Wagnerian symbols, the explicit satirical settling of accounts with Kant contained in the aphorisms was quite offensive to Medtner. It was in Basel, after all, that Nietzsche had entered his crisis. Here, Belyi states with a typical play on words, was “*the origin of his tragedy*.”²⁶ Here in the sun-drenched river the future creator of Zarathustra had sought his *Rheingold*, and here like a new Siegfried he had tried to forge his dragon-slaying sword of light. But he fell victim to the law proclaimed by the dwarf, Zarathustra’s evil shadow—the false circular movement of eternal return. It was Nietzsche’s “earth” that took revenge on his “heaven,” the cretin that crushed the god within him.²⁷ He went up into the Alps with his Zarathustra, but plunged headlong into the abyss and was dashed to pieces. In the same way, philosophical modernism and the entire Symbolist movement has cast itself out into the abyss only to bounce back again on its elastic head of rubber. The contemporary neo-Kantian has proved to be a hybrid of infant and old man, an overly cerebral brat who was castrated before even reaching puberty. Deep within, however, the reader of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* can sense a radiant giant, a sun that illuminates his inner space: it is “yourSelf,” the cosmic identity that Nietzsche sought and lost and which the neo-Kantian can never even approach.²⁸

These satirical “arabesques” of Belyi’s were very relevant for Medtner. Echoing the visions in the fifth chapter of *Petersburg* that take Nikolai Ableukhov back to childhood nightmares, they expressed the Nietzschean split which Medtner was battling now more than ever within himself. Alluding directly to the second of Medtner’s “Invectives,” which in some respects coincided with the appendix of *Modernism and Music* and which appeared in the third issue of *Trudy i dni* early that fall, Belyi described the castrated neo-Kantian as a modernist “hermaphrodite.”²⁹

Belyi wrote “Circular Movement” in Vitznau, Switzerland, and it was there that he concentrated on the sixth chapter of the novel, which consists almost entirely of dreams and visions (naturally, on the islands). Here “the stranger”—Aleksandr Dudkin—becomes more aware of his and

Nikolai's duality. He explains to him that what Nikolai has experienced in his "bomb trances" is the ecstasy of "the dismembered Dionysus." This allusion to the Eleusinian mystery rites also points to Nietzsche's identification with Dionysus in the final lines of *Ecce Homo*.³⁰ Dudkin meets the devil in a nightmarish vision and realizes that, like Faust, he as well has voluntarily entered the service of the fiend.

The delayed fourth issue of *Trudy i dni*, which Medtner was forced to make a double issue, appeared in November. In the "Wagneriana" section it included the first part of Medtner's commentaries on Wagner, and it also carried Medtner's favorable review of a Mozart concert by Rakhmaninov, Shaginian's etude on Rakhmaninov, Belyi's "Circular Movement" (immediately countered by the neo-Kantian Steppun), an article on recent literature by Ivanov (in which, partly provoked by *Modernism and Music*, he attempted to show that what Medtner was criticizing was merely the false Dionysianism in modernism), and a first letter from Ellis in Munich explicitly stating that "scientific occultism" had developed out of the crisis of Symbolism.³¹

Medtner sent an issue of the journal and a copy of *Modernism and Music* to Rakhmaninov. He was aware of the composer's critical attitude toward the avant-garde, but the reaction was not what he perhaps had hoped for.³² The hypersensitive Rakhmaninov had not forgotten what Medtner had once written about him. According to Shaginian, he harbored a "fierce aversion" to Medtner, whom he regarded as "Mephistophelian."³³ At the same time, he reportedly secretly respected the uncompromising nature of Medtner's antimodernist campaign.³⁴ Perceiving their affinity beneath all the external differences in their careers, Shaginian wanted to see a rapprochement between the two rivals.³⁵ The celebrated composer had felt artistically sterile since the age of eighteen. Overworked and psychically exhausted, he had just been admitted to a sanatorium at Arosa in Switzerland. Shaginian was completing a volume of poetry that was published in early 1913 under the title *Orientalia*. As she states in her memorial essay on Rakhmaninov, it was dedicated to him but was mainly addressed to Medtner, representing a defiant attempt to assert her "Asiatic" origins against Medtner's militant "Aryanism."³⁶

In December Blok decided to withdraw from *Trudy i dni*, and Ivanov as well declined active collaboration. Resigned, Medtner wondered in a letter to Ivanov whether Belyi had ever actually seen the individual in him. Belyi, of course, had earlier wondered something similar about Medtner.³⁷ One bright spot in Medtner's gloom was that Nikolai was awarded the prestigious Glinka Prize for his Goethe compositions, which by now numbered 27. He had not yet been fully appreciated by Russian critics, and the prize implied a kind of definitive recognition.

During the autumn Steiner had made the German section more inde-

pendent of the theosophical center in India. Near the end of the year he founded his own secessionist "Anthroposophical Society" in Cologne. The cycle of lectures he held in conjunction with the reorganization came to Belyi as an inner rebirth. He felt he was one with the newborn movement, which breathed new life into his messianic fervor.³⁸ This was at the same time intimately tied to his work on the novel and the artistic inspiration that accompanied his meditation exercises. He reported triumphantly from Cologne to Medtner on his grandiose literary plans for the next few years, projects which thoroughly contradicted his friend's apprehensions.³⁹

Belyi tried to persuade Medtner that his relationship to Steiner was in fact a very personal one. He emphasized Steiner's Rosicrucian experience and made a connection between Steiner and Mintslova's prophecies, to which Medtner still attached considerable significance.⁴⁰ He stated that his choice had been between the sanatorium and the occult colony. He identified himself with his Nietzschean protagonist in the third symphony and declared that he had found his hero's psychiatrist in "Doctor Steiner."⁴¹

Here it was surely his friend and fellow poet Sergei Solov'ev Belyi had in mind. In the fall of 1911, as Belyi was beginning *Petersburg*, Solov'ev had fallen ill and was treated at a clinic for paranoid and suicidal tendencies that were much stronger than Belyi's at the time. In the spring of 1912, when Belyi found his "Doctor," he underwent psychoanalytical therapy at a sanatorium in Kryukovo outside Moscow; Freud's ideas were now emerging in Russia.⁴² After his release, Solov'ev followed in Belyi's footsteps, marrying Asia Turgeneva's younger sister Tat'iana and taking his honeymoon in Italy. Significantly and with his usual ambivalence, Medtner informed Sabashnikova (in whose life Steiner evidently played the same role of spiritual curator as in Belyi's) that, in view of his worsening "decrepitude," he would in fact be prepared to consult Steiner as a "doctor." He said he was planning to visit him during the year to speak out about Belyi's excesses, which "had nearly destroyed Musagets."⁴³

Through Blok Belyi had come into contact with the newly established publishing house Sirin, which was interested in acquiring the copyright to his novel. In order to recover some role in Belyi's life Medtner soon made a new "sacrifice," offering to negotiate on Belyi's behalf with the new publisher. This was one item on Medtner's agenda when he visited Blok in Petersburg in early February 1913. They also talked about Goethe (Medtner insisted on the Goethean element in Blok's poetry)⁴⁴ and about how theosophy did violence to the "rhythmical" process of culture. They discussed Belyi's inability to organize his life. Medtner set forth his ideas about sectarianism and about Steiner's probable betrayal of his past in a Rosicrucian order.⁴⁵ Blok, himself an anti-Semite, says in his diary that he was struck by the "Jewishness" of Medtner's face. This impression, however, did not prevent him from feeling strongly sympathetic toward him.⁴⁶

The very day they met, the Anthroposophical Society was founded in Berlin, with Belyi and Turgeneva among its first members. This meant that Belyi had even more decisively chosen the path he would follow, and that the tension between him and Medtner, centering now on the negotiations with Sirin, was intensified even more.⁴⁷ A contract was concluded in March which provided him enough economic security to enable him to complete his anthroposophical training in Germany and discharge his debt to Medtner. He returned temporarily to Russia to continue work on his novel at the estate of Turgeneva's stepfather in Volynia. Soon he was visited there by his new brother-in-law Sergei Solov'ev, who revealed to him something about his psychiatric therapy. In letters to Blok mentioning Solov'ev's treatment he expressed concern for Medtner's psychic balance and complained about his "inexplicable hardness," "obsession," and partial insanity.⁴⁸

In March Medtner continued his guide to Wagner with explanatory commentaries on the goddesses in *The Ring of the Nibelung*. He chose, however, to wait with Erda; the subject apparently was too highly charged for him. His work on the Goethe book seemed to be nearing completion. He named it *Reflections on Goethe (Razmyshleniia o Gete)* and gave it the rather prolix subtitle "A Survey of R. Steiner's Views in Relation to Questions of Critical Philosophy, Symbolism, and Occultism" ("Razbor vzgliadov R. Shteinera v sviazi s voprosami krititsizma, simvolizma i okkul'tizma"). It was introduced by an epigraph from Nietzsche's *Ecce Homo* significantly alluding to a duel. Medtner was already planning further volumes. He wrote a foreword in which he attempted to define what he intended to accomplish in his critical examination of the "anthroposophical archpriest's" interpretation of Goethe.⁴⁹ He maintains that Goethe's philosophy of life cannot be encompassed by any system, and that it is only for some external reason that one can write about him—in this specific instance, Rudolf Steiner's works on Goethe. He notes that Goethe is still to a large extent "terra incognita" in Russia,⁵⁰ and states that besides the distortions and errors, Steiner's treatment of the writer contains all the usual clichés of superficial Goetheanism. This fact appears to justify Medtner's book, for in reality the polemics with Steiner serves as the pretext for presenting his own portrait of Goethe.

MEDTNER'S ENCOUNTER WITH PSYCHOANALYSIS

Medtner's book on Goethe, however, was not finished. He continued writing and expanding it much as Belyi was doing with his novel. It filled the growing vacuum in his life, especially after the negotiations with the publishers were concluded. Also, at a piano recital at Morozova's that spring, he and Nikolai had met the philosopher Ivan Il'in, a man who soon played a significant role both in his work on the book and in his personal life. Il'in, eleven years Medtner's junior, turned out to be an enthusiastic reader of *Modernism and Music* who shared Medtner's hatred of the avant-garde in music and literature, and he was also a great admirer of Nikolai's art. His emotional ambivalence resembled Medtner's and was similarly related to his Russian and German background, his mother being of German descent and his father from an old aristocratic Russian family. In 1905 he had been a revolutionary maximalist and had broken off relations with his father. Now he was gravitating toward the same Slavophile conservatism as Medtner, and Hegel, about whom he was writing a master's thesis, played a role in his life similar to that of Goethe in Medtner's. He and his wife, also a student of philosophy, had returned the year before from studies at German universities under professors such as Georg Simmel and Edmund Husserl. He credited Hegel with pointing the way to knowledge based on a living identity between subject and object, between the contemplative spirit and the divine ground of reality. Hegel had spoken of fusion with "the object;" this became a watchword for Il'in, who had also been deeply impressed by Husserl's phenomenological speculations on the contemplation of "ideal essences" in external reality. Il'in was at this time a *Privatdozent* at the Department of Legal Philosophy of Moscow University. It was presumably in this academic milieu that he had become acquainted with the ideas of Sigmund Freud, whose most significant Russian following was associated with the University Psychiatric Clinic.¹ Freud's most important works were published in Russian around 1912, although Il'in read them in the original. It is possible that he became even more familiar with psychoanalysis at the so called "little Fridays," informal and open gatherings initiated in the spring of 1912 at the University Clinic to discuss new psychotherapeutic ideas. He was already thinking of consulting Freud.

An entry in Medtner's diary dating from his first meeting with Il'in



Karl Medtner, Emilii Medtner's father.



Aleksandra Medtner, Emilii Medtner's mother, 1910s.



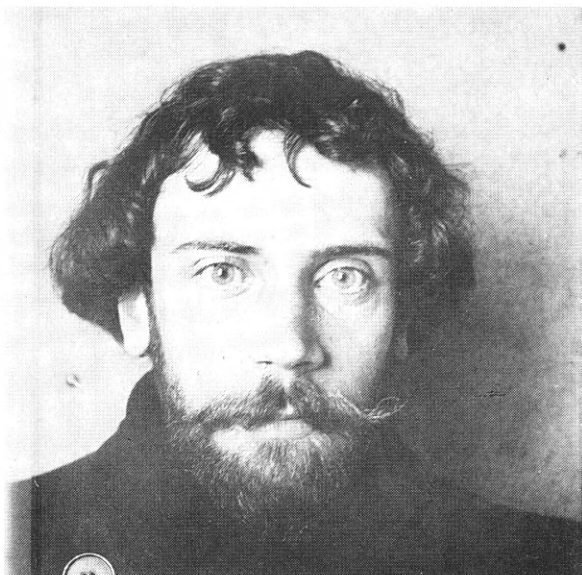
Emilii Medtner, 1890.



Arthur Nikisch, 1895.



Emilii and Nikolai Medtner, 1896.



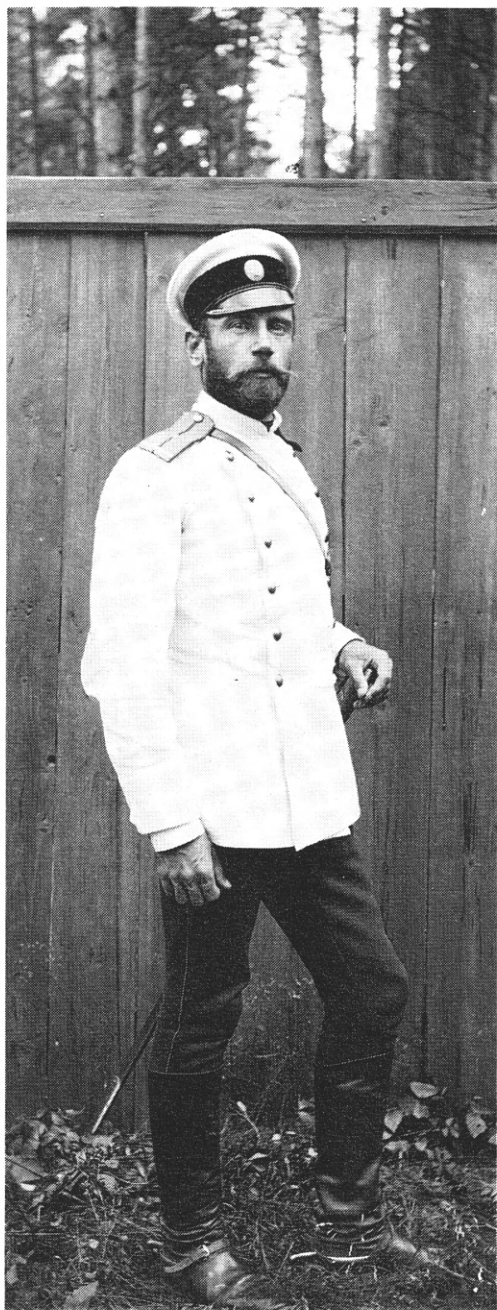
Emilii Medtner, late 1890s.



Emilii Medtner with the Bratenshi sisters Anna (on left) and Mar'ia, late 1890s.



Anna Medtner, ca. 1900.



Emilii Medtner, ca. 1900.



Andrei Belyi, 1904.



A. Toepfer



NIZNI-NOVGOROD.

— Haute nouveauté. Atelier à éclairage artificiel. —

Anna Medtner with Nikolai (on left) and Emilii. Nizhnii Novgorod, ca.1904.



Ellis in student's uniform.



Margarita Morozova.



Hedwig Friedrich.



*Margarita Sabashnikova: Selfportrait,
1903.*



Natal'ia Turgeneva (married name Pozzo), ca. 1909.



Anna Mintslova.



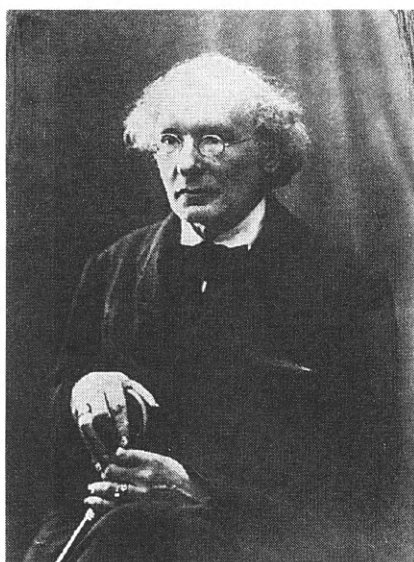
Marietta Shaginian, 1911.



Andrei Belyi on a visit to the Medtner's in Khlebnikovo in the summer of 1911. From the left: Emiliï, Nikolai, Anna, Belyi, and pianist Nikolai Shtember, son of the Medtner brothers' cousin and Nikolai's pupil.



Aleksandr Blok, 1911.



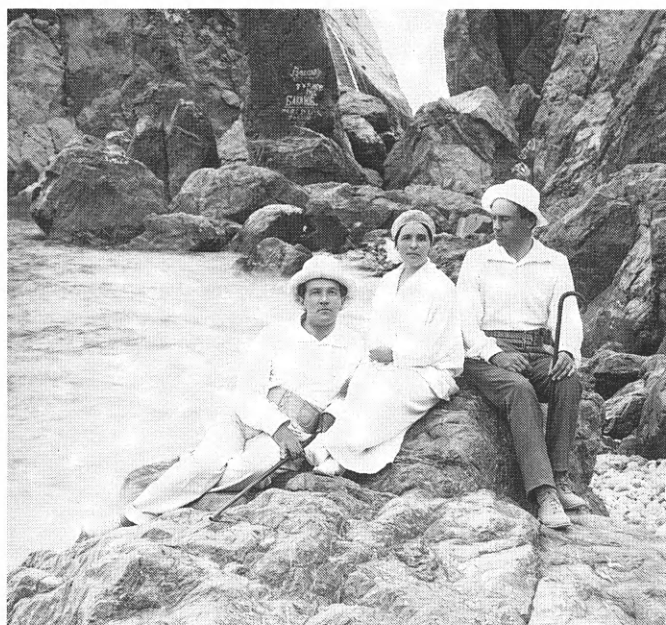
Viacheslav Ivanov, 1913.



Emilii Medtner, ca. 1912.



Sergei Rachmaninov, 1910s.



From the left: Nikolai, Anna, and Emilii Medtner, the Crimea (Novyi Simeiz), 1914.



Nikolai Medtner, 1916.



Emil(ii) Medtner in Zurich, ca. 1915.

relates a dream of a book written in a strange alphabet. As he began to study it his hair suddenly stood on end, for he was beginning to understand it. At that moment he awoke. Two days later, he was suddenly struck by the realization that his “two fates”—his “psychophysical organization,” and his “Kantian-ascetic ego”—were in open conflict with each other.² He had not become either a musician or a philosopher because his “psychophysique” had the whole time opposed his ego’s ambitions. It is possible that by this point Il’in had already introduced him to Freud’s theory of neuroses. The book in the foreign language contained the truth about himself, and it was this frightening self-knowledge that he was resisting.

A couple of weeks later, Medtner and Il’in became involved in a long nocturnal dispute about Goethe and Hegel. Medtner describes the discussion in the epistolary diary he began with Shaginian at about this time; the letters, signed “Wölfing,” were sent from room to room in the house at Trakhaneevo, where Shaginian was his guest. Il’in attempted to persuade Medtner that he actually was thinking in Hegelian terms, that—judging by his own words—he perceived “the object” to the same extent as Il’in himself. For Medtner, this was dangerous talk, for he feared nothing more than the monism of which Il’in was now accusing him. The argument did not result in personal hostility between the two men only because Il’in tempered his provocations with constant assurances of respect and admiration. He urged Medtner to state his thoughts quite literally in his own name, without any polemical detours. When he learned that Medtner was again writing a polemical piece, he became even more insistent in his demands.³

Among Medtner’s projects was a foreword to a Russian translation (published by Musagetes that spring) of Wagner’s saga *Die Wibelungen*, which was closely related to *The Ring of the Nibelung*.⁴ He was again plagued by insomnia. He was alone at Trakhaneevo, for Anna and Nikolai were on a trip to Europe. In Berlin Nikolai had his first real meeting with Rakhmaninov. The encounter was in no way encouraged by Medtner, who feared that he would be affected by Rakhmaninov’s “Russianness.” Separated from his brother, Nikolai also suffered from insomnia. The triad’s situation seemed as indefinite as ever. Anna needed the presence of both, and Medtner and Nikolai needed both her and each other.

In late May Il’in paid a visit to Medtner, and the two men clashed once again. Il’in’s knowledge of Freud helped him find Medtner’s sore spots. He told him that he regarded Goethe as an egoist who related everything to himself and took himself as the only point of departure for anything. Contrasting with Goethe was Hegel, who forgot himself and concentrated on “the object,” and was therefore able to accomplish such an upheaval in “the evolution of being.” He later declared outright that Medtner’s cult

of Goethe was a result of his "infantilism." Here if not before he provided Medtner some real insight into psychoanalysis.⁵ Medtner simply could not mention this in his report to Shaginian on the new dispute. It did not serve his purpose, for in the "manifesto" of the epistolary diary written at this time he declared that certain subjects, among them "sex," would be taboo in their correspondence.⁶

Otherwise, Medtner's letters to Shaginian displayed an intimacy that can only be compared with the tone between him and Anna. It is clear that Shaginian stimulated him erotically more than any other woman before her. She was his "little Asiatic." He calls her his muse⁷ and, with particular fondness, his "little child," an allusion to Wilhelm Meister's way of addressing the tomboy Mignon.⁸ Their relationship, in fact, seems to have echoed that between Meister and the sexually indeterminate daughter of the Italian harpist. Meister is surrounded by women, but none of them can give him the same fulfillment as Mignon, the dark-haired and impulsive southern child who offers him her faithful love. He knows that there are obscurely religious ties between him and Mignon; their relationship is at once chaste and erotically charged. Medtner must have had similar feelings toward his devoted dark southerner Shaginian. He declared in numerous letters that they were "bound together forever." He now became more and more interested in his dreams, and it was often Shaginian he met in his nocturnal visions. He likens her to a mounted Amazon who has made the "miserable old mare" of his soul rear up and set off in a gallop. This is one of several sexually impregnated images which reveal that her "masculinity" tended to evoke his feminine identity.⁹ At the same time he returns again and again to his "afflicted 'ego'" and the impossibility of her task, which in reality merely served to reinforce her dependence on him.¹⁰

Il'in offered some helpful professional comments on the Goethe manuscript. Under the impress of their discussions Medtner wrote a preface to the "Goetheana" section he was planning to include the following year in *Trudy i dni*, which had been delayed by Belyi's defection. He supplied it with an epigraph in which none less than Pushkin proclaimed Goethe "our great teacher." At this point he felt that only Goethe could save him and Russia. "Our culture is sick," he declares, because there is no one who can lead it. We must therefore turn to "the great among the dead" for healing.¹¹ Goethe is the best such "doctor," for he himself experienced "all the spiritual struggles" that plague our times.¹² Goethe's almost suprapersonal identification with nature enabled him to reach beyond himself. His breadth and his "collectivistic side" are part of the indestructible and indeterminate aspect of his personality which is manifested in his art and thereby becomes accessible to all.¹³ Penetrating Goethe's individuality brings not only the joy that comes with awareness of the highest form of

humanity, but also genuine help, for only after sensing the “indivisible” in him can one truly assimilate his self-knowledge.¹⁴ Our time aspires to this self-consciousness, but we have embarked upon the wrong paths and are therefore only sinking deeper into disease. Russia needs Goethe more than ever. He is not afraid of criticism, and certain differences of opinion that have arisen around his personality and works are at bottom expressions of unconscious agreement.

This preface can be read as a letter addressed to Il'in over the heads of the readers. It is notable that Medtner should at this moment so strongly emphasize Goethe's role as a “healer” for Russia, for here one senses both a suggestion of the role Belyi allotted to *his* “teacher of wisdom” Steiner, and perhaps also polemical reflections of what Il'in had told him about Freud.¹⁵

Belyi returned in June to Volynia after a trip to Helsinki, where he and Turgeneva listened to a series of lectures by Steiner at which the anthroposophist had appealed directly to the Russians in his audience to listen to their national soul so as to be able to fulfill its future cultural mission.¹⁶ Belyi continued to work on the seventh chapter of the novel. At the end of that chapter, “the stranger” Dudkin attempts to liberate himself by murdering Lippanchenko, who has just sung his “swan song” to the accompaniment of a violin in the saccharine southern manner that Medtner in “The Musical Stage” and then Belyi in “Stamped Culture” described as specifically Jewish.¹⁷ The murder produces a definitive Nietzschean split of Dudkin's personality. Belyi was himself in a very tense state that summer. He was considering whether to join Steiner for good, and he knew that his faithful companion Ellis, not without encouragement from Medtner, was already about to abandon anthroposophy.

In early July Medtner went on his annual visit to Friedrich in Pillnitz. His anxiety had an increasingly paralyzing effect on him. One day he watched a rhythmical display at Émile Jaques-Dalcroze's school of dance in nearby Hellerau and was inspired by its harmonious organization of “the masses.” Here one hears an echo of his earlier dream of a disciplined collective organism. Dalcroze's gymnastics program had a markedly therapeutic profile that could not but appeal to him, although he was repulsed by its “democratism.”¹⁸ He described the experience in Hellerau in a letter to Il'in, and ventured at the same time to ask him some questions on Freudian literature and the possibility of consulting Freud.¹⁹ Il'in emphasized in his response that Medtner would first of all absolutely have to contact Freud himself, rather than any of his psychoanalyst colleagues. He described in detail Freud's “sessions,” and as “propaedeutically necessary” literature he mentioned Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* and *The Interpretation of Dreams*, and Eduard Hitschmann's survey *Freud's Neurosenlehre*.²⁰ He probably learned the details of Freud's clinical practice

from the young Moscow University Clinic psychiatrist Nikolai Osipov, who had been corresponding with Freud for several years. At precisely this time a group of Moscow doctors had taken a study tour to Vienna, where they were received by Alfred Adler. Adler's new theories had begun to attract attention in Russia, dominating the journal *Psikhoterapiia* (*Psychotherapy*), which had become the mouthpiece of psychoanalytical thought.

In Pillnitz Medtner had a nightmare which he recorded and to which he correctly attributed great significance.²¹ In the dream he saw two aged, shriveled, identical sisters in a needlework shop. One of them always kept in the shadow of the other and appeared in a permanently gray light and gray clothes that she never seemed to change. One day it was discovered that the shop was closed. When the door was forced open, the "leading" sister was found in a half-insane state between life and death. Her face was deeply scratched, her clothes were ripped, and her throat had been bruised by fingers that had tried to strangle her. When she came to herself she explained that what happened was her fault, for she had long oppressed her sister, who finally rebelled and savagely attacked her. It turned out soon, however, that she had never had a sister. The marks on her face and throat were from her own fingers and nails. The dream seems to express Medtner's feeling that he was both himself and his brother (Andrei Belyi), that he was torn by an irreconcilable inner conflict. It had an intimate narcissistic connection with Shaginian, who was in fact informed of its content. Her relationship to her sister in some measure mirrored that between Medtner and Nikolai, not least with respect to the control she exercised over her. Medtner may have already had access to *The Interpretation of Dreams*, as he procured it and Hitschmann's book that summer.

The year's first (double) issue of *Trudy i dni* now appeared, its contents centered on the "Goetheana" and "Wagneriana" sections. The former consisted of Medtner's preface and an analysis of "The Elf King" in which the young philosopher Aleksei Toporkov echoed Medtner's ideas about Goethe's exceptional proximity to "chaos and insanity" and about his emancipation from his inner demons through art.²² The latter continued Medtner's article from the preceding year on the various gods in the Nibelungen tetralogy and carried a self-indulgent interpretation of *Parsifal* by Ellis.²³

In a letter to Il'in Medtner complained of a "terrible" weariness that was preventing him from completing the book on Goethe.²⁴ A bright spot in his depression, however, was that Ellis left the anthroposophical movement and was writing an anti-Steiner pamphlet which he intended to publish with Musagetes. Medtner was visited in Pillnitz by Shaginian, who persuaded him to send her to the anthroposophists in Munich to offer a

gesture of reconciliation to Belyi, who was there to listen to Steiner's latest lectures. A meeting that Shaginian managed to arrange between the two in Dresden seems to have gone rather well, thanks above all to her mitigating presence.²⁵ It did not help very much, however, and Medtner wrote to Anna that he feared "the very worst" in the near future.²⁶ Two weeks later, on 20 September, the cornerstone of a "free university for spiritual science" was laid in Dornach, Switzerland, and a Russian anthroposophical society was founded the same day in Moscow. Belyi was already in Kristiania awaiting Steiner's new cycle of lectures on Christ.

Medtner had already decided to consult Freud on his way back to Russia. He arrived in Vienna in early October and stayed a week and a half. He seems to have approached the psychoanalyst at just the right time, for Freud had just finished his study of what he called "narcism."²⁷ Freud concluded from Medtner's description of his predicament that his personality, with its recurrent symptoms of Ménière's disease, was permanently racked by "fruitless labor pains."²⁸ He explained that both his and Shaginian's similar ear affliction could be cured, and suggested that he return later for treatment.²⁹ The therapy could wait, perhaps until the following year, when Medtner would again be able to take an extended trip abroad. Medtner was ordered to follow through with his unrealized plans: "get married and don't despair."³⁰ He spent his evenings in Vienna at the opera, where he attended a performance of *The Valkyries*.³¹ Perhaps somewhat under the impress of Wagner's ideas, but in reality much more under the influence of Steiner, he began shifting to a vegetarian diet.

About the same time Freud told Medtner about his "labor pains," Belyi experienced a mystery of birth as he was attending Steiner's lectures in Bergen around 10 October which seemed to take him back to the ecstasy of 1901. He felt he had been transformed into "the Mother of God."³² Racked by explosive convulsions, he gave birth to his new self, a self that would save the world.³³ There was a theatrical and hysterical element in his experience, which was of course rooted in Solov'ev's and Nietzsche's prophecies; its megalomania ultimately seems to emulate that of Nietzsche in *Ecce Homo*. From here on Belyi put his life in Steiner's hands.

Elation was followed by exhaustion and guilt. Learning of Ellis's pamphlet upon returning to Berlin, Belyi immediately telegraphed Medtner in Moscow to warn him against publishing it. His own position at Musagetes, after all, would implicate him in the "treachery."³⁴ He was especially frightened by the fact that Ellis, who had belonged to Steiner's inner circle, had attended the "Master's" esoteric lessons and now seemed about to reveal some of the occult materials to which he had access. At the very least Belyi demanded cuts in the text.

The collapse of Musagetes Medtner had feared now appeared unavoidable. He lamented to Shaginian that everything he had attempted seemed

at this moment worthless; what was worse, it was a meaningless sacrifice made in someone else's name. In a dream he saw himself as an artillery officer in a military battle. Wounded in the arm and evacuated from the battlefield together with women and children, he suddenly found himself on an opera stage. The Wagnerian bursts from the orchestra shook him as had the grapeshot earlier.³⁵ He was at war with Belyi and with himself, and it was a war in a Wagnerian key.

Shaginian was now working on an article for a coming issue of *Trudy i dni* called "The Will to Power" ("Volia k vlasti"), which despite its title dealt more with Goethe than with Nietzsche. The subtext, which contained several specific allusions, was aimed at Medtner. The article almost seems to echo Adler's theories on the neurotic's fundamental need of power which were having such an impact among Moscow psychiatrists at this time, but it is extremely doubtful that she was familiar with these notions. More probable is that her interest in the human lust for power proceeded from a similar "Nietzschean" point of departure in the contemporary Russian cultural debate. She points out that even children struggle for dominance in their games, and that outside their play as well they "unconsciously crave power."³⁶ The child's striving for power is at first instinctive, but later it is manifested more and more consciously. When children are forced to defer to others more powerful than they, this desire is transferred to fairy tales. As in "our dreams," these express the need to master the external world, the "thirst for unlimited and arbitrary sovereignty."³⁷ She cites Napoleon—whom Medtner deeply admired—as an example of a drive bordering on insanity to manifest the will. Especially illustrative in this context are two works by Goethe which are mutually complementary despite their many formal and generic differences: "The New Paris" (in the first volume of *Truth and Fiction*) and "The Marienbad Elegy." The tale is a fantasy Goethe wrote as a youth and would often tell to his comrades as a dream he had had in which he used the supernatural bewitching powers granted to him by the gods to dominate a girl by the name of Alerta. With Medtner clearly in mind here, Shaginian sees how

the despot, maniacally devoted to the idea of domination, hangs onto it by truth and by lie, intoxicates himself on his imposture, defends it tooth and fist and with momentary creative attacks on the sum of his notions, which he combines to his advantage (we call it a "lie"), and thus triumphs.³⁸

But how solid is such a victory? The "Marienbad Elegy" shows in contrast how the aging poet puts his power to the test. In his "intense and tender" love for "a new Alerta" he voluntarily submits to the will of the Almighty, and loses the magic of his power.³⁹ In return he gains the only true freedom—freedom from Fate. Shaginian thus closes with a hidden appeal to Medtner to follow the example of Goethe's unselfish love of the young

Ulrike: if he abandons his positions of control and obeys his feelings, perhaps his obsession with fate will relax its grip on him. The parallel presented itself all the more readily in that Medtner constantly stressed his “frailty” and Shaginian’s youthful vitality, and their relationship as a whole echoed that between Wilhelm Meister and Mignon.

“The Will to Power” was written when Medtner was engaged in the final phase of the power struggle for *Musagetes*. Following a meeting discussing the publication of Ellis’s pamphlet in the light of Belyi’s ultimatum, he declared to Shaginian (two days after she finished her article) that “it is quite clear that either anthroposophy must subordinate itself to *Musagetes* (as a ‘civil service department’ to the entire ‘state’), or it will subordinate *Musagetes* to itself.”⁴⁰ A week or so later a “file” arrived from Belyi in which he proclaimed he was leaving the publishing house. Medtner had an attack of vertigo and Ménière’s disease, and it was in this state that he read the first two chapters of *Petersburg* in the literary almanac *Sirin*. His torments intensified; in letters to Shaginian he described the novel as “a brilliant narrative about worthless psychological atoms; inconsolable desolation occasionally alternating with anthroposophical sermonizing.” He found Belyi’s new psychological prose tasteless, mannered, mechanical. It was as if Belyi had “written himself out,” thus confirming the artistically enervating effect of occultism.⁴¹

Belyi was himself in Berlin writing the final chapters and epilogue to the novel. He was tired and troubled: he had the sensation that his spirit was hovering free after the ecstatic experience in Norway, while his “mortal husk” was nailed painfully to the earth.⁴² In the eighth chapter, as Nikolai Ableukhov’s longs for rebirth, he begins to resemble both the haloed savior child and Nietzsche’s “blond beast.” Finally, in a parodical reflection of Belyi’s mystery of birth in Bergen, the bomb explodes in the Ableukhov house. Nikolai’s father is not killed by the blast, but he is crushed spiritually and Nikolai is forced to flee Petersburg and Russia. In the epilogue he reappears as a Christlike figure in the Russian countryside. Paradoxically, at the same time that Belyi felt repatriated to Russia by Steiner, he remained a part of the occult commune in Berlin and set his sights on Dornach.

The catastrophe Medtner had dreaded had become reality. Moreover, now the neo-Kantian editors of *Logos* also broke away from *Musagetes*.⁴³ Viacheslav Ivanov, who had moved to Moscow, urged him to utter the saving word that would reunite the forces of Symbolism, to write the new “Zarathustra” he had always dreamed of doing.⁴⁴ But Medtner felt only pain and emptiness: the breakup of *Musagetes* threatened to split him as well. He sought support in Chamberlain, “the closest man in Europe to me,” as he told Shaginian.⁴⁵ Earlier that year he had read Chamberlain’s *Goethe* (1912), and was struck by the similarities in their views of the

writer. Chamberlain as well stressed that Goethe had found emancipation by processing his inner Kantian dualism through his art.⁴⁶ Musagetes had just published the Russian translation of Chamberlain's *Arische Weltanschauung*. The work was useful to Medtner in his campaign against anthroposophy, since it both centers on Goethe and approaches the Indian-Aryan intellectual legacy from a different position than occultism, demonstrating its cosmic roots and paramount significance to Christian European culture.⁴⁷ Medtner also intended to focus the second volume of *Reflections on Goethe* (if indeed he ever managed to write it) on Chamberlain's and Georg Simmel's discussion of Goethe and Kant.⁴⁸

Suffering from attacks of vertigo, Medtner worked during this period on a "counterfile" which recapitulated the various phases of Belyi's "betrayal" of Musagetes.⁴⁹ Shaginian finally managed to persuade him to receive Rakhmaninov at Trakhanevo. As she notes in her commemorative article on the composer, however, the visit was a strained one, for Medtner "sat there ill and despondent and did not participate in the conversation" (even when it turned to Belyi).⁵⁰ He read *The Lady from the Sea*, perhaps the most purely psychopathological of Ibsen's dramas, in which the heroine Ellida Wangel achieves spiritual health through a confrontation with her hidden instinctual impulses incarnated in "the stranger" from the sea. The shifts between reality and projections leave the spectator in doubt as to the boundary between external and inner events. Ellida's struggle with her unconscious must have seemed very familiar indeed to Medtner.⁵¹

For practical reasons, just before the New Year Medtner, Anna, and Nikolai moved to an apartment of their own in Moscow. Belyi was in Leipzig, where he attended Steiner's lecture on Christ and the medieval symbolism of the Holy Grail. Now that he had made his crucial vow to his "Master," he thought he could see the chalice. He speaks in his intimate autobiographical notes of having a presentiment that a part of himself was preparing to die.⁵² During the lecture series, he went to the village near Leipzig where Nietzsche had been born and spent his first years (and where a priest, a colleague of Nietzsche's father who remembered him as a child, was still living). He fell to his knees on Nietzsche's grave and was filled by an infinite sun: it was as if he had stepped outside of himself and history.⁵³ This was in fact the concluding point of his work on *Petersburg*—an almost total identification with the diseased Nietzsche. A few weeks later he and Turgeneva settled down in Dornach.

Medtner's Ménière's disease tormented him day and night. His identification with the diseased Nietzsche was no less intense than Belyi's. He consulted a homeopath who prescribed natural remedies and hydrotherapy. On 21 February, Shaginian persuaded him to accompany her to the general rehearsal of *The Bells* (*Kolokola*), Rakhmaninov's music to Edgar

Allan Poe's poem (in Konstantin Bal'mont's Russian translation). This newly written "choral symphony" for a particularly large orchestra was to be performed for the first time in Moscow with the choir of the Bolshoi Theater. Medtner deliberately came late to the rehearsal, arriving at the beginning of the second movement. As Shaginian notes in her commemorative article, she was nervous, and even Rakhmaninov's conducting was disturbed by his demonstratively empty seat during what was perhaps the strongest section of the "symphony." There were several reasons for Medtner's behavior. He disliked program music of this sort, and Rakhmaninov had moreover given the first movement a national coloring, with a genuinely Russian rendering of a winter landscape and bell-ringing. The work became the greatest success of Rakhmaninov's career, but the Medtner brothers did not even bother to congratulate him. Shaginian was ashamed. In her own words, she was "enslaved" by Medtner's "iron logic" and "splendidly erudite 'condescension' toward Rakhmaninov's music."⁵⁴ In his epistolary diary Medtner summarized his impressions in the same spirit in which he had once reviewed Rakhmaninov's operas: "It is unpleasant to listen to elegant music written by a profoundly soulful composer who is incapable of expressing the essence of things and who merely tells what other, significantly more shallow figures are also able to tell and even tell better, with more natural elegance."⁵⁵ In her answer to him Shaginian accused him of "sadism," which provoked Medtner to strike back even harder, dismissing *The Bells* as "the bad art of a very great musical failure, the anguish of a spineless man, a psychological atomist."⁵⁶ His assessment of Rakhmaninov's "symphony" is remarkably similar to his initial interpretation of *Petersburg*: in both instances he criticizes the works for their inherent desolation and "psychological atomism."

In the middle of March Medtner again clashed with Il'in. The spark this time was the latter's gravitation toward Russian cultural nationalism. Like Medtner's German cultural nationalism, this was a compensatory phenomenon, only in reverse, for Il'in's German maternal background made him as well feel he was not a true Russian. He was at this time moving toward Dostoevskii, and he challenged Medtner by setting the Russian writer above Goethe. Hegel, Il'in declared, had killed everything anthropological in himself and, "burning up with the shame of being German" had raised himself above national distinctions. Dostoevskii did not need to do this; he could remain a Russian, for as he himself put it, the Russian is the "universal man" (*vsechelovek*).⁵⁷ It was enough for him to "burn up" through his art whatever was odious in himself. Goethe was a mere privy councillor, a typical eighteenth-century German entirely unworthy of Medtner's book. In his magnification of his ego, in his aspiration to "put Wolfgang Goethe in the place of the 'object'," he had lost his mental balance. German poetry is in general an impossibility, Il'in declared, because

the German language is a malformation. He dismissed Goethe's most famous poem "Night Song II" ("Über allen Gipfeln") as an example, saying that it was only Lermontov's splendid translation that "rescued" it. The future belonged to Russia rather than Germany, which was in fact already dead and rotting. Medtner replied to these blasphemies with blasphemies of his own, maintaining that Lermontov's translation was to Goethe's original as a Polish mazurka to a religious mystery, criticizing the great Russians' and particularly Dostoevskii's lack of Nietzsche's German "nobility" (*Vornehmheit*), dismissing the Russian sounds "ch," "sh," "shch," and "y" as barbaric, and describing Russian abstract language as incorporeal, unmanly, and dry in comparison with its German counterpart.⁵⁸ Il'in finally admitted that he had deliberately provoked Medtner. He had succeeded: in a letter to Anna Medtner confided that his mockery of the German language had felt like whiplashes "on my lips, my German lips."⁵⁹

THE GOETHE BOOK

Medtner had for a time been reading aloud to the Il'ins from the proofs to his book. He did so now for the last time, for *Reflections on Goethe* was finished. The work was a desperate attempt to awaken Belyi before it was too late, but it was at the same time an act of self-therapy. Medtner had tried to give it an almost scholarly appearance, dividing it into sections and supplying it with an extensive footnote apparatus. Steiner is described here in the same way as Liszt in Medtner's 1912 article. The portrait of Liszt, in fact, may well have been influenced by his view of Steiner, for as Medtner saw it, the two men had a great deal in common: both had usurped Goethe, and both had established bridgeheads in Russia to some extent, at least, through d'Alheim. Steiner could not be made a Jew any more than Liszt (although like him he had grown up in a non-German area in Hungary), but Medtner did surround him with "Jewish" epithets. Paradoxically, he perceived a materialistic foundation beneath Steiner's spiritual science; he hinted at its proximity to demonism and chaos and warned against the dangerous attraction it could hold for Slavs. In the usual Jewish way, Medtner suggests, Steiner seeks eclectic "universal knowledge" and therefore represents something pluperfect belonging to the past. Steiner's attitude to Goethe is described as essentially antagonistic, that is, it is all a question of power. His "sword" was made in a forge belonging to "a descendant of the dwarf Mime."¹ However, his evil machinations have not succeeded: incapable of articulate thought or expression, he has not found a single vulnerable spot in Goethe-Siegfried.

What Medtner attacks most of all are Steiner's monistic underestimation of Kant's role in Goethe's life and his overestimation of Goethe's philosophy of nature. He considers that Steiner has distorted all perspectives by emphasizing and praising Goethe's limitations and diminishing and trivializing the true expressions of Goethe's greatness. The decisive meeting with Schiller in 1794, Medtner maintains, implanted Kantian criticism in Goethe's thought. Without this vaccine Goethe might have lost his way on the descent to the Mothers to which he subjects Faust and, like Wotan, he might have suffocated "in Erda's embraces." Medtner would like to believe that his free soul and love of humanity would have brought him to his senses anyway, but the risk was there, as is known by anyone who has tried to follow Goethe's thought and observed him drifting away "into the endless stalactite tunnels of Erda's cave."² He was not at all an ele-

vated, cold-blooded Olympian when he met Schiller, but was at the age of 45 beginning the second half of his life and possessed far more passion, youthful ferment, and untapped energy than the Kantian Schiller, ten years his junior. What clashed here were a hypersensitive visionary and a learned poet-philosopher, and the result was the most remarkable friendship in the history of literature. Steiner, however, has totally misinterpreted this meeting. He deprives Goethe's brilliantly innocent view of nature of all its aroma and transforms it into the usual stupid naivete of the anti-criticist. He believes that Goethe was against Kant, whereas the fact is that it was Kantian insight that gave the mature Goethe ground beneath his feet.

Steiner maintains that Goethe never contemplated his own thought as the anthroposophist is presumed to do in the meditative state, and he therefore never explored and experienced the idea of freedom. Medtner replies that as a vehicle and creator of ideas Goethe always thought contemplatively, in images rather than abstract notions. It is evident from his conversations with Schiller that he was in danger of erasing the boundary between inner and outer image. He was at the same time endowed by nature with true gnoseological talent and was highly capable of self-reflection, even if it required effort and met some resistance.

Medtner asserts that when Steiner writes about Goethe's speculation on nature he is maniacally attempting to separate Goethe from contemporary science and its inadequate rationalists and mechanists. This means that he refuses to take into consideration the lyrical quality of Goethe's scientific works. Goethe has very clearly described the process of his spiritual vision, the way in which his "inner eye" grasped ideas. His scientific research is in a peculiar border area between art, science, and philosophy. He never abstracted his observations, but proceeded from the typical case where the natural scientist has his prepared conceptual network as the point of departure. He understood the "primary form," the "archetypal plant," of the organic world through his "filiation method," which was not correlated with scientific classification, as Steiner claims, but instead ran parallel to it. Where physics aspires to an approximative mastery of the external world, Goethe sought the truth in physical reality that was fruitful for the spiritual world. Steiner, however, continues in the delusion that science unambiguously tries to explain the world, that this is the principal task of physics.

Steiner's intelligence is not ready for Symbolism, Medtner says, and he can therefore never assimilate Goethe. In 1797 Goethe's presentiment of a link between the visible and invisible worlds laid the foundation of Symbolism. His creative notion of the symbol emerged at a time when he had attained a definitive critical dualism. Symbolic cognition would be unthinkable if, in accordance with Steiner's model, we could establish and

interpret everything. It is important to realize the boundary Goethe set for his symbolizing. It is the "primary form," which to him was at once ideal and real, symbolic and authentic. No one can ever understand Goethe's symbolism until they know his principle "stirb und werde" (from the poem "Seelige Sehnsucht" in the collection *West-Eastern Divan*), until they have been pierced by that "blissful yearning" of his which allows the self to die like a moth in the flame only to resurrect it in a higher form. Through a process of cathartic purification, the "blissful yearning" becomes spiritual clairvoyance. The intuitive imagination acquires a new precision, and, in Goethe's own words, an "exact sensuous imagination" is born.³

Goethe did not deny the objective existence of other dimensions or "planes" (as the anthroposophists call them), but merely dissociated himself from arbitrary, systematic penetration of them. His Masonic song "Symbolum" expresses his humility in this regard. He has said that we can never acquire knowledge of the true, which is the divine. We can only glimpse it in its reflection, in examples, and in the symbols.

Goethe, Medtner maintains, begins with the whole and aspires to the whole. His thought moves along, now connecting, now disconnecting, generating on the way a wealth of beautiful and magnificent images. The metaphysical conviction that nature and spirit are fused in the world, which as macrocosm is reflected in the human being as microcosm, never left him, not even when he was most definitely a dualist. Kant never abandoned it either.

Of all the great men of the world, it was perhaps Goethe who achieved the most profound self-knowledge. The boundlessness and many ramifications of his insight into himself are downright frightening. Medtner finds it puzzling that it did not strangle his creativity. There was a tension in his plumbing of his spiritual depths. He had to explore the entire world in order finally to find himself. In his view, contemplation of the world must be combined with self-contemplation. He stressed that the individual cannot remain for long in a conscious state but must soon again seek refuge in the unconscious, for it is there that his "root" lives.⁴ Goethe was in fact more polar than modern aesthetes, the representatives of various polarized currents, could dream of. He therefore aspired to move away from the poles in order to manifest not the barbaric or divine within himself, but the human that lay between. His literary legacy testifies to his titanic work with himself. Struggling continuously, he gradually approached inner balance.

After his trip to Italy, Medtner goes on, Goethe was in a war of love with nature. He felt he was nature's "fiancé" the moment he ceased being afraid and quit trying to violate it with theory, that is, as soon as he felt separate from nature rather than vaguely fused with it.⁵ It was an act of inner necessity and therefore also of the highest freedom. His "marriage"

with nature was perhaps the most harmonious union of private and public, personal and universal, in human history.⁶ He became godlike by complying with the exhortation of the Apollonian sun god: "Know thyself!" In *The Birth of Tragedy* Nietzsche speaks about "the deification of individuation" in this same context of Apollo's command.⁷ Goethe was threatened by "sunstroke" if he gazed too intently upon his beloved god and abandoned the drive to attain self-knowledge, if—as he himself told Schiller—he did not learn to "distinguish himself from himself."⁸ His self-affirmation would otherwise result in identification with the Divine Light, with the entire universe.

The power over nature claimed by monistic anthroposophy is merely a magical illusion, declares Medtner. Such claims merely lead to subjugation to Lucifer, for this is the same false sovereignty Mephisto held out to Faust. Goethe never aspired to power over nature or even over himself, but only desired a generosity that would render him worthy of being embraced by nature. Ultimately it was love he sought, and since he won love he also found the path to inner power over external reality.

Medtner is describing himself and Belyi in this portrait of Goethe. Goethe was threatened by a Nietzschean psychic collapse, but, as he entered the second half of his life, he managed with the help of Kant to overcome his inner demons, "distinguish himself from himself," draw a boundary between himself and the world. Medtner was involved in a daily power struggle with inner and external nature, and his guarantee of survival was that Goethe before him had fought the same battle and won. The reason Steiner was Medtner's enemy was that through his alter ego Belyi he was attempting to legitimize monistically the assault of the unconscious on Medtner's fortifications of reason. What Medtner had in mind was a state of equilibrium similar to Goethe's between divine and barbarian, between Apollonian and Dionysian, between the light of day and the black of night. He is looking toward "individuation," toward a rebirth as a new and higher form of life.

It is not difficult to see that the central sections of Medtner's text contain a dialogue with Shaginian. Fear of intimacy with her is also the fear of sinking into "the Mothers," of being smothered to death "in Erda's embrace," of quite simply losing the foothold of reason in the confrontation with reality.⁹ In "The Will to Power," Shaginian warned against power-hungry fanaticism and self-deification, and showed that Goethe himself had finally allowed his experience of love to neutralize his desire to rule. Medtner is unable to abandon these positions but tries instead to find a balance between "marriage" and possession.

According to Medtner, influenced as he was by phrenology, physiognomy, and craniology, merely studying Goethe's face and head could provide an idea of his universality. To that end, he illustrated his book

with an engraving and three photographs of four busts of Goethe taken from different angles. These were intended to convey an overall impression of Goethe's multifaceted personality, and they were commented upon in detail in an accompanying essay. Particularly in Alexander Trippel's two sculptures of 1787 and 1790, which were done in Rome during Goethe's trip to Italy and on a later visit, Medtner perceives evidence of deepening self-knowledge and the suffering that Goethe, 38 at the time of the first sculpture, had already experienced. Trippel himself is said to have been struck by the Apollonian quality of Goethe's head, but he also permitted a glimpse of still "untamed" Dionysian energy beneath. When Goethe turned 40 his exterior became "a complete incarnation of the Apollonian element."¹⁰ Medtner emphasizes that this Apollonianism was naturally of a specifically Teutonic character. This is manifested in the facial lines of the 1790 bust, where the "superman" is apparent in an indivisible unity of feeling, will, and reason.¹¹ In portraits of the young Goethe there is a certain incongruity among various features. In the maturing Goethe of 1790 (who, incidentally, was the same age as Medtner at the time the book was completed) all details have been brought into harmony with one another: the lines joining forehead and nose have acquired a new meaning, accentuating the depth of the personality. Not surprisingly, Medtner perceives something Napoleonic in Goethe's physiognomy, and as Goethe's friend, the founder of physiognomy Johann Caspar Lavater had pointed out, there is a certain lupine quality in the face. This is Medtner's ("Wölfling's") self-reflection and Belyi-projection speaking here—twelve years earlier he had commented in similar terms upon the shape of Belyi's skull and wolflike face.

In another appendix Medtner further discusses occultism and its growing influence in Russia. The tone here is more conciliatory than in the main text and is perhaps meant as a kind of reservation. This essay provides an idea of the continued ambivalence in his attitude toward anthroposophy. On the one hand he sees it and its unreasonable claims as a dangerous folly, whereas on the other he is forced to admit that occult meditation training on an individual basis has shown it can give weary and despairing Russians a certain self-awareness. He surmises that anthroposophy may in this respect be able to assist medicine. Steiner seems to offer his disciples a business transaction, "albeit extremely 'sublimated'," which consists in spiritual healing at the price of spiritual enslavement.¹² Thus Medtner is speaking not only of "the unconscious" but also of "sublimation" and the attempt of anthroposophy to "strengthen the Ego." His text has a slightly psychoanalytical flavor.¹³

As Medtner notes in his epistolary diary, when the book was finished he felt as in a fog. To Shaginian he threatened to commit suicide. It was only "weaklings" who could not bring about "the end" themselves.¹⁴ What

he otherwise had to look forward to was “death” or “insanity,” or perhaps the life of a bed-ridden invalid at a sanatorium.¹⁵ Writing at sunset on one occasion, he had such an attack of anxiety that he dropped his pen and rushed out into the street. He threw the entire burden of his life’s tragedy onto Shaginian. Rakhmaninov was not the only target of his bitter attacks in the letters: he also took offense at the theosophist Skriabin’s extravagant experiments and at Kusevitskii, who at this time (after a violent falling out with Skriabin) made the young modernist Igor’ Stravinskii’s scandalous ballet *The Rites of Spring* (*Vesna sviashchennaia*) the center of his orchestra repertoire.¹⁶

At precisely this time Medtner read chapters 6–8 containing the climax and conclusion of Belyi’s *Petersburg* in the third volume of the almanac *Sirin*. He sent a “review” to Belyi in Dornach that testifies to his terrified empathy with the work:

I’m reading *Petersburg*. I’m enraptured, appalled at the tone; I pant (almost slobbering)—an insufferable piece—I want to shout: No! Stop! Help, this is a robbery! Someone has stolen the man, only his underwear is left! And yet even your enemies must admit that no one in the world today can write anything of equivalent elemental power.¹⁷

To Shaginian he also emphasized the autobiographical foundation of the novel: “This is not art but an indecent corruption of his own genius to wash the filth off his soul. There is the smell of the steam bath and birch whisks and all sorts of disgusting things to boot.” He said he could not accept this “self-scrutiny, self-undressing, self-exposing, self-mockery.”¹⁸ In his very complex reaction there were echoes of the latest dispute with Il’in: Belyi was accused in the epistolary diary of a Dostoevskian lack of nobility and of barbarism in his act of artistic catharsis; perhaps he even surpassed Dostoevskii. Medtner obviously could recognize himself in this nightmarish portrayal, especially as the nearly insane Likhutin is so clearly a caricature of him (even imitating him in such details as resigning from his meaningless civil service position in the wake of the 1905 revolution).¹⁹

At the end of April Medtner returned in his epistolary diary to the inevitability of “the end” and to the necessity of bringing it about himself. Not even Goethe, he says, can stimulate him or keep him on earth any longer.²⁰ Shaginian answered his litanies with an article for *Trudy i dni* entitled “On ‘the End’ and on ‘Conclusion’” (“O ‘kontse’ i ‘okonchaniu’”). This was actually a reply to his views of Wotan in *The Ring of the Nibelung* as presented in the final 1912 issue of the journal (published in 1913). Shaginian’s article is about Wotan and, on another level, the Medtner who so intensely identified with the god. She hoped she still could save Medtner. She introduces certain refinements into the view of Wotan’s drift toward destruction as a reflection of humankind’s yearning for self-realization. Here there

is on the one hand a “striving toward the end” (which can characterize individuals and entire ages and is an impulse toward catastrophe), and on the other, a “striving toward conclusion” (which is usually characteristic of geniuses and the most viable races and which points forward toward a becoming).²¹ Medtner is quite right in maintaining that Wotan differs radically from Buddha, for beneath both forces driving him we can in fact discern a will to live. Wotan’s tragedy is that he is caught between the striving toward the end and the striving toward conclusion. He knows that only through the end can he make his way to the conclusion, yet he is incapable of allowing himself to be ignited and consumed without a trace by the flames. “Monism” fills him with a manic anguish; he knows that he must “die and become,” but this insight is sterilized by the fear that he will perish and never be reborn in a new form.²² Wotan is in the power of his desire to possess the ring. He turns away dispirited when he realizes that love is the price he must pay for its conquest, and he tries at once to conjure up the end and to postpone it through diversionary maneuvers. His anxiety as he confronts the end forces him to some degree to preserve his “shield of power” and thereby to split himself to escape his fear of unity and union with Brünnhilde.²³ Thus he resists the end at the same time as he secretly serves it by sending into the world his children, the fruit of the love he must renounce. It is this love that continues to grow in the hearts of his offspring and finally brings him to the saving “baptism of fire.”²⁴ Wotan’s damnation has to do with the fateful circle that surrounds him. This is the real ring which he can escape only by casting a lighted torch at himself, by ceasing to be who he is, by transforming himself once and for all. And this is what he does, through Brünnhilde, who is his own half, the “bride of his desire.”²⁵ The love that lifts the torch helps him to break the spell of the ring and meet his resurrective death. After this his end the conclusion must follow, and for that reason Wagner wrote *Parsifal* after the Nibelungen tetralogy. Just as Siegfried leads Wotan to the end, Parsifal leads him—after baptism no longer a pagan god but a Christian shepherd—toward the conclusion.

Shaginian’s article can be read as a continuation of her discussion of power and love in “The Will to Power.” The two articles were published together that spring in issue 7 of *Trudy i dni*. A note from the editor explained that in the future the journal would appear only once a year. (Already the double issue of 1913 turned out to be the only one that year.) Under the rubrics “Goetheana” and “Wagneriana,” the issue also carried an article by the young art historian Aleksei Sidorov on the difficulties of translating Goethe into Russian (Sidorov had just published his rendition of Goethe’s “The Secrets” with Lyric Poetry (Lirika), a small house which had ties with Musagetes²⁶), and Medtner’s commentaries on the goddesses (besides Erda) in *The Ring of the Nibelung*.²⁷ In addition, Via-

cheslav Ivanov contributed a new theoretical essay, "On the Boundaries of Art" ("O granitsakh iskusstva").

In early May Il'in and his wife traveled to Vienna to undergo analysis with Freud. When Medtner visited them to say good-bye, Natal'ia Il'ina plied him with Freudian truths about his personality. She complained of the perfectionism that prevented him from completing his planned work on Wagner. She even called him an "autoeroticist" and declared that he loved Kant and Goethe because they were alike.²⁸ She criticized him for exploiting others, whom he appreciated only to the extent that they gave him pleasure, regardless of whether it was positive or negative. This was the first time he had heard an outsider describe his narcissism (although the term itself was not mentioned). In his epistolary diary to Shaginian he cited Il'ina's remarks without comments, lamenting at the same time over her Hegelian spiritualism and Husserlinian phenomenologism, whose dangerous self-oblivion in cognition had been the point of departure of their conversation.

Soon two preliminary reports arrived from Il'in in Vienna. He said he had spontaneously liked "our high priest," and urged Medtner to enter psychoanalysis if he really took it seriously, because in only seven weeks the Vienna doctors were going on vacation.²⁹ He also informed Medtner that the "Jungians" in Zurich had defected from Freud's camp. In any case, the best two analysts—by whom he probably meant Freud and Adler (despite his break with Freud)—were in Vienna.³⁰ This siren call could not but have a certain effect on Medtner, who felt he was in "the underground"; his identification with Belyi's literary heroes had gone so far that he openly admitted to Shaginian that his life had been transformed into "Dostoevskianism." He suffered from insomnia and nightmares. More emphatically than ever before he declared that his diseased soul had never felt "more disgusting." It was as though "doomsday" had dawned.³¹

Medtner made a desperate last attempt to save Belyi from anthroposophy, commanding him in a telegram:

Flee head over heels from this Klingsor before it is too late listen neither to your friends (Steiner) nor to your wife listen to no one only to your genius otherwise your genius will abandon you.³²

During the spring Belyi had married Turgeneva, who partly owing to her anthroposophical asceticism, however, denied him sexual relations.³³ One consequence of this was that he was attracted to her (similar) older sister Natal'ia Pozzo (Potsso), also a member of the Dornach commune. He was tormented by his erotic fixation and identified himself with Parsifal and the enigmatically seductive Pozzo with Kundry, whom the wizard Klingsor dispatches to destroy Parsifal. Medtner could not have known how right he was when he described Belyi in the occult colony as a sur-

rounded Parsifal. According to his intimate autobiographical notes, Belyi did in fact feel that Steiner was harassing him through Pozzo's charms both in dreams and when awake.³⁴ His reverence for Steiner was tempered by restrained contradictory feelings which had earlier been channeled into the theme of Nikolai Ableukhov's paternal trauma in the second half of the novel. He thus heard Medtner's warning voice within himself.

Medtner put off answering Il'in. The state he was in had reinforced both his aversion to and his need of psychoanalysis. Finally he composed himself enough to write a long letter of explanation. He began by defending himself with Freud's statement (eight months previously) that the therapy could wait. Actually, he now claimed, Freud was puzzled by his case, because its specific "configuration of circumstances" obstructed the emancipation process. The only possible cure, Medtner suggests, is for him to give free rein to his calling. His abortive choice of career was of course a consequence of his childhood traumas, but it was also a reality that no analysis could reverse. If he were to emerge from the Freudian bath clean and fresh (his metaphors indicate the extent to which he inwardly associated analysis with Belyi's cathartic literary self-illumination) and yet lack the inner energy to deal with his "central sorrow," he would merely risk even worse suffering in the form of regret that this act of purification had come too late in his life. Goethe would be of more help to him than Freud. But if not even this (Christlike) "Redeemer" had healed him but had merely kept him from suicide, then the Freudian treatment promised only spiritual numbing and sexual excesses, "after the sexual abstinence, stimuli and rare and sporadic satisfactions" he had lived with thus far. Just now he found both literature and philosophy largely disgusting. He had tried to return to the piano in Pillnitz in the summer of 1913, but it had brought on attacks of Ménière's disease and "little demons." Deep within him there grew a fiery hatred "toward everything; toward nature, toward culture." It is quite clear from this letter that he feared the truth about his life-lie and was afraid of what might happen if his instincts were set free. He was masochistically fixated on his suffering.³⁵

Medtner also admitted in his letter that "Russianness" was essentially alien to him. He had just taken leave of Viacheslav Ivanov at the latter's Moscow home, where he had chatted with him and his follower and disciple, the Slavophile philosopher Vladimir Ern about Steiner and Goethe's philosophy of nature. It occurred to him that "no one knows Goethe" in this country.³⁶ His book, therefore, was very important, but publication of it and Ellis's pamphlet *Vigilemus!* was delayed by a printers' strike. Just before the walkout, however, Aleksei Petrovskii's translation of Jakob Böhme's meditations *Aurora* appeared under the Orfei label, dedicated to Steiner. Medtner was forced to wait until after the summer to publish *Reflections on Goethe*.³⁷

On 28 June a new greeting from Il'in arrived in Moscow, the same day the fateful shot rang out in Sarajevo. Restless Europe was on the threshold of war. Medtner prepared to visit Pillnitz. He went there via the Crimea (where Anna and Nikolai were staying) and Vienna, arriving in the Austrian capital just as the psychoanalysts had left for vacation. He met Il'in, who after six weeks of daily therapy intended to stay in the city for a while and—clearly sensing an approaching burst of creativity—work on his master's thesis on Hegel. This analysis may also have held considerable significance for Freud, since Il'in, with his "Russian" paternal complex and what Freud regarded as typically Russian ambivalence, was treated during the period when the crucial "archetypal trauma" was uncovered in Freud's subsequently most famous patient, Sergei Pankeev (alias the "Wolf Man") from Odessa.³⁸ Upon conferring with Il'in, Medtner at this point appears to have been inclined to begin by consulting not Freud but Adler, whose ideas about the lust for power and inferiority complexes (developed at the expense of Freud's sexual dogma) seemed to speak so directly to him. After a few days in Vienna he went on to Hedwig Friedrich, who had herself been persuaded by him to begin Freudian analysis with Dr. Margarete Stegmann in Dresden.³⁹ He planned first to gather his strength in Goethe's Weimar and then, by early autumn, through psychoanalysis in Vienna.

At the same time Medtner left, Shaginian traveled to Germany in hiking shoes and a rucksack. She intended to study for a time with philosopher and historian of religion Ernst Troeltsch in Heidelberg, but first, under the immediate impress of *Reflections on Goethe*, she made a pilgrimage in the last week of July through the cultural centers of Germany. She took detailed notes which she planned to work into a book. On 26 July she came to Worms, which had ties to one of Medtner's and therefore her German heroes, Martin Luther, and also to Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelung*. Rumors of war were already in the air. She continued to Frankfurt am Main, where she visited Goethe's birthplace and reflected upon his childhood and his deep friendship with his sister Cornelia, which he describes in his autobiography *Truth and Fiction*, which she and Medtner had read aloud a few months previously. She was well aware of the fact that the intensive sibling relationship was based "on the masculine elements in Cornelia's character and the feminine ones in Goethe's."⁴⁰ It seems clear that it was her complex relationship with Medtner that she was ruminating upon in this form, quite conscious of the links between the "masculine" Cornelia and Mignon of Goethe's novel. She sensed "the freshness of the Teutonic earth and race," its "youth," which contrasted so remarkably with the signals of catastrophe now being sounded.⁴¹ A day and a half later she had arrived at the destination of her journey—Weimar. She stayed there for three days and meditated—in Goethe's home,

at his graveside, in the Goethe-Schiller archive—on his “feminine” infatuation with the object of knowledge, which was the basis of his commitment to life, and on the ubiquitous erotic element in his cognition.⁴² On the way to Würzburg, where Wagner had begun his career, she reflected on Wilhelm Meister’s relationship to Mignon, a being who stood “above sex” and who from her first moment was “doomed to love and to perish by love”; there was something in her that could not endure physical contact.⁴³ When she saw people around her in Würzburg cheering for the Kaiser and singing “Deutschland über Alles,” she asked herself whether the “symphonism” of German culture would lead to destruction, because the German “play” requires a “full orchestra.”⁴⁴ The next day, on 1 August, she returned to Heidelberg, where she learned that Germany had declared war on Russia: World War I had broken out.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AND THE ENCOUNTER WITH JUNG

Medtner was even more deeply immersed than Shaginian in Wagner during these hectic days. On 1 August he and Friedrich saw *Parsifal* at the Festspielhaus in Munich. In the intermission, just before five o'clock, he learned of the German declaration of war. The shock "paralyzed" his soul.¹ Everything seemed meaningless. The next day he wrote to Anna in Russia: "This war, fratricidal in the true sense of the word, is ... the most terrifying experience of my life."² His own German-Russian conflict had been transferred from the psychic sphere to the battlefields of Europe, where it had become an objective reality. Trembling with acute "typhus," he was accompanied by Friedrich to a performance of *Tristan and Isolde* at the Prinzregenten-Theater in Munich three days later. Isolde's death reinforced his conviction that the European "twilight of the gods" was imminent.³ The following day he was arrested because he was a Russian citizen and was deported under circumstances that were extremely humiliating for such a Germanophile. Crossing Lake Constance into neutral Switzerland, he was more strongly than ever aware of his affinity with Wagner's Flying Dutchman.⁴ He chose to settle down in Zurich, where Goethe and Wagner had also at one time found refuge. He had learned from Il'in that there was a "Zurich school" of psychoanalysis, and moreover his wealthy second cousin Lonia Bühler lived nearby.⁵ Aware that he would fall to pieces without immediate help, he hastily got in touch with Professor Eugen Bleuler at the Burghölzli Hospital and inquired about suitable analysts. Carl Gustav Jung headed the list Bleuler gave him.

As a young assistant to Bleuler, Jung had become familiar with Freud's recently published *The Interpretation of Dreams* around the turn of the century. He contacted Freud personally as early as 1906, and had successfully developed his method while working at Burghölzli. Soon he was Freud's "heir" and "son," the central figure of the growing psychoanalytical movement outside Vienna. Freud set all his hopes on this gentile to spread the new theory in the world at large. Gradually, however, a rift appeared between them.

In 1911-1912 Jung wrote his great work *Symbols of Transformation* (*Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*), published in two installments in the international psychoanalytical yearbook which he himself edited. This study takes as its point of departure the dream of a young American

woman as described by Jung's psychologist friend Théodore Flournoy in Geneva. Jung demonstrates the correspondence between her dream language and religious legends and artistic symbols. He discovered that the roots of the creative imagination extend beyond the purely personal sphere and in fact draw their images from the collective unconscious in which the mythical language of various ages and cultures is grounded. As an adult, at the "noonday zenith" of life, the individual aspires to inner rebirth through renewed contact with the unconscious, the maternal roots of the psyche. The classical myths return constantly to a fundamental pattern in which the hero descends into death and then rises out of it to rebirth. The individual who manages to conquer the infantile desire for incest—representing as it does a mortal threat to the personality—is liberated like the hero from his or her "netherworld" to enter the mature stage of life.⁶

Jung's book had in fact a very personal background. In writing it he had penetrated his own unconscious at a time when his own life was approaching its "noonday zenith." He could not accept the thought that "return to the womb" was governed exclusively by the Freudian incestuous instinct, but interpreted it in a broader perspective as an expression of the yearning for spiritual regeneration. Thus the publication of *Symbols of Transformation* cooled the lively relationship between Freud and Jung, the final break occurring at the Fourth Psychoanalytical Congress in Munich in September 1913. Jung then withdrew from all his positions within the Freudian movement together with some of his followers in Zurich, and in 1914 he also resigned from his docentship at the University. All of this contributed to the deep crisis described in detail in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. His confrontation with his unconscious had begun as a scientific experiment but gradually became a psychic reality he did not seem able to master. He was flooded by inner images which threatened to overpower his conscious life and move entirely beyond his control.

On 12 December 1913 Jung felt himself sinking into darkness. He saw a newborn sun rising up out of the depths of the water. There was a thick jet of blood; earlier that same fall he had seen a horrible vision of blood. He realized that his dream was close to the hero-myths he had studied in his book, but he was also frightened by the catastrophe it seemed to portend. Six days later he dreamed that he killed Siegfried in a similar sunrise setting. Later he felt as though it was himself he had symbolically slain, which suggests how strongly he identified with Wagner's hero. Jung was an exceptionally ambitious and power-hungry man, and now he had suddenly sacrificed his heroic position in the psychoanalytical movement and broken the bold rise of his career. The dream described this collapse.⁵

After the outbreak of war in early August 1914, Jung began writing down his dreams: "I had to try to understand what had happened and to what extent my own experience coincided with that of mankind in gen-

eral." He was living in a "constant state of tension," flooded by "an incessant stream of fantasies."⁷ He feared for his mental health and realized that he could meet the same fate as Hölderlin (whose psychic disintegration is discussed in his book) and Nietzsche. Thoughts of suicide were near at hand; he slept with a loaded pistol in his night table. Registering the fantasies was also a defense against them. An inner voice, which he identified as his "anima," told him that he actually was an artist, and that writing down the visions was a form of art. It was at this point that Medtner entered Jung's life. Medtner was a patient who lived myth, who like Jung himself skirted the border of emotional collapse in a struggle with his unconscious which intimately interacted with the events of the war.

Jung and Medtner both had unmistakably schizoid traits. In "Bildnis der Persönlichkeit im Rahmen des gegenseitigen Sich Kennenlernens," the retrospective portrait he published a couple of decades later on the occasion of Jung's sixtieth birthday, Medtner describes his encounter with Jung as determined by fate. During the very first phase of analysis in early autumn he read *Symbols of Transformation* and was struck by the thought that this was a book written more for authors than for psychiatrists.⁸ It was evidently not difficult for him to find correspondences with his own book on Goethe and with his drafts of the never completed work on Wagner. The two men had both turned to myth at almost exactly the same time and in certain respects along parallel lines. Goethe, Nietzsche, and Wagner occupy a central position in Jung's thick two-volume work, and considerable attention is devoted to Faust's descent to the Mothers, Wotan's encounters with Erda, and Siegfried and Zarathustra. Here Medtner encountered a psychoanalytical interpretation of the personal problems he had struggled with and tried to formulate in his philosophical and polemical works. Like Belyi, Jung stressed the significance of the sun as a symbol of rebirth. The hero emulates the sun, dying out in the maternal darkness to be born again out of the night in the resurrectional light of dawn. Here Jung was elucidating what Medtner himself had attempted to express in *Reflections on Goethe*: how Goethe recovered at the meridian of his life, how his "spirit" descended into "nature," the Faustian labyrinth of the Mothers, and, risking death in its "stalactite caves" and "mortal embrace," how he had returned reborn, healed, to the daylight level of consciousness. He had been operating within a philosophical conceptual framework, but the basic notion was the same, and in fact the subtext occasionally even showed a link to psychoanalysis.

Medtner found to his satisfaction that *Symbols of Transformation* also referred to the Russian Symbolist Dmitrii Merezhkovskii. Jung confirmed that he had often had Merezhkovskii in mind, particularly as he was planning the first part of the book.⁹ "I was pleasantly surprised," Medtner recalled later, "to find in Jung not only similar reflections on the symbol

expressed in scientific, psychological language and, when needed, therapeutical usage, but also a kindred Symbolist current of thought."¹⁰ Jung's interpretation of symbols had much in common with that of Belyi and Ivanov, who in *Trudy i dni* in 1912 had defined the symbol as "an inscrutable expansion of the total personality and our empirically limited self-consciousness."¹¹

In fundamental respects, Jung suited Medtner far better than Freud. He was not a Jew like Freud (and Adler), but was on the contrary even anti-Semitic, a fact that, as Freud noted here and in other contexts, was of a certain significance in their altercation.¹² This attitude was evidently intensified by the turbulence of the break between the two men.¹³ Also, he had the same fateful attraction as Medtner to Jewish women. His complicated amorous relationship with the Russian Jewess Sabina Spielrein, the patient who became his colleague, had ended not long before he met Medtner. Jung and Spielrein shared an interest in Wagner, and she had become obsessed with the idea of bearing him a hero-son named Siegfried, the symbol of their psychoanalytical intellectual union and her desire, through Jung, to transcend her Jewish identity.¹⁴ It is thus not surprising that Medtner should note that the "racial question" naturally came up during analysis.¹⁵

Furthermore, where Freud had made the paternal trauma central, Jung concentrated on the "mystery of the mother." This divergence in interests, of course, derived from their personal backgrounds. As is clear from his memoirs, Jung's own problems arose from his relationship with his coldly unresponsive mother, whose physical absence set its stamp on an important segment of his childhood. Medtner's "illness" similarly derived from his mother.¹⁶ Jung and Medtner soon found that they had both been fascinated early on by the Swiss legal historian Johann Jakob Bachofen's classical study *Das Mutterrecht*, which posits a primary matriarchy in the childhood of culture.¹⁷ Medtner also brought to Jung's attention Rider Haggard's novel *She*, which he had read as a young man; it contains a suggestive depiction of an all-embracing African mother goddess.¹⁸ This novel, probably thanks to Medtner, eventually played a prominent role in Jung's works.¹⁹ Unlike Freud, Jung aspired to establish a psychology of consciousness, stressing not the descent into the nocturnal darkness of the unconscious, but the re-ascent to the daylight of consciousness, the integration of unconscious psychical strata into conscious life. Consequently, he did not, like Freud, look mainly back to the traumas of childhood, but instead attempted to proceed from the current conflicts of the therapeutical present. This was close to Medtner's interpretation of Goethe as a "solar" personality. Polemizing with Steiner, who in Medtner's eyes had not understood the writer and had focused on the night, in his book he had emphasized Goethe's experience of clarity and acuteness of vision in the

light of consciousness and his Apollonian expansion of the personality in the light of the sun. Jung's psychology of consciousness and his extension of the Freudian libido to include not only sexual instincts but vital energies in general were much more acceptable to Medtner than were Freud's theories (cf. Medtner's comments on the latter in his long letter to Il'in in June 1914).

Five days a week Medtner went out to Jung's office at his home in Küsnacht on the outskirts of Zurich. After a few weeks of analysis, by early October his sense of despair began to yield. He felt that Jung and he were engaged in a joint research project, a feeling that was reinforced by the fact that Jung, unlike Freud, was willing to establish a non-authoritarian, give-and-take relationship between therapist and patient. Medtner's significant contribution was the unique Russian experience he conveyed. Jung explained to him that he suffered from intellectual hypertrophy, arguing that his militant Kantianism should be regarded as the introvert's neurotic "fortification."²⁰ "Introversion" and "extraversion" were central notions in the theory of attitude-types Jung was developing at this time. He had outlined the basic characteristics in this typology at the Psychoanalytical Congress in Munich in 1913. The driving force behind it was apparently his attempt to deal with the deepening rift between himself, an introvert, and the (likewise introvert) Freud's extravert features, of which the sexual theory was a manifestation. In Medtner's psyche he discerned an extremely introvert "thinking function" in violent conflict with an unconsciously extravert "feeling function." Citing his experiences with American patients, in this context he also offered an interpretation of Medtner's national conflict: like descendants of Englishmen on the American continent, Medtner was especially "chtonic," because his German roots had prevented him from sufficiently consolidating his Russian identity.²¹

Jung soon noted that Medtner was making a "transference" to his psychoanalytical method which was essentially a transference to Jung himself.²² Medtner obviously projected features of Goethe the "healer" on to his therapist, who had now become a new center in his life. Conducive here was the fact that Jung also identified with Goethe, both through his reading of *Faust* and through a family legend according to which his grandfather had been the poet's illegitimate son. In his correspondence with Freud Jung had jocularly referred to Goethe as "Herr Great-great-grandfather."²³ Medtner tended to regard his therapist as a savior, a living ideal offering support and strength, a complete and exuberantly creative artist who was pursuing what Belyi had been destined for; like Goethe, he was overcoming his middle-age crisis and shaping his life and his work into a single whole. Medtner evidently established a relationship with Jung on two temporal planes, so that their therapeutic conversations seemed to be

between "Herr Great-great-grandfather" and Medtner's great-great-grandfather, Goethe's correspondent. Also, here he more than ever entered into the role of the diseased Nietzsche, especially considering that the philosopher's relationship to Switzerland was even closer than Goethe's: *Thus Spake Zarathustra* had been born out of the Swiss alpine landscape, and his mental decline had begun in nearby Basel. Jung had also been deeply impressed by the figures of Nietzsche and Zarathustra, and had early on reflected upon the Goethe-Nietzsche polarity. The situation analysis may have suggested to Medtner, then, was one of Goethe healing Nietzsche.

In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* Jung recalls the overwhelming experience of his first reading of *Faust* as a teenager. He reacted to it very personally, for the split between Faust and Mephisto existed within himself. Goethe had written "a basic outline and pattern of my own conflicts and solutions."²⁴ It struck him that the center of gravity and meaning of the work lay with Mephisto, and he sensed a connection between him and the "mystery of the mother." Faust's great initiation at the end of the work became "a wonderful and mysterious experience on the fringes of my conscious world."²⁵ He felt he was cleft into "No. 1" and "No. 2"—one self linked to reality and another, deeper and all-embracing, timeless identity. The character of Faust seemed to him to be "a living equivalent" of his own hidden collective identity. It gave him support and comfort: "My godfather and authority was the great Goethe himself."²⁶

Thus Spake Zarathustra had likewise become a personal concern for Jung as a young man. "Zarathustra was Nietzsche's Faust," he observed, and his and Jung's "No. 2" corresponded to Nietzsche's hero. Sensing Zarathustra's morbidity, he also feared there was something diseased in himself. He drew the conclusion that the hymnlike raptures and abundant metaphors of Nietzsche's characteristic style arouse out of the difficulty he encountered in communicating his "No. 2" to "a world which had sold its soul for a mass of disconnected facts." He "did not understand himself when he fell head first into the unutterable mystery."²⁷ Thus Jung's and Rudolf Steiner's almost exactly contemporaneous interpretations of Nietzsche's tragedy had certain points in common.

Medtner, brutally cut off by the war from Anna and Nikolai, reported in letters to Anna in Moscow on his encounter with Jung. He made it clear to her that were it not for Jung, he would have shared Nietzsche's fate and "gone mad."²⁸ He cited Nietzsche's prophecies of the total war that had now become both external and internal reality for him.²⁹ Jung had once and for all made him aware that "Erda is a problem of mine that can make me lose my mind."³⁰ The question was so explosive that he was unable to verbalize it for Anna. Instead he referred her directly to his comments on Erda in *Reflections on Goethe* as an autobiographical document.

He mentioned briefly that this entire complex was related to the feminine “windowsill ghost” that attacked him in nightmares.³¹ He also felt an affinity with Hölderlin, whose descent into inner darkness was such a prominent topic in *Symbols of Transformation*. The hope Jung inspired in him was that a remedy, the coming rebirth, would emerge from his and Europe’s trauma.³²

Already the title of Medtner’s article, then, portrays their encounter as a mutual “getting-to-know oneself,” and in this respect it was reminiscent of his first contact with Belyi twelve years previously. To Jung, who was at this time alone and even partially isolated from his own family, Medtner seems to have come as a remarkable confirmation of his crisis and the theories he was developing from it. Thus he must have helped Jung achieve insight into himself. At the price of an inner state of shock, both men had now withdrawn from leadership positions within their movements, psychoanalysis and Russian Symbolism, whose core was built around personal ties to Freud and Belyi, respectively. Referring to Medtner’s experience of the identity between inner and external reality, Jung declared him “the most modern person” he had ever met.³³ According to Medtner’s retrospective version of events, Jung found within him “the increasing tension between rational and irrational forces typical of the modern cultured individual.”³⁴ Jung told him: “You have the psychology of an eighteenth-century German combined with the modern yet archaic psychology of the Russian.”³⁵ What particularly fascinated him, of course, was Medtner’s “mythical thinking,” the “suprapersonal” and “medial” quality of his psyche.³⁶ Jung’s reminiscences reveal that during these first months of the war he was convinced that he himself and his tumultuous inner world of images belonged to all of humanity, that his personal experiences expressed a universal experience. Even in his childhood he had sensed a collective spirit within which he soon associated with Goethe and *Faust*.³⁷ Now he believed that his terrifying visions during the year before the outbreak of the war had anticipated and communicated absolute premonitions of the conflagration.³⁸ He interpreted Medtner’s similar—and contemporaneous—dreams in the same way. Medtner, of course, had early on entertained notions of the “collective memory” of the individual, and these had influenced Belyi’s third symphony, *The Return*. He had emphasized Goethe’s “collectivistic side,” the suprapersonal element in him. These concepts coincided strikingly with Jung’s. Jung interpreted the war as a result of unconscious impulses in the peoples of Europe which were anticipated by rare individuals such as himself and Medtner who were in special intuitive contact with the collective unconscious. As Medtner notes retrospectively, during these therapeutic sessions his dreams served as the basis for discussions of “the problem of preparing psychologically” for dramatic global events such as the war.³⁹

Medtner with his lust for power attempted to “conquer” people by making them fall in love with him. Now he reported to Anna that Jung as well had done so:

A general rule is so called Uebertragung (quite simply a form of infatuation) to the psychoanalyst, but because I am an “old flirt” the opposite has occurred. I like Jung; he is a genuine European—one of the most erudite and cultivated persons I know and very likeable besides; you and Kolia would both like him. But with me it is not a question of Uebertragung; ... I would be more likely to have an Uebertragung to Freud, even if he is Jewish, because he is so much older than I and has a personality that is diametrically opposed to mine yet very strong. But Jung has uebertragt to me to such an extent that at times I seem to hear Il’in or Nieländer or someone else infatuated with me. His compliments remind me especially often of Il’in. He thinks I am a verkümmertes Genie and is continually amazed by the power of my thought. Here he often speaks in a way that resembles Marietta’s descriptions of me. He also sees something particularly prophetic in my personality, and in this respect his psychoanalysis reminds me of what Mintslova, Margarita Vasil’evna (=Sabashnikova, M.L.), Bugaev, and even Steiner have said about me. Naturally, I put all of this in its proper place, but I’m surprised that antipodal judgments should converge in a Swiss doctor: Bugaev’s and Il’in’s; Marietta’s and Margarita V-na’s; Steiner’s and Nieländer’s, etc. Jung told me the other day that eyes such as mine are only to be found on the canvases of the trecentists (that is, the pre-Raphaelites, Botticelli, F. Lippi, Francesco Francia); things have gone this far, you see! Even to details of appearance. His interpretation of my inner self is in the same spirit.⁴⁰

Jung is further said to have noted a kinship between Medtner’s physical characteristics—the intensity of his gaze, the southern features of his appearance—and the figures of the Italian Renaissance in Andrea Mantegna’s paintings. He also perceived resemblances between Medtner and German chief of staff Paul von Hindenburg, whose initial military victories, of course, greatly impressed the Russian admirer of Napoleon.⁴¹

Shaginian, as it turned out, had followed Medtner not only to Germany but also to Zurich. She as well had been arrested and deported from Germany upon the outbreak of the war. She chose to go to Switzerland, since her sister and aunt were there. Suddenly Medtner could stand her no longer. His relationship with her had centered more than anything on his work with the book, and when this was finished her appeal diminished accordingly. As early as the spring he evidently was beginning to feel embarrassed by her willful ambition to “rescue” him. It seems that Jung also soon encouraged him to keep her at a distance. Medtner wrote to Anna that he was ashamed of her loud behavior (a result of her impaired hearing) on the streets of Zurich, and he refused to meet her more than once a week.⁴² After a lawsuit, Anna and Medtner were now finally getting a formal divorce, but Anna and Nikolai put off marriage, as the rela-

tionship between the three of them was as unclear as ever. Anna fretted jealously that Medtner, free and physically distant from her, would go ahead with his always diffuse plans of marriage. He calmed her fears, however, for analysis indicated that he should remain alone for the time being. Thus neither Shaginian nor Friedrich was a serious rival any longer. The latter (who visited Zurich with her mother in August) was in fact only on his "spiritual periphery."⁴³ This was a very painful time for Shaginian. She worked on her book of essays about her travels in Germany on the eve of the war; it was also a form of therapy, since Medtner was its invisible protagonist.

Musagetes was paralyzed, although even in the shadow of the war *Reflections on Goethe* appeared in Moscow. Medtner's Goethean teaching sounded dubious to say the least to Russian ears just then. Ellis's likewise delayed pamphlet *Vigilemus!* was published at the same time. It was not as aggressive as Belyi had feared, although ideologically, of course, it was related to Medtner's thesis. Ellis warned that European culture was losing its religious foundations, and he accused anthroposophical monism, which based its scientific claims on positivism and evolutionism, of being an actively contributing factor. He emphasized the symbolic significance of *Parsifal*, which was inaccessible to occult magic, and, quite in the spirit of Medtner, he suggested a kinship between Steiner and Klingsor.⁴⁴ Ellis was now close to Johanna Poelman-Mooy, a Dutch occultist he had met in Steiner's colony. They had traveled together to Italy and Assisi, the Rosicrucian center of which Mintslova had spoken. Their growing attraction to medieval Catholic mysticism had induced them to abandon anthroposophy. As they saw it, Steiner had betrayed his Rosicrucian experience.⁴⁵ As a "medium," Poelman-Mooy (whom Ellis evidently considered a new and better organized Mintslova) was laying the foundation to an esoteric doctrine of her own called "cosmosophy" which to a certain extent was based on astrology. Under the pseudonym "Intermediarius" she had earlier that year published a tract in Stuttgart entitled *Christliche Theologie und Cosmosophie nach dem Zeichen des Heiligen Graal*. It was influenced by Ellis' Russian experience, and already that spring Ellis had translated it into Russian for possible publication with Musagetes.⁴⁶

On Nikolai as well the war had a numbing effect, and this combined with separation from Medtner prevented him from composing. As he put it himself, he felt as though his wings had been clipped.⁴⁷ Anna wrote that he slept in his brother's bed and sat on his couch to read because it gave him the feeling he was "with" Medtner, and that he even could establish telepathic contact with him.⁴⁸ Anna feared for his sanity, and there was talk of having Il'in attempt to psychoanalyze him. Il'in, who had been repatriated to Russia immediately after the start of the war, was in almost

daily contact with them. With Medtner out of the way, a close friendship also developed between Nikolai, Anna, and Rakhmaninov and his wife.

On 19 October, the Religious-Philosophical Society held an evening of lectures at Morozova's on the theme "Russia and the War." Participants were Viacheslav Ivanov, Grigorii Rachinskii, Vladimir Ern, Semen Frank, Sergei Bulgakov, and Evgenii Trubetskoi. The tone of all their remarks was anti-German, militantly patriotic and even somewhat chauvinistic, and their views of the German enemy were cast in the symbolic language of especially Goethe and Wagner. Alluding to the epilogue of *Faust*, Ivanov declared that "Germanness" despised the Earth and the Eternal Feminine, that is, that it mephistophically opposed Faust's dream of synthesis.⁴⁹ Rachinskii said that Germany had now cast off its idealistic mask and revealed its true "beastly face."⁵⁰ Ern posited a straight line "from Kant to Krupp" (the title of his talk), arguing that Krupp's cannons followed logically from Kant's postulate on the inaccessibility of the objective world.⁵¹ Bulgakov perceived the dwarf Mime in the Juggernaut of "Pangermanism," and in strongly Sophian terms he described Russia as the "womb of the future."⁵² Prince Trubetskoi, professor of philosophy at Moscow University (and romantically involved with Morozova), described Germany as the dragon Fafner and emphasized Russia's liberating mission.⁵³ Thus the element of Russian messianism was very strong throughout, and Germany was in all respects made to appear a demon. The speakers unambiguously interpreted the war as an attack by materialist German rationalism on the Russian soul.

Anna, who had attended with Nikolai, reported very cautiously on the lectures to Medtner, for she was well aware that their ideology was nearly unbearable to him and threatened his psychic balance. Together with information on Sergei Solov'ev's demonization of Germany in a booklet of patriotic verses,⁵⁴ however, even her sparse comments made him realize that he might lose several of his friends and acquaintances. This was the case, for example, with Rachinskii, who despite his familiarity with German culture was now throwing in his lot with anti-Germanism. It was less true of Il'in, who delivered a lecture at Morozova's three weeks later entitled "The Spiritual Meaning of the War" ("Dukhovnyi smysl voiny") in which he regarded the hostilities as a national rebirth, a baptism of fire and an act of purification. He described the defense of the Fatherland as a holy duty and death on the battlefield as the fulfillment of a higher mission. Anna reproduced all but four short passages of the lecture in her letter to Medtner.⁵⁵

Remarkably enough, Belyi was less than an hour away from Medtner, in Dornach. To him as well inner and outer events seemed to converge. He had compulsive thoughts that this was his war, meaning that he had personally caused it. He felt like a living corpse.⁵⁶ To help cope with his

anxiety he had begun to keep a diary. Out of it that fall emerged an essay, "Life Crisis" ("Krizis zhizni"), the beginning of a cycle on the crisis of European culture which was influenced by Nietzsche's aphoristic style and his personal tragedy in Basel, just a few miles from Dornach. Jung's analysis of Medtner, of course, devoted considerable attention to Belyi. In October he read the German translation of *The Silver Dove*, and after a few pages he is reported to have described the author as an important artist, but more as a "dynamic" than as a person: he greatly needed to "drink" from Medtner's depth.⁵⁷ The painful misunderstandings in Jung's own relationship with Freud made him especially well qualified to explore Medtner's conflicts with Belyi. He explained that when they engage in polemics with each other, the introvert and the extravert (here Jung seems to some extent to be casting Belyi in Freud's role) are unable to understand each other on a deeper plane.⁵⁸ He convinced Medtner that the only liberation was through reconciliation with Belyi and Steiner.⁵⁹

THE BREAK WITH BELYI

Toward the end of November Shaginian and her sister left Zurich for Italy. From there they eventually made their way back to southern Russia. The day after Shaginian's departure Natal'ia Pozzo turned up in Zurich in response to a letter from Medtner. He had been interested in her since 1909, when Belyi initiated his relationship with her sister Asia. She had been close to Mintslova, and Medtner had perceived a similar, genuinely occult element in her character. As early as 1912, just before she joined her sister as a follower of Steiner, she confessed that she sensed a spiritual leader in Medtner.¹ Now—just as Belyi was falling under her spell—she wept tears of emotion and declared her love for Medtner. It must have seemed that she had come to replace Shaginian, who had played out her role in his life. Pozzo kept Medtner exceptionally well informed on Belyi's doings, and she took it as her special task to reconcile the two men. Only a few days later Medtner and Belyi met in Dornach, where the anthroposophists had joined together to build their so called Johannesbau—a combination of spiritual university, mystery stage, and lodge.² Medtner revealed to Belyi that he had published a critical survey of Steiner's Goetheanism. Belyi replied that he was prepared to print a response to the work if he deemed it necessary, but that such an ideological polemics would not disturb their partially repaired personal relationship.³

Jung regarded Medtner's friendship with Pozzo as positive in several respects.⁴ Medtner's various images of women—from Anna (and her sister Mar'ia) to Morozova, Friedrich, Sabashnikova, Shaginian, and now Pozzo—were analyzed in his "laboratory," as Medtner called it in a letter to Anna.⁵ To allay her jealousy and growing aversion toward Pozzo and the Dornach colony, he added that the split between "over" and "under" in his personality was quite naturally accompanied by a polygamous tendency.⁶ The creative collective around Belyi attracted him more and more. He was already on an entirely vegetarian diet. "That's the anchorite's unconscious at work," was Jung's comment.⁷ Pozzo tried to cure his chronic indigestion with anthroposophical tea. Like Mintslova, she knew how to play on his need of the occult. In letters to Anna he soon began noting points in common between psychoanalysis and spiritual science, and in a jocularly provocative tone asked her whether he should not become an anthroposophist after all.

In December Medtner paid another couple of visits to Dornach. Belyi now had his book, and, as he says in the intimate autobiographical notes, he was struck by its “bilious, malicious, aggressive” tone. The first work in Russia about Doctor Steiner gave a “terrible, distorted” picture of him. Belyi says he felt obliged to reply. Unfortunately, however, he had never studied Goethe’s scientific texts and he was not, like Medtner, a specialist on the writer. He therefore began reading these works and everything Steiner had written about Goethe. Medtner declared that Belyi was welcome to reject his digressions on anthroposophy if he did not challenge his interpretation of Goethe. Belyi gradually realized that Medtner was familiar with only about a fourth of Steiner’s works on Goethe, and had structured his polemics around an attack on *Goethes Weltanschauung*, which in Belyi’s view was merely a sketchy exposition of the subject. As Belyi immersed himself during these weeks in Goethe’s scientific works, he realized the extent to which anthroposophy was based on these “still generally unappreciated” studies. He was enthusiastic about the “correctness” of Steiner’s gnoseological position. For a while the polemics with Medtner faded into the background as he became absorbed with defining his own attitude to anthroposophy. At the same time, he was aware that his increasingly sophisticated knowledge of spiritual science would be a powerful weapon to use against Medtner, who could hardly suspect the forces his book had unleashed in Belyi.⁸

In his intimate autobiographical notes Belyi claims that in Dornach Medtner openly supported Freud and Jung and declared that psychoanalysis had become a natural part of him.⁹ This reinforced Belyi’s negative view of depth psychology; the anthroposophists had already been shaken by one attempt that year to link Steiner’s and Freud’s ideas.¹⁰ Belyi, however, did not know for certain that Medtner was undergoing therapy. He wondered about Medtner’s “inner ‘knowledge’” and its similarity to the insights he himself had gained through meditation. Medtner reportedly hinted that he had access to “something that fully corresponded to meditation,” but Belyi was not sure exactly what that was.¹¹ Belyi began viewing his friend as a “spy,” especially as he observed his warming relationship with Pozzo, and he confessed to dark feelings of jealousy.¹²

Medtner did not know that Belyi’s anguished visions and problems with Turgeneva were making it difficult for him to adjust to the occult community. Belyi was cut off from Steiner and suffered from the “court atmosphere” which Marie von Sivers, now Steiner’s wife, had created around him. He felt like Nietzsche with Wagner in Bayreuth. He reread Nietzsche’s essay “Wagner in Bayreuth,” from which he took the author’s arguments against his lost friend and aimed them at Sivers.¹³ The paradox now, then, was that the anthroposophist Belyi secretly longed to get away from Dornach, whereas Steiner’s enemy Medtner was almost magnetically drawn to it.

During the second visit, around Christmas, Belyi guided Medtner through the commune and the construction of Johannesbau as it emerged as a mighty symbol uniting idea and practice, spirit and matter. Medtner viewed himself as Dante being led by Virgil through hell, purgatory and heaven. Distant bursts of artillery could be heard from battlefields in France. Suddenly they ran into Steiner among the scaffolds. They were joined a moment later by Sabashnikova, Petrovskii, and Mikhail Sizov, another friend from the Musagetes circle. Medtner noted that the Russian anthroposophists changed before “the Master” into “affected schoolchildren”; Belyi seemed hysterical. Steiner’s simple manner made him conspicuous among the group. As Medtner regarded him—and Steiner attentively met his eyes—he recalled his snake dream from the turn of the century. At the same moment he recognized the eyes of the defeated black snake in Steiner’s intense gaze. Thus his “black snake” had assumed human form, but since Steiner was no longer terrifying, the dream as well seemed to lose its oppressive significance.¹⁴ During his next session with Jung Medtner was finally able to relate the entire dream, which until now he could only hint at. Referring to earlier notes, Jung showed that on the threshold of the new century he himself had had a prophetic nightmare with the same content but a different conclusion. The black snake had also appeared in his visions in December 1913; in *Symbols of Transformation* he had discussed the central symbolical significance of the snake in myth. Medtner recalled:

We spoke a great deal then about this difference in a dream which evidently possessed a suprapersonal, objective-collective significance, and we explained it as resulting from the different individualities of the two dreamers. We functioned as media here, but only until the final crucial moment, when the individual viewpoint got the upper hand.

This “great” dream brought them even closer to each other, yet it also indicated where their ways parted.¹⁵

Medtner was granted permission to attend one of Steiner’s Christmas lessons. Also upon this occasion he watched exercises in the eurhythmic dance the anthroposophists had begun to develop. He found it amateurish and impossible even to compare with the programs of Dalcroze or Isadora Duncan. As a speaker, Steiner made a better impression on him than in Berlin six years previously. Medtner was struck by his skill as a “medium”: lacking “the ability ... to think,” devoid of both “poetic” and “rhetorical talent,” he was most interesting not when he was “screaming” his message himself but when, eyes bulging and arms flailing, he served as an instrument for someone else.¹⁶ After the lesson, Medtner went up to him and thanked him. In *Recollections of Steiner (Vospominaniia o Shteynere)* Belyi writes that “the Doctor’s most malevolent enemy” seemed at

this moment transformed into a blushing and mumbling young admirer.¹⁷ Steiner immediately invited Medtner to attend two more lectures, one of which was even closed to the public. In his discussion of the figure of Wilhelm Meister in this “esoteric” lesson, Medtner detected cryptic messages addressed to himself. It was easy for Medtner to draw parallels between the “society of the tower” in *The Apprenticeship of Wilhelm Meister* and the anthroposophical commune. Goethe had belonged to similar Freemason orders. Meister’s maturation follows the Freemason initiation process, and the entire work sings the praises of skilled craftsmanship; the Dornach initiates, divided in groups performing various special tasks, were erecting their spiritual temple with their own hands before Medtner’s very eyes. It is in the “society of the tower” that Meister meets Natalie, who after the many women in his life is the one he finally loves; Natal’ia Pozzo, well aware of Medtner’s identification with Meister, readily pointed out that she had the same name.¹⁸

Medtner, then, once again met Sabashnikova, with whom he was still in waning contact. An artist like Turgeneva, she found it easier than Belyi to find a place in the Johannesbau project.¹⁹ She introduced Medtner to one of the two chief architects, the Swiss Josef Englert, to whom she was particularly close. He had gathered around him an astronomy and astrology study group to which Sabashnikova belonged. He was as proficient in engineering as in magic, and he was also interested in physiognomy. Like Jung, he read Latin Renaissance lines into Medtner’s face alongside the Teutonic features. This appealed to Medtner, who claimed to have distant Spanish forebears on his father’s side. Perhaps it was also a response to Medtner’s satirical remark that he had been the Italian military commander Bartolommeo Colleoni in an earlier incarnation.²⁰ (Shortly before Medtner visited Dornach, a flattering trace of Colleoni had been detected in his handwriting by Adolf Keller, a priest friend of Jung’s who was also a therapist.²¹)

Medtner was delayed by Steiner’s lectures and was obliged to telegraph Jung cancelling their next session. Pozzo had already begun to suspect that something was going on. To reassure her he told her that he regularly met a Swiss friend to read Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass* (*Asinus aureus*).²² There was a measure of truth in this. Medtner and Jung had both been fascinated by this novel, reading into it “the same indeterminate content.”²³ With its myth of Amor and Psyche, the book had figured in a dream Medtner had had as a youth which came up in analysis.²⁴ Jung refers to *The Golden Ass* several times in *Symbols of Transformation*; he had once begun studying classical languages simply in order to read it in the original.

At about this time, a letter had arrived from Moscow. It was from the young poet and philosopher Boris Pasternak, a member of the Young Musagetes circle to whom Medtner had sent his book. According to Medt-

ner, Pasternak admired *Reflections on Goethe*, praising the author's "youthful ardor and devilish coldbloodedness."²⁵ Medtner could not help but draw parallels between what Jung, Keller, Englert, and Pasternak had said about him and his abilities. He needed praise just now. At the end of the year Jung went to southern Switzerland to serve for several months as a military doctor. In the interim, he recommended that Medtner continue analysis with one of his assistants, Maria Moltzer from Holland. This was a difficult separation for Medtner. It was Jung who had enabled him to shake off his paralysis and perhaps even rescue his sanity. Only Jung could fill the vacuum left by Belyi—the same Jung who had restored the hope of reconciliation with his lost friend.

On 2 January 1915 Medtner sent Anna a bitter meditation that seemed to summarize his experience of psychoanalysis during the fall. He openly blamed Anna and Nikolai for letting him live with them as a "nothing," thus actively contributing to the waste he had made of his life. His activity as a music observer in Germany, his studies at the university in Berlin, the trips to Pillnitz, Musagetes, his two polemical works—everything was a meaningless mistake. Jung, he said, was inclined to regard Anna and Nikolai, unable as they were to help him, as "mentally ill" and a part of his trauma. No one had valued him as highly as Jung, he stressed: not Belyi, Ellis, Morozova, or Anna and Nikolai. Jung regarded his entire life as a protracted suicide. He had not taken it upon himself to decide whether Medtner was destined to become a "musician," but he had explained that under all circumstances his rightful activity was within the sphere where his Zarathustrian sense of the pulse and rhythm of the body—as in the role of conductor—could interact creatively with his "spiritual labor."²⁶

As Jung bade good-bye to Medtner he invited him to spend New Year's with his family in Castagnola, outside Lugano. Medtner was delayed by a cold, however, and when he did arrive, Jung had already left. From Castagnola he sent Anna a new and even gloomier litany. He believed he had "smashed" Jung's art "to pieces." It was convenient for him now to convince himself that not even psychoanalysis could resolve his conflict. He cursed music, yet at the same time he was well aware that outside of it there was no life at all for him. Why had he been so cruelly punished? These outpourings to Anna (very similar to those he had written in his diary to Shaginian a year earlier) can be seen as substitutes for the complaints he never could direct to the real source of his "illness," namely his mother—the object of the unresolved incestuous bond he evidently discovered through Jung. Toward the end of the letter he spoke of the peculiar alienation between himself and his mother, accusing her of destroying him with her essentially loveless "pseudo-upbringing."²⁷

Belyi was not the only one near at hand—Ellis had also settled down in Basel after being deported from Germany. He and Johanna Poelman-

Mooy had invited Medtner some time previously to visit them, and now he availed himself of the opportunity on the way home from Lugano. Theirs was a solidly spiritual—but not physical—relationship. Poelman-Mooy was financially independent and cared for the helplessly impractical Ellis like a protective mother. Her unusual combination of keen intellect and inner depth appealed to Medtner, and he also seemed to discern a synthesis of Morozova and Mintslova in her dual role of patron and medium. He asked himself whether she might not have some Jewish ancestors.²⁸ Despite her involvement with esotericism, she expressed herself very much in his language, something she may have learned from Ellis. She declared that German culture (to which she considered herself to belong) and Russian culture were “karmally bound” to each other. She warned against Russian femininity in men as well; because of its proximity to chaos it concealed a hostility toward Germanism that must be overcome.²⁹ Ellis for his part looked upon the anthroposophical commune as a hotbed of odious Russian feminism. He went so far in his provocative extremism as to express regret that women had been released from their medieval cells.³⁰ His talent for buffoonery had already left a deep mark on the satirical treatment of the occult in Belyi’s *Petersburg*,³¹ and now he mocked Steiner’s cosmic pretensions and trivialized his role as “Master.” He and Poelman-Mooy maintained that both Belyi and Steiner were in reality dominated by their power-hungry Russian wives.

Medtner also perceived similarities between Poelman-Mooy’s “cosmosophy” and psychoanalysis. She considered that many dreams have both an objective and a subjective content: objectively they confront the dreamer with a future task, whereas subjectively they point to events in the past, perhaps even to earlier incarnations. A few weeks previously Jung had expressed almost the same thought during a session with Medtner: “The unconscious portrays for us in symbols that from the past which is useful for the future, that out of which the future shall be built.” Medtner had not yet “introduced” Poelman-Mooy to Jung, but the latter had become interested in Ellis through a dream of Medtner’s in which he had figured prominently. On the basis of what Medtner told him, he found him more “human” than Belyi.³²

From Basel Medtner made another visit to Dornach in connection with the *Russian* Christmas. Although he did not want to understand it, his relationship with Belyi was already hopelessly sabotaged. He reported to Anna that their discussion of his book ended in “shouting” and verbal “fisticuffs,” but he interpreted it to mean that Belyi was desperate and impotent, when in fact Belyi was preparing to deal him a decisive blow.³³ Belyi asked him directly why he had not read most of Steiner’s works on Goethe. Medtner answered that the omission was deliberate. This confession hardened Belyi’s attitude considerably. He now found shortcomings in

Medtner's own knowledge of Goethe: in his view, Medtner had misunderstood "the idea" in Goethe, grossly confusing archetypal plant and primary form. Belyi felt obliged not only to defend Steiner's interpretation of Goethe, but also to "destroy" Medtner's. He understood that Medtner would never forgive him for that. Medtner warned him that Il'in would come to his defense if Belyi dared to attack his holy of holies. This merely reinforced Belyi's determination to raze the very foundation of Medtner's world-view. Belyi evidently used this "legitimate" dispute to alleviate some of the pressure he constantly felt from Steiner and the atmosphere at Dor-nach.³⁴

In October Medtner had come across one of Chamberlain's first articles on the war, "Deutsche Friedensliebe," which declared that Germany was the victim of a historically unique conspiracy of lies directed by the hired British press.³⁵ In reality, he maintained, Germany was the guarantee of peace in Europe. He claimed he could establish this fact with complete dispassion, since he regarded Germany from without, through non-German eyes. A distinctive feature of the Germans was their lack of animosity toward other peoples. The only salvation for Europe at this moment was a German-Austrian victory, which would give war-torn Europe a hundred years of peace. Uttered from a similar position of "self-imposed isolation," the foreigner Chamberlain's declaration of "objective love" of German culture was bound to appeal to Medtner.³⁶ He immediately wrote to Anna that Chamberlain's suffering was his own, and went on to characterize him as "the most beloved, the dearest, the closest of all outsiders."³⁷ He was prepared to endorse every word in his article. Now, in January 1915, he read a newly published anthology of Chamberlain's articles, *Kriegsaufsätze*, which opened with "Deutsche Friedensliebe." He told Anna that it was a little embarrassing to read these commentaries, because they almost literally, "not only in their thoughts but also in their pathos, their gestures" coincided with his own attitude toward the war.³⁸ He noted with satisfaction that Jung had also read Chamberlain; *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts* is referred to briefly in *Symbols of Transformation*.

Chamberlain was an effective counterbalance to the militant patriotism of Medtner's Moscow friends. By now things had gone so far that Morozova, whom Medtner continued to respect, complained that Nikolai had shirked his patriotic duty by evading military service. Anna and Nikolai felt increasingly isolated. As they discovered a few months later when their house was searched, there were certain dangers in having a German name.³⁹ At the Religious-Philosophical Society Vladimir Ern pushed his thesis on the contribution of Kant's gnoseology to Krupp's weapons factories to the point where Il'in felt obliged to respond and, despite his differences with Medtner, emphasize that without the Germans there would not exist any European philosophy.⁴⁰

Medtner eventually began analysis with Maria Moltzer, one of Jung's women followers (and former patients) who had competed for his favor during the years just before the war. Jung had particular confidence in her as a therapist. During the tribulations of his life crisis, he seems to have chosen her specifically to analyze him.⁴¹ Medtner mentioned her in letters to Anna as "his" Dutchwoman, as opposed to Ellis's.⁴² He described her as penetrating, businesslike, and dry. He accepted her as a surrogate, but continued to correspond with Jung. On the one hand he declared in his letters to Anna that Jung like so many others had "fallen" for his "charm"—even though Jung understood that his charisma derived from the confinement of his entire libido—and he emphasized the similarity of their ideas.⁴³ On the other hand, his admiration for his therapist was tempered by an emerging aggressiveness, for although Jung may have allowed himself to be charmed by Medtner, he also had revealed his patient's unproductive introspection and had begun the dangerous dismantling of his life-lie. He had moreover betrayed him by leaving Zurich. In March Medtner remarked to Anna that he had come to the conclusion that Jung's "exaggeration is just the opposite of Freud's."⁴⁴ In April he wrote that both Jung and Moltzer were "naive, schematic, and shallow" on the most important point when they refused to recognize how utterly humiliating it was for him to accept the failure of his life.⁴⁵

Early in new year, Belyi's fixation on his sister-in-law had become "monstrous."⁴⁶ Medtner complained at the same time that Pozzo had come too late into his life. He wanted to imagine that she had been in a position to save him six years earlier and guide him to something other than Musagetes. Quite like her sister, she now offered him a passionate relationship beyond sex, as she put it. Medtner was so under her influence that their meetings sometimes turned into "occult spectacles," and as if he already was an anthroposophist, he thought he could see her "ethereal body."⁴⁷ She kept him abreast of Belyi's progress on his rebuttal. During a visit to Dornach in February, Medtner heard excerpts from its first chapters. He took them lightly, even finding them cleverly written.⁴⁸ What he did not know was that Belyi was preparing a frontal attack in an entirely different tone, and had merely shown him a few gently satirical tirades from the first pages.⁴⁹

Pozzo was pressuring Medtner to move to Dornach. He played with the thought, evidently unaware of the explosive personal and ideological conflicts between him and Belyi. One day Mikhail Sizov showed up in Zurich with the information that he had been read a chapter in Belyi's manuscript in which Medtner was fiercely attacked. Medtner set off immediately to Dornach to check. Belyi read him passages which were more or less acceptable. He said that he hoped to publish the work with Musagetes, and this precipitated a dispute over who was responsible for split-

ting the house. Actively supported by Turgeneva, Belyi insisted that Medtner was to blame. Medtner became very upset, not least at Turgeneva's unyielding attitude, which seemed to confirm Ellis's diatribes in letters that spring against anthroposophical feminism. In Medtner's view, Belyi and Turgeneva fused into a feline androgynous being he dubbed "Boras" after their first names Boris and Asia. He hurled the name at them and left them in anger without saying goodbye.⁵⁰ Belyi soon wrote him that he should stay away from them until he could guarantee that similar "outbursts" would not occur.⁵¹ Medtner replied that what had happened was a sign of "unreconcilable spiritual and psychic conflicts" between them.⁵²

Medtner now received a copy of an autumn lecture by Il'in which discussed the inner catharsis that should precede the act of cognition. If they are not worked through, "secret instincts and desires" in the unconscious and traumas perpetrated upon "all of us" in childhood will drive "many" to neurasthenia and morbid psychic deformations as adults and can interfere with the philosophical process and block our view of "the object."⁵³ Il'in also attacked spiritual science, maintaining that the anthroposophical "magician" actually wanted not knowledge but *power* over his soul, and he was unaware that science, that is, psychoanalysis, already knew his "secret."⁵⁴ Here Il'in was probably influenced by Adler.⁵⁵

After Medtner's visit Belyi suffered from insomnia and nightmares. The tone of his rebuttal became even more acerbic. In May and June he undertook a definitive reworking of the text with special polemical zeal.⁵⁶ The title, *Rudolf Steiner and Goethe in the Modern World-View (Rudol'f Shteyner i Gete v mirovozzrenii sovremennosti)*, demonstratively placed Steiner's name before Goethe's. The text was comparable to Medtner's in length. Belyi as well had made an effort to give his work a scholarly appearance, dividing the chapters into sections and "validating" the text through an immense number of references. In his work on the book Belyi had turned to Steiner for advice and help, and Sivers translated passages from it for her husband.⁵⁷ Medtner suffered no less than Belyi from insomnia and nightmares. His hypochondria became more severe, and he began complaining about every sound in his rented room. He was experiencing "terrible sorrow."⁵⁸

In a letter to Anna Medtner used the insights gained from analysis to survey his turbulent relations with women. After the new break with Belyi he no longer had the same interest in Pozzo. He had already been separated from Shaginian, and his relationship with Friedrich was approaching a crucial point. Shaginian, he declared, had repeated Sabashnikova's mistake: she had been too impatient and too demanding. The difference between the two was a matter of degree of devotion; ultimately Sabashnikova belonged only to her art and her bohemian circle. Analysis had revealed that Shaginian was extremely neurasthenic. Her deafness was an

act of protest—she had repressed her homosexuality to the point where she literally refused to listen to her unconscious. Her bisexuality had manifested itself in her relations with Zinaida Hippus. Now she had contaminated him with her ear affliction and reinforced similar instincts (that is, latent homosexuality) in himself.⁵⁹ Both Jung and Moltzer had independently reached that conclusion.⁶⁰ They had made him realize that if he continued his relationship with Shaginian she would “suck the life out of him,” for she was attempting to use him to regain her own health, displaying in her relations with him all four of the psychic “attitudes” that Jung’s emerging typology now distinguished: in her case, there was conscious extraversion and (forward-striving) “prospection” on the one hand, and unconscious introversion and (backward-looking) “regression”, on the other.

Even if psychoanalysis proved unable to cure him, Medtner goes on, it is one of the greatest discoveries ever made. In Goethe’s works he had found it prophesied, almost in Jung’s words, as a “psychic cure in which insanity is let in to heal insanity.”⁶¹ “Goethe had *everything*,” he states, and he succeeded in liberating himself from everything because he admitted everything. Goethe said that even in the seemingly unnatural there was something from nature, and this is in fact a fundamental notion in depth psychology. Shaginian’s unwillingness to undergo treatment—Medtner had given her at least some preliminary information about psychoanalysis—stemmed from the anxiety produced by her blocked unconscious and attendant feelings of guilt. Medtner’s impending break with Friedrich was ultimately a result of *her* year of analysis. Friedrich, who described in detail to him her newly acquired Freudian insights, evidently realized that she reflected her sense of failure in Medtner and that she was driven by compassion for him even as his “eros” was unmasked as “demonism.” However, she was bound to him as tightly as ever.⁶²

It is clear from Medtner’s letters that in spite of all that had happened, he still harbored a desperate hope of a future life with his former wife. He said that at times he longed to go back to Nizhnii Novgorod, to what he had once called his “prison.” He reminded himself the mystical union they had experienced in their youth as they read Lermontov, particularly certain lines in *The Demon (Demon)* describing the fateful love between the cursed spirit and princess Tamara. Whispered by Anna in dreams, these lines seemed to come back to him now.⁶³

MEDTNER ON "THE MOUNTAIN OF TRUTH"

Jung soon returned from his military service, but he saw no reason to discontinue Moltzer's therapy of Medtner. He now began inviting his closest friends and followers to receptions at his home twice a month. Medtner perceived a "psychoanalytical sect" taking form which was much more "reasonable" than the anthroposophical one in Dornach. Here he met a young psychoanalyst who was well read in Russian literature and familiar with Belyi's works.¹ This was probably Hans Trüb, who was himself undergoing therapy with Jung. He was 17 years younger than Medtner, which did not prevent a friendship from gradually emerging between them. Medtner also met Edith McCormick, John Rockefeller Sr.'s daughter, who had known Jung for some time and was also being treated by him.² In this way Medtner was able to some extent to break out of his isolation in Zurich now that relations with the Dornach community were no longer possible on the same conditions as previously.

Through the personal column in the newspaper Medtner also came into contact with Rachel Rabinovitch, a Russian-Polish Jewess who was studying medicine in Zurich. At first he did not tell her he was Russian, spoke only German and had her call him "Wölfling." Even in his early correspondence with her he was frank about his critical attitude toward Jews, and she took no offense when, referring to his notion that "the Jewish race" belonged to a finished past, he addressed her as "Pluperfect." What particularly nurtured his continued fascination with her were her external similarities to Anna. Soon they were involved in a lively discussion of the essence of "German," "Russian," "Jewish." Ironically, (like Blok) she thought she detected something Semitic in Medtner's face. She was surrounded by exile Jewish socialists from Eastern Europe, but she had nothing in common with them. According to Medtner, she agreed with him that their socialism was a product of emancipatory and hegemonic ambitions.³

In his attempt to break out of his current life, Medtner rented a different room in July, taking lodgings with an elderly woman who belonged to the so called Mazdaznan sect, whose European center was on the outskirts of Zurich. She soon introduced him to the Mazdaznan doctrine, which had been formulated by Otto Hanisch early in the century. Syncretistic like theosophy, it was based above all on the ancient Persian prophet Zoroaster, the model for Nietzsche's Zarathustra. Mazdaznan

emphasizes the election of “the Aryan race,” whose purity is the precondition for the establishment of a universal thousand-year reign of peace under the leadership of “the Teutonic tribe.” Purification of the body is regarded as inseparable from that of the soul, and Hanisch’s works therefore contain specific instructions on diet and intestinal lavage as well as on the proper maintenance of racial purity. These ideas were timely for Medtner. He had just written his mother explaining how he had been paralyzed like a “frightened lizard” ever since he was seventeen (and his conflict with Pavlikovskii at the gymnasium).⁴ Like the dancing Zarathustra, he desired not least physical liberation. Psychoanalysis, after all, had revealed that his mission in life was in an area where body and soul were emancipated through mutual interaction. Thus his identification with Zarathustra and Nietzsche was reinforced by his interest in Mazdaznan, which was another counterbalance to anthroposophy. Within only a couple of weeks, as he finished therapy with Moltzer, he began a four-day course with the Czech-born Wilhelm Warschatka, Hanisch’s representative in Zurich. Curiously enough, Warschatka lived in the same building as Moltzer and had a nodding acquaintance with her. In letters to Anna Medtner described him enthusiastically as at once an occultist, a hygienist, a gymnastics teacher, and a nutritionist. Warschatka claimed that on the basis of Medtner’s physical constitution, facial lines, and skull, he could analyze his character. Thus Medtner had found here an “expert” on physiognomy, phrenology, and craniology. Warschatka commented on his gestures, his digestion, and his muscular tension, and prescribed rhythmical gymnastics, massage, hot baths, and compresses on the nape of the neck to relieve his nervous aches and inner discord. What particularly appealed to Medtner was that Warschatka focused on his unexpended energies, his “magnetic” personality, and his “martial countenance.”⁵

In the absence of positive reactions to *Reflections on Goethe*, Medtner ordered a review of the book from Shaginian. It appeared in the newspaper *Baku*, where she had her own column, and was sent via Anna to Zurich. Shaginian hailed the work as epoch-making, comparing it with Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* as too complex to digest in a single reading. She maintains that it does credit to “our objectivity, our taste, and our genius.” At the moment circumstances are against it, but one day it will be recognized as a classic that has contributed to the progress of culture. It is “the greatest work of genius we have conceived and created” since Tolstoi’s “departure.” If the Germans parade their love of Shakespeare even as they hate the English, “we” can henceforth pride ourselves on something even greater: in an age when the Germans have shamelessly reduced the shining image of Goethe to suit the purposes of contemporary “newspaper ideologies,” “... we have cleansed, brought forth, and restored this great image not only for the Germans but for all of Europe.”⁶

Note that Shaginian consistently speaks in the first-person plural, in the name of Medtner and Russia. Medtner did not like the review. He thought that the infatuated Shaginian had gone too far in her eulogy and failed in her purpose. What he particularly objected to, however, were the patriotic fervor permeating Shaginian's text and her disrespectful criticism of the Germans and their exploitation of Goethe.⁷

Bolstered by his course with Warschatka, Medtner went to Dornach. He met Pozzo, whose attempt to reconcile him with Belyi had come to naught. His chief business now was with Josef Englert, who had prepared his horoscope on the basis of birth data Medtner's mother had sent from Moscow. Englert also had access to Goethe's horoscope. Medtner knew from the very first line of *Truth and Fiction* that like himself, Goethe had been born at noon, when the sun was highest in the sky. This explained the love both men felt toward the sun, "the specifically *personal* relationship to the Sun (and to Apollo)" that united them.⁸ Englert told him that a connection with the occult was inescapable in his case owing to his significant tie to Uranus, son of earth goddess Gaia (or in Medtner's terms, Erda). Englert warned him that his personality was threatened by destruction if he was not afforded the possibility of true self-expression. Thus in what both Englert and Warschatka told him Medtner was able to see precisely what he needed to see.⁹

Medtner avoided Belyi, who after finishing his book had sunk deeper and deeper into his anguished visions. According to the intimate autobiographical notes, the boundary between inner and outer worlds seemed to have been erased entirely. To some extent this was a result of a psychic experiment he was led to conduct upon himself by his strained personal situation—his alienation from Turgeneva, the break with Medtner, problems of communication with Steiner, the war, inflamed conflicts within the nationally diverse Dornach colony. He felt he was being controlled by dark forces that were sending him signs and secret messages to rebel and commit acts of violence and arson. To some degree it was as if he were participating in the plot of *Petersburg*. Like Aleksandr Dudkin, he sensed a revolutionary organization had commanded him to throw a bomb, and at the same time he suspected that he had been made a tool of the devil. Everything came to a head in August: he was on "the knife-edge of my life."¹⁰ In dreams which perhaps reflected the Nietzschean overtones of Dudkin's murder of Lippanchenko, he was driven to murder "the dragon of war," the evil that was trying to master him.¹¹ What frightened him afterwards was that, like the insane Dudkin, he was uncertain as to exactly what he had done and whether he had correctly interpreted his "*mission*."¹² He began to associate his inner struggle with that of Faust. Under Steiner's supervision the concluding passage of *Faust* was staged at this time in Dornach. In this scene of cosmic initiation Turgeneva and Pozzo played the

angels who, as Belyi put it, “snatched Faust from the talons of death and bore him up to heaven.”¹³ Belyi imagined he had one day met the Mothers to whom Faust descends and whom Medtner likened to Erda in his book; they resembled the Erinyes from the bowels of the earth. It was as if the production of *Faust* gave him a cipher that he must solve to save himself and the world.

In one of Belyi’s dreams, Medtner’s book was the subject of a heated debate at the Medtner home in Moscow. Belyi succeeded in destroying his opponent with his arguments. Medtner blushed with embarrassment in front of his father, just as he is reported to have done in front of Steiner a few months earlier. After this Medtner Sr. gazed at Belyi, his eyes beaming, and suddenly, as if Goethe had descended from the portrait on the wall, he assumed Goethe’s appearance. It may perhaps be surmised that he also had a certain resemblance to Steiner. Belyi soon reported the dream to his “Master,” as if he expected him to explain it.¹⁴

Medtner, of course, knew nothing of Belyi’s inner turmoil. Not even Pozzo suspected how important she was at this moment to Belyi, who associated her with compulsive thoughts of rape and witches’ Sabbaths.¹⁵ When Medtner returned to Zurich he was invited by Jung to an extra therapy session. To Anna he wrote:

What a fantastic man he is! And he has such pleasant profundity, humorous mysticism, ursine manliness. He reminds me of Kalia (who would surely be enchanted by him)¹⁶ and in general of the likeable clumsy agility typical of representatives of the criminal nation.¹⁷ Our conversation was very fruitful from a purely spiritual perspective, although it is doubtful whether it was the same for my health. Jung himself now admits that my case is very difficult owing to grosser Ueberlegenheit des Geistes und bis ins Tiefste sich verästelnden Machtprobleme. He says that I am fair with everyone, too fair, too impartial, but on the other hand I am entirely unfair toward myself and particularly unfair toward Konrad. By Konrad he means the outer person, Person as distinct from Individuality. It is terribly amusing and pleasant to hear him tell how he quarrels with Konrad (*his own* Konrad, that is), how he consults him, defers to him, pampers him. I laughed terribly and asked him why it absolutely had to be a Konrad, and he sucked on his cute little pipe and replied in his pleasant Swiss schwützerdeutsch: Ja! Konrad das ischt halt mal so ein Menschenkindli!¹⁸... Your predicament is very difficult, he said. In your place I wouldn’t be able to take it, and I’m amazed by your strength.¹⁹

Medtner told about the horoscope done by Englert, and Jung confirmed that he took astrology seriously. Medtner also took up Rachel Rabinovitch. Jung was very likely struck by the parallel between Medtner’s fascination for Rabinovitch and his own liaison with Sabina Spielrein, originally his patient and subsequently a student of medicine in Zurich. In any event,

her nervous tension made her an interesting subject, and he encouraged Medtner to try to analyze her; he approved of his patients conducting their own therapies. He also suggested that Medtner write an autobiography. (Medtner soon followed his advice, when certain very early childhood memories were aroused by a rereading of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.²⁰) After his visit to Jung's "laboratory" Medtner felt that great scientific syntheses could be expected when the "global conflict" was over. Different "systems" would merge: psychoanalysis, graphology, craniology, phrenology, ethnology, sociology. Jung's research was moving in such a direction and was receptive, for example, to Warschatka's insights. Jung had a certain interest in physiognomy (which, incidentally, had been started in Zurich by Lavater).²¹ His 1902 doctoral dissertation, *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*, investigated occult spiritualist experiences. Medtner read the book now. He wrote Anna that he wanted to participate in the work of synthesis, which indeed he later did, as a philosopher.²²

In August Medtner made one of several pilgrimages that year to Einsiedeln south of the Lake of Zurich, where Goethe had spent some time. He visited the place of birth of Paracelsus, a physician, natural philosopher, and Rosicrucian whom he evidently regarded as anticipating Jung's systematics. In particular, however, he followed Jung's advice and visited the monastery of Maria Einsiedeln reportedly founded by St. Meinrad and famous for its shrine to Our Lady of the Hermits. Monastic life had secretly attracted him since the beginning of the century, when under Belyi's influence he had first been captivated by the canonized starets Serafim's piety and asceticism. It would seem as though he now viewed Meinrad as a Teutonic Serafim. In the 800s, the hermit Meinrad had lived Zarathustralike in a cave on nearby Mount Etzel in the company of two ravens. He had meekly allowed himself to be murdered, which suggested to Medtner even further associations with Wotan.²³ Medtner described him in letters to Anna as "Wotan Meinrad" looking for his mother-god, his Erda. He wondered whether the hermit had attained a stage of wisdom that permitted him to submit humbly to the "blows" of his attackers, or whether he simply chose to sacrifice himself and his spirit of struggle in order perhaps to be resurrected to a new life.²⁴ Medtner borrowed verbatim from his 1912 article in *Trudy i dni*, now as then commenting through Wotan on his own psychic situation.

Medtner continued in the footsteps of Goethe and Jung with a visit to the famous falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen. Goethe had described them, and Jung had spent the first years of his life within hearing distance of their roar. By coming here, Medtner thought, he was paying his tribute to "the mythical personality of the god Rhine."²⁵

Il'in had written asking about analysis, requesting that Medtner com-

pare Jung's method with Freud's on certain important points. Medtner declared in his detailed response that the destruction of the morbid element of his personality had "ruthlessly" descended to "the most archaic strata and infantile myths." Jung thought there was no reason to go any further with an introvert; only an extravert needed to have "every anal detail" analyzed. It had the whole while taken Medtner's conductor fantasy seriously, and now in his letter he hoped that Medtner would begin sublimating as successfully as he himself had done after intensive therapy with Freud, and would register for a course in conducting. Medtner tried to defend himself with the evasion that "real symbolism" in "the world catastrophe" had become an obstacle to sublimation, since it created a "prospective shock" in him. Jung, he goes on, clears the way for transformation of the libido, but he refrains from aiming it at any particular target. He is unable to do any more when, as in Medtner's case, the "power problem" so overwhelmingly dominates the "love problem." Medtner says he lives in constant fear of relapsing into Ménière's disease. For two years, ever since the "little demons" attacked him in Pillnitz, he has not been able to endure the sight of a piano at close quarters. The tension between demands for specialization and his eternal dilettantism has again become acute. Sometimes he wakes up at night in a cold sweat of anxiety and begins counting the years that the "Musagetes sacrifice" has stolen from him. Analysis has made him feel more stupid and dull, and his memory is beginning to fail him. Jung and Moltzer are attempting to convince him that he must be blunted intellectually if he is to mature spiritually and regain an intellectuality from which the self-tormenting sting of his inner "serpent" has been removed. Jung and Moltzer would prefer him to forget his past so that he can stop looking constantly backward and learn to look ahead of him. When this happens his memory will also return.²⁶

In the middle of September Medtner set off on a new and longer trip to rest from analysis and take some time to reflect. Above all he was looking for Nietzsche and the sun. He began by hiking in the Alps north of the Lake of the Four Cantons. Symbolically, he climbed Mt. Pilatus at sunset and made certain he was on Rigi Kulm (where Jung had had a crucial experience of initiation as a young man²⁷) at the crack of dawn. In between he visited Villa Tribschen at the foot of Pilatus outside Lucerne, where Wagner had worked on parts of *Siegfried* and *The Twilight of the Gods* and had often been visited by Nietzsche. He hesitated whether to continue southward to Sils Maria in Oberengadin, where the alpine landscape had inspired *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, or to go to Ascona on Lake Maggiore, where the Zoroastrians had recommended that he visit the "vegetarian boarding house" on Monte Verità.

He finally chose Monte Verità; one factor here was that Nietzsche had also passed through this region and had described Lake Maggiore in the

fall. Medtner stayed there for six weeks in what was in fact a colony of free-thinkers which may have served as something of a model for Dornach. Ever since the turn of the century, the Belgian Henri Ödenkoven had been attempting here to practice an alternative life-style together with his companion Ida Hoffmann. Hoffmann shared his radical views of society, developed radical dietary ideas of her own, and later became interested in Tolstoi and Steiner. A wide variety of utopians and idealists gathered in their colony: outdoor enthusiasts, homeopaths, vegetarians, theosophists, pacifists, anarchists, proponents of free dance. The interaction of body and soul that so exercised Medtner was very prominent here. Not the least important factor uniting the inhabitants of the colony was their solar worship. They tried to live by the rhythm of the sun, rising in the early dawn and retiring at dusk.²⁸

The "Mountain of Truth" gave new nourishment to Medtner's feeble hope of healing and rebirth. He declared that he must "die in the sense *Stirb und Werde*," that is, to be born anew already in this life.²⁹ This was actually the same necessity which Shaginian had tried to impress upon him in the spring of 1914 and which Jung had definitively confirmed. There were moments when he still wondered resignedly whether he should not have stayed with Freud, who had immediately defined his problem as "labor pains." At the same time, however, he was inclined to criticize Freud (and with him Il'in) for onesidedness, because unlike Jung, Freud had refused to realize that psychoanalysis must also help cure the body. In Nietzsche's *Human, All Too Human* he had found anticipations of psychoanalysis in aphorisms urging, for example, deeper observation and knowledge of self.³⁰ Nietzsche, he told Anna after his August visit to Jung, had become insane because he only mastered the esoteric and had never injected his Zarathustrian doctrine "into his blood and muscles."³¹ He had recently read a commemorative article by a student of Nietzsche's who from his vantage point commented on the philosopher's headaches and insomnia. He recalled in this context what Peter Gast once had told him about Nietzsche's physical ailments, which were precisely the same as those from which he himself suffered. He remembered how Nietzsche wrote to Gast in a tense state, complaining of his misery and telling him he was the human type that was in danger of exploding.³² It was clear from a psychoanalytical point of view, Medtner now admitted, that Nietzsche's projections were to blame for the conflict with Wagner. He took long walks and ruminated on Nietzsche's and his own tragic loneliness. Belyi, he said, was never capable of penetrating Nietzsche's thought, but merely tailored him to suit his own needs.³³

Among the colonists at Monte Verità Medtner met Ferdinand von Wrangell, a 71-year-old Russian baron of Baltic German descent. He had a colorful past as a high naval officer, meteorologist, and writer of come-

dies. His main activity in voluntary exile was as a pacifist with ties to theosophy.³⁴ Medtner felt a special affinity with him, considering that he came from the same Baltic milieu as Medtner Sr. and was only two years older. Wrangell pointed out in words that could have been Medtner's own that a person must be a "Russian-German"—what he called a "Russländer"—to be able to judge the war both objectively and compassionately. He and Medtner caught each others' meaning instantaneously, he said, because they had the same "wounds."³⁵ It later turned out that he was corresponding with another "objective" commentator on the war: none other than Chamberlain. Medtner seems to have learned from Wrangell that the war was causing Chamberlain's health to deteriorate, a fact that further reinforced his identification with him. Wrangell suggested that he also begin a correspondence.³⁶

Toward the end of his visit to the "Mountain of Truth" Medtner began writing a long letter to his father which he did not finish until he was home in Zurich and which was then lost on the way to Russia. He wrote a shorter "preliminary letter" a few days earlier that did arrive. There he drew extensive parallels between psychoanalysis and the lesson in the art of living he had just learned from a book suggested to him by his father. Entitled *Der Unflug des Sterbens* in German translation, this was a collection of essays by the nineteenth-century American writer Prentice Mulford on "the power of thought" and "the power of the senses."³⁷ He said that Mulford and Jung were pursuing the same goal, and by similar means, and he also made connections with "Zarathustra's wisdom" and with what he had learned from the Mazdaznan sect.³⁸ He was trying to win his father over to psychoanalysis. In a letter he had written him a year previously, after only a couple of months of therapy, he had to his mother's chagrin pointed out the similarity between his and his father's inhibitions and fundamental feeling of abandonment.³⁹ We can surmise that it was thoughts such as these which filled the long letter that was lost.

Medtner returned to Zurich via Basel and Dornach.⁴⁰ In the anthroposophist commune he learned from both Pozzo and Sabashnikova that Belyi had begun writing the very book that he himself had not managed to do that fall despite new efforts at Monte Verità, namely an autobiography beginning with the author's earliest childhood experiences. There was a tendency these days, he stressed to Anna, to seek out one's personal roots; here psychoanalysis had had a definite effect. But Belyi could not have any knowledge of the new therapeutic method—if he had, he would not have revealed his complexes in *Petersburg* in "such a massive and stupid way."⁴¹ Here Medtner was mistaken. At this time Belyi was at least superficially familiar with depth psychology, not least through Steiner's lectures in August 1915, in which the infiltration of anthroposophy by Freudianism was violently attacked.⁴² Moreover, according to Belyi's version above,

Medtner himself referred to Freud and Jung during his first visits to the anthroposophists. Belyi probably had not read any original texts. Although he subscribed to Steiner's criticism of psychoanalysis, however, his latest project did not entirely escape Freud's influence. Medtner noted further that his and Belyi's paths had crossed purely geographically during the fall, since when he was away from Zurich Belyi had come there for a couple of weeks to work in peace and quiet. What Medtner did not know was that prior to that Belyi had gone to the southern Swiss Alps to write the very Zarathustrian foreword to his autobiographical novel.

This novel, which Belyi entitled *Kotik Letaev*, was based on Medtner's notion of the "memory" of the species in the development of the individual. Here the conception is applied much more consistently than in the third symphony, *The Return*. Through specific personal reminiscences recounted in lyrical, musical, leitmotif-saturated prose, the hagridden child Kotik experiences the prehistory of the universe and the earliest periods of human culture in accordance with Steiner's cosmogony. The meeting of personal and suprapersonal is remarkably similar to Jung's notion of the collective memory residing in the individual. As Jung was attempting to persuade Medtner to write his autobiography in August 1915, he had emphasized that his patient was personal in theoretical studies but raised himself to a suprapersonal plane when he wrote about himself.⁴³ It was just such an autobiographically mythological perspective that Belyi implemented in his novel. His intense experience of his childhood world had been made possible through his "rebirth" under Steiner. *Kotik Letaev*, in fact, began where *Petersburg* had left off—in the convulsions of birth and with the same basis in Belyi's revolutionary October 1913 experience in Bergen. In the Dornach commune he had gone through a second childhood with Steiner in the role of father and Turgeneva and Sivers in a joint maternal role. This was a situation that owed much to the Zarathustrian thesis reflected in the novel that the child is the bearer of the highest spiritual wisdom.

In December Shaginian moved in for a while with Nikolai and Anna in Moscow. During the year she had lived in Rostov, where she had begun writing her first novel, entitled, significantly, *One's Own Fate* (*Svoia sud'ba*). This was part of her effort to reconquer herself and break free from what she calls "the self-effacing friendship" with the Medtner who had "so demonically" entered into her life.⁴⁴ For the first time in a year and a half, in October she had met Rakhmaninov at a commemorative concert in Rostov of works by Skriabin, who had died suddenly that spring. She related the meeting to Medtner, with whom she was still in contact. Considering that he had briefly remarked to Anna on Skriabin's death that an "ecstatic follower of Lucifer" had passed away,⁴⁵ his only possible reaction to her communication was annoyance. He was well aware that Rakh-

maninov and Kusevitskii had collaborated on a series of commemorative concerts for Skriabin. Kusevitskii had also held out a hand to Nikolai, who reassumed his professorship at the Moscow Conservatory in the fall and was now regularly giving concerts.⁴⁶ Anna supplied Medtner with detailed reports on Moscow musical life, which Shaginian was now able to rejoin.

During this time Medtner resumed his analysis with Jung, attending two “sessions” per week. The introduction of the new phase of analysis coincided with a long visit to Zurich by Friedrich and her mother. Friedrich was soon consulting both Jung and Moltzer and was considering beginning therapy with them. According to Medtner, Jung found her infantile incapsulation almost incurable.⁴⁷ Medtner also wrote to Anna (who had always found it difficult to reconcile herself with her German rival) that Jung had complained that he had been too honest and candid about himself with Friedrich; he should have deceived her as one would a child.⁴⁸

Medtner was learning a great deal about Jung’s typology, which by now had much clearer contours. The therapy no longer aroused the same enthusiasm in him however, and he ceased reporting on it to Anna. Jung still hoped for a resolution of his conflict, but Medtner said in February 1916 that he himself had given up. He would always prefer the past to the present: here he declared that his difficult period with Ménière’s disease in Moscow in 1913–14 had still been a “golden age” in comparison with the apathetic emptiness that now characterized his life. In the fall of 1915 Nikolai had dared to deliver to him the same challenge as psychoanalysis, urging him to accept yourself “for what you *are*.”⁴⁹ Aggressive threats were his only response. He accused Nikolai of having contributed to his unhappiness by failing to give his piano exercises the attention they deserved. He emphasized that Nikolai had lost him “forever” (underlined three times) as a “musical friend” and “musical criterion,” and hinted at the extremely negative consequences this would have on his composing. He had “more or less perished” in the battle going on within him.⁵⁰ To Anna’s hope that he would eventually return to Russia he responded that the thought was connected with fear of death and the presentiment of a final breakdown. His destructive relationship to his mother had become inseparable from Russia. In *Symbols of Transformation* Jung speaks of the return to the mother as a “night sea journey.”⁵¹ Medtner’s terror of being smothered by Mother Russia was intimately connected with the (then only possible) trip home over the water, which he was convinced would reactivate his “seasick” Ménière’s symptoms.⁵²

MEDTNER AND JUNG

Founded on the initiative of Jung's former patient, female companion, and colleague Antonia (Toni) Wolff, and supported financially by Edith McCormick, the Psychological Club (Psychologischer Club) was intended specifically to promote Jung's emerging "analytical psychology" through lectures and public discussions. Medtner attended the inaugural meeting in Zurich on 26 February 1916, where Jung's wife Emma was elected chairperson. A complex interaction now arose between the multifaceted Jung and his surrounding collective which may have reminded Medtner of that between Belyi's creative genius and the Argonauts.¹ Later that spring, when his interest in the Mazdaznan sect had evaporated, he left his "Zoroastrian" landlady and moved into the premises of the club as a temporary solution to his chronic housing problems.

Parallel to his friendship with Rabinovitch, Medtner also began a relationship with McCormick, of whose enormous fortune and ideas on patronage of the arts he was well aware. Here she was inspired by her father, the leading such patron in the world, who had founded the Rockefeller Foundation three years earlier, and Medtner sensed the prospect of a new and richer Morozova.² McCormick had in fact grown up with music in much the same way as Morozova, her instrument being the cello rather than the piano.³ As a patient of Jung's and the whimsical "problem child" of the Rockefeller family, she also bore a certain resemblance to Friedrich. Medtner appears from the very outset to have had his eye on persuading her to invest money in Musagetes and to support Nikolai. He seems in general to have attempted to recreate in Zurich the Moscow he had lost. Not only could McCormick serve as a substitute for Morozova, but Rabinovich had also to some extent taken Anna's place, and Belyi had been replaced by Jung.

In July Medtner was in Geneva, where he visited Dalcroze's newly opened musical-pedagogical institute, which had moved from Hellerau because of the war.⁴ Toward the end of the month he, McCormick, Jung and his wife, and Toni Wolff set off on a ten-day hike through the Alps in the southeastern Swiss canton of Graubünden. It was an eventful outing. They slept in barns and primitive alpine huts; Medtner, Jung and Wolff climbed a glacier and spent a night there. Their destination was Nietzsche's Sils Maria, which Medtner thus finally reached a year later than planned. In his reports to Anna he emphasized Jung's thoughtful-

ness and his unique ability to intersperse casual and erudite conversations: "And especially during trips you appreciate the breadth of his learning, his almost encyclopedic knowledge. It is very healing for me that Jung is so cheerful even though he is so terribly self-absorbed and complex."⁵ Here Medtner fused even more with Nietzsche, while Jung was cast in "the redeemer" Goethe's role. In Sils Maria he finally decided to stay some ten days alone very near the house where Nietzsche had worked on *Thus Spake Zarathustra*.

In her "native" Caucasus Shaginian was at this time working on her literary showdown with Medtner. *One's Own Fate* is set at a psychiatric sanatorium headed by a Dr. Karl Förster. His patients are disguised Russian Symbolists who engage in endless discussions of soul, spirit, character, and fate. In his notes he observes that all of them "love their illness intensively."⁶ His task is to discourage this attitude by teaching them responsibility and involving them in systematic, productive labor. Shaginian stated later that "the main theme of the novel is the struggle with Freud and Freudianism."⁷ As was mentioned earlier, Medtner wanted her to undergo analysis, and she stubbornly refused. Although she did not know the details of Medtner's analysis, she could clearly observe that it in no way reduced his introspection and fixation on his failed life. Dr. Förster prohibits the discussion of abstract subjects. Shaginian herself was similarly striving for concreteness and practical activity in an attempt to break her dependence on Medtner and the Symbolist milieu. This also made her novel a settling of accounts with Rakhmaninov and his continual harping on his "illness." That spring she had visited him at a sanatorium in the Caucasian city of Essentuki. Gazing at her with lifeless eyes set in a sickly pale face, Rakhmaninov had vented his unbearable anxiety, his feeling of never having lived, his conviction that his musical career had been strangled in its infancy by the response to his First symphony, his "repulsive" envy of Nikolai's inner composure and creative serenity.⁸ Here more than ever he must have reminded Shaginian of Medtner. She had brought with her examples of Symbolist poetry that might be set to music, and during the next few months Rakhmaninov did so with some of them. When Nina Koshits and Rakhmaninov himself performed these romances (some of them to Belyi's texts) in Moscow in November, Nikolai and Anna were among the rapt audience.⁹ Shaginian, however, was not present, for she had by then finished her novel and, as she indicates in her commemorative article on Rakhmaninov, was disengaging herself from him.

By agreement with Medtner, in the spring of 1915 Vikentii Pashukanis had taken over the operation of Musagetes, enabling publication to continue. In the spring of 1916, for example, Viacheslav Ivanov's collection of essays *Furrows and Landmarks* (*Borozdy i mezhi*) appeared,¹⁰ and in October came the eighth volume of *Trudy i dni*, which contained more

or less all that remained of the editors' "portfolio."¹¹ The heterogeneous materials included Ellis's translation of an "astrosophical" essay on Dante by Johanna Poelman-Mooy (who had resumed her maiden name van der Meulen) and Nikolai Berdiaev's critical survey of anthroposophy. The gnoseology of spiritual science, Berdiaev says, is vaguely relative and lacks stable foundations. What it needs is an actively masculine, creative component. As it is, Steiner seems to reduce the individual to the tool of a relentless cosmic evolutionary process. Berdiaev takes anthroposophy quite seriously, but on central points he thus agrees with Medtner.¹²

Medtner was visited during the fall in Zurich by both Sabashnikova and Pozzo. He had a final falling out with the former, who had come to the city to listen to Steiner and was in Medtner's view more devoted than ever to "the Doctor." Pozzo was accompanied by Turgeneva and managed to reconcile her and Medtner, perhaps because Belyi had been drafted in August and returned to Russia. Medtner knew that Belyi's rebuttal was in production at the small anthroposophical publishing house in Moscow, and he was very concerned about what it might contain, for he remembered the venomous tone of the excerpts with which he was familiar.¹³

Belyi's book, *Rudolf Steiner and Goethe in the Contemporary World-View. A Response to Emilii Medtner's First Volume of Reflections on Goethe (Rudolf Shteyner i Gete v mirovozzrenii sovremennosti. Otvet Emiliiu Metneru na ego pervyi tom "Razmyshlenii o Gete")*, appeared in late November and was dated 1917. The harsh accusations against Medtner began already in the foreword, which had surely been sharpened since Medtner heard passages from it. *Reflections on Goethe* is described as an attempt by the author to kill the first greening buds of "the new thinking" with mockery and "to usurp culture" for himself. Belyi laments that "people" refused to listen to him when he tried to combat the false rumors being spread about anthroposophy in Moscow. "People" saw to it instead that he was buried alive in Dornach (this was indeed quite literally his experience during the first autumn of the war) and cut him off completely from the movement to which he was still devoted, namely Russian Symbolism. Now the time had come to respond to the superficial "drawing-room barbs" Medtner had aimed at spiritual science.¹⁴

Belyi's rebuttal can hardly be said to be among his most significant works. He declares by way of introduction that it is difficult for him to speak about Steiner and present the teaching of anthroposophy. To do so, he stresses, would be to deliver a lecture on the current global catastrophe, since Steiner's theory shows how the conflagration arose and is the best defense against it. Despite considerable pains to make his discussion appear scholarly, Belyi's text is associative and impressionistic in nature. From time to time the artist in him takes control and generates brilliant satirical metaphors and improvisations. In essential respects the book seems

not to be answering Medtner, but is instead a description of Belyi's own anthroposophical experience.

To a high degree, Belyi uses Medtner's own methods to debate him, aiming the charges against Steiner at Medtner himself. The most that can be said is that his verbal aggression is less camouflaged than his opponent's. Medtner is accused of misinterpretations and contradictions. He is a victim of his preconceived opinions. He "rumbles" and "roars" and shoots off bursts of machine-gun fire, but he never hits his target.¹⁵ This "highly talented author" reveals he is but an amateur philosopher.¹⁶ He has not even bothered to read everything Steiner has written about Goethe. He has ignored Steiner's 1886 study of Goethe's epistemology (*Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung*), which was the indispensable preparatory work to *Goethes Weltanschauung*, nor have his commentaries to Goethe's scientific writings been taken into consideration. It is impossible to survey Steiner's Goetheanism on the basis of a single book and a brochure. When Medtner attempts to do so he exaggerates details and loses sight of the whole. Well aware that he is hurling the ultimate insult at his former friend, Belyi concludes that this and other evidence indicate that Medtner has not fully understood Goethe.

Goethe's clairvoyance, maintains Belyi, is brilliant but fragmentary. Only spiritual science can contextualize and systematize it. Steiner's meditation program, which is grounded in Goethe, purifies thought through self-contemplation, thereby rendering dynamic the world of phenomena and eliminating the conflict between idea and experience. Imprisoned as he is in his dogmatic Kantianism, Medtner cannot understand this. His critical philosophy becomes a Labyrinth of Knossos complete with a monstrous minotaur. Steiner has pointed out certain shortcomings in Kant, but he has also maintained that Goethe is unthinkable without Kantian insight. Kant's idealism is still naive, and his epistemology must be elaborated and made more precise. In "The Emblematics of Meaning" Belyi himself worked in this direction with his Kantian distinction between theoretical and practical reason. To his satisfaction he has found that Steiner proceeds along the same lines. Medtner, by contrast, manages consistently to confuse what Kant and Goethe meant.

Anthroposophy, Belyi emphasizes, was born out of Steiner's two-year study of Goethe's scientific works. Steiner is the first to immortalize Goethe, and it is through his efforts that we can fully appreciate Goethe's theory of light, which Medtner generally dismisses. Steiner postulates three phases in the occult seeker's aspiration to higher consciousness through meditation: imagination, inspiration, and intuition. In these three phases the meditator will grasp the idea *in concreto* when he or she is confronted with the archetypal plant that appears as an incarnated ideational image to the "spiritual eye." Medtner refuses to understand this. He cannot dis-

tinguish between archetypal plant and primary form, the latter of which is related merely by analogy to the idea. In the intuitional phase the mediator becomes one with the "spiritual self." This is the ultimate act of freedom on the part of self-contemplative thought. The occultist's "I" is bared, allowing the individual to fuse with the being of Christ and be flooded with cosmic light.

It is not difficult to see that Belyi's exposition of the revolutionary innovation in Steiner's interpretation of Goethe harks back to the sensation of inner illumination he experienced at Nietzsche's grave in December 1913. Thus the experience was colored not only by Nietzsche, but also by Goethe. He felt as though he were filled by the "white" light of Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor.¹⁷ He established a cosmic identity beyond history in sun-drenched clairvoyance.¹⁸ This experience was in fact the culmination of the eighteen months of meditation he had practiced as he wrote his novel.

By a remarkable coincidence, at the very time Belyi's book appeared, Medtner ran into Steiner. On the train to Basel to attend a special week of concerts conducted by Nikisch, he met Nikisch himself, and the two of them went over old memories from Moscow and Leipzig. At one of the concerts he happened to sit next to Steiner, and Medtner tried to provoke him during the applause following the performance by praising Nikisch's unique greatness (aware that Nikisch played the same role in his life as Steiner in that of the Russian anthroposophists).¹⁹ Almost at the same time, another collision occurred in Moscow, this one at Morozova's between Nikolai and Belyi. Although he had not read the book, with which he wanted nothing to do, Nikolai felt a strong aversion toward Belyi and treated him accordingly.²⁰

Nikolai's dissociation from Belyi was motivated not least by what he had heard from Il'in, who even before the book was published had been determined to give Belyi a public dressing down. He was at this point a more militant antimodernist than ever, and regarded Belyi, Ivanov, Ellis, and Shaginian with equal hostility. The book came as a confirmation of his worst misgivings, and provided him with an excellent opportunity to vent the powerful wrath which Freudian analysis had not managed to overcome.

During the fall Medtner had persuaded McCormick to finance the translation and publication of Jung's collected works in Russian with Musagetes. She was engaged at the time, evidently here as well with Medtner's active support, in establishing a fund for artists experiencing financial difficulties because of the war. Medtner thought it self-evident that Jungian psychology should become the new ideological backbone of Musagetes, because in this way he could bring Goethean healing to "sick" Russia through Jung. Together with Rabinovitch he was soon busy translating

the central *Symbols of Transformation* into Russian. Through Rabinovitch's contacts he also set an entire "kahal" (the word he himself uses in a letter to Anna) of exiled Russian Jews in Zurich to work on translating other works.²¹ Particularly active were Aleksandr Martynov and Semen Semkovskii, two prominent Mensheviks formerly stationed in Vienna, where they may have come into contact with psychoanalysis through Alfred Adler's Russian-born wife.²² Rather remarkably, then, Rockefeller money from Standard Oil was channeled by the apolitical Medtner into supporting Russian revolutionaries.

Around Christmas 1916 a party was held in the Psychological Club at which the guests gave each other humorous little presents. Medtner's included a wooden sword and a roll of thread with a poem he assumed Jung had written. The poem compares him to both Siegfried and Theseus and wishes him a victory in his struggle with the "dragon":

Der Gang zur Unterwelt war stets gefährlich
Drum ist ein gutes Schwert dem Helden unentbehrlich;
Und weiter für den Fall der Not
Steht ihm die Tarnkapp' zu Gebot;
Endlich, hat er genug von all dem Graus,
Führt der Ariadnefaden sicher ihn hinaus.
Drum Mut! Glaub mir, bewehrt mit diesen Sachen
Nimmst du es siegreich auf mit jedem Drachen.²³

(Entering the underworld was always dangerous
So the hero needs a good sword;
And also, in case of danger
The cloak of invisibility is at his disposal;
Finally, when he's had enough of all the horrors,
Ariadne's thread will lead him safely out.
Take heart! Believe me, armed with these things
You'll vanquish any dragon!)

It would seem as though Jung had Medtner very much in mind as he was completing the first presentation of his new psychology in *The Psychology of the Unconscious* (*Die Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse*), which was published the following year. It was in fact not until now that Jung emerged from his four-year struggle with his unconscious and the nearly complete stop it had put to his writing on psychoanalysis. In the course of 1916 he had had a number of peculiar, almost spiritualist experiences.²⁴ Assisting him in his "descent into Hades" was Toni Wolff, who played a liberating role as his "anima," or feminine projection of the unconscious. He was in fact a bigamist, and his new inner experiences greatly influenced the place his psychology accorded to the important intrapsychical interaction between masculine "animus" and feminine "anima." As he summarizes in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*:

The years when I was pursuing my inner images were the most important in my life—in them everything essential was decided. It all began then; the later details are only supplements and clarifications of the material that burst forth from the unconscious, and at first swamped me.²⁵

In *The Psychology of the Unconscious* Jung chooses the example of Nietzsche to help explain the difference between his theory and that of Freud. Nietzsche's life, he notes, came to conform to Zarathustra's prophetic words about the tightrope walker's plunge into the abyss. With the aid of dietary programs and heavy doses of soporifics, Nietzsche attempted to live in heroic sublimity "beyond instinct" until his brain was destroyed by the tension. He spoke of saying "yes" but "lived a no." Was it simply a case of denying his innate instinct? No, Jung answers his own question, because the personality contains two instincts: one of species preservation and one of self-preservation. It is the latter that Nietzsche cultivates, and it is this he means when he speaks of "the will to power." The sex psychologist could easily prove that the high tension in Nietzsche's worldview derives from a suppression of the fundamental instinct. If we thus reduce the meaning of Nietzsche's striving for power, however, we throw in our lot with Nietzsche himself when he dismisses his antipode Wagner as a false actor. Why did Nietzsche judge Wagner so harshly? Because Wagner represented the other basic human instinct, the one which Nietzsche overlooked and upon which Freud erected his entire psychology. In reality, human nature is the arena for a bitter struggle between the ego principle and the amorphous sexual instinct. This is precisely what Faust's conflict illustrates: in the first part of *Faust* Goethe demonstrates the acceptance of the sexual instinct, while the second part shows the integration of the ego and its unconscious world. Nietzsche contrasted with Wagner, Jung insists, is a particularly transparent example of the conflict between the two drives. Nietzsche had Wagner "*within himself*" as a symbol of his stifled animality. Split as he was, he had stigmatized himself, so that as he became ill he expressly experienced his crucifixion, his "*ecce homo*."²⁶

It seems an inspiration of fate, Jung goes on, that it was one of Freud's oldest pupils, Adler, who devoted serious attention to the power principle in opposition to the sexual dogma. Upon closer examination, Freud's and Adler's theories of neuroses each proves to represent a one-sided psychology, the one extravert, the other introvert. The same opposition is present in Wagner and Nietzsche. The misunderstanding between the two men ultimately derives from the conflict between their typological "attitudes": what the one saw as the highest value was mere acting for the other. The sexual theory suits the extravert but violates the psychology of the introvert, whereas with power it is precisely the other way round.

What is needed, therefore, is an overarching theory that does both Freud and Adler justice, and this is the task Jung has set himself. The “basic function” of the extravert is feeling, whereas that of the introvert is thinking. The “new approach” he outlines distinguishes between the two predominant types and their predominant functions, interpreting the neurotic conflict as a struggle within the personality between the well-adjusted basic function and the undifferentiated secondary function, which is mostly rooted in the unconscious. In the extravert, then, feeling and unconscious thinking are in conflict with each other, whereas in the introvert it is thinking and unconscious feeling. Therapy must attempt to reestablish the intrapsychical balance, releasing energies by furthering the development of the unconscious secondary functions. This will result in what Jung with Nietzsche’s Schopenhauerian term soon will call “individuation,” that is, self-realization that bridges the gap between conscious and unconscious. When this happens, the unconscious no longer controls the personality, and the power of consciousness increases.²⁷ The process that emerges as the predominant types are complemented and completed Jung calls the “transcendent function.” The victory of the hero over the monster in myth and dreams describes the course of this “transcendent function” in the collective psyche: the hero is reborn through a confrontation with his unconscious.²⁸

The collective psyche has the same characteristics as the individual psyche. It as well is ruled by the psychological law discovered by Heraclitus in self-analysis, namely “enantiodromia,” or the transformation of one extreme into its opposite. Thus a rational attitude toward culture can suddenly become the irrational destruction of culture. This was what was happening in the war, which was basically “epidemic insanity” in which the combatants projected the demons of their collective unconsciousnesses upon each other.²⁹ The only individuals who can escape the cruel principle of enantiodromia are those who can separate themselves from their unconscious by openly acknowledging rather than repressing it.

Jung’s Nietzsche—the key figure in this discussion—makes an unmistakably Medtnerian impression, for what he says about Nietzsche is to a great extent applicable to Medtner (Wagner seems in part to be cast in Belyi’s role). Medtner and Belyi, moreover, had anticipated certain of these insights in their Symbolist writings. Medtner had early on realized that Wagner was a part of Nietzsche’s own “duality.” In *Reflections on Goethe* he had shown that where Nietzsche had gone astray, Goethe had attained deepened self-knowledge, achieving “individuation” by establishing a psychic equilibrium between Apollonian and Dionysian in which the former was the determining force.³⁰ Jung could not have borrowed this term from Medtner, however, since he had referred to Nietzsche’s use of it as early as his preliminary lecture on attitude typology in 1913.³¹ Belyi’s Peters-

burg is a city but also a personality on the verge of splitting, with the Neva dividing the "Apollonian" Ableukhov and the "Dionysian" Dudkin. In "Krugovoe dvizhenie" he had moreover commented on the dance on the tightrope over the inner abyss into which Nietzsche-Zarathustra finally plunges, the split that destroys him, and his crucifixion in *Ecce Homo*. The cycle of essays Belyi was now working on interpreted the war as resulting from a Nietzschean conflict of consciousness; a related March 1916 article of his in *Birzhevye vedomosti* (*The Stock Market News*) had in fact described it as "collective insanity."³²

It seems obvious that the therapy sessions and other contact with Medtner at the Psychological Club and during their alpine "Nietzschean" hikes together must have helped Jung considerably when he fleshed out this "completely new theory of psychogenic disturbances" which drew so extensively on the personalities and works of Goethe and Nietzsche.³³ It is a fact that his psychology had been influenced by earlier patients such as Medtner's compatriot Sabina Spielrein and the Austrian psychiatrist Otto Gross. Gross, for example, seems to have given him the idea for his typology.³⁴ It should be emphasized that these very crucial years in his biography are obscure and undocumented beyond his own revelations in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*.

In February 1917, Il'in mounted an attack on Belyi in Moscow addressing an open letter to him in which he expressed his disgust with the "libelous pamphlet" against his friend. The work, he said, was saturated with a malice that was all the more ironical in that Belyi had boasted of his Steinerian inner catharsis. He demanded at the very least a public apology.³⁵ Belyi did not get the letter immediately, because he was in Petrograd at the time and his friends moreover tried to shield him from its aggressive accusations. When he returned to Moscow just after the February Revolution, he sent it back unopened. In early April, Morozova's faithful ally Prince Evgenii Trubetskoi addressed an open reply to Il'in in which he explained the sharp tone of Belyi's book as a consequence of polemical zeal. Il'in responded a few days later, underscoring Belyi's deliberate ambition to smear Medtner and describing his book as an ominous symptom of the inner decay of the intelligentsia claiming to be the spiritual leader of Russia. Here it becomes even more apparent that Il'in is actually out to unmask the entire Symbolist movement.³⁶ Belyi remained passive, although much later he described Il'in as a "clinical case" who needed professional psychiatric treatment.³⁷ He seems to have known about Il'in's Freudianism, and this most certainly served to make him even more hostile toward psychoanalysis. In an article which appeared together with *Kotik Letaev* in the literary almanac *Skify* (*Scythians*) late in the year, he referred to Freud as a hardened positivist who imputes criminal intentions to innocent children.³⁸

Medtner finished analysis at about the time of the February revolution, which, he observed, set it in a frame of two global events.³⁹ He still had not seen Belyi's book, for Anna and Nikolai had not yet sent him a copy. Essentially, nothing had changed, and his trauma had not been cured. He had, however, acquired certain insights, and he notes that Jung, skeptical due to his own profound experience, had never claimed he could change "a sick devil into a healthy angel."⁴⁰ He was almost cured of his Ménière's disease, at any rate, for its symptoms appeared only when he entered a concert hall. In a letter to Anna in late March he summarizes what analysis has taught him: "There is but one alternative left to me—to abandon music (and especially Kolia's music) entirely; otherwise I will lose my mind." He realized that he must part with Anna and Nikolai, and that Russia was as closed to him as was music. He hinted that perhaps he would instead travel to the United States with McCormick, and he seems to have been considering an offer to become her secretary. Such employment would secure his livelihood at the price of dependence. In the long term it implied marriage (McCormick's husband had become less and less important to her), which was evidently both appealing because of the unlimited economic resources it offered, and frightening. He wanted to believe, in any case, that McCormick would now finance Musagetes, for she was already "in love with Russia" (read: himself).⁴¹

The translation of Jung's works continued that spring, although not as intensely as before. Semkovskii and Martynov were preparing to return to revolutionary Russia. Semkovskii was chairman of the executive board of the special emigre committee in charge of the trip. He, and even more so Martynov, were feuding with Vladimir Lenin, who objected to Bolsheviks and Mensheviks traveling together. They eventually yielded, and Lenin and a group of Bolsheviks set off with the first so called sealed train through Germany. The Mensheviks followed in the next train a few weeks later. With them to Musagetes Semkovskii and Martynov had their translations of Jung, an addendum to Ellis's (thoroughly positive) review of *Reflections on Goethe* which Medtner had submitted earlier, and some of Medtner's Nietzschean aphorisms.⁴² Medtner hoped to publish some of this material in a ninth volume of *Trudy i dni* by the end of the year.

In May Shaginian married an Armenian friend. In other ways as well she was entering a new phase of life. In her memoirs she tells of moving toward the Bolsheviks, for the revolution had politicized her. She claims that her commitment to Bolshevik socialism actually dated back to November 1914, when she happened to attend a meeting of emigres at which certain Bolsheviks, referring to Lenin, advocated a defeatist policy for Russia which immediately appealed to her.⁴³ This, she says, sowed the seed of her "new self" in Zurich, the site of her "eternal pain of separation."⁴⁴ To put it drastically, Lenin now took Medtner's place as the hero

and spiritual model in her life.⁴⁵ Bolshevism satisfied the need of social involvement and pragmatic action mentioned in *One's Own Fate*.

For a while Rabinovitch considered moving to Geneva, which she and Medtner had visited during the summer. He had aroused her interest in Dalcroze's gymnastics, and she was beginning to become involved with his school of dance.⁴⁶ Medtner merely noted that this was no longer anything for him, since as he wrote to Anna, at this moment he "hated" (underlined three times) music "with all my heart."⁴⁷

THE FINAL BLOW

Il'in had provided Medtner with copies of all the open letters. Medtner said he was quite aware of Belyi's meanness, but for the sake of his own peace of mind, he was able deep down to forgive him nevertheless.¹ When he finally read Belyi's book early in the fall, he was deeply shocked. This was not what had been read to him in Dornach, since, as we saw, Belyi had purposely selected the mildest passages. Medtner felt that Belyi had pounced upon him with "almost sadistic delight," ridiculed him intellectually and declared him incompetent both as a philosopher and as a Goethean.² Not only he, but also Goethe and Kant had been insulted. Belyi had found his sorest spots, even accusing the anti-modernist Medtner of making superficial concessions to the fashionable views of the moment. And Belyi had even had the audacity to suggest that this lampoon be published with Musagetes. Medtner writes in his article on Jung that he felt more at a loss than at perhaps any other time in his life. His laborious adjustment to reality was seriously threatened, and the intricate process of reconciliation with Belyi and anthroposophy had suddenly been destroyed. Considering the dramatic political events in Russia, it was highly uncertain when he would have an opportunity to answer Belyi in print. He was also more and more isolated from his former circle of acquaintances. That spring, for example, he had had a falling out with Petrovskii when this friend of 23 years had clearly taken Belyi's side.³ Now he cut all his ties with Dornach, Pozzo and Turgeneva. Il'in and Ellis were the only persons he could trust implicitly.⁴

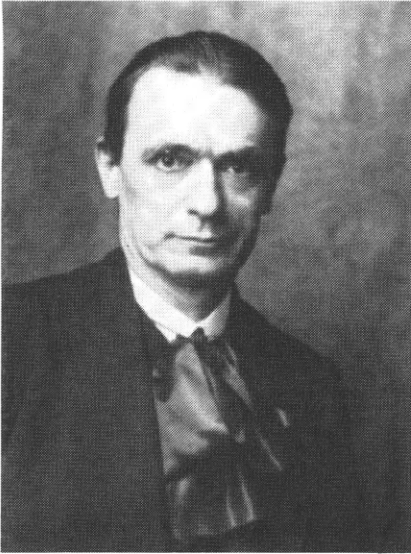
Jung was at this time serving as commandant of a camp for English prisoners of war at Château d'Oex east of Lake Geneva. He invited Medtner to visit him there for a week and a half of intensive therapy. Medtner later said that this saved him. In more detail than ever before, he spent several hours of analysis daily recapitulating the various phases in his conflict with Belyi. Jung listened "with great patience and sincere compassion." On the one hand, "in part humorously but in part seriously" he reminded Medtner of the occult elements in his own "Russian" unconscious and of his affinity with Belyi. On the other, he again pointed approvingly to the serious aspiration to knowledge within anthroposophy. (As is apparent from a series of lectures held in Zurich a couple of months later Steiner did not show the same generosity toward Jungian psychoanalysis.⁵) After only a few days Jung urged Medtner to collect himself enough to write an answer;



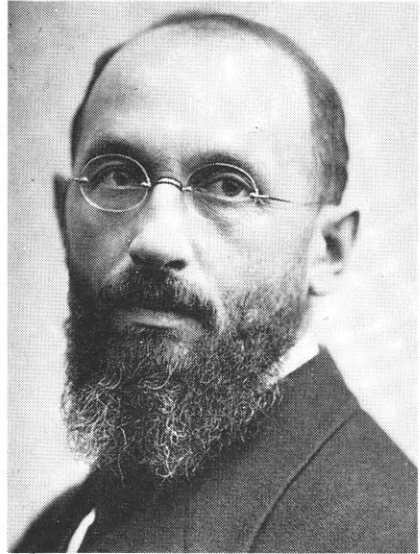
Andrei Belyi and Asia Turgeneva in Dornach, 1915. (Archives Koussikoff, Paris.)



Andrei Belyi, 1916.



Rudolf Steiner, 1916.



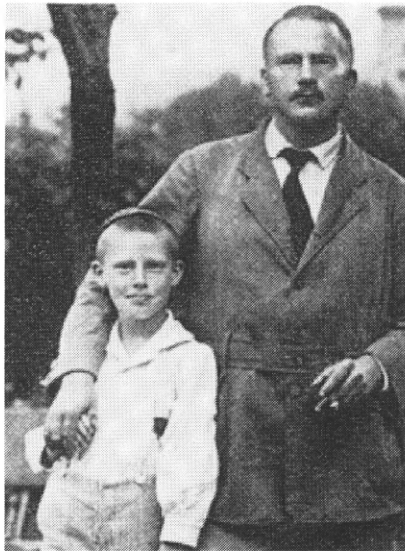
Josef Englert, ca. 1915.



Johannesbau/Goetheanum (destroyed by fire in 1922).



Carl Gustav Jung in Château d'Oex, ca. 1917. (Musée du Vieux-d'Enhaut, Château d'Oex.)



Carl Gustav Jung with his son Franz, 1918.



Maria Moltzer at the Psychoanalytical Congress in Weimar, 1911.



Toni Wolff. (Courtesy of Paul Naeff.)



Rachel Rabinovitch, ca. 1915.



Edith McCormick (née Rockefeller). Portrait by Friedrich August von Kaulbach, 1908. (Courtesy of The Rockefeller Archive Center.)



Emil(ii) Medtner. Bronze sculpture by Eduard Bick, 1917. (In the possession of the Bühler family.)



Ivan Il'in. Portrait by Mikhail Nesterov, 1921–22 ("The Thinker"). (Detail.)



The Psychological Club on an outing to Zuoz, New Year's 1920–21. Front row from the left: Rudolf Pestalozzi, Heinrich Steiger. Middle row: unidentified, Susi Trüb, Carl Gustav Jung, Emil(ii) Medtner. Back row: Hans Trüb, Emma Jung, unidentified.



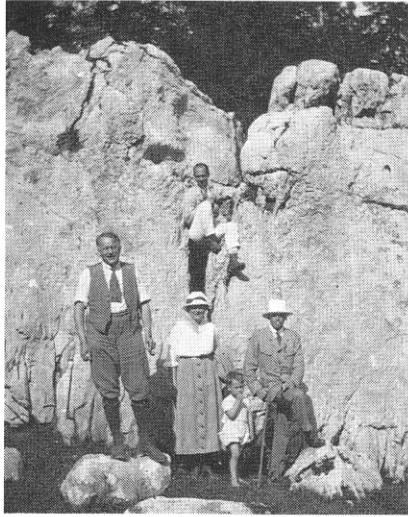
On the sledding slopes in Zuoz, New Year's 1920–21. Front row from the left: Hans Trüb, Susi Trüb (partly hidden), Carl Gustav Jung, Franz Jung, Rudolf Homberger, Hans Homberger (partly hidden), Emil(ii) Medtner. Back row: Alex Homberger, Emma Jung, Doris Homberger, Margrit Homberger (née Rauschenbach, Emma Jung's sister), Marianne Jung, Heinrich Steiger.



*Emil(ii) Medtner and the Jungs on a visit to the Trübs' in Laui-Alp, Toggenburg, 1921.
From the left: Hans Trüb, Emma Jung, Medtner, Georg Trüb, Carl Gustav Jung.*



*Emil(ii) Medtner and Hans Trüb, Laui-Alp,
1921.*



From the left: Carl Gustav Jung, Emma Jung, Georg Trüb, Emil(ii) Medtner. Behind them: Hans Trüb. Laui-Alp, 1921.



From the left: Emma Jung, Carl Gustav Jung, Georg Trüb, Emil(ii) Medtner, Susi Trüb, Laui-Alp, 1921.



Masquerade at the Psychological Club, 1925. From the left: Toni Wolff, her friend Mrs. Greeff, Emil(ii) Medtner dressed as Mephisto, Harold McCormick, and Emma Jung.



Carl Gustav Jung at the 1925 masquerade.



Emil(ii) Medtner and Florence Hopkins at the riding club in Zurich, 1925.



Emil(ii) Medtner and Florence Hopkins mountain climbing in the Alps, ca. 1925.



Nikolai Medtner at Steinway's in New York, 1925, flanked by his "enemy" Igor Stravinsky and Wilhelm Furtwängler.



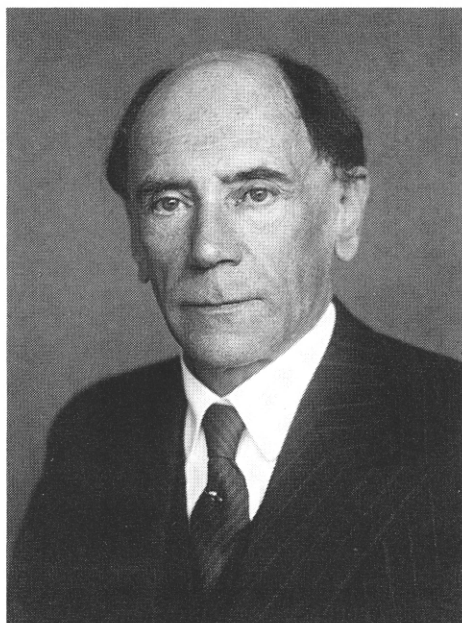
Sergei Rakhmaninov flanked by Anna and Nikolai Medtner, 1938.



Emil(ii) Medtner, 1920s.



Hedwig Friedrich, 1934.



Emil(ii) Medtner, 1934.

this was the only way to get rid of the pain and prevent the development of a dangerous “polyp” in his unconscious. These conversations cemented the friendship between the two men. In the course of the year, after all, Medtner had on various levels “lost” both Nikolai and Belyi. Now Jung filled the entire vacuum. Medtner simply could not live without a narcissistic object of infatuation, a “fraternal friendship” grounded in a cult of genius. Jung allowed him to come so close that they even used the familiar form of address, an intimacy that he rarely permitted anyone outside his own family. More than ever Medtner felt it was his mission to serve Jung’s cause, much as he had previously devoted himself to Belyi’s. The motto for the moment, he concluded, could have been “My friend is dead, long live my friend!”⁶

Almost as though every phase of Medtner’s analysis somehow demanded to be framed by some global event, a month later the so called October Revolution took place in Russia. This seemed, furthermore, to confirm his prophecy of December 1916, when he had written to Anna that “we are approaching events of enormous dimensions which will shake the world.”⁷ Musagetes and all possibilities of publishing in Russia were now lost.⁸ With Jung’s support, however, he continued to work on his answer to Belyi, which, although it was never finished, somewhat relieved his inner stress.⁹

Toward the end of the year, Sabina Spielrein, now a psychoanalyst in Lausanne, obtained access to the Medtner collective’s translations of Jung. She found them inadequate, particularly with respect to the Russian rendering of Jung’s conceptual apparatus.¹⁰ Although offended, Medtner was eventually forced to admit that they would to a large extent have to be revised. Soon he was not only responsible for this task, but had also taken charge of the new library at the Psychological Club. When McCormick’s husband Harold left Zurich at the end of the war, he donated a considerable sum to establish the library, and his wife regularly paid Medtner to manage it.

Jung continued to hold sporadic analysis sessions with Medtner on into 1918. For a time Medtner took notes on all his nightmares and forwarded them to Jung in letters. The latter had few male friends, and at this point Medtner appears to have been the closest of them. They went hiking together in the Alps. They met each other in dreams. In one dream interpretation, Medtner compared himself to the matricide Orestes pursued by the Erinyes, while Jung was cast in the role of his devoted and faithful friend Pylades.¹¹

East versus West and Aryan versus non-Aryan were prominent topics in their dialogue. Relevant here were *The Upanishads*, which Jung appreciated more than did Medtner.¹² Medtner was prompted by a dream to read Hafiz. He clearly identified with this sensual medieval Persian poet (Goethe’s “Oriental mask” and the inspiration of his *West-Eastern Divan*)

now, when analysis had made him receptive to a greater affirmation of his instincts.¹³

That spring Medtner's mother died in Moscow, thereby symbolically cutting his ties to Russia. Nikolai's First piano concerto, his first major composition after the outbreak of the war, was dedicated to her memory.¹⁴ Sergei Kusevitskii conducted the orchestra at his debut performance of the work in Moscow. The concerto reflects both Rakhmaninov's influence and Nikolai's strongly personal reaction to the drama of the war.

During the year the new Soviet Russia had plunged into civil war. In January 1919 Jung, again at the camp in Château d'Oex, wrote to Medtner expressing his regrets that his family inhabited a country that had become such a "hell of fools." He also expressed the hope that the Entente would crush Bolshevism that very spring.¹⁵ Medtner was unable to communicate with Russia for the next year and a half, and it seems to have taken quite some time for him to learn that Anna and Nikolai had finally married in June 1919.¹⁶

Medtner now joined a new family—Jung's. Contact with the Jungs was so intense that he also accompanied them on holidays. Much as his involvement with his brother's and Belyi's women had been, the friendship he cultivated with Toni Wolff was assuming erotic overtones, and he would later describe her as yet another of his liaisons.¹⁷ She also seems to have dimmed his interest in Rabinovitch and McCormick.

In July 1919 Jung visited London, delivering lectures in which he first discussed symbol-generating primordial images, so called archetypes, in the collective unconscious. At the British Society for Psychical Research he presented a paper entitled "The Psychological Foundations of Belief in Spirits." Shortly after his return to Zurich he also gave this talk at the Psychological Club. He told Medtner that he was thinking of him the whole time as he wrote it, and that it had arisen out of their conversations in Château d'Oex.¹⁸ Here he defined "spiritualistic visions" as projections of "unconscious autonomous complexes." Medtner felt he was being addressed directly but was uneasy at the fact.¹⁹ Jung commented in passing on "intuition," the key concept in anthroposophical gnoseology. In the subsequent discussion, "several of our circle" were prepared to accord intuition the rank of a special occult organ of knowledge.²⁰ The dangerous disease, then, appeared to be infecting Jung's own followers. In that situation Medtner felt obliged to devote several lectures of his own to a purely epistemological discussion of intuition which would set analytical psychology on firmer Kantian ground. His talks were especially addressed to Jung, of course, whose interest in occultism had earlier helped him but seemed somewhat menacing under the new circumstances. What had to be done now was to block any sort of rapprochement between anthroposophy and Jungian psychology.

In October and November Medtner delivered three lectures at the Psychological Club under the rubric “Zu Thema und Diskussion der Psychologie des Geisterglaubens—eine formale Auseinandersetzung.”²¹ They clearly had points in common with his *Reflections on Goethe*, although now Kant was in the foreground. To some extent they were also a response to Belyi’s pamphlet.

In his first paper Medtner immediately attacked the “tremendous arrogance” of attempts by the occultists to persuade the philosophically uneducated “masses” that they were being offered science, indeed, the one and only “Spiritual Science.”²² The important task now was to unseat this occultism from its usurped throne and force it to renounce its aspirations to power. Psychology, itself a young science, would appear to be in a good position to penetrate spiritual phenomena. Only with the help of a sophisticated scholarly apparatus is it possible to approach this material, on the condition, that is, that “we” are equipped with enough conscience, taste and sense of purity to keep us from “floundering” in the “Dornach Tanzmeister’s” spiritual morass.²³

There is no basis, Medtner continues, for relating intuition exclusively to spiritualistic manifestations. The term has in fact several usages. In his letters to Goethe, for example, Schiller distinguished between the intuitive and the speculative thinking types. Here he was referring in particular to Goethe and Kant. According to Schiller, an intuitivist of genius such as Goethe and a speculativist of genius such as Kant must meet each other in the middle. The irreconcilable features of the two types emerge clearly only when their respective representatives are completely submerged in their type. Genius, by contrast, always rises above its type and complements its onesidedness with that of the opposite type. Schiller thought of himself as something between the speculative and the intuitive type. He was by no means a rarity; a man as antipodal to him as Nietzsche represented the same mixture of types. In his valiant struggle with himself Schiller managed to maintain an equilibrium between the two sides of his intellectual life.

In his second lecture Medtner examined the notion of intuition in greater detail. Noting that it had acquired a tinge of mystery and magic, he declared that the time had come to describe its exact content, delimit its usage, and “smoke out” the spirits that had infiltrated it. For such spirits are very insidious and can penetrate anywhere there is obscurity. With these goals in mind, Medtner specified three different definitions of the concept: one was gnoseological and contrasted “intuitive” with “discursive”; one was psychological and compared “intuitive” with “instinctive”; the third was typological and distinguished “intuitive” from “speculative.”²⁴ In the first case Kant has shown that “intuitive” notions and “discursive” conceptualizing by the transcendental cognitive subject inseparably pre-

suppose each other. In the opposite, psychological case, instinct is focused on a momentaneous goal, whereas intuition sees farther, albeit not as clearly and surely. Instinct is psychophysiological in nature, whereas intuition is overwhelmingly psychospiritual. In the third instance, both intellectual types have the same focus, but the objects upon which they train what Goethe called their spiritual eyes are different. Speculation attempts to perceive that which is beyond especially external nature, whereas intuition is concerned precisely with this sensuously perceptible external nature. It is easy to go astray in both cases. An intuitivist without critical discipline will tend to confuse idea and experience, as in the classic example of Goethe's notion of the archetypal plant before his famous conversation with Schiller.

After this address Jung contributed some weighty views on intuition. He was just finishing his great *Psychological Types*, the first broad presentation of his new psychology. Schiller's intellectual typology would figure prominently there; Medtner's interest, of course, was aroused by his discussions of the subject with Jung. Jung explained now that he was working on another pair of functions—perception and intuition—alongside thinking and feeling. Like the first pair of functions, these would participate in a dialectical play of opposites within the psyche. They would be distinguished especially by the fact that they were non-rational and non-evaluative, whereas the first were just the opposite. According to Jung, this meant that intuition could not possibly have any cognitive function. Intuition foresees what is coming, whereas perception proceeds from what is already present.

In his third lecture Medtner discussed *intellectus archetypus*, the notion of a mythical, intuitive primordial state that underlay Kant's unwritten metaphysics. As humankind evolved psychologically and genetically, this monistic union with the universe was bound eventually to break down. Thus Mythos was replaced by Logos, the dualizing intellect. Medtner now attempted to explain how this had happened historically, discussing the struggle in pre-Socratic philosophy between Heraclitus on the one hand and Parmenides and the Eleatics on the other. Heraclitus looked inward, perceiving only ephemerality and movement in external reality. His critical self-examination persuaded him to separate thinking from feeling, thus cleaving the world with the sword of his intellect. Logos is the solid rock, the "beacon" around which crash the waves of becoming, the ever ephemeral world of feeling.²⁵ Opposing Heraclitus was Parmenides' and the Eleatics' fused experience of thinking and being. In their view, union became possible through the intervention of reason, which guided the intellect toward the idea. The battle between Heraclitus and the Eleatics lasted for millenia and was not brought to any definite conclusion even by Plato or Aristotle. It was Kant, the greatest philosopher of them all,

who was destined to resolve the conflict by pointing out the relativism in both of the opposing theses and noting the antinomies inherent in reason.

Medtner concluded by showing Symbolism to be the bridge leading to the original totality. He cited Goethe's definition of the symbol as a "*living momentaneous manifestation of the inscrutable*" as the best and most distinctive comment ever uttered on the subject.²⁶ Goethe arrived at his symbolist world-view through contact with the Kantian Schiller. He took it to its extreme when he maintained that everything ephemeral is merely a metaphor. Would Kant have attempted to oppose this Goethean "romanticism" as he had opposed that of Swedenborg?²⁷ Medtner was in any case inclined to answer this question in the negative. Goethe was by no means an illusionist attempting to tear the world of phenomena to pieces, but was merely trying to resolve the opposition between reality and ideality. Goethe's definitions of the symbol are actually a brilliant summary of Kant's views: particularly significant here is Kant's observation that the symbolic is not an antipode of the intuitive but a type of intuition. The highest unity for Kant was an unattainable ideal that could be neither proved nor refuted. Thus those who with intuition as their only tool think they can master this *intellectus archetypus* are as remote as can be from Kant.

Among Medtner's attentive listeners was McCormick, who shared Morozova's dilettantish interest in philosophy. She seems at the very outset to have offered to finance publication of the lecture manuscript in book form. In his self-critical frame of mind, however, Medtner thought the work too fragmentary and unpolished to print. After his last lecture McCormick made an offer which he did accept, namely to publish the text in a limited edition for the members of the Psychological Club.²⁸ Worth noting as a curious coincidence is that the same week Medtner began his lectures, McCormick acted on a whim and formally discontinued the support she had been paying every month to another needy exiled writer in Zurich, James Joyce, then working on *Ulysses*.²⁹

When Jung had more or less completed *Psychological Types* he felt the need to get away from Zurich for a while, and so he took a long trip to North Africa in the spring of 1920. He wrote to Medtner from Sousse, Tunisia about his vivid impressions of the meeting of Oriental and Occidental culture he observed there. He stated that he had been driven to the trip by "an inner necessity"; it had long been in the making in his unconscious and was "a symbolic action writ large."³⁰ It is significant that it was Medtner he felt the need to inform about this first encounter with Oriental reality. Surely Medtner was reminded of Belyi's departure in the same direction nine years previously.

It seems that at about this time Medtner visited Ellis and Johanna van der Meulen in Locarno, where they had moved to be closer to Italian med-

ieval culture.³¹ Under the same pseudonym as before, Intermediarius, van der Meulen had already published a continuation of her tract.³² Medtner now found their Catholic-inspired esotericism more difficult to accept, and their friendship broke down under the strain.³³

In 1921, Hermann Hesse underwent a few short courses of analysis with Jung. He also gave a reading of his works at the Psychological Club. When Jung's *Psychological Types* appeared that spring, it was Medtner who greeted the book in two enthusiastic feature articles in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. Medtner apparently thought it self-evident that he should be the one to review the work whose progress he had studied at such close range. Hesse as well wrote a shorter review after completing analysis.³⁴

Jung opens his study with an exposition of Schiller's typological notions. He notes that the first modern typology was developed by the poet in his letters to the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg, collected in the 1795 essay "On the Aesthetic Education of Man." Basically, Jung goes on, Schiller was addressing his own problem here, which is the typical conflict of the introverted thinking type. The two functions in his psyche were rigidly separated from each other, but through a patient struggle with himself Schiller managed to achieve balance and regulate his thinking and feeling. His encounter with the extravert Goethe was of great significance in this regard. As Jung observes in a later chapter, Nietzsche offers a new and original resolution of Schiller's problem. In *The Birth of Tragedy* he approaches it on a very personal basis, attempting to find a formula to resolve the conflict between Apollonian-introvert and Dionysian-extravert which he in reality is struggling with himself. He is strongly intuitive when he is not drawn toward his introvert side. Nietzsche the intuitivist anticipates the modern age; in *Thus Spake Zarathustra* he brings to light the collective unconscious of our time. The subsequent presentation of Jung's new psychology, the basic features of which had appeared as early as in his 1917 *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, is supplemented with a detailed appendix in which definitions establish his new conceptual apparatus.

Medtner could recognize himself here in both Schiller and Nietzsche. The task he had taken upon himself with respect to Jung, after all, was similar to Schiller's in his talks with Goethe, namely to impart Kantian doctrines to his friend. He emphasizes in his review that analytical psychology "puts its sure hand to a problem that has long been a very special concern of artists and aestheticians." He is obliged to admit that the article defining the symbol is "among the best ever written on the subject"—thus it is on a par with Goethe—and that the discussion of the "transcendental function," which is so closely connected with Symbolism, "uncovers depths" that are entirely inaccessible except through analytical psychology.³⁵

Jung's definition of the symbol is strikingly similar to Belyi's. Although

Medtner could not say so openly, with respect to both format and purpose, *Psychological Types* must have reminded him of Belyi's *Symbolism*. Jung describes the symbol as resolving the oppositions which split the personality. Affecting both thinking and feeling, it is neither rational nor irrational, but faces in both directions at once. He devotes considerable attention to "individuation," the transformation of personality which he subsequently will consider the "central concept" of his psychology.³⁶ In the process of individuation, the "Self," the nucleus and totality of the psyche, is realized. This "Self" appears in essential respects to correspond to Belyi's "world-'Self'."³⁷ In his 1912 article "Circular Movement," Belyi had in fact described cosmic identity as "yourSelf."³⁸ He was working at the time on *Notes of an Eccentric (Zapiski chudaka)*, a novel planned as the prologue to a long autobiographical epic entitled "I" which would begin with his "cosmic rebirth" in the fall of 1913. Jung's new concepts also included another strikingly Belyian term, the "Shadow," which designates the hidden, repressed, for the most part inferior and guilt-laden side of the personality. As we have seen, as early as 1904 Medtner explained Belyi's problems to him with references to Goethe's battle with his Mephistophelian shadow. The struggle with the hidden shadow later became a recurrent motif in Belyi's works, culminating in Dudkin's showdown with Lippanchenko in *Petersburg*.³⁹ It is obvious that *Faust* is also the ultimate source of Jung's notion of the shadow that must be incorporated with the Self to achieve psychical balance.

Medtner emphasizes in his review that Jung's revolutionary notion of types has its first equivalent (Jung refers to it himself) in Goethe's elevation of the rhythm of the heart to a universal formula of life. The alternation of the heart between contraction (systole) and dilation (diastole) conforms to the same principle as the interplay of introversion and extraversion in Jung's conception of the personality. At the same time, of course, Medtner expressly attempts to ground the new theoretical edifice in Kant, declaring that psychological "Criticism" in the form of Jung's analytical psychology necessarily follows upon Freud's extraverted and Adler's introverted doctrines. He views this as the "great critical turning-point" indicating that psychology has matured into an independent and central science.⁴⁰ The expressions he uses in this regard sound almost like incantations. Jung had become increasingly interested in historical Gnosticism, whose religious typology to some extent actually influenced his own. This partly explains his conciliatory attitude toward anthroposophy. Medtner had at this time an aversion to all forms of Gnosticism, which he understood to be any set of beliefs which aspired to objective knowledge of the otherworldly. For all its enthusiasm, his review expresses a growing anxiety toward Jung's Gnostic exercises, which Medtner could only view as concessions to occultism.

At the same time that Jung released his voluminous work, Medtner published (with the same Zurich house, Rascher's) a modest booklet entitled *Meister Nikisch*. It was merely a short essay praising Nikisch on the occasion of his 65th birthday as "the most brilliant of conductors" and underscoring the element of liberating "eros" in his ebullient style.⁴¹ The title alluded to *Wilhelm Meister* and therefore also negatively to the *Meister* in Dornach who had shrunk to *Tanzmeister*.

As Medtner put it, he now belonged to a Swiss "sextet" consisting of the Jungs, Toni Wolff, Hans and Susi Trüb, and himself.⁴² He had become involved with Trüb's wife, who also happened to be the sister of Jung's "anima" Toni Wolff. He seems to have projected on to her features of Natal'ia Pozzo (the sister of Belyi's "anima") and ultimately perhaps features as well of Mar'ia Bratenshi (the sister of Nikolai's "anima" Anna).⁴³ At the same time, this infatuation was also based on the close friendship and intellectual exchange he enjoyed with Trüb. He believed that the lively Susi Trüb, 20 years his junior and in great need of a spiritual authority, had been called to deliver him, and she herself entered willingly into the role. In June 1921 he and the Jungs visited the Trübs' rented Alpine summer home in Toggenburg in eastern Switzerland. He and his friend's wife drew closer and closer.

McCormick returned home to Chicago in September.⁴⁴ Two months later Nikolai and Anna arrived in Berlin. They had hoped to bring with them the severely depressed Medtner Sr. for consultation with Jung, but he fell ill and died before they could do so.⁴⁵ Nikolai wrote to Medtner explaining that they had decided to leave Russia "on account of you."⁴⁶ For his part, Medtner was uneasy at the prospect of having them nearby, and he did not encourage them to settle down in Switzerland. After more than seven years apart, the trio met again in Berlin in December. There they also ran into Nikisch, who decided to include Nikolai's piano concerto in his new repertoire. (His sudden death three weeks later, however, prevented this.) Medtner could only regret that Nikolai had come too late to meet McCormick, since this meant that her financial support was beyond reach.

During the spring of 1922 Nikolai and Anna visited Medtner in Zurich, where they were introduced to Jung. Shortly thereafter in Dresden they met Rakhmaninov, who had interceded on Nikolai's behalf with McCormick in the United States.⁴⁷ Nikolai now began his career in the West with concerts in Berlin, where he and Anna settled down for the time being.

Medtner was at the time consistently avoiding both Russians and Russian music. He said he had "torn" everything Russian from his soul.⁴⁸ He considered that the Russian people had themselves to blame for the misfortune of their "Asiatic"—Jewish—socialism.⁴⁹ To his "defense counsel" Il'in Medtner seems to have been ashamed to admit the final professional

failure in which therapy had resulted.⁵⁰ This was one reason he did not even attempt to renew contact with him.

In August 1922 the Swiss "sextet" camped out and sailed together on Jung's uninhabited island in the Lake of Zurich. In September they visited the village of S'charl in Unterengadin and hiked in the Alps. Even this community, however, was beginning to disintegrate. Rivalry between Medtner and Trüb vibrated beneath the surface, and in S'charl the first conflict arose between Jung and the anti-Gnostic Medtner. Trüb followed Medtner's revolt even more drastically, turning against Jung's "psychologism," by which he meant his reluctance to open therapy more consistently to external, existential reality.⁵¹ Their ways now parted. Since Dr. Trüb was chairman of the Psychological Club, later that fall Jung and Wolff withdrew from what had been conceived as a platform for Jung's ideas, and did not return until Trüb had resigned a year and a half later. A further cooling of relations between Medtner and Jung was unavoidable.

In October 1922, just before the planned publication of his lectures on intuition, Medtner began writing a section on definitions which suddenly, under the impress of the conflict in S'charl, grew irresistibly into a long warning to Jung. There was a certain resemblance between this addition and the appendix to his selected articles in *Modernism and Music* ten years earlier. As he had done then, here he vented his private aggressions and gave free rein to his Judaeophobia in the "subtext." Out of his study of especially the notion of "Logos"—the "sword of intellect" that split the world, first with Heraclitus and then with the Word of Christ—emerged an article on the history of Gnostic syncretism and its roots in Jewish magic. He interpreted the struggle between Logos and lingering magical notions as a conflict between a Christian-Aryan principle and a demonic Judaic one which had ultimately resulted in the current clash between analytical psychology and anthroposophy. Even ten years earlier, of course, he had displayed a tendency to "Judaize" Steiner, and now he pursued it further. Occultism, he maintains, can only be understood with reference to its Semitic origins.

The most prominent features of Gnosticism, Medtner insists, are its dualism and inherent antinomies. It shares this "dual faith" with Judaism. Beside the Mosaic law that was officially declared the only true creed, from the very beginning there thrived among the Jews a popular, polytheistic counter-religion which despite the prophets' warnings and condemnations continued to aspire to an equal position. The law was strict and marked by narrow distinctions which carried it farther and farther from the primitive "pandemonium."⁵² This world of evil spirits, however, successively infiltrated the cult, which was thus transformed into sublimated magic. The turn of the Jewish soul inward toward an excommunicative

monotheism and outward toward the Gnostically colored opportunism of “cultural brokerage” has an analogy in the introversion and extraversion of the personality as described by analytical psychology.⁵³ It is difficult to determine where the inferior, i.e. undifferentiated, function is, unless perhaps it is this function which through the collective self-discipline of the Jews has taken the place of the superior, differentiated function. Thus Medtner views all Judaism as a single neurotic being, diagnosing it as if it were a patient resembling himself, a rigid introvert with repressed extravert traits. He also emphasizes that Jewish religiosity is characterized by an inherent lust for power, and he cites both Marxism and Freudianism as typical manifestations of Jewish Gnosticism. Under its abstractly schematic exterior, Marxism conceals a dangerous magic that “never misses an opportunity to exert its poisonous influence.”⁵⁴ Freud’s “sublimation doctrine” is born of specifically Jewish needs.⁵⁵ Viewed in this light, Steiner’s anthroposophy, with its mixture of exact science and superstition, is pseudo-Semitic quackery. Prominent earlier Gnostic thinkers have similarly proved to be “spiritually Judaized” even when they had no Jewish blood in their veins.⁵⁶ Christ, the divine Word, had to come, Medtner insists, to liberate a world abandoned to “pandemonism.” It is not for nothing that the peripeteia in *Faust* is the hero’s emancipation from magic. Nor was it a coincidence that Kant should choose to devote the final pages of his most brilliant work, *Critique of Pure Reason*, to “absurdity,” by which he meant contemporary occult Gnostic doctrines.⁵⁷ Not until the advent of analytical psychology has it become possible to achieve a final victory over this occultism. Concluding his “essay” with a remark addressed to Jung, Medtner observes that the absolute condition here, however, is that “analytical psychology not abandon the high watchtower of science over inner nature.”⁵⁸

As Medtner was writing his appendix, Trüb, now in a state of personal crisis, traveled with his wife to Berlin. There they visited Anna and Nikolai (whom they had met in Zurich that spring), and were introduced by them to Il’in, who together with a number of prominent idealist philosophers and cultural figures had just been deported by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. A few months later, also in Berlin, Trüb met Martin Buber, whose book *I and Thou* had just appeared there. In Buber’s practical mysticism he discovered what he found missing in Jung, namely a way to “address the world.”⁵⁹ He now became one of Buber’s closest friends and disciples. Ironically, it was indirectly Medtner who had brought him to his new, Hassidic Jewish authority figure.⁶⁰ Trüb invited both Buber and Il’in to lecture at the Psychological Club. Soon Il’in had also replaced Medtner in Trüb’s life: to some extent this was probably a manifestation of Trüb’s need for revenge on his rival.

When Il’in delivered three guest lectures at the Psychological Club in

September,⁶¹ Medtner was in the United States, where he had already become involved in another triangle relationship. He had been invited to Chicago by Edith McCormick, who after her divorce was “shackled” to Edwin Krenn, a young architect who had accompanied her from Zurich and taken the position of secretary once intended for Medtner.⁶² Krenn had concocted some grandiose and rather unrealistic projects for which he needed McCormick’s money. Medtner had no doubt that he was an adventurer, yet in letters to Anna he did not conceal the “egoistic intentions” he himself had once entertained and still entertained in his relationship with McCormick. As he regarded Krenn’s intrigues and obsequiousness, therefore, he was in some sense looking at a caricature of himself. He sometimes wondered whether he had been wise to refuse McCormick’s invitation to come with her to the United States.⁶³

THE CHANGE IN PERSONALITY

The future, Medtner wrote to Anna from the United States, would bring either doom or Mussolini's hegemony. Mussolini, he declared with an anti-parliamentary contempt that had surely been reinforced by his reading of Chamberlain, was precisely the sort of "noble dictator" that Germany and Russia needed more than ever.¹ Until now Medtner had been markedly indifferent to social questions. The slight shift toward a more extraverted personality which analysis had stimulated and the fact that politics as represented by Italian Fascism seemed to be moving toward art, however, combined to arouse his interest in politics. Medtner regarded Fascism as the only defense against parliamentarianism and Bolshevism, which he dismissed under the collective epithet "political modernism."²

On his way home after some three months in Chicago, he met Rakhmaninov in New York. The composer complained of feeling old before his time (by which he implied artistic impotence as well), a feeling that was very familiar indeed to Medtner, who was almost exactly the same age as he. He was still in touch with Shaginian, and revealed that she was unhappy because she had not had any word from Medtner.³ After years of delay owing to the wartime censorship and the revolution, she published at this time *Journey to Weimar (Puteshestvie v Veimar)* and *One's Own Fate*, both of which were centered on him. The former work, in fact, was dedicated to "my invariably dear friend Emili Medtner."⁴

Medtner's remark about Germany's need of a dictator came just three weeks before the severely paralyzed Chamberlain was visited in Bayreuth by his "pupil" Adolf Hitler, whom he immediately proclaimed the savior of the future Germany.⁵ At about the same time, a few months before Hitler started writing *Mein Kampf*, Medtner's lectures on intuition and their extensive anti-Jewish appendix were published under the lengthy title *Über die sog. "Intuition", die ihr angrenzenden Begriffe und die an sie anknüpfenden Probleme*. As noted above, this edition was a limited one intended only for the members of the Psychological Club, but it bore nevertheless the proud publisher's imprint "Musagetes: Moskau und Zürich." In his foreword Medtner expressed the hope that the publication would breathe new life into Musagetes.⁶

In May 1924 Medtner read Emil Ludwig's and Georg Brandes's books on Napoleon and Caesar, respectively. He wrote to Nikolai that the Euro-

peans “have gone mad with longing and yearning for the Dictator.”⁷ Nikolai and Anna shared his political sympathies. That fall they traveled to the United States, where Nikolai went on a long concert tour, performing among other works his First piano concerto in Philadelphia with Leopold Stokowski and the Philadelphia Symphony and in Carnegie Hall under the same conductor. He also played at the McCormick villa in Chicago much as he once had performed at Morozova’s salons in Moscow. When he and Anna returned to Europe in the spring of 1925, they settled down in Fontaine d’Ivette near Paris.

In 1925 Medtner’s complicated relationship with Susi Trüb came to a painful end. He was writing his foreword to the Russian edition of Jung’s collected works, which was still being translated. He had now also assumed supervision of translations of Jung into French. More and more, he wanted to get away from psychology, and this was one factor which led him to project his personality ideal onto Mussolini. Jung’s friend, the priest Adolf Keller, had had an audience with Il Duce and was deeply impressed by his charisma. He described the dictator as an almost shy introvert, quite unlike the extraverted oratorical performer familiar to the public.⁸ Medtner made a detailed study of Mussolini’s face in portraits and was struck by the resemblance to Napoleon. The two leaders, he pointed out to Nikolai and Anna towards the end of the year, had the same sort of cold fire and inner tension. Mussolini, of course, was not an aristocrat—his mouth was coarser than Napoleon’s and his physiognomy in general had certain peasant traits—but he had “more than enough will to power.”⁹ Eleven years earlier, it will be recalled, Keller had perceived something of the Italian commander Colleoni in Medtner, and Warschatka’s physiognomical and phrenological analysis had mentioned not only his “martial countenance” but also a kinship with Napoleon himself in the lines of the forehead.¹⁰ Soon Medtner declared to Anna and Nikolai that Napoleon meant as much to him as Goethe.¹¹ Much as he had previously associated Goethe with Jung, now in his mind he combined Napoleon and Mussolini. The psychological authority seems to some extent to have been transferred to the new, political figure, for he began using certain of Jung’s epithets to speak about the dictator. Suddenly it was Mussolini who was “the great psychologist.”¹²

Medtner strove to develop his extraversion further. Together with Florence Hopkins, a young English teacher outside Jung’s circle, he went skiing, horseback riding, and mountain climbing, but problems arose when she got too close to him. He attended many of the masquerades typical of Zurich social life of the period, often coming in the Mephisto costume he first wore at a ball at the Psychological Club. At this same time and in the same places, another of Jung’s former patients, Hermann Hesse, was giving expression to *his* extraversion and collecting material for his

novel *Steppenwolf* (from which he gave a reading at the Psychological Club in 1927, the year it appeared).¹³

In 1926 Belyi published his two-volume novel *Moscow (Moskva)*.¹⁴ Quite in keeping with Medtner's pre-Jungian notion of inherited memory, the work allows one age to illuminate another, portraying the city on the eve of World War I as a primordial landscape. At its center is a hero reminiscent of Belyi himself who is driven by his shadowy double to a personality split. Here, then, is another of Belyi's many Nietzschean hypostases.¹⁵ It is unclear whether Medtner read the novel. He was, however, very concretely reminded of the existence of Russia and the Soviet Union when Nikolai toured the country in February and March of 1927, performing in Moscow for the first time his Second piano concerto, which was inspired by and dedicated to Rakhmaninov.¹⁶ Also, Medtner renewed contact with Viacheslav Ivanov in 1925, the year after the poet emigrated to Italy.

McCormick soon started paying Medtner his salary at irregular intervals, and as his economic situation worsened his ambivalence toward her became even more pronounced. At times he would still regret not having married her (and the Rockefeller millions), while at others he would write violent tirades to Anna denouncing her as a "rabid female," a cold and unresponsive maternal surrogate who deserved only to be "whipped."¹⁷ It gradually became clear that McCormick no longer cared to pay him for a translation project that had fallen so far behind schedule. (Another Russian-Jewish emigre, Sofiiia Lorie, was now in charge.) In 1927 Medtner withdrew from the supervision of the translation of Jung's works into French. Jung attempted to intercede on his behalf, but to no avail. With a not uncharacteristic expression, Jung wrote to him that it was of course "that pig Krenn" who was behind it all.¹⁸ The truth of the matter was, however, that McCormick's generosity was as capricious here as it had been with Joyce some years previously.

Now Medtner and Jung began to renew their relationship. Jung and Trüb had already made their peace, and Medtner again became more active at the Psychological Club. In May 1927 he gave a lecture in two parts entitled "Betrachtungen über das Formprinzip in der Kunst" in which he proceeded from Goethe's definition of style as "Sophrosyne," or discipline, and related it to the music of Bach and Beethoven.¹⁹ In November he was again invited to the Jungs' in connection with Count Hermann von Keyserling's visit to Zurich. Both in his extensive writings and in practical activities at the "School of Wisdom" he had founded in Darmstadt, Keyserling aspired toward a synthesis of Oriental and Occidental thought. Under the rubric "Mind and Earth" ("Die Erdbedingtheit der Psyche") Jung had given some lectures on American cultural identity at the school, and these had recently been included in a Keyserling anthology entitled *Mensch*

und Erde.²⁰ Keyserling was of Baltic German (and to some extent Russian) descent and had grown up in the same region as Medtner's father. He had superficial points in common with Baron von Wrangell. Early in the century he had been a close friend of Chamberlain, around whom he had built up something of a cult.²¹ Jung found him arrogantly aristocratic and distant. Medtner, he thought, would make a good intermediary.²²

Without McCormick's funding, the translation project had to be abandoned early in 1928, the year that Jung published new and important works such as *The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious* and *On Psychic Energy*. As Jung himself has put it, he continuously reworked the same material that had emerged during the years of his inner lava stream. Medtner was therefore already familiar with this material, pointing out afterwards that he found almost verbatim passages from their therapeutic dialogues in Jung's later studies.²³ From now on Medtner received only a modest salary as librarian at the Psychological Club, and he was obliged to move into a little room at a Zurich boarding house.

In March 1928 Medtner was nominated for chairman of the Psychological Club. He declined in favor of Wolff, but accepted a position on the board. The main reason he refused, was that he wanted to get away from his humiliating situation in Zurich.²⁴ Jung tried to ease his distress. Toward the end of the year he invited Medtner to visit his tower in Bollingen on the north shore of the Lake of Zurich. He had built it with his own hands, and often retired there accompanied by Wolff to meditate in "the area of St. Meinrad."²⁵ Jung was friendly and amiable, and clearly anxious to restore their relationship.²⁶

In May 1929 Medtner wrote to Nikolai that he was convinced a "mythical understanding of the world" was secretly emerging in Germany. A significant sign of this was that Hölderlin, Jung's "hero" in *Symbols of Transformation*, was once again attracting interest and praise.²⁷ Nietzsche's "tragic-heroic" myth was also very much in the air. To Nietzsche, he emphasized, life was "Wille zur Macht," and, to the extent that life had been reduced to "Wille ums Dasein," death was a viable correlate.²⁸

Medtner spent the fall of 1929 at Nikolai and Anna's in Montmorency near Paris while Nikolai was away on an extended concert tour of Canada and the United States. He was glad to get away from Zurich for a while. On the way to Paris (where he met Natal'ia Pozzo,²⁹ Nikolai Berdiaev, and Sergei Bulgakov), he visited Viacheslav Ivanov in Davos in August. They spent an entire day talking about Belyi and Russia, Jung and Symbolism. Medtner related episodes from his life to Ivanov, who like Jung insisted that he must write his memoirs. While in Paris he published Sofiiia Lorie's translation of Jung's principal work—*Psikhologicheskie tipy*—in Berlin under the Musagetes imprint. In a foreword he emphasized the similarity between Jung's discussion of symbols and the original Musagetes

program. He added that the reception of this first publication of Jung in Russian would determine whether three more volumes—not yet finished owing to the interruption of the translation project—could be released. The epithet to the foreword was from Ivanov's *Dionysus and Proto-Dionysianism* (*Dionis i pradionisiistvo*, 1923), and alluded to the Apollonian element as the source of the medical profession.

In April 1930 Medtner read Chamberlain's posthumously published letters in two volumes, including the one of enthusiastic praise the author had sent to Hitler after their 1923 meeting.³⁰ Medtner wrote to Nikolai that here Chamberlain appeared to be "more in love than we ever were with Germany."³¹ A short while later he attended a Wagner concert in Zurich, remarking to his brother on Wagner's increasing relevance, his uniquely immediate relationship to nature and to "mythical elements shared by all of Europe."³²

In late November Medtner reviewed a German book edition of Ivanov's 1909 article "The Russian Idea" ("Russkaia ideia") discussing the religious aspiration and proximity to Dionysianism of the Russian soul.³³ The review was a Jungian interpretation of Ivanov's view of Russia, focusing on the shadowy, chthonic elements and innate suicidal instinct of the popular soul, on the one hand, and its yearning for unity and totality, on the other.³⁴ Ivanov responded gratefully by dedicating to him a 1916 "psychoanalytical" poem, "The Threshold of Consciousness" ("Porog soznaniia").

About a month later Medtner sent Nikolai a letter interpreting a dream his brother had had about Russia. Both Tsar Aleksandr III and Vladimir Lenin had figured in this dream, appearing in the midst of a raging epidemic resembling the apocalyptic plague described in Pushkin's little tragedy *A Feast in the Time of the Plague* (*Pir vo vremia chumy*). Medtner explained that it was not at all surprising that the tsar who ruled Russia during Nikolai's childhood should appear in the same context as Lenin. Aleksandr and Lenin, he said, were two poles that presupposed each other. The former spoke from Nikolai's consciousness, the latter from his unconscious. The "anti-tsar" Lenin would necessarily be incorporated into Nikolai's consciousness, for he represented not only destruction but also the latent creative energy of the revolution. Fascism is capable of effectively releasing and exploiting the creative content of rebellion. This was what happened in a brilliantly individualistic form when King Victor Emmanuel accommodated Mussolini at the moment the rebel was commanding his army to march on Rome. Fascism, Medtner noted, is a social shedding of the skin, a creative rebirth. Nikolai must allow his two extremes to be accepted on the same conditions as his ego. This will allow their respective energies to be utilized by the ego to generate a new symbol which will eliminate the two self-sufficient white and red tsars in his psyche. Mussolini similarly created a new and powerful symbol of state

out of the monarchy and Fascist revolt. Because it was parliamentary and therefore impotent, the Constituent Assembly in Russia failed to mediate between these extremes. Out of it could come only Lenin's one-sidedly destructive victory and the symbolical spread of the plague throughout the Russian nation.³⁵ This dream interpretation shows how inclined Medtner was to fuse Mussolini's Fascism and Jung's psychology. In his view, Fascism became the social equivalent of the rebirth through therapy of the personality as described in *Symbols of Transformation* and *Psychological Types*.

Medtner viewed Mussolini's New Year's greeting to the world on film, and described him to Nikolai as an "artist of State." As a trained physiognomist, he "read" the dictator's face, finding in the configuration of refined and plebeian features an "eternally masculine" beauty, intellectual acumen, uprightness, and, in the chin, Lutheran will-power. He devoted particular attention to Mussolini's expressive eyes, much as the physiognomist Chamberlain had dwelled on Hitler's.³⁶

Keyserling was a guest of the Psychological Club in January 1931.³⁷ Over lunch in Jung's home he and Medtner had a long conversation about Russia, mostly in German but to some extent also in Russian. Keyserling was inclined to draw parallels between Bolshevik Russia and the United States, a notion that appealed to Medtner.³⁸ Medtner was in fact writing two lectures for the Club in February and March on the theme "Der geschichtliche Aufbau des Russentums in psychologischer/seelischer Beleuchtung," thus setting "Russian civilization" in historical perspective. He underscored the dualism and play of opposites in Russian society and its reflection in the Russian soul, which had "risen up to become a national neurosis,"³⁹ and implied that the focus of analytical psychology on polarity made the theory especially relevant to Russia.

At about this time, Medtner rediscovered Søren Kierkegaard, whose letters to Regine Olsen had once comforted him in Nizhni Novgorod. He was captivated by "the grace of his personality and thought," viewing the Danish philosopher as "a young Wotan who has adopted Christ with complete Teutonic fundamentality and depth."⁴⁰ In his portrait of Jung Medtner speaks of their recurrent discussions of Kierkegaard, but he notes that they argued on two different levels. As a psychologist, Jung could not accept the postulate "either-or," while as "an empiricist of inner nature" he was incapable of understanding Kierkegaard's ontology as anything but that which is "in anima."⁴¹ Here there was an abiding and continuously widening conflict between Medtner and Jung.

Soon McCormick started causing new problems. Payments to Medtner for managing the library became irregular, and he was forced to follow Jung's advice and conduct therapy of his own on a modest scale. He accepted both male and female patients. Jung praised his analytical talent

and urged him to admit more. Among his clients was an Adolf Weizsäcker, a young German follower of Jung who had taken a doctorate in philosophy at Marburg. Medtner and Weizsäcker not only shared intellectual interests but also held similar basic political views. This made things easier for Medtner, who had only reluctantly become involved with analysis. He felt that the drawn-out translation project had both stolen time from his *real* mission and had driven him toward economic ruin. He wrote to Anna of his growing rivalry with Jung, whom he visited in Bollingen in April. Even in the midst of his failed life, Medtner said, Jung harbored toward him a love-hate similar to Rakhmaninov's dual feelings toward Nikolai.⁴² Now as Medtner finally acquired citizenship in Zurich, he was dreaming of leaving the city.⁴³ Ivanov, after all, had urged him to write *for his own cause*. He convinced himself that it was his ties to Jung that prevented him from doing so, and the hours he spent conducting therapy merely reinforced his dependence. He noted that the world economic crisis had worsened parallel to his own. In a letter to Nikolai (who was at the time expressing his premonitions of doom in his *Thunder Sonata*⁴⁴) Medtner observed that "the world is going mad ... the fumes in the air are more dangerous day by day."⁴⁵

In June 1931 Medtner was again invited to Jung's home in connection with a lecture on yoga delivered at the Psychological Club by the German Indologist and historian of religion Wilhelm Hauer. Hauer, who was a Goethean and had written a work criticizing Steiner and anthroposophy,⁴⁶ was appreciative of Medtner's understanding of Goethe, and Medtner felt closer to him than he did to Jung.⁴⁷

In August Rakhmaninov invited Medtner to visit him at the house he had just built in Hertenstein near Lucerne, not very far from Wagner's Villa Tribschen. Medtner found his host more understanding than ever before. Rakhmaninov urged him to put some pressure on his eccentric patroness and threaten her with "a revolver," if necessary.⁴⁸ He also asked him to lend him a copy of *Modernism and Music*, which he now seemed prepared to re-evaluate. As he later wrote to Medtner, he was surprised to find on re-reading it that it coincided so well with Nikolai's present views. He noted with regret that the work had become a bibliographical rarity like *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and wondered cautiously on the basis of that comparison whether Medtner would object to publishing a new edition.⁴⁹ Rakhmaninov himself was not free of anti-Semitic prejudice, yet he was also shocked by the virulence of Medtner's racism.

In early 1932, at about the time he received Rakhmaninov's letter, Medtner visited Nikolai and Anna in Montmorency. While there he learned of the suicide of Hetty Heyman, a young Dutch Jewess from Berlin who had moved into the boarding house in Zurich about a year earlier. Suffering from deep depressions, Heyman had come to Switzerland

to consult Jungian therapists. Her self-destructive tendency—in Berlin at this particular time—seems eerily prophetic. Despite warnings from Toni Wolff, Medtner had initiated a relationship with her. He found her, as he once had Rachel Rabinovitch, similar to Anna both in appearance and with respect to her active involvement in music.⁵⁰ He wrote to Anna that Jung, who, as we know, was also attracted to Jewish women and had a similar Don Juan complex, competed with him for her affections despite Wolff's jibes and taunts.⁵¹ When she killed herself Medtner developed a fixation on her in recurrent thoughts of suicide, describing this most recent anima projection of his as his tragic fate.⁵²

It was at about this time that Medtner became interested in Adolf Hitler, whose National Socialist Party had moved to the forefront of German politics. On the eve of the election of 13 March 1932 between Hitler and Medtner's old war hero and incumbent president Paul von Hindenburg, he sent Jung a photograph of Hitler with a request to "read" it. The day before the election Jung replied:

Your picture aroused my interest. An overly intensive unconscious sphere as a counterpart to a somehow blocked conscious sphere—therefore too much distance between conscious and unconscious. Higher up too purely intellectual, below too like a primordial forest. A kind of pre-war Russian soul. He is thinnest at the center of the face (☉!!), so there is a split into oppositional pairs, whence tension and cramps, no balance but a tendency toward obsession. The eyes express: discharge of the unconscious in fantasies he then attempts to interpret. The immovable tombstone in the consciousness must be exploded.⁵³

Jung, then, does not conceal his fascination. It is interesting to note that he finds elements of an explosive pre-war Russian psyche in Hitler. Perhaps he is reading in something of Medtner here, much as Medtner had tended to transfer Jung to Mussolini. On election day, just as he received this physiognomical commentary, Medtner wrote to Anna and Nikolai expressing his skepticism toward Hitler. His favorite was still Hindenburg, whom he described as "the greatest Kantian," an incarnation of the categorical imperative, "one of the greatest creations of the Teutonic race."⁵⁴

A little over a week after the election (Hindenburg won the first round, but it was still a success for Hitler), the 100th anniversary of Goethe's death was commemorated at the Psychological Club on 22 March with lectures by Medtner and Toni Wolff. Medtner's typological portrait of Goethe was most certainly based on his extensive discussions of the topic with Jung. He described Goethe as above all a great self-confessor in his poetry—most objective when he was being subjective and candid about himself. Goethe was an extraverted feeling type. His thinking was anchored in the unconscious, where it assumed the most inferior function and thus belonged to "its second, lowest stratum."⁵⁵ The inescapable con-

sequence was that this thought developed in a cosmic direction. Since its relationship to the extraverted consciousness was compensatory and thus introverted, it turned inward, that is, toward the subject. What emerged as subject, however, was not Goethe's conscious personality but his cosmic intelligence, the original locus of all ideas. Goethe's genius enabled him to transfer this "cosmically unconscious introverted thinking" to his consciousness, thereby transforming the most inferior function into the highest possible accomplishment.

Goethe's oeuvre, Medtner continued, had only three absolutely individual figures: the poet himself, Mephisto, and Mignon. The latter two seem at first to be phantoms, yet they are more alive than any of his other heroes and are in fact "his aesthetically most perfect creations."⁵⁶ Only analytical psychology can explain the secret of this: Mephisto is Goethe's own shadow, and Mignon is his anima. These partly otherworldly beings represent the primordial images of their creator.

Mephisto, Medtner emphasizes, is a constant presence in Goethe's life. He is mentioned in works, letters, conversations. He is "the most charming devil in world literature."⁵⁷ Only Lermontov's "demon" bears comparison, but Goethe's diabolical figure is more original and richer. Mephisto exhibits all shades of humor, and he is moreover a more skillful psychologist than Faust. He is actually quite harmless; Lucifer is much more satanic, since his revolt against God reaches into the very heavens, whereas ultimately Mephisto does good. He is a combination of naked sensuality and cold intellect (and an aggressive will to go with it). At least in part, Goethe's shadow consisted in just such self-sufficiently introverted thinking.

Medtner concludes with some remarks on Goethe's fundamental significance to analytical psychology, expressing the hope that Goetheanism and Jungianism will continue to cross-fertilize each other: more than any other artist, Goethe is a challenge to European psychology. At the same time Medtner takes a cut at the "occult masters" who have attempted to base their doctrines on "un-Goethean" aspects of Goethe.⁵⁸

Medtner seems here to be identifying himself with Mephisto and his anima with Mignon.⁵⁹ He got this insight from Jung, whose early reaction to Mephisto as the "center of gravity" in *Faust* corresponded to his own empathy as a young man with Lermontov's demon. "Loveless intellect" and coldly caustic wit aptly characterized him as well, for Medtner's sarcasm was at its most acerbic when he was in his darkest and most life-denying frame of mind. Perhaps he felt like the Faustian Jung's Mephistophelian shadow; perhaps he tended to persuade himself that he was really a more perceptive psychologist than the master with whom he was continually competing.

Medtner dreamed of expanding his rather extensive lecture into a new

book in Russian, but nothing came of the idea. He had almost no patients, and since there was no word from McCormick, he was forced to live on savings. He wrote to Anna admitting that Dostoevskii had been right after all: life was a “diabolical vaudeville.”⁶⁰ He would never (underlined twice) accept either the world or his own fate, even if this were equivalent to “revolt.”⁶¹ Here he is alluding both to the suicide Kirillov’s remarks in *The Possessed* and to Ivan Karamazov’s conversation with Alesha.⁶² It was perhaps with these two heroes and their protest against life that he had felt the deepest affinity all along. Ultimately the role of Wotan he had assumed was approaching that of Lucifer as described in his lecture, namely a rebel against the divine order.

Soon Medtner sent a long letter to Rakhmaninov in response to his remarks on *Modernism and Music*. It was here he claimed that “Wölfling” was really a collective pseudonym; moreover, during the twenty years since the book appeared he had been forced to abandon art, and Nikolai had become more “Wölfling” than he. His brother had crowded him out, he said, maturing as a theoretician while he himself had fallen mute. Some of the topical polemics in the book would have to be deleted if it were to be republished, but essentially nothing had changed in his view of (Jewish) modernism. Most urgent at present, however, was that Nikolai get his own musical thoughts into print and that Rakhmaninov support him.⁶³ Rakhmaninov answered with another invitation to Medtner to visit him in Hertenstein. Medtner was struck by the “ingrained unconscious” attitude Rakhmaninov displayed toward the creative process when he defended Strauss against the modernist stamp and declared he had been offended by the Medtner brothers’ view of Liszt. As soon as they touched upon the economic depression, however, they found they shared the same feeling of tragic exile and deep pessimism. “Our life is a cup of wickedness,” said Rakhmaninov.⁶⁴

During the summer Medtner prepared to sue McCormick. He wrote to Anna that the positive things in his life—friendship, love, family—sooner or later always turned into a hell for him.⁶⁵ He was supported by Jung, who invited him to the tower and somewhat cynically encouraged him by pointing out that in the long term the economic crisis must lead to a radical increase in patients that would benefit Medtner as well.⁶⁶ A short while later McCormick died. Her immense wealth had in fact been squandered, so that any hope of relief from that quarter was extinguished.⁶⁷

In October Medtner attended a dinner at Jung’s home in honor of Wilhelm Hauer and his compatriot and colleague Heinrich Zimmer, who were guests of the Psychological Club. Hauer spoke of an awareness of an “absolute spirit” and expressed reservations toward Jung’s psychologism which Medtner also shared.⁶⁸

THE CULT OF HITLER

The German National Socialist Party was growing stronger and stronger. The Nazis consolidated their *Machtübernahme* when President Hindenburg appointed Hitler Reich Chancellor on 31 January 1933. The next day Jung sent a letter to Medtner in Montmorency in which he mentioned that he was reading Father of the Church Origen's *Contra Celsum*, a rebuttal of the Platonic philosopher Celsus' anti-Christian pamphlet. He went on to draw "psychological parallels via Plotinus and Proclus to Hegel and, last but not least, to Karl Marx ... who marks the beginning of the enantiodromia which will hellishly plague our own and several future generations."¹ Jung's reading seems to have been directly influenced by the events of the previous day in Germany. Hitler's assumption of power, after all, was portrayed by the Nazis as the answer to the Jewish-Bolshevik threat hanging over the German nation. The line Jung drew ending in Hegel and Marx, who were directly and indirectly influenced by Proclus' dialectics, echoes the appendix of Medtner's lectures on intuition, in which Origen and Celsus (who had a background in magic) were included in a survey of the historical struggle between Aryan Christianity and Jewish "pandemonium." Medtner had attempted to show how Semitic magic culminated in Marx's doctrines, which themselves ruthlessly "exploited" Hegelian ideas. Thus it would seem as though Jung was using Medtner's observations to explain Hitler's rise as a reaction to the Bolshevik "enantiodromia" which ultimately derived from Celsus' critique of Christianity.

Acknowledging Nazi gains in the parliamentary elections, on 5 March the German Reichstag granted Hitler dictatorial powers. He was now able to begin implementing his plans for reshaping the entire society. Joseph Goebbels was appointed head of the newly established Ministry of Propaganda, and campaigns against everything "un-German" were soon under way. Medtner enthusiastically greeted the growing leader-cult and the increasingly aggressive mystique of blood and race which accompanied it. He wrote to Anna in mid-March that "Hitler bases himself in part on Wagnerianism, in part on Fascism." He was not yet to equate Hitler's genius to that of Mussolini, but regarded him instead—significantly—as a "demonic" figure with "tremendous power over the masses."² A few days later he emphasized that the ongoing "revolution" was yet another proof of "the immeasurability and originality of the German people."³ He gave his full support to the ongoing purge of cultural life. On the removal of

the Jewish conductor Bruno Walter as artistic director of the Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig (which had been led for decades by Nikisch) he declared triumphantly: "A crucial cleansing has begun!"⁴ These actions against "degenerate" and "alien" influences on the German spirit, after all, were precisely what he himself had recommended in his alarming reports in *Zolotoe runo* 25 years earlier. When Rakhmaninov spoke in Walter's defense he became upset, accusing him, in spite of his pronounced antimodernism, of "groveling" to Judaism.⁵ In one letter Medtner quoted Hindenburg, who in 1918 had compared the "ambush" of the German Army by Social Democracy to the murder of Siegfried by the evil Hagen. Now the time had finally come to avenge the disgraceful defeat. Referring to arrests of Communists and Socialists he said: "As long as international Judaism (in collusion with Free Masonry) controls so called public opinion in the civilized world, Bolshevism will survive."⁶

Medtner's language borrowed more and more from the Nazis in general and Hitler in particular. He studied the Führer's many speeches in detail and sent Anna and Nikolai transcripts of those he found most impressive. Anna, who had so completely denied her Jewish heritage that she adopted his anti-Semitism, was irritated at the liberal "birdbrains" who resisted Fascism.⁷ Nikolai said he was breathlessly excited by "the heroic risolute of the Germans' drive for rebirth."⁸ After the book-burning on 10 May Nikolai began shaping his antimodernist notes into publishable form. He was enthusiastically encouraged by Medtner, who was relieved to tell him that Hitler had at last driven Arnold Schönberg—"that frenzied publicity-seeker," as he was called in *Modernism and Music*⁹—from the professorship he had held for 30 years at the College of Music in Berlin.¹⁰ Excited, Medtner now "read" Hitler's face for the first time: "Completely irrational phenomenon; everything is guts and heart... He is genuinely heroic and has a mystical bond with his people, without so much as a thought to satisfying his own needs. He is moreover deeply religious."¹¹

In early April Ernst Kretschmer had resigned as president of the German-controlled General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, which united national psychiatrist organizations in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Denmark, and Sweden. Kretschmer was protesting the exclusion of Jewish psychiatrists from the German section. On 21 June he was succeeded by Jung, who came to Berlin to lead a seminar on dreams with the local Jungian therapist group. Shortly after the resignation, Medtner had visited him for almost a week at the tower in Bollingen. It is not difficult to imagine their topics of discussion. Jung as well was deeply fascinated by the "revolution" and its revival of Teutonic myths and leader worship. His contempt for democratic institutions had points in common with that of Medtner: he as well found them rigid and shallow, unrelated to the unique cultural manifestations of the psyche.¹²

On 26 June Jung was interviewed on Radio Berlin by no other than Medtner's earlier patient Adolf Weizsäcker, now an active Nazi and a Jungian psychologist at the clinic in the capital led by and named after M. H. Göring, chairman of the German Psychiatric Society and cousin of the Prussian premier. Weizsäcker opened his introduction by contrasting Jung's psychology with that of (the Jews) Freud and Adler, emphasizing its kinship with the German spirit in its view of the "creative elements" of the psyche.¹³ Jung called attention to the eagerness with which German society undertook reconstruction: "The winds of change are blowing everywhere." He went on to elaborate on what Weizsäcker had only vaguely suggested, underscoring the fragmentizing and basically life-denying aspects of Freud (whose books had just been publicly burned) and Adler. Western Europe, he said, had proven incapable of understanding the psychic situation of the young German nation. It was a yearning for wholeness that had given birth to the new leader, who like the dominant figure of any mass movement was "the incarnation and mouthpiece of the national psyche."¹⁴ His choice of words, which seems in part to reflect the realistic hope that analytical psychology would consolidate its position in the new society, are strikingly similar to what Medtner had expressed to Nikolai and Anna. A few weeks later Jung's friend Wilhelm Hauer founded the so called Deutsche Glaubensbewegung, an organization numbering quite a few Jungian members which attempted to coordinate the "Aryan" beliefs that could not be satisfied by existing Christian creeds. In his book *Deutsche Gottschau* Hauer also sharply contrasted the Aryan Indo-Germanic religious legacy with the "Semitic Christian" tradition.¹⁵

Again feeling the pull of Germany, Medtner suddenly renewed close contact with Hedwig Friedrich, who was still living with her mother in Pillnitz. In early September he went to visit her as he had done in the old days, staying almost two months and returning home via Berlin. His old idea of living in Germany revived. He told himself that perhaps he could support himself like Weizsäcker as an analyst. His resources in Zurich were very limited, he was struggling with insomnia, and his Ménière's disease had returned. From his new vantage point, he wrote to Anna, everything became "much clearer" than in Switzerland or France. It was only within Germany that you could appreciate the purified atmosphere and harmony and joy suffusing all aspects of life.¹⁶

From this point on Medtner was as if fused with Hitler. He tried to describe how the Führer, whom he had seen on film, had enthralled a crowd of 100,000 with his tremendous "charisma" (the same word he had earlier used about himself).¹⁷ Here, it seemed, was the modern Pericles, a genius whose brilliant oratory would organize and shape the masses, the incarnation of Medtner's grandiose fantasies. Hitler was the man "who will succeed at *everything*," the Teutonic "conductor" of society Medtner him-

self deep down dreamed of being—something, perhaps, of a Nikisch of politics.¹⁸ He listened to all of Hitler's speeches on the radio. When Germany withdrew from the League of Nations in October, his enthusiasm rose even more. Implicitly alluding to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (now available in a series of German editions), he wrote to Anna that Hitler had dealt correctly with this deceitful temple of Free Masonry, "controlled by the Sanhedrin," that is, the supreme tribunal of the Jews.¹⁹ The European press was for hire, which was why it was so difficult outside Germany to get an impartial picture of Hitler's courageous act: "No one understands that Germany rose as one man to raise the issue of emancipating Europe from that which has been undermining her civilization and culture for one hundred years." We live, he added, "in a time of surprises and absolutely fantastic careers," and the most remarkable thing of all was that it was the visionary "non-careerists" who had now stepped on to the stage (and crowded out the power-crazy Jews). Hitler was a Shakespeare hero, a Coriolanus. His speeches rolled like avalanches out into the rapt human sea. Only one man before him had aroused such inspiration in the masses: Martin Luther.²⁰

If Medtner praised Hitler, Shaginian adored Stalin.²¹ She took a very active part in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, publishing her very successful 1931 production novel *Hydrocentral* (*Gidrotsentral'*). Stressed and suffering from insomnia, however, in the fall of 1933 she traveled west to seek medical treatment. For a while she underwent therapy with Ludwig Binswanger, an early partner of Freud and Jung who had gone his own way. Perhaps Medtner's pressure on her had had a belated effect after all. She stayed at Binswanger's clinic in Kreuzlingen, not far from Zurich, but Medtner was evidently unaware of this.²²

With Jung's chairmanship of the international medical society came editorship of its bulletin, *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete*. The first issue under his leadership appeared in 1933 and contained an editorial comment in which he declared that

... the differences which actually do exist between Germanic and Jewish psychology and which have long been known to every intelligent person are no longer to be glossed over, and this can only be beneficial to science.²³

In the same issue Dr. Göring emphasized that German therapists were obliged to take *Mein Kampf* as the basis of their professional activities.

In late February 1934 Jung was given tit for tat by his colleague and compatriot Gustav Bally. Bally's article in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* focused especially on the instructions Göring had issued in Jung's journal and went on to demand that the editor describe in more precise detail his view of the fateful distinction between German and Jewish therapy.²⁴ In his response, Jung attempted to defend himself against the suspicion that he

was merely accepting Göring's "Aryanized" therapeutic method. He claimed that his actions in the medical society were determined by collegial considerations, and that his position there would even enable him to help Jewish colleagues in distress.²⁵ Bally's article seems to have convinced Medtner that *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* was controlled by international Judaism.²⁶ He and Jung surely discussed the subject when he again visited the tower in Bollingen for a few days in April.

Soon Jung developed his ideas about the Aryan and Semitic psyches in an article in his journal entitled "On the Present State of Psychotherapy." In the Aryan unconscious he had discovered "explosive forces and seeds of a future yet to be born." The average Jew, by contrast, was "far too conscious and differentiated to go about pregnant with the tensions of unborn futures." Psychotherapy had thus committed a grave error when it applied Jewish categories to Christians, Germans, and Slavs. It had dismissed "the most precious secret of the Germanic peoples—their creative and intuitive depth of soul" as "a morass of banal infantilism." Freud "did not understand the Germanic psyche any more than did his Germanic followers." Jung could not help wondering: "Has the formidable phenomenon of National Socialism on which the whole world gazes with astonished eyes, taught them better?"²⁷

Jung's view of the "Jewish psyche" as presented here is very Medtnerian. The Jews cannot create, but only take advantage of others. They are shaped one-sidedly by the sexual instinct and lack spirituality. They belong to the past, while the future belongs to the unrealized inner potential of the "young Germanic peoples." Most evidence indicates that Medtner reinforced the theoretical underpinnings of Jung's anti-Semitism in much the same way he once had done with Belyi's. Jung's relationship to Freud was traumatic, and the aggressiveness of his racism can perhaps only be understood viewed against the bitterness which this trauma engendered. Freudianism to him was as "Semitic" Steinerism to Medtner.

Medtner went to Germany as early as the beginning of July, arriving in Pillnitz only a few days after Hitler's massacre of the radical SA faction of the Party. He listened to Hitler's radio speech on the event and was once again deeply affected by what he heard.²⁸ On 2 August President Hindenburg died, and the Nazis transformed his funeral into an enormous Wagnerian ritual at the monument commemorating the 1914 German victory over the Russians at Tannenberg. Medtner was profoundly impressed by the "tragic-heroic" atmosphere of the spectacle. He wrote to Anna that Hindenburg had become a myth: "There is a breath of the Nibelungs in the air; the monument to the Battle of Tannenberg like a Valhall, Hitler's funeral speech also grandiose and entirely Teutonic-pagan in character." Finally the Germans had found themselves, he concluded, but they were "tired ... of the world's hate."²⁹ Hitler did not appoint any-

one to succeed Hindenburg, and he himself took command of the army. From this moment on he was the autocratic "Führer" of the nation. Even more than previously, Medtner seems to have been inclined to interpret Germany as a Wagnerian drama; his death wish and his worship of Hitler became inseparable.

In October Medtner left Pillnitz earlier than planned because of work awaiting him in Zurich. On Wolff's initiative he agreed to share with her and Linda Fierz the editorship of the *Festschrift* commemorating Jung's sixtieth birthday the following year. It was an honorary task, but it enabled Wolff to save his ruined economy and pay some of the debt owed to him by the Jungian movement. He was given a very generous fee for editing the volume and for contributing a congratulatory article of his own. Jung's friends and colleagues from various disciplines were invited to participate, including the Indologists Hauer and Zimmer, the French sociologist Lucien Lévy-Brühl, the Russian emigre philosopher Boris Vyshe-slavtsev (Wyscheslavzeff; a Moscow acquaintance of Medtner's who had lately come into contact with Jungian psychology), and Hans Trüb.

While reading the Austrian Nazi sympathizer Mirko Jelusich's novel *Caesar* on the way home to Zurich, it occurred to Medtner that the time was ripe for Nikolai to compose a "symphonic poem" in Caesar's honor. Caesar was at the moment even more relevant than Napoleon, he wrote Nikolai, and if he followed his advice "the bells of the Fascists would toll."³⁰ Once he arrived home he said he missed Hitler, especially when he looked at the high rents in Switzerland. What was needed here to get rid of both capitalist speculation and socialism was the "fist" of the dictator. In his little rented room he found himself face to face with the "empty hole" that was his life.³¹ Nikolai, who had lapsed into a chronic depression,³² replied that he was in the same "hole" himself.³³ Nikolai now completed his anti-modernist pamphlet and sent it to Rakhmaninov. With a clear allusion to *Modernism and Music*, he called it *The Muse and Fashion (Muza i moda)*, subtitling it "In Defense of the Foundations of Music." In the form of an aphoristic Nietzschean essay, he described the much touted "isms" of the time as so many "tails of the devil" (*chertovy khvostiki*) and compared the "dissonant" composers to Beckmesser.³⁴ Rakhmaninov, who was very satisfied with the text, had it printed at his own publishing house in Paris the following spring.

In November Medtner attended Jung's two lectures at the Psychological Club entitled "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious." This was an expanded version of a paper delivered in August at the second annual Eranos seminar in Ascona (near Monte Verità), where Jungianism now opened itself to a broader cultural discussion on especially the East-West theme.³⁵ The lectures made a deep impression on him. The power of Jung's oratory had risen to demonic heights, forcing him to reflect upon the inter-

mediary position of psychology between nature and fate, biology and biography, generality and individuality.³⁶ Medtner's reaction to the presentation was clearly connected with the work he had just begun on the *Festschrift* article, something of an oblique memoir (the only kind he was capable of writing) describing how he and Jung had recognized themselves in each other. He portrayed Jung as a personality of Goethean wholeness whose many facets were in continuous creative interaction. He showed how Jung's "complex psychology" (as it was now called to distinguish it from Freud and Adler) naturally emerged from its author's psyche. Here Jung is reminiscent of Steiner as portrayed by Belyi in *Recollections of Steiner* (written in the late 1920s but not published until half a century later): an ideal personality in which life and doctrine are uniquely fused. Medtner underscored Jung's "concrete" relationship to the object of knowledge and his Kantian reverence for both inner and external nature.³⁷ Citing Belyi's and Ivanov's manifestoes in the first issues of *Trudy i dni*, he demonstrated Jung's affinity with Symbolism.³⁸ He chose the passage in Belyi's article which, as we saw above, links Russian Symbolism to the "Teutonic race."³⁹ He went on to emphasize that Jung's position in the "contemporary" racial question was familiar to him from their therapeutic conversations during the war.⁴⁰ His objections to Jung were muted, the main difference between the two men being that Jung considered spirit a part of the Self whereas to him it was the other way round, and that Jung preferred the second half of *Faust* whereas he preferred the first.

In mid-January 1935 Medtner again met Jung in Bollingen. It was not a successful visit. He wrote to Anna that Jung had bored him by going on at some length about medieval alchemy without noticing his indifference to the subject.⁴¹ Jung had even asked him whether he would be interested in compiling an international bibliography on the field. This may seem a somewhat provocative suggestion, considering Medtner's hostility to all forms of Gnosticism, although it was no doubt as an expert on Goethe that Jung was appealing to him. Jung notes of his interest in alchemy dating from the mid-1930s:

I regard my work on alchemy as a sign of my inner relationship to Goethe. Goethe's secret was that he was in the grip of that process of archetypal transformation which has gone on through the centuries. He regarded his *Faust* as an *opus magnum* or *divinum*. He called it his "main business," and his whole life was enacted within the framework of this drama.⁴²

Like *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, he goes on, the second part of *Faust* pursues the same voyage of discovery as alchemy "to the other pole of the world."⁴³ Medtner clearly sensed that he was losing Jung as irretrievably as he once had lost Belyi. It was through an understanding of alchemic symbolism that Jung claimed insight into the meaning of "individuation" and with it insight

into his own inner situation during the war years, the starting point of his entire psychology. Further works that brought him growing international recognition, such as the major studies *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944) and *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (1955–57), were deeply influenced by Goethean Gnosticism. A scientist of increasing importance to him was Paracelsus (the prototype of Goethe's Faust), who bridged the gap between psychology, religion, and Rosicrucian esotericism. Medtner himself, in fact, had once regarded Paracelsus as just such a precursor to Jung.

Medtner wrote his article under considerable stress, for it took a great deal of effort to conceal his contradictory feelings toward Jung. The *Festschrift* soon "nauseated" him, and he now openly expressed his hostility towards his analyst.⁴⁴ He felt as alone in the world as Hitler's Germany, hunted by other nations "like a wild beast."⁴⁵ Suddenly Jung appeared in the same light as Belyi two decades previously. Jungian psychology was to blame for his failure, he wrote Anna. Again he had been used and had sacrificed himself for another (that is, a fraternal surrogate); everything that was "*my own*" had been lost forever. He was "absolutely furious," about to throw "a fit of rage."⁴⁶ It is worth noting that during these years he actually expressed his predicament in the same words he had used when he and Belyi broke in 1913–14. He suffered from insomnia and attacks of Ménière's disease. He felt "disgusted" (one of Dostoevskii's most frequent words) deep within, he was enshrouded in "fog," he "hated" life and looked forward to suicide. He had the same apocalyptic presentiments as before and already foresaw a new world war between Germany and Russian Jewish Bolshevism.⁴⁷

Medtner had a standing invitation from Rakhmaninov, and he would naturally have been a guest at Jung's sixtieth birthday reception on 26 July. However, he could not bear to see successful people now, least of all Jung, who "neglected to save me from disintegration."⁴⁸ The only person who understood him at all, he said, was the likewise psychologically battered Friedrich. Via France, he once again took refuge with her and Germany. Only with her, who was "indifferent to everything save National Socialism and Nietzsche," could he find any peace.⁴⁹ He wrote to Anna from Pillnitz that he suffered from the same sclerosis that had killed Belyi six months previously.⁵⁰ (Shortly before his death, Belyi had written an extensive portrait of him in his memoirs; if Medtner read them, perhaps this served to mellow his bitterness somewhat.⁵¹)

When he returned to Zurich in the late fall of 1935 Medtner sent a 38-page letter to Nikolai in which he again lamented the twenty wasted years of his life and declared that all that remained was death.⁵² The truth was that the loss of Jung had emptied his life of all meaning. In a later letter he said that he wanted to be cremated, since "I no longer want to have anything to do with this planet."⁵³

When Hitler's troops occupied the demilitarized Rhineland in March 1936 and were greeted by vehement protests from the French, Medtner was again filled with "fiery hatred" of French culture.⁵⁴ He discerned features of the Bolshevik Jews in the "snouts" of the French politicians.⁵⁵ He made it clear to Anna and Nikolai that they could consider themselves lucky to have fled to London the year before,⁵⁶ and he cited Hitler's remark on the action: "I pray to God to strike me dead if I am wrong."⁵⁷ It was as if he saw himself and Hitler, the two of them resembling Wotan, pursued by their hostile lives to the threshold of death. Only a few days later Jung published an article entitled "Wotan" which drew explicit parallels between Hitler and the lord of Valhall. Jung considered that Wotan had emerged as a living archetype from the German collective consciousness, and that it was his stormy wind that had now grown into a hurricane. He perceived Wotan in the sun cult of German youth, in the Dionysian obsession of the nation, in Hitler's magical function. Surely he gave Medtner a thought or two as he was writing the article.⁵⁸

In April, almost as if he were taking leave of them, Medtner visited Nikolai and Anna in London. In June he followed his doctors' advice and went to take the waters at the Bohemian spa of Teplitz-Schönau, which both Goethe and Wagner had once visited. After a few weeks there he went on to Pillnitz, where in early July he fell seriously ill with attacks of vertigo. He was admitted to the local psychiatric clinic. Now, it seemed, the ever menacing split in his psyche had caught up with him. In a state of total regression, speaking incoherently and exclusively of the past and evidently unable to comprehend the present, he died in the early morning of 11 July 1936.⁵⁹

EPILOGUE

Three years after Medtner's death the Psychological Club published three volumes of the Russian translation of Jung's works to 1928 under the title *Selected Works on Analytical Psychology* (*Izbrannye trudy po analiticheskoi psikhologii*). Each volume contained short pedagogical introductions taken from the foreword Medtner wrote in the 1920s. Boris Vysheslavitsev was responsible for the final editing.¹

In July 1938, only some two months after the Nazis had forced Freud to seek asylum in London, Jung chaired the 10th International Congress of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy in nearby Oxford. He ignored the situation of his former mentor during the convention.² A few months later, however, he did grant an interview to the American magazine *Hearst's International Cosmopolitan* in which he discussed his view of contemporary dictators. Although he professed support for democracy, the fascination he expressed with Hitler was more obvious than ever. He said that in connection with a visit to his followers in Berlin in 1937, he had had an opportunity to study Hitler and Mussolini's first meeting at a distance of only a few meters. He described Hitler as a potential patient and once again brought up the parallel to Wotan.³ Hitler, he said, was the greatest prophet since Mohammed. The entire German unconscious spoke with his lips. He was "a kind of spiritual vessel, semi-divine, or even better, a myth."⁴ Jung urged him to take up arms against Russia, which would be "the logical cure" for Hitler and his nation. If Mussolini's grace, originality, and warm, human physical elasticity had aroused Jung's sympathy, Hitler's furious collective identity had filled him with equal portions of respect and awe.⁵

Around the outbreak of war in September 1939, Jung had a dream in which Hitler resembled the Antichrist but was nevertheless the instrument of God. The dream appears to be linked to his interest in Mephisto and his experience of "the dark side of God."⁶ (The year before he had finally traveled to India, where he devoted a good deal of thought to the "psychological nature of evil.")⁷ This marks the apex of his fascination with Hitler.

* * *

Belyi implied in his memoirs that his own art was a result of collective creation in which Medtner played a part.⁸ Jung, who perhaps could have said something similar, never wrote anything about his friend, but then

he never wrote an autobiography in the conventional sense, either. He did not even give a word of acknowledgement in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* to his closest colleague and "savior" Toni Wolff.

Medtner's fate was to be "used" by two of the greatest and most productive representatives of twentieth-century European culture, both of them the object of a lively international interest today. His role of intermediary demonstrates the strong kinship between two men who, each in his own way, and each by his own means, illuminated modern man's crisis of consciousness. The paradox is that Medtner aspired to infuse Russia with the German spirit, but eventually came to contribute something specifically Russian to German culture.

NOTES

Abbreviations:

ETH, Hs = ETH-Bibliothek, Handschriften (Jung-Archiv), Zurich.

LC, ML = Library of Congress, Musical Library, Washington, D.C.

PF = Ponsov Family Archive, Moscow.

RGALI = Russkii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Literatury i Iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow.

RGB = Russkaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka (Russian State Library), Moscow.

RNB = Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (Russian National Library), St. Petersburg.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 See N. A. Frumkina and L. S. Fleishman, "A. A. Blok mezhdū 'Musagetom' i 'Sirinom' (Pis'ma k E. K. Metneru)," in *Blokovskii sbornik* 2 (Tartu, 1972), and Georges Nivat, "Histoire d'une 'tératogénèse' biélyenne. Les rapports entre Emilij Medtner et Andrei Belyj," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 1–2 (1977).
- 2 A selection of Nikolai Medtner's letters to his brother is in N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, ed. Z. A. Apetian (Moscow, 1973).
- 3 Andrei Belyi, "Emilii Metner," in his *Nachalo veka* (Moscow, 1990 [Moscow and Leningrad, 1933]). See also the chapters "Staryi drug" in the same volume, "Metner i ia" in Belyi's *Mezhdū dvukh revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1990 [Leningrad, 1934]), and "Moskovskie kul'turtregery" in his *Vospominaniia ob A. A. Bloke* (Munich, 1969, originally in *Epopeia* I–IV (Berlin, 1922–23)).
- 4 C. G. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, recorded and edited by A. Jaffe, trans. R. and C. Winston (New York, 1965), p. 199.
- 5 Jung, *Memories*, p. 199.
- 6 Barbara Hannah, *Jung: His Life and Work* (London, 1977), p. 31. Italics mine.
- 7 The only mention is in Hannah, *Jung*, p. 232, where Medtner is listed among the editors of the *Festschrift* to Jung on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

MEDTNER'S LIFE-LIE

- 1 Medtner family legend had it that the Goedicke ultimately came from Sweden, but that seems quite unlikely. See also Medtner's letter of 27 September 1921 to P. D. Ettinger, in N. K. Metner, *Vospominaniia. Stat'i. Materialy*, ed. Z. A. Apetian (Moscow, 1981), where he comments on his family tree (pp.

- 299–300).
- 2 Medtner's summary of his 1901–06 diary, 29 August 1908, pp. 3–4 (PF).
 - 3 Emil Medtner, "Bildnis der Persönlichkeit im Rahmen des gegenseitigen Sich Kennenlernens," in *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie* (Berlin, 1935), p. 560.
 - 4 Medtner's 1897–99 diary, unnumbered sheet (PF).
 - 5 They were to become his opus 1.
 - 6 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 559.
 - 7 Cf. Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 569.
 - 8 Medtner's 1901–06 diary summary, p. 2.
 - 9 Medtner, "Bildnis," pp. 559, 567.
 - 10 He received a gold medal on his final examination, and that summer he and his cousin Aleksandr Goedicke participated in the international Rubinstein piano competition in Vienna.
 - 11 On one occasion, he supposedly even visited Goethe in Weimar (or possibly in Jena).
 - 12 There is a great deal to suggest that Medtner viewed Goethe as something of a German Pushkin, much as Dostoevskii had interpreted the Russian national poet as the "universal man" in his famous 1880 Pushkin speech. Note that the 150th anniversary of Goethe's birth and the 100th anniversary of Pushkin's coincided precisely in 1899.
 - 13 Medtner's 1901–06 diary summary, p. 1.
 - 14 See Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 93.

THE ENCOUNTER WITH BELYI

- 1 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, pp. 89–90.
- 2 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 92.
- 3 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 93.
- 4 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 87.
- 5 Nikolai and Belyi were born nine months apart, in January and October 1880, respectively.
- 6 See my dissertation, *The Dream of Rebirth. A Study of Andrej Belyj's Novel Peterburg* (Stockholm, 1982), pp. 19–20. Belyi's pseudonym alluded to the "white" Christ of the Apocalypse.
- 7 Andrei Belyi, "Material k biografii (intimnyi), prednaznachennyi dlia izucheniia tol'ko posle smerti avtora," (1923) (RGALI, f. 53, op. 2, ed. khr. 3, sheet 17). In the text below, this work will be referred to as Belyi's "intimate autobiographical notes."
- 8 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 93.
- 9 Medtner also notes the similarity between them in his diary (29 September 1902): "Beginning with general questions and ending with the most intimate emotions, convictions, reflections—everything with us is the same" (quoted in A. V. Lavrov, "Primechaniia," in Andrei Belyi, *Stikhotvoreniia* (Moscow, 1988), p. 550).
- 10 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 88.

- 11 Medtner's diary, 29 September 1902, quoted in A. V. Lavrov, "Primechaniia," in Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, pp. 584–85.
- 12 Belyi, *Vospominaniia o Bloke*, p. 25. This sonata became his opus 5.
- 13 It is evident from Medtner's diary, 29 September 1902 (quoted in Lavrov, "Primechaniia," in Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, pp. 585–86), how strongly Belyi reacted to the related motif in Nikolai's sonata—as if he had seen his "double."
- 14 Belyi, "Material," sheet 45.
- 15 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 98.
- 16 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 99.
- 17 Belyi ("Material," sheet 31) mentions the "inner conversations" he was now having with Medtner.
- 18 Letter of 13–15 February 1903 ("Blok v neizdannoi perepiske i dnevnikakh sovremennikov," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 92:3, *Aleksandr Blok. Novye materialy i issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1982), p. 195).
- 19 See, for example, Medtner's letter of 9 May 1903 to Petrovskii ("Blok v neizdannoi perepiske," p. 198).
- 20 See Belyi's letter of 8 April 1903 to Medtner, extracts of which are in A. V. Lavrov, "Mifotvorchestvo 'argonavtov,'" in *Mif. Fol'klor. Literatura* (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 141–42, and in Nivat, "Histoire d'une 'tératogénèse,'" p. 98.
- 21 The poem was published in Belyi's first collection *Zoloto v lazuri* (Moscow, 1904).
- 22 *Novyi put'* 9 (1903). In his letter of 30 November 1902 to Medtner, Belyi had declared he was "completely in love" with *Stimmungsbilder* (notes to N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 42).
- 23 The poem "Zolotoe runo" was published in *Zoloto v lazuri*.
- 24 See Lavrov's extract from Belyi's above-mentioned letter of 8 April 1903 to Medtner.
- 25 E(milii Metner): "Simfonii Andreia Belogo," *Pridneprovskii krai*, 15/28 and 16/29 December 1903. Here Medtner lays special emphasis on the affinity between Belyi's symphony and Nikolai's sonata.
- 26 These songs would eventually be included in his opus 6.
- 27 Cited from Medtner's 1901–06 diary summary, p. 4.
- 28 Medtner, 1901–06 diary summary, p. 5.
- 29 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 565.
- 30 The final version did not appear until 1906. There is nothing to suggest that Medtner was familiar with the protocols at this early stage.
- 31 Personal communication from Vera Tarasova, Karl Medtner Jr's daughter, February 1983.
- 32 During this same visit Anna apparently decided to have a serious talk with him about her new intimacy with Nikolai.
- 33 Medtner based himself on Goethe's own classification of classicism as "healthy" and romanticism as "diseased" in his conversation with Eckermann 2 April 1829. See Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, in Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens*, ed. Karl Richter a.o., vol. 19 (Munich, 1986), p. 300.
- 34 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, pp. 336–39. Nietzsche does not appear to have been so very central to these discussions. Later the same year, however, Medtner felt

- the need to elucidate to Belyi Nietzsche's relationship to the Romantics and to distinguish him from them. This resulted in the article "Romantizm i Nitshe," *Pridneprovskii krai*, 12/25 October.
- 35 Belyi, "Material," sheet 18.
- 36 Belyi reacted strongly to a guest performance of Nikisch's which he attended after returning to Moscow, describing the experience in the suite of poems in prose *Maska*, which appeared in the June issue of *Vesy*. Nikisch is portrayed there as a wizard who guides the lyrical "I" toward a new dawn of life through infantile nightmare battles with the enemies who pursue him. Belyi's portrait of the conductor, which emphasizes his intensive gaze, is impregnated with Medtner's view of the man, combined with certain of Medtner's own features. (Belyi's involvement with Petrovskaia had in fact now drawn him into a strained triangle with his colleague Valerii Briusov which culminated that fall in the form of a poetic duel. In one poem that negatively alludes to the verses to Medtner he addresses his menacing rival as his "Ancient Enemy.")
- 37 Medtner's 1901–06 diary summary, p. 5.
- 38 Letter of 2 January 1905 to Nikolai (PF).
- 39 Letter of 2 January 1905.
- 40 *Das Leben Friedrich Nietzsches* (Leipzig, 1895–1904).
- 41 He also had a long conversation here with Hugo von Hofmannsthal; it was not until later, however, that he realized with whom he was speaking.
- 42 Letter of 18 May 1905 to his mother; excerpts in the notes to N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 75.
- 43 Letter of 17 August 1906 (PF).
- 44 Sören Kierkegaard *und sein Verhältnis zu "ihr"*. *Aus den nachgelassenen Papieren* (Stuttgart, 1905).
- 45 This dual identification was all the more easy in that he insisted that his family on his father's side originally came from Denmark (Sleswig-Holstein).
- 46 Letter of 14 February 1906 (PF).
- 47 Letter of 16 February 1906 (PF). Soon these letters became unbearable reading, and he did not return to Kierkegaard for 25 years. He writes that after having had the "misfortune" to become acquainted with Kierkegaard through the letters to Regine Olsen, he dismissed him as a "self-tormenting psychological corkscrew" ("Bildnis," p. 559).
- 48 Medtner's 1901–06 diary summary, p. 7.
- 49 Nikolai's letter of 6 March 1906 (*Pis'ma*, p. 75).

A NEW CAREER

- 1 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 94.
- 2 Letter of 2 November 1931 to Rakhmaninov (LC, ML 30.55).
- 3 Vol'fing, "'Skupoi rytsar'" i 'Francheska da Rimini' (Opery Rakhmaninova na stsene Bol'shogo teatra)," *Zolotoe runo* 1 (1906), p. 122.
- 4 See Skriabin's response of 15 February in A. N. Skriabin, *Pis'ma*, ed. A. V. Kashperov (Moscow, 1965), p. 407.
- 5 Andrei Belyi, "Nikolai Metner," *Zolotoe runo* 4 (1906), p. 105. "Genial'nyi" is

- a key word in Medtner's vocabulary, for it reflects the cult of genius that was so central to his intellectual and emotional makeup. Since English lacks an adjective derived from this root, however, here and below it will usually be rendered as "brilliant."
- 6 Letter of 4 September 1906 (PF).
 - 7 See Belyi's letter of January 1907 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 1, ed. khr. 51).
 - 8 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 125.
 - 9 V. K(aratygin), "M. Reger," *Zolotoe runo* 2 (1906).
 - 10 Vol'fing, "Sixtus Beckmesser redivivus," *Zolotoe runo* 2 (1907), p. 65.
 - 11 Vol'fing, "Kaliostro v muzyke," *Zolotoe runo* 4 (1907), pp. 69–70. As a counterbalance to Strauss and Reger, the Medtner brothers soon contacted Edvard Grieg, who was conducting in Germany that spring, to invite him to Russia. Grieg declined, however, as he was in poor health and in fact died just a few months later.
 - 12 Belyi's attacks on Blok culminated in a review of the latter's lyrical dramas ("Oblomki mirov," *Vesy* 5 (1908)). There he plays on the similarity between the name Tieck and the Russian diminutive ending "-chik" in the play *Balaganchik* (*The Little Fair Show Booth*), which is a caricature of the early mystical dreams around the turn of the century and depicts the Blok-Liubov'-Belyi triangle in *commedia dell'arte* form. In 1904 in Nizhnii Novgorod Medtner had cautioned Belyi not least against drifting into Ludwig Tieck's brand of Jena Romanticism.
 - 13 Vol'fing, "Boris Bugaev protiv muzyki," *Zolotoe runo* 5 (1907).
 - 14 Belyi's letter to the editor was now published instead in the journal *Pereval* 10 (1907). For a more detailed account of this conflict, see A. V. Lavrov, "Zolotoe runo," in *Russkaia literatura i zhurnalistika nachala XX veka. 1905–1917*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1984).
 - 15 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, pp. 125–26.
 - 16 Andrei Belyi, *Kubok metelei. Chetvertaia simfoniia* (Moscow, 1908), p. 3.
 - 17 See his letter to Anna of 7 March 1915, which recapitulates this (PF).
 - 18 Vol'fing, "Vagnerovskie festshpili 1907 goda v Miunkhene," *Zolotoe runo* 7–9, 10 (1907), 1, 2, 3–4 (1908). In the subtitle here he called himself a "non-Wagnerian," which was meant to express his objection to the lavish and institutionalized Wagner cult in Bayreuth.
 - 19 These became his opus 15.
 - 20 Nikolai used a German translation of the poem done for him by his father. He combined this Belyi composition and his Pushkin composition to form his opus 13.
 - 21 See Z. A. Apetian's treatment of these reviews in N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 114.
 - 22 Vol'fing, "Modernizm i muzyka," *Zolotoe runo* 5 (1908), pp. 62–64.
 - 23 Belyi spoke at the Polytechnical Museum on 1 January 1908. See Andrei Belyi, "Fridrikh Nitsshe," *Vesy* 7, 8, 9 (1908).
 - 24 Vol'fing, "Rakhmaninov, kak ispolnitel'," *Zolotoe runo* 2 (1908), p. 76.
 - 25 Morozova's memoir "Metner" paints an affectionate picture of all three of them as an inseparable "unit," but it is mostly about Emiliia (*Nashe nasledie* 6 (1991), p. 104).

- 26 Belyi, *Vospominaniia o Bloke*, p. 555.
- 27 Belyi, *Vospominaniia o Bloke*, p. 561–63. Belyi stresses that he had never met a more spirited interlocutor, and that nothing Medtner had written suggests anything about his refined conversational skills.
- 28 Belyi, *Vospominaniia o Bloke*, p. 567.
- 29 Medtner later summarized his impressions to Ellis in a letter of 8 September 1909: “He is some sort of theosophical pastor shouting out ‘profound’ banalities. Goethe surely would not have wanted to know him” (quoted in Frumkina and Fleishman, “A. A. Blok,” p. 387).
- 30 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 88.
- 31 One curiosity here is that her name was also Anna (Horst). See Geoffrey G. Field, *Evangelist of Race. The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain* (New York, 1981), p. 331.
- 32 See further Field, *Evangelist of Race*, pp. 326–32.
- 33 Vol’fing, “Estrada,” *Zolotoe runo* 2–3, 5 (1909).
- 34 His father was born in 1846 in Pärnu (now Estonia).
- 35 Andrei Belyi, *Urna* (Moscow, 1909), p. 128.
- 36 It is likely that he had by this time already translated Dr. Paul Julius Möbius’ 1902 study *Über das Pathologische bei Nietzsche* to Russian, and it may have helped him understand the complexities of Nietzsche’s psyche. The manuscript of a finished translation—“O patologicheskomo u Nitsshe”—with his foreword is in RGB, f. 167, op. 4, kart. 18, ed. khr. 8. As early as in a letter of 21 May 1907 to his brother-in-law Aleksandr Bratenshi, he wrote that he had been commissioned by a Russian publishing house to translate two works about Nietzsche (PF).
- 37 Emiliia Metner, “Nitsshe i Vagner. (Kommentarii k chetvertomu ‘Nesvoevremennomu razmyshleniiu’),” in Fridrikh Nitsshe, *Nesvoevremennnye razmyshleniia*, vol. II of his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 1909), pp. 417–18, 420.
- 38 Here Medtner wrote a new article, “O muzykal’noi kritike,” which was published in three installments in *Zolotoe runo* that year (nos. 6, 7–9, 10).
- 39 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, pp. 310–11.
- 40 In an obvious effort to bind Skriabin to him, in the fall Medtner suggested that they collaborate on an anthology of articles about the composer to be published by the new house. He was again refused, however. See Skriabin’s answer of 6 December 1909 in Skriabin, *Pis’ma*, pp. 342–43.
- 41 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 319.
- 42 According to Belyi himself, Matrena also borrowed certain traits from the Medtner family’s new maid Polia. It was Medtner who drew Belyi’s attention to the fact, whereafter Belyi studied her closely for his continued work on the novel. (See Belyi, “Nachalo veka, t. III” (the unpublished original version of his memoirs), p. 80; RNB, f. 60 ed. khr. 14.) According to Belyi’s later account, Medtner advised him during these years following the Petersburg debacle to marry a servant girl (Nina Berberova, *Moi kursiv* (Munich, 1971), p. 462).
- 43 Nikolai’s new compositions were later included in his opera 18 (with the Goethe works) and 19 (with the Nietzsche works).
- 44 Andrei Belyi, “Shtempelevannaia kul’tura,” *Zolotoe runo* 9 (1909), p. 75.

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- 1 Medtner stayed longer than planned in Weimar in order to read works of Chamberlain unavailable in Russia.
- 2 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 99.
- 3 Incidentally, he had married into the wealthy Mamontov family from which Morozova came.
- 4 Belyi, *Mezhdv dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 308.
- 5 Belyi, *Mezhdv dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 307.
- 6 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, pp. 93, 96.
- 7 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 90; Vol'fing, "Dom pesni," *Zolotoe runo* 11–12 (1909), pp. 78–79.
- 8 Vol'fing, "Estrada," *Zolotoe runo* 2–3 (1909), p. 107.
- 9 Belyi, *Mezhdv dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 306; *Nachalo veka*, p. 93. Medtner associated Turgeneva with the anemic "princess" in Belyi's first symphony (*Severnaia simfoniia (I-aia, gericheskaia)* (Moscow, 1903)), contrasting her with "Fairy-tale" (based on Morozova) from the second.
- 10 Vol'fing, "Dom pesni," pp. 76, 79.
- 11 Ironically enough, Schmidt is named after Anna Schmidt, who had died four years previously. She had again come to Belyi's attention during this year when Mel'nikov sent Medtner the papers in her estate. After consulting Belyi Medtner gave them to Morozova, who entrusted them to Sergei Bulgakov. Bulgakov took her mystical tracts very seriously. Several years later he and Pavel Florenskii published selections from her manuscripts (*Iz rukopisei Anny Nikolaevny Shmidt* (Moscow, 1916)) with Morozova's publishing house The Way, supplying them with a biographical sketch that was partially based on Medtner's reminiscences.
- 12 Letter of 26 August 1909, excerpts quoted in Frumkina and Fleishman, "A. A. Blok," p. 387.
- 13 *Religiia stradaiushchego boga* was advertised for publication by Musagetes for a number of years, but the edition never materialized.
- 14 Margarita Woloschin, *Die grüne Schlange. Lebenserinnerungen* (Stuttgart, 1956), pp. 226–27.
- 15 In the fall of 1906 Ivanov had dedicated to her a cycle of sonatas (*Zoloty zavesy*, published 1907 in the collection *Eros*) which played upon the fact that she and the heroine of Faust had the same name.
- 16 Musagetes publications that year also included Zinaida Hippus' *Sobranie stikhov*, Sergei Solov'ev's new collection *April'*, and Mikhail Sizov's translation of the medieval Dutch theologian Jan van Ruysbroek's *Cierheit der gheesteliker brulocht* (*Odeianie dukhovnogo braka*).
- 17 Steiner had pointed to Medtner's head in the photograph and remarked: "Here everything is soft; here a great deal can still develop." Of his handwriting he commented: "He has no peace; he must get some with us; he is throwing himself too much from the center toward the periphery." When Sabashnikova explained that Medtner strongly objected to theosophy he responded jocularly that a little violence did no harm if he was guided in the right direction, since he was still "a child." (Medtner's letter of 27 October 1910 to Anna; PF.)

- 18 In 1906 Ivanov had read St. Francis' poems with Sabashnikova in the original Italian. His interest in the saint was probably much influenced by Mintslova. Medtner and Sabashnikova now viewed the famous frescoes in the St. Francis church in Assisi, discovering what they thought to be a Rosicrucian symbol in the very architecture of the building. (Medtner's letter to Anna from Rome, 6 November 1910; PF.)
- 19 Medtner's letter of 6 November.
- 20 Letter of 28 August 1910, excerpts published in Nivat, "Histoire d'une 'tératogénèse,'" p. 112.
- 21 In 1911 Boris Iakovenko joined the editorial board.
- 22 Sabashnikova's translations of Eckehart were published in 1912 as *Propovedi i rassuzhdeniia*.
- 23 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 340.
- 24 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, pp. 358–62.
- 25 Letter of 21 July 1911 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 2, ed. khr. 45).
- 26 Belyi, *Tragediia tvorchestva. Dostoevskii i Tolstoi* (Moscow, 1911), pp. 23–26.
- 27 Belyi, *Tragediia tvorchestva*, p. 13.

THE CONFLICT WITH BELYI

- 1 Andrei Belyi, *Putevye zametki. Sitsiliia i Tunis* (Berlin, 1922).
- 2 Letter of 12 February 1911. See N. V. Kotrelev, "Puteshestvie na Vostok. Pis'ma Andreia Belogo," in *Vostok i Zapad. Issledovaniia. Perevody. Publikatsii* (Moscow, 1988), p. 156.
- 3 Letter of 16 January 1911, excerpts published in Nivat, "Histoire d'une 'tératogénèse,'" p. 114. Here he asserts that all "non-Jews" must join together in self-defense. The background was that Nikolai felt he had been mistreated during a rehearsal by the authoritarian Dutch guest conductor Willem Mengelberg, and he immediately broke off collaboration with him; he was supported by almost everyone in the Moscow musical community.
- 4 The article was not published until 1990 in *Sovetskaia muzyka* 3.
- 5 Andrei Belyi, "Egipet," *Sovremennik* 6 (1912), p. 271.
- 6 Letter of Easter Day 1911, quoted in Dolgopopolov, "Tvorcheskaiia istoriia i istoriko-literaturnoe znachenie romana A. Belogo 'Peterburg,'" in Andrei Belyi, *Peterburg* (Leningrad, 1981), p. 595.
- 7 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, pp. 411–12.
- 8 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 419.
- 9 Belyi, *Mezhdu dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 419.
- 10 Letter of 30 June 1911 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 2, ed. khr. 43).
- 11 Letter of 21 July 1911 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 2, ed. khr. 45).
- 12 A couple of these articles would seem to be addressed directly to Medtner: "Nehto o muzyke," which took a critical view of its subject, and "O dvoimoi istine," in which a conversation between an anti-theosophical "musician" and an artist interested in occultism mirrors Belyi's own ambiguity. The articles, the latter signed "Cunctator," were published in *Trudy i dni* 2 (1912).
- 13 Letter of 12 October 1911 to Blok (Aleksandr Blok and Andrei Belyi, *Perepiska*

- (Munich 1969 (Moscow, 1940)), p. 265).
- 14 Belyi is most outspoken on this subject in the drafts to the second part of *Mezhdru dvukh revoliutsii* ("Vospominaniia, t. III, ch. II," RNB, f. 60, ed. khr. 15, pp. 176–78), where he says that communication had been completely severed.
 - 15 Vol'fing, "Dom Pesni," *Modernizm i muzyka* (Moscow, 1912), p. 169.
 - 16 Vol'fing, "Iudaizm" ("Prilozheniia"), *Modernizm i muzyka*, pp. 384, 388.
 - 17 Vol'fing, "Iudaizm," p. 391n.
 - 18 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 88.
 - 19 Vol'fing, "Iudaizm," p. 391.
 - 20 Vol'fing, "Iudaizm," p. 392.
 - 21 Vol'fing, "Iudaizm," pp. 395, 401–02.
 - 22 Vol'fing, "Prilozheniia," p. 321.
 - 23 Vol'fing, "List," *Trudy i dni* 1 (1912), p. 37.
 - 24 Vol'fing, "List," p. 38n.
 - 25 Vol'fing, "List," p. 42.
 - 26 Emilii Metner, "'Musaget'. Vstupitel'noe slovo redaktora," *Trudy i dni* 1 (1912), pp. 55–6.
 - 27 Letter of 25 November 1911 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 5, ed. khr. 26).
 - 28 Likhutina's fatal misaccentuation of the names "Duncan" and "Nikisch" is said to evoke the "music critic's" ridicule (Belyi, *Peterburg*, p. 62). Turgeneva may have also been guilty of similar mispronunciations. She seems to have been dyslexic, and (according to Belyi's drafts of the second part of *Mezhdru dvukh revoliutsii* ("Vospominaniia, t. III, ch. II," p. 149)) her level of culture at this time was embarrassingly superficial.
 - 29 Belyi, *Peterburg*, p. 38.
 - 30 Ironically, the "stranger" himself is a Nietzschean with certain of Medtner's features. For example, he speaks of the masses as a piano to be played upon. It is as if Belyi was artistically admitting Medtner's affinity with his enemies.
 - 31 Letter of 2 November 1911 (Blok and Belyi, *Perepiska*, p. 269).
 - 32 Aleksei Shmakov, *Evrei i svoboda* (Moscow, 1906).
 - 33 Ableukhov is in many respects a caricature of Belyi's father. In his paradoxical role of awkward, well-meaning head of the family he also bears a certain resemblance to Medtner Sr. Like him, he is called exclusively "Papa" (*papa-sha*) at home.
 - 34 Moreover, Belyi had grown up here, just a few blocks from Musagetes.
 - 35 See Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 100.
 - 36 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, section 6, vol. 3 of *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. G. Colli and M. Montinari (Berlin, 1969), p. 363.
 - 37 This was Belyi's second book with Musagetes that year, the first being *Arabski*, a collection of literary and polemical articles. Other publications included the first volume of Blok's three-volume *Sobranie stikhotvorenii* and his "fourth poetry collection" *Nochnye chasy*, Ellis's new book of poems *Stigmata*, Heraclitus' *Fragmenty* in Nieländer's translation, and Charles Baudelaire's *Petites poèmes en prose*, translated by Ellis as *Stikhotvoreniiia v proze*.
 - 38 Andrei Belyi, "O simbolizme," *Trudy i dni* 2 (1912), p. 6.
 - 39 Viacheslav Ivanov, "Mysli o simbolizme," *Trudy i dni* 1 (1912), pp. 7, 10.

- 40 Belyi, "Nachalo veka, t. III," p. 100.
- 41 Andrei Belyi, "Pochemu ia stal simvolistom i pochemu ia ne perestal im byt' vo vsekh fazakh moego ideinogo i khudozhestvennogo razvitiia," in Belyi, *Simvolizm kak miroponimanie*, ed. L. A. Sugai (Moscow, 1994), p. 460.
- 42 See Marietta Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia. Istoriia chelovecheskogo stanovleniia*, vol. 1 of her *Sobranie sochinenii v devyati tomakh* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 301–22.
- 43 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, pp. 110–11.
- 44 Rakhmaninov had in fact been treated by the same Nikolai Dal' as Medtner—and at about the same time.
- 45 Marietta Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o Sergee Vasil'eviche Rakhmaninove," *Sobranie sochinenii v devyati tomakh*, vol. 7 (Moscow, 1988), p. 379.

BELYI'S ENCOUNTER WITH STEINER

- 1 Belyi was informed by Petrovskii that Steiner had just appeared in Helsinki. Apropos of the Russian Easter holiday, he had made a special speech there to his Russian followers in which he emphasized that the future belonged to the Russian soul and stressed its need for occult training.
- 2 See Belyi's report of 14 May 1912 to Blok (*Perepiska*, pp. 293–301).
- 3 Andrei Belyi, "Iz vospominanii," *Beseda* 2 (1923), p. 122.
- 4 Besides the already mentioned *Zolotoe runo* articles, *Modernizm i muzyka* also contained an essay from the fall of 1909 discussing Christiansen's neo-Kantian aesthetics ("Esteticheskie vozzreniia Brodera Khristiansena"). Musagetes' publications that year also included the two remaining volumes of Blok's *Sobranie stikhotvorenii*, Hippolyte Taine's *Napoléon Bonaparte* from his *Les Origines de la France contemporaine*, and Paul Deussen's *Wedanta und Platonismus im Lichte der Kantischen Philosophie* in Mikhail Sizov's translation (*Vedanta i Platon v svete Kantovskoi filosofii*). Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* and Wagner's *Parsifal* in Steppun's and Ellis's translations, respectively, were announced but never appeared.
- 5 Vol'fing, "Malen'kii iubilei odnoi 'strannoii' knigi. 1902–1912," *Trudy i dni* 2 (1912), p. 29.
- 6 Letter of 10 May 1912 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 2, ed. khr. 60). He declared outright that it was the devastating effect of Medtner's accusations that "unconsciously" drove him toward Steiner.
- 7 Rudolf Steiner, *Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Schiller, zugleich eine Zugabe zu Goethes naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften in Kürschners Deutscher Nationalliteratur* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1886).
- 8 See *Goethes naturwissenschaftliche Schriften von Rudolf Steiner mit Einleitungen, Fussnoten und Erläuterungen im Text herausgegeben* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1884–1897).
- 9 Belyi, *Mezhdv dvukh revoliutsii*, pp. 334–35.
- 10 Belyi's tension was further aggravated by the fact that he also felt he was being pressured by Morozova and her circle around The Way. There was some reason for him to think he was a traitor, since he had declared to Medtner as long as he could that he had no ties to theosophy.

- 11 Belyi, *Peterburg*, p. 236.
- 12 It was here Medtner first called Belyi neurasthenic. See Belyi's answer of 5 June 1912 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 2, ed. khr. 63).
- 13 See his letter of 30 June, quoted in Frumkina and Fleishman, "A. A. Blok," pp. 386–87.
- 14 See letter addressed to Petrovskii of 7 October 1912 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 2, ed. khr. 71).
- 15 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 525.
- 16 See especially Shaginian's early memoir sketch "Mirovozzrenie i masterstvo," in which with an obvious reference to *Wilhelm Meister* she describes this period as her "Lehrjahre" and asserts she had become a Goethean for life (*Sobranie sochinenii v deviaty tomakh*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1971), p. 44). See also "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," pp. 380–81. She summarizes her view of Goethe in *Gete* (Moscow, 1950).
- 17 Medtner comments on this himself in his epistolary diary to Shaginian of May–September 1913, 1 June (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 26).
- 18 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 539.
- 19 Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," p. 370.
- 20 Letter of 21 May 1912 (Sergei Rakhmaninov, *Literaturnoe nasledie v trekh tomakh*, ed. Z.A. Apetian, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1980), p. 44).
- 21 Marietta Shaginian, "S. V. Rakhmaninov. (Muzykal'no-psikhologicheskii etiud)," *Trudy i dni* 4–5 (1912), pp. 102, 104.
- 22 Shaginian, "S. V. Rakhmaninov," p. 104.
- 23 Shaginian, "S. V. Rakhmaninov," p. 114.
- 24 Emiliia Metner, "Nabroski k kommentariiu" ("Vagneriana"), *Trudy i dni* 6 (1912), p. 37.
- 25 The passage from the Wagner guide cited here was published under Medtner's own name in *Trudy i dni* 4–5, 6 (1912).
- 26 Andrei Belyi, "Krugovoe dvizhenie. (Sorok dve arabeski)," *Trudy i dni* 4–5 (1912), p. 51.
- 27 Belyi, "Krugovoe dvizhenie," pp. 64–66.
- 28 Belyi, "Krugovoe dvizhenie," p. 59.
- 29 Vol'fing, "Invektivy na muzykal'nuiu sovremennost'," *Trudy i dni* 3 (1912), p. 39.
- 30 Belyi, *Peterburg*, pp. 259–60.
- 31 Ellis, "Miunkhenskie pis'ma. I. Umer li simvolizm?" *Trudy i dni* 4–5 (1912), p. 47.
- 32 See Rakhmaninov's letter of 25 November 1912 to Shaginian (*Literaturnoe nasledie*, vol. 2, p. 57). Here he asserts that Medtner is trying to show off intellectually at the expense of music.
- 33 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 526; "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," p. 406.
- 34 Rakhmaninov's sister-in-law Sof'ia Satina told Anna Medtner in 1916 that Rakhmaninov had always taken Medtner very seriously as a critic and was at bottom "in love" with him (Anna's letter to Medtner of 22 January 1916; LC, ML 31.43).
- 35 Shaginian's attempt did not produce results. Rakhmaninov "shyly" withdrew

- from “that man,” as he sometimes called Medtner. See his letter of 29 July 1913 to Shaginian (*Literaturnoe nasledie*, vol. 2, p. 61).
- 36 Shaginian, “Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove,” p. 384. A year later Shaginian objected strongly to the anti-Semitic Beilis trial. Her contribution to the debate bore the eloquent title “Ariiskoe izuverstvo” (“Aryan Fanaticism”), published in *Priazovskii kraï*, 3/16 November 1913. It was of course directed to—and against—Medtner. She went on to discuss questions of race and nationality in a series of articles during the war and in her collection of stories *Sem’ razgovorov* (Moscow, 1916).
- 37 Letter of 25 December 1912. V. I. Ivanov and E. K. Metner, “Perepiska iz dvukh mirov,” ed. V. Sapov, *Voprosy literatury* 3 (1994), p. 294.
- 38 Belyi, “Nachalo veka, t. III,” p. 181.
- 39 Letter of 26 December 1912. “Iz pisem A. Belogo,” in Belyi, *Peterburg*, pp. 512–15.
- 40 The Rosicrucian theme was in fact a frequent one in Steiner’s lectures during this period.
- 41 Letter of 18 January 1913 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 3, ed. khr. 1).
- 42 Solov’ev had been treated by Dr. Iurii Kannabich under the supervision of clinic head Dr. Nikolai Vyrbubov. Both figured prominently in introducing psychoanalysis in Russia.
- 43 Letter of 12 February 1913 (RGB, f. 167, op. 2, kart. 13, ed. khr. 7).
- 44 Medtner spoke of this in the above-mentioned letter to Sabashnikova. After the meeting he sent Blok a letter in which he again emphasized Blok’s affinity with Goethe in certain poems (quoted in Frumkina and Fleishman, “A. A. Blok,” p. 386).
- 45 Here Medtner also mentioned Scriabin’s evolution and synesthetic experiments in the “poem of fire” *Prometei*, and informed Blok of the “color organ” Scriabin had constructed.
- 46 Aleksandr Blok, “Dnevnik 1913 goda,” vol. 7 of his *Sobranie sochinenii v vos’mi tomakh* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1963), p. 209. Already after his first meeting with Medtner, Blok wrote Belyi admitting the “secret tenderness” he felt for Medtner (letter of 19 June 1911, *Perepiska*, p. 261).
- 47 The day before the signing of the contract Belyi sent Blok a 28-page letter in which he attempted to document Medtner’s unilateral responsibility for their conflict (*Perepiska*, p. 322n.).
- 48 Blok and Belyi, *Perepiska*, p. 324.
- 49 Emilii Metner, *Razmyshleniia o Gete. Razbor vzgliadov R. Shteinera v sviazi s voprosami krititsizma, simvolizma i okkul’tizma* (Moscow, 1914), p. 11.
- 50 Metner, *Razmyshleniia o Gete*, p. 17.

MEDTNER’S ENCOUNTER WITH PSYCHOANALYSIS

- 1 Il’in was drawn toward Jewish authority figures. This probably had to do with the fact that he had a second home in Petersburg with the well known Jewish pedagogue Iakov Gurevich, who was married to his aunt. Evidently, however, he was not offended by Medtner’s racism.

- 2 Diary entry of 24 April 1913 (RGB, f. 167, op. 4, kart. 22, ed. khr. 19).
- 3 Epistolary diary to Shaginian of May-September 1913, 9 May.
- 4 Emilii Metner, "'Vibelungi' Vagnera," in Rikhard Vagner, *Vibelungi. Vsemirnaia istoriia na osnovanii skazaniia* (Moscow, 1913).
- 5 Epistolary diary, 27 May 1913.
- 6 Epistolary diary of May-September 1913.
- 7 Relevant here is the fact that Nikolai, perhaps in competition with Rakhmaninov, had dedicated to her *his* music to Pushkin's "The Muse."
- 8 See especially epistolary diary, 1 June 1913. He sometimes also calls her explicitly "Mignon."
- 9 Epistolary diary, 16 June 1913.
- 10 Epistolary diary, 7 June 1913.
- 11 Emilii Metner, "Vvedenie" ("Geteana"), *Trudy i dni* 1–2 (1913), p. 1.
- 12 Metner, "Vvedenie," p. 3.
- 13 Metner, "Vvedenie," p. 4.
- 14 Metner, "Vvedenie," p. 6.
- 15 Metner, "Vvedenie," p. 5. Incidentally, it was Goethe who originally inspired Freud to choose a career as a physician.
- 16 Here, then, he was alluding to the talk he gave on the same topic at the same place a little over a year before.
- 17 Belyi, *Peterburg*, pp. 381–83.
- 18 Dalcroze's ideas had been introduced into Russia by Sergei Volkonskii just a few years earlier.
- 19 Letter of 6 July 1913 (RGB f. 167, op.2, kart. 13, ed. khr. 6).
- 20 Letter of 15 July 1913 (RGB, f. 167, op. 3, kart. 16, ed. khr. 14).
- 21 "Sestry" (PF).
- 22 Aleksei Toporkov, "Lesnoi tsar'" ("Geteana"), *Trudy i dni* 1–2 (1913), p. 15.
- 23 Ellis, "'Parsifal' Vagnera" ("Vagneriana"), *Trudy i dni* 1–2 (1913).
- 24 Letter of 25 August 1913 (PF).
- 25 In the passages of "Material k biografii" published in Dzhon E. Mal'mstad, "Andrey Belyi i antroposofiia," *Minushee. Istoricheskii al'manakh* 6 (Paris, 1988), p. 354, Belyi speaks of the "mellowing" effect she had on their relationship.
- 26 Letter of 7 September 1913 (PF).
- 27 Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, edited and translated by J. Strachey, vol. 14 (London, 1986). (Originally published in *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* 6 (Leipzig and Vienna, 1914).)
- 28 Medtner's letter of 23 July 1915 to Anna (PF).
- 29 Medtner probably told Freud of his dream about the two sisters.
- 30 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 558.
- 31 He noted that through his atonal experiments (flagrant manifestations of Jewish formlessness, as he saw it) Arnold Schönberg had achieved a breakthrough in Vienna musical life. In December 1912 Schönberg had also conducted his own works in Petersburg and been warmly received by Karatygin.
- 32 Andrei Belyi, untitled memoir fragment, in A. V. Lavrov, "Rukopisnyi arkhiv Andreia Belogo v Pushkinskom Dome," *Ezhegodnik Rukopisnogo Otdela Push-*

- kinskogo Doma na 1978 god* (Leningrad, 1980), p. 59.
- 33 Andrei Belyi, *Vospominaniia o Shteinere*, ed. F. Kozlik (Paris, 1982), pp. 310–37. See also my interpretation of these experiences in *The Dream of Rebirth*, pp. 116–17.
 - 34 Cf. Belyi's letter of the following day, 22 October 1913 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 3, ed. khr. 18).
 - 35 Epistolary diary of October 1913–January 1914, 27 October (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 27).
 - 36 Marietta Shaginian, "Volia k vlasti" ("Geteana"), *Trudy i dni* 7 (1914), p. 22.
 - 37 Shaginian, "Volia k vlasti," pp. 23–24.
 - 38 Shaginian, "Volia k vlasti," pp. 29–30.
 - 39 Shaginian, "Volia k vlasti," pp. 30–32.
 - 40 Cf. epistolary diary, 4 November 1913.
 - 41 Epistolary diary, 14–22 November 1913.
 - 42 Belyi, "Material k biografii," in Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia," *Minuvshee* 6, p. 360.
 - 43 Beginning in 1914, *Logos* was published by the M. O. Wolf house in Petersburg. The editors felt they had lost Medtner's support after Belyi's frontal attack.
 - 44 Epistolary diary, 28–30 October 1913.
 - 45 Epistolary diary, 30 November 1913.
 - 46 Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Goethe* (Munich, 1912). In his foreword, Medtner regretted that he had become acquainted with this work too late to be able to use it in his own book.
 - 47 *Arische Weltanschauung* was translated by an old friend of Medtner's, Ol'ga Sintsova. Musagetes publications that year also included Sergei Solov'ev's poetry collection *Tsvetnik Tsarevny*, a Russian version of Joseph Orsier's biography *Henri Cornélis Agrippa, sa vie et son oeuvre d'après sa correspondance (Agrippa Nettesgeimskii)*, edited by Valerii Briusov, and St. Francis' poems *Fiorretti (Tsvetochki)*, translated by Aleksandr Pechkovskii and with a foreword by Sergei Durylin (Raevskii). Durylin also published *Rikhard Vagner v Rossii. O Vagnere i budushchikh putiakh iskusstva*, which—clearly influenced by Medtner—argued that it was in Russia that Wagner's mythical thinking would soon experience a renaissance.
 - 48 Medtner was evidently planning three volumes.
 - 49 This "counterfile" is in RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 9, ed. khr. 11.
 - 50 Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," p. 396.
 - 51 Medtner had reacted strongly to Ibsen's theater early in the century—in particular his "life-lie play" *The Wild Duck*.
 - 52 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia," *Minuvshee* 6, pp. 363–67.
 - 53 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia," p. 368, and Belyi's autobiographical novel *Zapiski chudaka* (Lausanne, 1973 (Berlin and Moscow, 1922)), p. 1:61.
 - 54 Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," p. 397.
 - 55 Epistolary diary, 23 February 1914, excerpt quoted in Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," p. 398.
 - 56 Epistolary diary, 24 February 1914, excerpt in Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o

Rakhmaninove," p. 399.

- 57 Undated letter fragment to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 16).
- 58 Epistolary diary of January–June 1914, 14 March (RGB, f. 167, op.1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 28). *Vornehmheit* was one of Nietzsche's keywords.
- 59 Undated letter fragment in n. 57 above.

THE GOETHE BOOK

- 1 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 40.
- 2 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, pp. 48–49.
- 3 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 207. See Goethe's review of the first part of Ernst Stiedenroth's *Psychologie zur Erklärung der Seelenerscheinungen* (1824), in *Goethes Werke*, section 2, vol. 11 (Weimar, 1893), p. 75.
- 4 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 285. See Goethe's conversation with F.W. Riemer on 5 August 1810 in Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Gespräche in vier Bänden*, ed. W. Herwig, vol. 2, (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1969), p. 551.
- 5 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 318.
- 6 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 319.
- 7 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie, Werke*, section 3, vol. 1 (Berlin and New York, 1972), p. 36.
- 8 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 321.
- 9 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, pp. 48–49.
- 10 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, pp. 405, 410.
- 11 Incidentally, the notion of the "superman" was originally coined by Goethe, in *Ur-Faust*.
- 12 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 387.
- 13 Metner, *Razmyshleniia*, p. 390.
- 14 Epistolary diary, 21–23 March 1914.
- 15 Epistolary diary, 26–31 March 1914.
- 16 Epistolary diary, 6 April 1914.
- 17 This letter of April 1914 is quoted in A. S. Miasnikov, "U istokov formal'noi shkoly," *Literaturno-esteticheskie kontseptsii v Rossii kontsa XIX–nachala XX v.* (Moscow, 1975), p. 309.
- 18 Epistolary diary, 17–23 April 1914.
- 19 Likhutin was such a close caricature of Medtner that he even seems to have acquired the latter's hemorrhoids.
- 20 Epistolary diary, 25–29 April 1914.
- 21 Marietta Shaginian, "O 'kontse' i 'okonchaniu'. Neskol'ko myslei po povodu trilogii Vagnera" ("Vagneriana"), *Trudy i dni* 7 (1914), p. 54.
- 22 Shaginian, "O 'kontse'," p. 55.
- 23 Shaginian, "O 'kontse'," p. 55.
- 24 Shaginian, "O 'kontse'," p. 56.
- 25 Shaginian, "O 'kontse'," p. 56.
- 26 The Lyric Poetry (Lirika) publishing house had been founded in early 1913 by Sergei Bobrov and his friends from Young Musagetes. At first it had a distinctly German profile, publishing such works as Rilke's *Das Stundenbuch* in

- Iulian Anisimov's translation; translations of yet another volume of Rilke and of Novalis' novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* were planned but never realized. Boris Pasternak, recently returned from his studies in Marburg, published his first poetry in the *Lirika* almanac. The house split along the same lines as Musagetes over the question of anthroposophy. The "Futurists" Bobrov and Pasternak—with whom Medtner was on good terms, since they objected to anthroposophy—founded their own house in early 1914. Bobrov was also a frequent contributor to *Trudy i dni*.
- 27 Under the heading "Goetheana" there was also an article by Aleksei Toporkov on Goethe and Fichte; "Wagneriana" carried Artur Luther's article on "Percival" in the Middle Ages, and the new section "Danteana" contained Ellis' essay "Uchitel' very."
 - 28 Epistolary diary, 5 June 1914.
 - 29 Letter of 2 June 1914 (PF).
 - 30 Postcard dated 28 May 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 3, kart. 16, ed. khr. 14).
 - 31 Epistolary diary, 1–3 June 1914.
 - 32 Telegram of 22 June 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 5, ed. khr. 34).
 - 33 Quoted in Mal'mstad, "Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 6, pp. 351, 380.
 - 34 Mal'mstad, "Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 6, pp. 381, 383.
 - 35 Letter of 12 June 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 4, kart. 24, ed. khr. 12).
 - 36 Epistolary diary, 13–23 June 1914.
 - 37 Also delayed was Adolf Hildebrand's *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* in N. Rozenfeld and Vladimir Favorskii's translation (*Problema formy v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve*). The never realized publication plan included Ellis's collection of essays "Religiia i Rossiia. Fragmenty nenapisannoi knigi" and Nikolai Kiselev's translations of Stendhal's *De l'amour* and Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung* (the "Ur-Wilhelm Meister" manuscript discovered in Zurich four years earlier).
 - 38 See my article "The Psychoanalytic Breakthrough in Russia on the Eve of the First World War," in D. Rancour-Laferriere (ed.), *Russian Literature and Psychoanalysis* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1989).
 - 39 Margarete Stegmann was the former wife of Arnold Georg Stegmann in Dresden, one of the first German doctors to practice psychoanalysis. She had herself become an analyst rather recently.
 - 40 Marietta Shaginian, *Puteshestvie v Veimar*. (*Otryvki iz knigi*), in her *Sobranie sochinenii v devyati tomakh*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1971), p. 643.
 - 41 Shaginian, *Puteshestvie*, p. 642.
 - 42 Shaginian, *Puteshestvie*, p. 669.
 - 43 Shaginian, *Puteshestvie*, p. 681.
 - 44 Shaginian, *Puteshestvie*, p. 683.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR AND THE ENCOUNTER WITH JUNG

- 1 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 558. According to his letter of 8 August 1914 to Anna, he had been seized by premonitions of disaster during the very first act (PF).
- 2 Letter of 2 August 1914 to Anna, quoted in N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 159. In

- the letter of 8 August cited above he said he was convinced that this would be "the greatest of all wars."
- 3 Dating 5 October in letter of 27 September 1914 to Anna (PF).
 - 4 See Medtner's letter of 4 September 1915 to Il'in (PF).
 - 5 Neutral Switzerland was the only possible haven for him, with both Germany and Russia at a distance. Here he called himself Emil Medtner.
 - 6 C. G. Jung, *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens. Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* 4 (Leipzig and Vienna, 1912), especially p. 386. See also the revised and retitled English edition *Symbols of Transformation*, vol. 5 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. W. McGuire a.o., trans. R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, 1976), pp. 355–356.
 - 7 Jung, *Memories*, pp. 176–77.
 - 8 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 575.
 - 9 Medtner, "Bildnis," pp. 569–70.
 - 10 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 574.
 - 11 Ivanov, "Mysli o simvolizme," p. 6.
 - 12 See, for example, Sigmund Freud, "The History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement," *Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 14 (London, 1986), p. 43.
 - 13 Cf. Jung's confession to his Swedish colleague Poul Bjerre after the final break: "I have until now not been an anti-Semite, but now, I think, I am becoming one" (letter of 13 November 1913, quoted in Jan Bärmark and Ingemar Nilsson, *Poul Bjerre. "Människosonen"* (Stockholm, 1983), p. 633).
 - 14 See *Tagebuch einer heimlichen Symmetrie. Sabina Spielrein zwischen Jung und Freud*, ed. A. Carotenuto (Freiburg i. Br., 1986).
 - 15 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 565.
 - 16 Also, both had weak fathers who could not live up to their expectations.
 - 17 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 570.
 - 18 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 571.
 - 19 See, for example, C. G. Jung, *The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious*, in *Collected Works*, vol. 7 (Princeton, 1977), pp. 189, 191, 227.
 - 20 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 566.
 - 21 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 566.
 - 22 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 575.
 - 23 See, for example, Jung's letter of 18 November 1911, in Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung, *Briefwechsel*, ed. W. McGuire (Frankfurt a. M., 1974), p. 425. See also Jung, *Memories*, pp. 87, 234.
 - 24 Jung, *Memories*, p. 235.
 - 25 Jung, *Memories*, p. 60.
 - 26 Jung, *Memories*, p. 87.
 - 27 Jung, *Memories*, p. 103.
 - 28 Letter of 6 November 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 41).
 - 29 Letter of 17 November 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 39). See Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo, Werke*, section 6, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1969), p. 364.
 - 30 Letter of 1 December 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 43).
 - 31 Letter fragment of 19 January 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 49).
 - 32 Letter of 23 December 1914 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 44).

- 33 Above letter of 6 November 1914 to Anna. Medtner returned to this description much later in his letter to Anna of 6 December 1930 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 34 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 572.
- 35 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 566.
- 36 See, for example, his letter to Anna of 23 July 1915 (PF).
- 37 Jung, *Memories*, pp. 86–91.
- 38 Jung, *Memories*, p. 183.
- 39 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 569.
- 40 Letter of 5 November 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 41).
- 41 Letter of 20 December 1914 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 45).
- 42 Letter of 15 November 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 41).
- 43 Dating 7 October in letter of 5 October 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 39).
- 44 Ellis, *Vigilemus! Traktat* (Moscow, 1914).
- 45 The seed of this suspicion was evidently sown by Mintslova.
- 46 The manuscript of this Russian version—"Khristianskaia teologiya i kosmosofiya pod znakom sviatogo Graalia"—is in RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 11, ed. khr. 1–2.
- 47 Anna's letter of 8 January 1915 to Medtner (LC, ML 31.43).
- 48 Letter of 7 October 1914 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 49 Viacheslav Ivanov, "Vselenskoe delo," *Russkaia mysl'* 12 (1914), pp. 100–101.
- 50 Grigorii Rachinskii, "Bratstvo i svoboda," *Russkaia mysl'* 12 (1914), p. 85.
- 51 Vladimir Ern, "Ot Kanta k Kruppu," *Russkaia mysl'* 12 (1914), pp. 120–22.
- 52 Sergei Bulgakov, "Russkie dumy," *Russkaia mysl'* 12 (1914), pp. 109, 115.
- 53 Kniaz' Evgenii Trubetskoi, "Voina i mirovaia zadacha Rossii," *Russkaia mysl'* 12 (1914), pp. 92–93.
- 54 Sergei Solov'ev, *K voine s Germaniei* (Moscow, 1914). In a letter of 19 August 1911 to Blok, Solov'ev declared that he was "in love" with Goethe (N. V. Kot-relev and A. V. Lavrov, "Perepiska Bloka s S. M. Solov'evym," in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 92:1 (Moscow, 1980), p. 403). Two years later, however, after he had undergone therapy and joined the Russian Orthodox church, he dismissed the writer as a godless Epicurean who in his arrogance brought Nietzsche to insanity (the lecture "Ellinizm i tserkov," published in Sergei Solov'ev, *Bogoslovskie i kriticheskie ocherki. Sobranie statei i publichnykh lektsii* (Moscow, 1916)). Also in 1913 he still published his new collection of poetry with Musagetes. Contact with what was left of the publishing house was now severed.
- 55 *Dukhovnyi smysl voiny* appeared in 1915, dedicated to Nikolai Medtner.
- 56 See Belyi, *Zapiski chudaka*, pp. 1:177–83.
- 57 Letter of 20 October 1914 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 52).
- 58 Letter of 4 April 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 52).
- 59 Letter of 11 January 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 48).

THE BREAK WITH BELYI

- 1 Letter of 4 December 1914 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 44).
- 2 Belyi embraced him with tears in his eyes. See Medtner's letter of 20 Decem-

- ber 1914 to his mother (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 16, ed. khr. 2).
- 3 Belyi, "Material k biografii," published in Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8 (Paris, 1989), p. 412.
 - 4 Above letter of 11 January 1915 to Anna. Jung analyzed Pozzo's letters and the childhood dreams she related in these letters to Medtner. He found her to be deeper than her sister, who merely tried to "imitate" her. He sensed that Pozzo could abandon anthroposophy (which at any rate was merely a compromise in her life) and free Medtner from his "asinine" role in relation to women.
 - 5 Above letter of 4 December 1914.
 - 6 Letter of 4 December 1914.
 - 7 Dating 20 November in letter to Anna of 15 November 1914 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 41).
 - 8 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, pp. 413–14.
 - 9 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 416.
 - 10 The immediate cause of the split was Ernst Boldt's study *Sexualprobleme im Lichte der Natur- und Geisteswissenschaft* (Munich, 1912), which was the subject of a heated debate at the second plenum meeting of the Anthroposophical Society in Berlin, January 1914.
 - 11 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, pp. 416–17. Here Belyi incorrectly associates Medtner's "insights" with what he later heard about his friend's proximity to "Persian occultists" in Zurich (that is, the Mazdaznan sect). (Belyi's italics in the manuscript—RGALI, f. 53, op. 2, ed. khr. 3, l. 103—are not rendered entirely correctly in the published version.)
 - 12 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 417. In *Vospominaniia o Bloke* (p. 564) Belyi declares more explicitly that Medtner's interest in psychoanalysis had turned him into a "spy."
 - 13 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 420.
 - 14 Above letter of 11 January 1915 to Anna.
 - 15 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 569. Medtner's "snake dream" may have derived from Nietzsche's image of the shepherd who on Zarathustra's order bites off the head of the thick black snake in his throat (see Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra, Werke*, section 6, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1966), pp. 197–98).
 - 16 Dating 22 January in above letter to Anna of 11 January 1915.
 - 17 Belyi, *Vospominaniia o Shteinere*, p. 96. (See also Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 423, where Medtner at the meeting is described as "conquered by the Doctor.")
 - 18 Dating 22 January in above letter to Anna of 11 January 1915.
 - 19 Sabashnikova's "husband" Maksimilian Voloshin, yet another of Medtner's rivals and an early follower of Steiner (via Mintslova), had settled down temporarily in Dornach after the outbreak of war. Medtner seems to have decided to keep a certain distance from him, but he was nevertheless able to inform Anna of Voloshin's not entirely successful attempts to adapt to the occult colony and become a vegetarian.
 - 20 Dating 22 January in above letter to Anna of 11 January 1915.
 - 21 Above letter of 20 December 1914 to Anna.
 - 22 Dating 21 January in letter to Anna of 15 January 1915 (PF).

- 23 Medtner, "Bildnis," pp. 570–71.
- 24 It was evidently in this connection that Jung spoke of his self-assumed "asinine" role.
- 25 Letter of 31 December 1914 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 46). See my article "Emilij Medtner och Pasternak," in *Boris Pasternak och hans tid*, ed. P. Alberg Jensen, P. A. Bodin and N. Å. Nilsson (Stockholm, 1992).
- 26 Letter of 2 January 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 45).
- 27 Letter of 8 January 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 47).
- 28 Dating 22 January in above letter of 11 January 1915.
- 29 Dating 23 January in letter to Anna of 21 January 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 49).
- 30 Dating 5 April in above letter of 4 April 1915 and letter to Anna of 18 July 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 6). It is worth noting that at the same time he regarded Dornach as a haunt of opportunistic women and "Yid brats" (*zhidki*).
- 31 See my *The Dream of Rebirth*, especially pp. 64, 95.
- 32 Dating 21 January in above letter of 11 January 1915.
- 33 Dating 22 January in above letter of 11 January 1915.
- 34 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, pp. 415–16.
- 35 *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Technik*, 1 October 1914.
- 36 See Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Kriegsaufsätze* (Munich, 1914), p. 11.
- 37 Dating 16 November in letter of 15 November 1914.
- 38 Dating 24 January in above letter of 21 January 1915.
- 39 One of Nikolai's newly written sonatas was reportedly confiscated. During the period 10–13 June, factories, shops and residences belonging to persons with German names were burned.
- 40 Anna's letters to Medtner of 11 and 16 February 1915 (LC, ML 31.43). (Ern's talk, "Sushchnost' nemetskogo fenomenalizma," was held on 5 February.)
- 41 See Linda Donn, *Freud and Jung. Years of Friendship, Years of Loss* (New York, 1988), pp. 157–158.
- 42 Incidentally, there are some remarkable coincidences in their biographies. They were born the same year (1874) in and near Amsterdam. Both were from wealthy families and were polyglots. Both were inclined to asceticism. Moltzer, daughter of the head of the Bols liqueur company, had reacted to alcohol abuse and had first become a trained nurse. Poelman-Mooy had been a spiritist, astrologist, and then a theosophist and follower of Annie Besant. At about the same time they both became favorite disciples of Jung and Steiner, respectively. Steiner had commissioned Poelman-Mooy to "take care of" Ellis, while Jung now entrusted Medtner to Moltzer.
- 43 Letter of 25 February 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 49).
- 44 Letter of 18 March 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 51).
- 45 Above letter of 4 April 1915.
- 46 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 427.
- 47 Letter of 16 May 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 1).
- 48 Letter of 22 April 1917 to Petrovskii (RGB, f. 167, op. 2, kart. 13, ed. khr. 14).
- 49 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 429.

- 50 Letter of 11 April 1915 to Anna (PF).
- 51 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 434.
- 52 See his letter to Anna of 16 May 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 1).
- 53 Ivan Il'in, "Filosofia kak dukhovnoe delanie," *Russkaia mysl'* 3 (1915), p. 126.
- 54 Il'in, "Filosofia kak dukhovnoe delanie," pp. 125–26.
- 55 Later that spring Sergei Bulgakov sent Medtner some of his articles on the war, including his lecture "Russkie dumy" from *Russkaia mysl'*. Bulgakov had earlier written him some friendly comments on *Reflections on Goethe*. Medtner reacted surprisingly calmly to Bulgakov's Wagnerian interpretation of "pan-germanism." (Letter of 5 May 1915 to Anna; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 55.)
- 56 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 453.
- 57 Mal'mstad, "Andrei Belyi i antroposofia," *Minuvshee* 8, p. 432, and 9 (Paris, 1990), pp. 426–27.
- 58 Above letter of 11 April 1915 to Anna.
- 59 Medtner had of course been made aware of the fundamental homosexual element in his fixation on Nikolai. He seems, in fact, to have been attracted to Jewish and Armenian women not least because they were more emancipated and "masculine" in manner than others.
- 60 Even Freud is reported to have said that Shaginian could be cured (Medtner's letter to Anna of 9 July 1915; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 6) and pointed out that it was she who "infected me with her Mènière's disease, and not I who infected her" (Medtner's letter to Vera Tarasova of 17 January 1924; PF).
- 61 See Goethe's letter to Count K. F. M. Brühl of 1 October 1818 in his *Werke*, section 4, vol. 29 (Weimar, 1904), p. 299.
- 62 Above letter of 16 May 1915.
- 63 Letter of 8 February 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 24, ed. khr. 49). The lines were in particular "Let earthly cares disappear,/ Be carefree as they" (the stars and clouds, M. L.) from the fifteenth stanza of the first part of the poem. In his letter of 2 December 1915 to Anna Medtner spoke in Jungian terms of Lermontov's "secret," which consisted in the fact that nature and spirit "crossed" each other in his "individuality" (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 15, ed. khr. 25).

MEDTNER ON "THE MOUNTAIN OF TRUTH"

- 1 Letter of 28 June 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 4).
- 2 Jung, like Freud, had first treated her husband Harold McCormick, heir to the International Harvester fortune. In 1913 she herself began therapy with Jung after he was summoned to Chicago for a consultation.
- 3 Letter of 29 June 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 15, ed. khr. 5). In connection with his disputes with Il'in about the Russian and German essence, in the spring of 1913 Medtner declared to Anna that both the Russians and the Jews were distinguished by "demoniacal pride." Only these two peoples had dared to call themselves "holy" and chosen by God (undated letter frag-

- ment; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 16). Now he returned to these arguments. Rabinovitch responded that it was in any case the Russians who had “a compassionate heart”—Tolstoi and Dostoevskii had shown that—while the Germans were cold (above letter to Anna of 29 June 1915).
- 4 Dating 4 July in letter of 2 July 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 3, kart. 16, ed. khr. 2).
 - 5 Letter of 25 July 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 7).
 - 6 Marietta Shaginian, “‘Razmyshleniia o Gete’ (Kniga E. Metnera),” *Baku*, 14 July 1915. Shaginian wrote another review of Medtner’s book for the journal *Severnye zapiski*, but it was rejected as too pro-German.
 - 7 Dating 9 August in letter to Anna of 7 August 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 8).
 - 8 Above letter of 28 June 1915.
 - 9 Above letter of 7 August 1915 to Anna.
 - 10 Mal’mstad, “Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia,” *Minuvshee* 9, p. 409.
 - 11 Mal’mstad, “Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia,” *Minuvshee* 9, p. 410.
 - 12 Mal’mstad, “Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia,” *Minuvshee* 9, p. 410.
 - 13 Mal’mstad, “Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia,” *Minuvshee* 9, p. 412.
 - 14 Mal’mstad, “Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia,” *Minuvshee* 9, p. 427.
 - 15 Mal’mstad, “Andrei Belyi i antroposofiiia,” *Minuvshee* 8, pp. 419–50. Unmistakably present in the subtext of Belyi’s account of these “erotic nightmares” (p. 427) is Gogol’s story “Vii,” in which a witch engages in nocturnal excesses with seminarist Khoma Brut. Medtner as well described himself as Khoma Brut when Pozzo confounded him with her “occult spectacles” (letter to Anna of 16 May 1915; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 1).
 - 16 Kalia=Medtner’s brother Karl.
 - 17 “The criminal people” is Medtner’s ironical epithet for the Germans (as seen by the Russians).
 - 18 Jung borrowed the name “Konrad” from Carl Spitteler’s novel *Imago* (1906), in which the hero uses it to refer to his body.
 - 19 Dating 8 August in above letter of 7 August 1915.
 - 20 Like Medtner, Jung had been deeply impressed by the *Critique of Pure Reason* (see *Memories*, p. 70).
 - 21 In fact, a plaster cast had just been made of Jung’s face on the occasion of his fortieth birthday.
 - 22 Dating 8 August in above letter of 7 August 1915.
 - 23 Serafim lived as a hermit for a thousand days and nights, and was attacked and severely beaten by robbers.
 - 24 This letter, written in early September 1915, never reached Anna. Part of it is in PF.
 - 25 Letter fragment in n. 24.
 - 26 Letter of 4 September 1915 (PF). Incidentally, here Medtner used the same humorous Russian name for Jung as had Sabina Spielrein before him: *iunga* (“ship’s boy”).
 - 27 See Jung, *Memories*, pp. 77–78.
 - 28 Dating 2 November in letter of 28 October 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 13).

- 29 Letter of 2 October 1915 to Anna (PF).
- 30 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Menschliches. Allzumenschliches, Werke*, section 4, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1967), pp. 239–40.
- 31 Dating 8 August in above letter of 7 August 1915.
- 32 Letter of 14 November 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 14). It was in a letter to Gast of 14 August 1881 that Nietzsche said he was a “machine that could *explode*” (Friedrich Nietzsche, *Briefwechsel. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, section 3, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1981), p. 112).
- 33 Dating 4 November in above letter to Anna of 28 October 1915.
- 34 He had published a brochure entitled *Wissenschaft und Theosophie*, which Steiner mentioned favorably in a couple of lectures that fall and which came up in a conversation between Steiner and Belyi at about the same time (October) that Medtner was becoming better acquainted with Wrangell. (See Andrei Belyi, “Brief an Mischa” (Sizov, M. L.), in V. Fedjuschin (ed.), *Andrej Belyi und Rudolf Steiner. Briefe und Dokumente. Beiträge zur Rudolf Steiner GA 89–90* (Dornach, 1985).)
- 35 Letter of 26 November 1915 to Anna (PF).
- 36 Letter of 2 December 1915 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 15).
- 37 The translation, published in Munich in 1909, had in fact reached his father through an emotionally disturbed woman friend of Medtner’s from Vienna.
- 38 Letters to Medtner Sr. of 8 November 1915 and 28 February 1916 (RGB, f. 167, op. 3, kart. 16, ed. khr. 5).
- 39 Letter fragment of 12 November 1914 (RGB, f. 167, kart. 16, ed. khr. 5).
- 40 Upon returning to Zurich Medtner attended a lecture by Michael Bauer, one of Steiner’s closest associates. Medtner was impressed by the lecturer, who spoke of Steiner’s cultural mission in a free and natural manner, “without trying to play to the gallery” (dating 13 December in letter to Anna of 12 December 1915; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 15, ed. khr. 25).
- 41 Letter of 26 November 1915 (PF).
- 42 This was the result of the charge made by philosopher and architect Heinrich Goesch, a member of the Dornach colony attracted to Otto Gross’s socially rebellious Freudianism, that Steiner was trying to dominate his disciples. Steiner countered in his lecture of 13 September 1915 that Freudianism was “one of the greatest mistakes, ... one of the worst materialistic theories of our time” (Rudolf Steiner, *Probleme des Zusammenlebens in der Anthroposophischen Gesellschaft. Zur Dornacher Krise vom Jahre 1915*, GA 253 (Dornach, 1989), p. 79).
- 43 Above letter to Anna of 26 November 1915.
- 44 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 554.
- 45 Above letter of 16 May 1915. In his letter to Anna of 17 February 1915 he had called Skriabin “an impudent blockhead” (PF); this was when he learned from Nikolai that Skriabin had greeted the war as an apocalyptic purification. Medtner never wrote a single article about Skriabin, and his attitude toward him was always deeply ambivalent. He was both attracted to and repelled by Skriabin’s experiments.
- 46 When Anna told him of Nikolai’s strongly positive reaction to Kusevitskii’s performance of Beethoven’s Fifth that spring, he replied that he felt “deep

- pains in his heart" to see "a slacker" (Kusevitskii) "achieve that which was never allowed me" (above letter of 28 June 1915).
- 47 Above letter of 16 May 1915.
 - 48 Letter of 19 January 1916 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 17). Jung spoke of Friedrich as "a female that must be tamed" (dating 20 December in letter to Anna of 12 December 1915; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 15, ed. khr. 25).
 - 49 Dating 23 November in letter of 9 November 1915 (N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 165).
 - 50 Letter of 26 February 1916 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 18). In a letter of 17 February 1917 to his brother Karl Medtner had spoken of his inner "battle" (RGB, f. 167, op. 3, kart. 16, ed. khr. 4).
 - 51 He does so with reference to the German ethnologist Leo Frobenius. See Jung, *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, p. 254 (*Symbols of Transformation*, p. 210).
 - 52 Letter to Anna of 6 March 1916 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 19) and letter fragment of 20 (?) July 1917 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 22).

MEDTNER AND JUNG

- 1 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 586.
- 2 Eventually he also called her "my Zurich-Margo" (Margo was his name for Morozova) (letter to Anna of 22 September 1921; LC, ML 31.43). Significantly, he supplied her with postcard reproductions of the works by Russian artists in Morozova's collections.
- 3 She had been a frequent visitor to the Chicago opera subsidized by her husband (who thus was a patron of the arts not unlike Morozova's husband).
- 4 He went to Geneva to get a doctor's certificate from Jung's friend Henri Flournoy (son of Théodore Flournoy), which would release him from the draft notice he had just received.
- 5 Letter of 2 August 1916 from Mesocco (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 16).
- 6 Marietta Shaginian, *Svoia sud'ba* (Leningrad, 1928), p. 71.
- 7 Marietta Shaginian, "Avtobiografiia," in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh* (Moscow, 1959), p. 659.
- 8 Shaginian, "Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove," p. 425.
- 9 Medtner could only react to Anna's enthusiastic report with acidity and wonder: as he had often said, after all, Rakhmaninov lacked "spirit" (see, for example, his letter to Anna of 28 March 1917 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 21)).
- 10 Now Blok's dramas also appeared in *Teatr* and, during the spring and summer, yet another three-volume edition of his poetry: *Stikhotvoreniia*.
- 11 A.V. Lavrov, "Trudy i dni," in *Russkaia literatura i zhurnalistika nachala XX veka. 1905–1917*, vol. 2, p. 211.
- 12 Nikolai Berdiaev, "Gnoseologicheskoe razmyshlenie ob okkul'tizme," *Trudy i dni* 8 (1916).

- 13 Letters of 22 September and 3 November 1916 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 20).
- 14 Andrei Belyi, *Rudol'f Shteiner i Gete v mirovozzrenii sovremennosti. Otvet Emiliu Metneru na ego pervyi tom "Razmyshlenii o Gete"* (Moscow, 1917), pp. v–vi.
- 15 Belyi, *Rudol'f Shteiner i Gete*, pp. 4, 17.
- 16 Belyi, *Rudol'f Shteiner i Gete*, p. 4.
- 17 See Belyi's account of this experience in his long autobiographical letter of 1 March 1927 to Ivanov-Razumnik in Georges Nivat, "Lettre autobiographique à Ivanov-Razumnik," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 1–2 (1974), p. 71.
- 18 See Belyi, *Zapiski chudaka*, p. 1:61.
- 19 Letter of 4 December 1916 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 20).
- 20 Letter of 30 November 1916 from Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 21 Above letter of 28 March 1917.
- 22 Martynov (Pikker) had been editor of *Iskra*, and Semkovskii (Bronshstein) had been on the editorial staff of Trotskii's *Pravda*, both published in Vienna.
- 23 Medtner's letter of 31 December 1916 to Anna (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 20).
- 24 See Jung, *Memories*, pp. 190–92.
- 25 Jung, *Memories*, p. 199. It is worth noting that Belyi's subsequent writing was similarly nourished by his descent into an inner world of images centering on the war. This began in 1912, the same year indicated by Jung, and culminated in 1915.
- 26 C. G. Jung, *Die Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse. Ein Überblick über die moderne Theorie und Methode der analytischen Psychologie* (Zurich, 1917), p. 48. (See also the revised and retitled English edition *The Psychology of the Unconscious, Collected Works*, vol. 7 (Princeton 1977), p. 35.)
- 27 Jung, *Die Psychologie*, pp. 58–82.
- 28 Jung, *Die Psychologie*, pp. 92–93. (See also *The Psychology*, pp. 80, 99.)
- 29 Jung, *Die Psychologie*, pp. 92–93.
- 30 Medtner here referred directly to the Russian translation of *The Birth of Tragedy (Razmyshleniia o Gete)*, p. 319). Already in his Wotan commentary, however, he spoke of "individuation" ("Nabroski k kommentariu," *Trudy i dni* 6 (1912), p. 41).
- 31 C. G. Jung, "A Contribution to the Study of Psychological Types (1913)," *Collected Works*, vol. 6 (Appendix) (Princeton, 1989), p. 507. (Originally published in *Archives de Psychologie* 52 (1913).)
- 32 Andrei Belyi, "Gorizont soznaniia," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 17/30 March 1916.
- 33 Jung, *Die Psychologie*, p. 77.
- 34 See Emanuel Hurwitz, *Otto Gross. "Paradies"-Sucher zwischen Freud und Jung* (Zurich and Frankfurt, 1979).
- 35 The letter, copies of which were sent to the persons affected by it, is dated 19 February 1917 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 16).
- 36 This letter, copies of which were also disseminated, is dated April 1917 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 65).
- 37 Belyi, *Mezhdru dvukh revoliutsii*, p. 279.
- 38 Andrei Belyi, "Pesn' solntsenostsa," in *Skify* 2 (Moscow, 1918), pp. 6–7. Side

by side with his generous admission five years later that Medtner was a “sparkling” conversationalist, Belyi emphasized that he “would never forgive” him his involvement in psychoanalysis (*Vospominaniia o Bloke*, p. 564).

39 Medtner, “Bildnis,” p. 586.

40 Medtner, “Bildnis,” p. 585. It is nevertheless significant that he should now conclude that the time was ripe to have the Swiss sculptor Eduard Bick make a bronze sculpture of his head.

41 Above letter of 28 March 1917.

42 Medtner had sent Ellis’s review (“Teosofiia pered sudom kul’tury,” signed Sagittarius) to Musagetes secretary Nikolai Kiselev as early as June 1915 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 10, ed. khr. 31). The idea was that Shaginian would at her own discretion supplement it with satirical passages from Ellis’s commentaries to *Reflections on Goethe* cited in Medtner’s letters to Anna in the spring of 1915.

43 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 406. Remarkably, this happened within a few days of her departure from Zurich.

44 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 582.

45 Significantly, Shaginian later noted that the well-organized domestic atmosphere in the Ul’ianov family (which she had studied for her biographical work on them *Sem’ia Ul’ianovykh*) reminded her more than anything of the “creative everyday” of the Medtner family (“Vospominaniia o Rakhmaninove,” p. 381).

46 Medtner now again consulted Dr. Flournoy, this time in Fribourg, with regard to the draft notice. While in Geneva he availed himself of the opportunity to pay another visit to Dalcroze.

47 Letter of 30 June 1917 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 21).

THE FINAL BLOW

1 Letter of 17 April 1917 to Il’in (RGB, f. 167, op.2, kart. 13, ed. khr. 9).

2 Medtner, “Bildnis,” p. 588.

3 At this point Medtner also broke off relations with Nikolai Kiselev, who was not an anthroposophist but had reacted vehemently to Il’in’s letter. In a farewell letter to Kiselev in October, Medtner described Belyi as “not even a human being but a monster” (RGB, f. 167, op. 2, kart. 13, ed. khr. 10).

4 On 7 April Ellis had sent a collective letter to the Musagetes staff in which he made common cause with Il’in. Ten days later he contacted Il’in, who wanted nothing to do with him. (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 69 and 67, respectively.)

5 Steiner lectured on the theme of anthroposophy and the academy sciences. After the lecture series, Medtner wrote Anna on 16 November (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 22) that he regretted he had not been there to refute him. Steiner, incidentally, renewed his criticism of Jung (especially with reference to *The Psychology of the Unconscious*) in lectures in Berlin in January and March 1918.

6 Medtner, “Bildnis,” pp. 587–88.

7 Letter of 31 December 1916.

- 8 Even before this he had lost the enterprising Vikentii Pashukanis, who had established his own house and bought the copyright to Belyi's works. Publication had hardly begun, however, when it was stopped by the so called October Revolution.
- 9 The voluminous manuscript has been preserved. See "Otvét Andreiu Belomu na ego knigu 'Rudol'f Shteiner i Gete v mirovozzrenii sovremennosti'. Moskva 1917" (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 12, ed. khr. 1–6). In an undated 1918 letter to his father he wrote that he "must crush this reptile or perish" (PF). Belyi, it would seem, had begun to resemble his "black snake."
- 10 See Sabina Scheftel's (=Spielrein's) letter of 4 December 1917 to Jung (*Tagebuch einer heimlichen Symmetrie*, p. 148).
- 11 Letter of 29 January 1918 (ETH, Hs 1056:29, 821; see Appendix, No. 3).
- 12 See Jung's letter of 20 February and Medtner's of 8 March 1918 (GBL, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62; ETH, Hs 1056:29, 822; see Appendix, Nos. 6 and 4).
- 13 Above letter of 29 January 1918.
- 14 It became his opus 33.
- 15 Letter of 19 January 1919 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62; see Appendix, No. 9).
- 16 He now also learned that his brother Aleksandr had been appointed head conductor of the orchestra at Aleksandr Tairov's Chamber Theater in Moscow. Aleksandr had chosen this career early on but had been unable to find a permanent contract and was therefore forced to work as a teacher at the People's Conservatory in Moscow. Medtner displayed a remarkable indifference to his brother's conducting.
- 17 Letter of January 1923 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 18 In a letter of 16 October 1926 to Anna Medtner concluded that this lecture (a Russian translation was enclosed) was written "under my influence" (LC, ML 31.43).
- 19 C. G. Jung, "The Psychological Foundations of Belief in Spirits," *Collected Works*, vol. 8 (Princeton, 1978), p. 309.
- 20 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 579.
- 21 The lectures were delivered on 18 and 25 September and 1 November 1919.
- 22 Emil Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition", die ihr angrenzenden Begriffe und die an sie anknüpfenden Probleme. Vorgetragen im Psychologischen Klub, Zürich MDCCCXCIX* (Moscow and Zurich, 1923), p. 11.
- 23 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. 15. Medtner borrowed this expression from Ellis, who sneered that "the Master" had been reduced to a "Tanzmeister," the creator of eurhythmics. (See Medtner's letter to Anna of 11 January 1915 (dated 21 January).)
- 24 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. 31.
- 25 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. 52.
- 26 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. 61. See Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen* (Weimar, 1907), p. 59 (No. 314). Medtner's italics.
- 27 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. 61.
- 28 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. vii.
- 29 See her letter of 10 October 1919 to Joyce. Joyce immediately sent her a copy

- of the manuscript of *Ulysses* to persuade her to change her mind, but in another letter of 13 October she definitively terminated the contract (*Letters of James Joyce*, ed. R. Ellmann, vol. 2 (London, 1966), pp. 453–54.)
- 30 Letter of March 1920 from Sousse (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62; see Appendix, No. 12).
- 31 Ellis and van der Meulen settled down in the immediate vicinity of the Franciscan Madonna del Sasso monastery. Perhaps they had been inspired by Medtner, who visited the monastery on his way to Monte Verità in 1915.
- 32 Intermediarius, *Homo Coelestis. Das Urbild der Menschheit* (Basel, 1918).
- 33 Ellis abandoned his circle of Russian friends as completely as had Medtner. At the same time he continued to work in his own way in the same spirit of East-West synthesis. He began introducing and translating Russian literature and religious philosophy to the German-speaking public, giving special attention to Vladimir Solov'ev's Uniate ideas. In 1929 he published a book on what had now become four tracts by van der Meulen/Intermediarius which also related them to the Russian tradition (Dr. L. Kobilinski-Ellis, *Christliche Weisheit* (Basel, 1929)). He soon considered himself a member of the Uniate Church (to which his old friend Sergei Solov'ev already belonged as a priest in the Soviet Union).
- 34 Emil Medtner, "Jungs 'Psychologische Typen'," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, (1) 16 and (2) 17 June 1921. Hesse's much shorter review appeared later in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, 28 August 1921.
- 35 Medtner, "Jungs 'Psychologische Typen'" (1).
- 36 Jung, *Memories*, p. 209.
- 37 Andrei Belyi, "Dnevnik pisatel'ia," *Zapiski mechtatelei* 1 (Petersburg, 1919), p. 123.
- 38 Belyi, "Krugovoe dvizhenie," p. 59. In this context Belyi often alluded to Paul's Letter to the Galatians (2:20): "... not I, but Christ liveth in me." Jung later also used this passage to illustrate the meaning of the Self.
- 39 Ellis was especially influential in introducing this theme into Belyi's writing. As Belyi treats it, the "owner" of the shadow risks being reduced to an appendage of it, rather as in H. C. Andersen's story "The Shadow" (see Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 59). Whether Ellis was in turn influenced by Medtner remains to be shown. In Steiner's spiritual science Belyi found an explanation of the shadow in the notion of the "guardian of the threshold," the accumulated individual karma that is said to appear to the occultist in the clairvoyance of meditation. Steiner's "guardian of the threshold" and Jung's "shadow" have obvious points in common (see G. Wehr, C. G. *Jung und Rudolf Steiner* (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 226–32).
- 40 Medtner, "Jungs 'Psychologische Typen'" (2).
- 41 Emil Medtner, *Meister Nikisch* (Zurich, 1921), pp. 5, 11.
- 42 Letter of 17 December 1921 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 43 It is significant that he often used the same epithet for them. In all three cases there were three sisters, all of whom he knew.
- 44 Actually, she went home at the request of her father, who felt that her involvement with Jung had caused her to neglect her children (see Allan Nevins, *Study in Power. John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist*, vol. 2 (New York

- and London, 1953), p. 466n.).
- 45 Medtner Sr. died at a psychiatric clinic.
- 46 Letter of 15 September 1921, commented upon in N.K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, pp. 202–03.
- 47 See Rakhmaninov's letter of 15 February 1922 to McCormick (*Literaturnoe nasledie*, vol. 2, pp. 119–20, and commentary on p. 424).
- 48 Letter of 24 September 1921 to Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
- 49 Letter of 5 November 1921 to Anna and Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
- 50 In 1918 Il'in had taken his doctoral degree on his master's thesis on Hegel and had been appointed professor. In 1921 he helped establish a psychoanalytical society in Moscow under the new regime. It was from this society—which at first committed itself to the “study of artistic creation”—that the brief but lively Soviet psychoanalysis of the 1920s developed.
- 51 See Hans Trüb, “Individuation, Schuld und Entscheidung. Über die Grenzen der Psychologie,” in *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie* (Berlin, 1935), p. 523.
- 52 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 153 (appendix).
- 53 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 157.
- 54 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 155n.
- 55 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 156n.
- 56 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 165.
- 57 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 177.
- 58 Medtner, *Über die sog. “Intuition”*, p. 177.
- 59 The posthumous publication almost three decades later of Trüb's *Heilung aus der Begegnung. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Psychologie C. G. Jungs* (Stuttgart, 1951), with a foreword by Buber, contributed to unleashing a bitter polemic between Buber and Jung in which Buber followed Trüb's criticism of Jungian “Gnosticism.”
- 60 On Trüb and Buber's friendship, see Maurice Friedman, *Encounter on a Narrow Ridge. A Life of Martin Buber* (New York, 1991).
- 61 One of Il'in's lectures (19 September) was based on his impressions of “the Russian revolution.” In spite of everything, he helped Medtner by checking the completed Russian translations of Jung's works.
- 62 Letter of 7 June 1923 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 63 Letter of 5 July 1923 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).

THE CHANGE IN PERSONALITY

- 1 Letter of 16 September 1923 (LC, ML 31.43). Here, perhaps by analogy with Edith McCormick, Russia was declared to be “a sick woman” who must be “cared for.”
- 2 See letter of 28 April 1925 to Anna and Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
- 3 Medtner's letter to Anna of November 1923 from Zurich (LC, ML 31.43).
- 4 Marietta Shaginian, *Puteshestvie v Veimar* (Moscow, 1923).
- 5 See Chamberlain's letter of 7 October 1923 to Hitler in *Briefe 1882–1924 und Briefwechsel mit Kaiser Wilhelm II*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1928), pp. 124–26. Like

- Medtner, Hitler had been an anti-Semite since childhood. In his case as well, however, Chamberlain's works—which he read in Vienna in 1907–13 (that is, about the same time Medtner read them in Graz in 1906 and then in Weimar)—helped structure his hate of the Jews.
- 6 Medtner, *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, p. vii.
 - 7 Letter of 6 May 1924 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 8 Retrospective comment in letter of 13 January 1931 to Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 9 Letter of 5 December 1925 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 10 Letter of 25 July 1915 to Anna (PF).
 - 11 In some short autobiographical sketches from the late 1920s Medtner maintains that Napoleon had already been the idol of his childhood, before Goethe ("B. i b. m. zh.," RGB, f. 167, op. 3, kart. 15, ed. khr. 1).
 - 12 Letter of 28 April 1926 (LC, ML 31.43). As early as in a letter of November 1914 to Anna Medtner had commented that Jung had a "really south German (or north Italian) face" (PF).
 - 13 Hesse and Medtner had a number of biographical points in common. Hesse's father had grown up as a Russian subject in the Baltic area (Riga), and this fact may have contributed to turn Hesse's interest toward eastern cultures. Hesse had met Baron von Wrangell at Monte Verità as early as 1907. He became involved with psychoanalysis in 1913–14, and in the midst of a serious crisis in 1916 he underwent Jungian therapy with Dr. J. B. Lang. He also appears to have been in touch with Jung personally at that time. He seems to have known Josef Englert early on and got to know him better in Tessin in 1919, when Englert read his horoscope as he had Medtner's four years previously. Zurich physician and music-lover Hans Bodmer, whom Medtner also visited, later became his most important patron. Jung exerted a lasting influence on Hesse's writing.
 - 14 Andrei Belyi, *Moskovskii chudak* and *Moskva pod udarom* (Moscow, 1926).
 - 15 The hero's "shadow," the diabolical Mandro, bears a certain resemblance to Medtner. His dwelling, a prehistoric cave in Moscow, anticipates Belyi's description of his friend as a "prehistoric German in a cave" and a vagabond in the primordial forests of Europe of the 400s in *Nachalo veka* (p. 90). Racism is just as apparent in this novel, where the Mongols of *Petersburg* have simply been replaced by Negroes.
 - 16 The second piano concerto became his opus 50.
 - 17 Letter of 1 December 1926 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43). In his letters, Medtner reserved this recommendation for women and Jews.
 - 18 Undated letter, postmarked 17 August 1927 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62; see Appendix, No. 19).
 - 19 The lecture was held on 7 and 21 May 1927.
 - 20 Hermann Graf Keyserling, *Mensch und Erde* (Darmstadt, 1927).
 - 21 Chamberlain died a member of the National Socialist Party in January 1927.
 - 22 Retrospective comment in letter of 13 January 1931 to Nikolai (dated 16 January).
 - 23 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 613.
 - 24 Letter of 25 March 1928 to Anna and Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 25 See Jung, *Memories*, p. 223.

- 26 Medtner's letter of 3 December 1928 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 27 In "Bildnis," p. 579, Medtner calls Hölderlin the "hero" of *Symbols of Transformation*.
- 28 Letter of 1 May 1929 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 29 Through Pozzo Medtner renewed contact with Turgeneva, whom he visited twice in 1930 at Dornach. He thought that she had "outgrown" Pozzo and was now free of sectarianism (letter of 27 October 1929 to Anna; LC, ML 31.43).
- 30 Chamberlain's letter of 7 October 1923 in *Briefe*, vol. 2, pp. 124–26.
- 31 Letter of 9 April 1930 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 32 Letter of 5 June 1930 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 33 Emil Medtner, "W. Iwanows Wesensschau des Russentums," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, (1) 28 and (2) 29 November 1930.
- 34 W. Iwanow, *Die russische Idee* (Tübingen, 1930).
- 35 Letter of 25 December 1930 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 36 Letter of 13 January 1931.
- 37 Keyserling spoke on 15 January on the theme "Rationale und emotionale Lebensordnung."
- 38 Dating 16 January in above letter of 13 January 1931.
- 39 Emil Medtner, "Der geschichtliche Aufbau des Russentums in psychologischer Beleuchtung," p. 1 (typewritten manuscript, PF). Medtner spoke on 28 February and 14 March 1931. According to Medtner's letter of 3 March to Anna (LC, ML 31.43), Jung praised the first lecture in particular for its "psychological evaluation of the material."
- 40 Letter of 22 March 1931 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 41 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 597. At this time Medtner had a long talk with Karl Barth, who was visiting Zurich. We may surmise that their conversation centered on Kierkegaard, who had strongly influenced Barth's theology.
- 42 Letter of 12 June 1929 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 43 As earlier in 1929, Medtner planned to travel to Tunisia, but he never made the trip.
- 44 It became his opus 53.
- 45 Letter of 23 October 1931 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 46 J. W. Hauer, *Werden und Wesen der Anthroposophie. Eine Wertung und eine Kritik. Vier Vorträge* (Stuttgart, 1922).
- 47 Letter of 16 June 1931 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 48 Letter of 12 August 1931 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 49 See Rakhmaninov's letter of 23 January 1932 to Medtner (*Literaturnoe nasledie*, vol. 2, p. 322).
- 50 After the break with Belyi, in April 1916, he had traveled to southern Switzerland with Rabinovitch. In May 1931 he had made the same trip with Heyman, and even stayed at Monte Verità.
- 51 Letters of 3 March and 21 April 1931. According to the latter letter, Wolff jocularly described Jung and Medtner as behaving like "scamps" toward Heyman (LC, ML 31.43).
- 52 Letter of 21 April 1931.
- 53 Jung's letter of 12 March 1932 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62; see Appendix, No. 20).

- 54 When Viacheslav Ivanov learned about Heyman's death, he answered with a short poem, "Moi brat: Odina volk!...", dedicated to Medtner and strongly empathizing with him. See Ivanov and Metner, "Perepiska iz dvukh mirov," *Voprosy literatury* 3 (1994), p. 314.
- 55 Emil Medtner, "Ansprache. Goethe-Abend im Psychologischen Club," p. 41 (typewritten manuscript, Archiv des Psychologischen Clubs, Zurich).
- 56 Medtner, "Ansprache," p. 37.
- 57 Medtner, "Ansprache," p. 54.
- 58 Medtner, "Ansprache," p. 57.
- 59 Medtner did not have much room for Mignon in his analysis. He promised a written supplement discussing the figure of Mignon, but it was never realized.
- 60 Incidentally, he had already mentioned the same thing in a 1914 letter to Anna (9 October, dated 7 October; RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 11).
- 61 Letter of 18 April 1932 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 62 Fedor Dostoevskii, *Besy*, in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v tridsati tomakh*, vol. 10 (Leningrad, 1974), p. 471, and *Brat'ia Karamazovy*, vol. 14 (Leningrad, 1976), p. 223.
- 63 Letter of 30 April 1932. See Rakhmaninov, *Literaturnoe nasledie*, vol. 2, p. 537. Here Medtner listed a number of composers and indicated his and Nikolai's current attitude toward them.
- 64 Letter of 30 May 1932 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 65 Letter of 25 June 1932 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 66 Letter of 11 May 1932 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 67 Medtner said in his letter of 30 May 1932 that he had been right to warn of Krenn, who had speculated wildly with McCormick's fortune, losing much of it in the wake of the 1929 stock market crash.
- 68 Assisted by Zimmer, Hauer conducted a seminar on 3–8 October on the theme of Kundalini Yoga. At a dinner honoring the two visitors, Medtner sat at the same table with Baroness Alice von Morawitz-Cadio. They agreed that Jung had something of the "peasant" about him as soon as he "stopped being a psychologist" (letter of 10 October 1932 to Anna; LC, ML 31.43). A year earlier Medtner had read the same peasant quality into Mussolini.

THE CULT OF HITLER

- 1 Letter of 31 January 1933 (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62; see Appendix, No. 21).
- 2 Letter of 15 March 1933 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 3 PS of 27 March in letter of 15 March 1933.
- 4 PPS of 27 March in letter of 15 March 1933.
- 5 Letter of 28 May 1933 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 6 Letter of 22 April 1933 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43). Il'in, with whom Medtner no longer had any contact, was at this same time living in Berlin and moving closer and closer to Nazism. Using the pseudonym Julius Schweickert, in the fall of 1932 he had together with Adolf Ehrt published a pamphlet entitled *Entfesselung der Unterwelt. Ein Querschnitt durch die Bolschewisierung Deutsch-*

- lands, in which he emphasized that the German masses needed “brilliant, gifted leadership” like that of Mussolini (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932; p. 310). In 1935, under the pseudonym Dr. Alfred Normann he published another book in Bern entitled *Bolschewistische Machtpolitik. Die Pläne der 3. Internationale zur Revolutionierung der Welt* which portrayed Bolshevism as essentially a Jewish conspiracy. His Russian-born partner Ehrt now headed the “Anti-Komintern” division of Goebbels’ Ministry of Propaganda. His own complex attitude toward the Jews, however, had begun to cause him political difficulties, and in 1938 he went into exile in Zurich.
- 7 Letter of 19 June 1933 to Medtner (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 8 Undated letter of 1933 to Medtner (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 9 Vol’fing, “Prilozheniia,” *Modernizm i muzyka*, p. 353.
 - 10 Letter of 12 June 1933 to Anna and Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 11 Letter of 12 June 1933.
 - 12 See Geoffrey Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich. The Göring Institute* (New York and Oxford, 1985), p. 131.
 - 13 See “An Interview with Radio Berlin,” in C. G. Jung *Speaking. Interviews and Encounters*, ed. W. McGuire and R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, 1977), p. 60.
 - 14 “An Interview with Radio Berlin,” pp. 62, 65.
 - 15 J. W. Hauer, *Deutsche Gottschau. Grundzüge eines deutschen Glaubens* (Stuttgart, 1934).
 - 16 Letters of 12 September and 6 October 1933 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 17 Letter of 6 October 1933.
 - 18 Letter of 19 October 1933 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43). Like Medtner, Hitler had failed to realize his dream to become an artist, and also like him, he had frequently attended performances of Wagner at the Vienna Opera. Moreover, he evidently had something of the same sort of lupine identity as Medtner. He as well had used “Wolf” as a (political) code name, and after the attack on the Soviet Union he dubbed two of his headquarters “Wolfsschanze” and “Werwolf.”
 - 19 Letter of 25 October 1933 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 20 Letters of 25 October and 29 October 1933 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 21 It was undeniably significant to Shaginian that Stalin was from the Caucasus and that it was he who (through Aleksandr Voronskii) had revealed how much Lenin had appreciated her works (see *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 600).
 - 22 Shaginian, *Chelovek i vremia*, p. 71. According to what Shaginian communicated to me in December 1977, however, her stay at the clinic ended in “flight.”
 - 23 C. G. Jung, “Geleitwort,” *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete* 3 (1933) (“Editorial,” *Collected Works*, vol. 10 (Appendix) (Princeton, 1978)).
 - 24 Gustav Bally, “Deutschstämmige Therapie,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27 February 1934.
 - 25 C. G. Jung, “Erwiderung zu Dr. Bally,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 13 March 1934 (“A Rejoinder to Dr. Bally,” *Collected Works*, vol. 10 (Appendix) (Princeton, 1978)).
 - 26 When Medtner later felt that the *Festschrift* honoring Jung was treated ungenerously by *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, he wrote to Anna that the paper had “sold out to the Jews and the Entente” and therefore “hates” Jung (letter of 1 Feb-

- ruary 1936; LC, ML 31.43).
- 27 C. G. Jung, "Zur gegenwärtige Lage der Psychotherapie," *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete* 1–2 (1934) ("The State of Psychotherapy today," *Collected Works*, vol. 10 (Princeton, 1978)). It is noteworthy that Jung also spoke here of a specifically feminine feature in the Jewish psyche.
 - 28 Letter of 18 July 1934 from Prague to Anna and Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43). He was also strongly impressed by Goebbels' and Hess's radio speeches at about this time, and supplied Nikolai and Anna with a transcript of all of them.
 - 29 Letter of 29 August 1934 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 30 Letter of 24 September 1934 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 31 Letter of 1 October 1934 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 32 See Nikolai's letter of 20 July 1934 to Rakhmaninov (N.K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 460).
 - 33 See Medtner's reply of 10 October 1934 (LC, ML 31.43). Nikolai's depression was soon aggravated by the fact that in November he was denied a visa to make a planned concert tour via the Baltic States to the Soviet Union.
 - 34 N. Metner, *Muza i moda. Zashchita osnov muzykal'nogo iskusstva* (Paris, 1935), pp. 136–37.
 - 35 The initiator and organizer of these seminars was Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, who had a background in theosophy.
 - 36 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 614.
 - 37 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 592.
 - 38 Probably on the basis of this explicit parallel and conversations with Medtner, Fedor Stepun wrote in Ivanov's obituary that the poet had exerted "a crucial influence ... on the philosophical constructs in Jung's psychoanalysis, as has interestingly been pointed out by E. K. Medtner" ("Pamiati Viacheslava Ivanova," *Vozrozhdenie* 5 (1949), p. 163).
 - 39 Medtner, "Bildnis," pp. 574–75.
 - 40 Medtner, "Bildnis," p. 565.
 - 41 Medtner's postscript in letter of 21 January 1935 to Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43). Jung presented a paper on alchemy later this year at the third Eranos seminar ("Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process").
 - 42 Jung, *Memories*, p. 206.
 - 43 Jung, *Memories*, p. 189.
 - 44 Letter of 7 May 1935 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 45 Letter of 14 April 1935 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 46 Letter of 29 June 1935 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 47 Above letter of 14 April 1935.
 - 48 Letter of 9 June 1935 to Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 49 Letter of 14 July 1935 to Anna and Nikolai (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 50 Letter of 11 November 1935 (LC, ML 31.43).
 - 51 Although Medtner is not mentioned by name, as early as in his travel sketch of the Caucasus *Veter s Kavkaza. Vpechatleniia* (Moscow, 1928), Belyi regrets losing his friend-enemy: "Do you realize that my hardness was not anger but a principle proven by the entire situation of my life?" (p. 292). It is doubtful that Medtner read those lines. In his letter of 15 April 1934 to Vera Tarasova in Moscow, however, he expressly requested her to get Belyi's recently pub-

lished memoirs for him. In that same letter he provides a Jungian portrait of Belyi that is of some interest because it seems to be based on Jung's own comments (cf. Medtner's letter of 20 October 1914 in n. 57 of "The Outbreak of War..." above):

A. Belyi was not a human being at all, but a δύναμις, that is, an elemental force disguised as a human being (or sheathed in human flesh); half angel, half devil; nothing can be demanded of such a person; er hat nicht gelebt, er *wurde* gelebt; this is of course terrible—to be saddled with genius and zu Schanden geritten by it; in his individual relations with others, with views, works of art or science, everything, therefore, the ruling principle was best expressed in his favorite catchword "for some reason!" He *adored* me as well, but "for some reason!" —Psychologically speaking, everything about him was "ambivalent"; he oscillated between opposites; his love was "Hassliebe"; but his hate was also "Liebehass." The brilliant muddlehead of Russian literature. (PF.)

- 52 Letter of 25 November 1935 (LC, ML 31.43).
- 53 Letter of 14 December 1935 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 54 Letter of 13 March 1936 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 55 Letter of 15 June 1936 to Anna from Teplitz-Schönau (LC, ML 31.43). Here he mentioned especially Trotskii and Litvinov. Yet he sometimes felt a paradoxical sympathy toward (the non-Jew) Stalin, an "undisguised bandit" (letter of 1 January 1936 to Anna; LC, ML 31.43). It is a telling fact that he agreed with the *Pravda* article of 28 January (probably written by Stalin) which attacked Dmitrii Shostakovich's modernist "chaos" (letter of 7 February 1936 to Nikolai; LC, ML 31.43).
- 56 Nikolai and Anna stayed in London, where Nikolai died in 1951. Seven years later Anna chose to return to the Soviet Union, where she died in 1965.
- 57 Letter of 18 March 1936 to Anna (LC, ML 31.43).
- 58 C. G. Jung, "Wotan," *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* 3 (1936) (*Collected Works*, vol. 10 (Princeton, 1978)).
- 59 In the superficial sense, then, Medtner repeated his father's demise. Stepun, who was in Dresden, reported on his last days in a letter to Anna and Nikolai summarized in Nikolai's letter of 16 July 1936 to his brother and sister Aleksandr Medtner and Sof'ia Saburova in Moscow (N. K. Metner, *Pis'ma*, p. 480). The funeral was attended by a group of friends from the Psychological Club which apparently included Toni Wolff but not Jung.

EPILOGUE

- 1 Sofiia Lorie, Ol'ga Raevskaia, and B. Reinus had done the translation.
- 2 A formal telegram of greeting was all the Congress sent to Freud.
- 3 According to what C. A. Meier told Linda Donn (*Freud and Jung*, p. 22), there was reason for Jung to consider Hitler as a patient. M. H. Göring was to have arranged a consultation with him for Hitler at precisely this time, but this was never done.
- 4 "Diagnosing the Dictators," C. G. *Jung Speaking*, p. 126.

- 5 "Diagnosing the Dictators," p. 132.
- 6 Hannah, *Jung*, p. 265.
- 7 Jung, *Memories*, p. 275.
- 8 Belyi, *Nachalo veka*, p. 35.

APPENDIX

MEDTNER'S LETTERS TO JUNG¹

1.

Zürich 28/X -17. Lieber Jung! Konnte nicht gestern abend im Klub „erscheinen“ (denn das Ding an sich bliebe sowieso zu hause) weil ich nach der Zahnoperation sehr müde war und dann gegen 9h überfiel mich unerwartet und sturmartig solch' ein Verzweflungsanfall, dass ich beinah angefangen habe zu heulen wie ein altes Weib (oder vielmehr alte Jungfer in der unbarmherzigen Novelle von Hegeler²). Die ganze Nacht beinah nicht geschlafen.—Ich möchte (bevor ich „eventuell“ mit dir darüber rede) selbst die Ursache eruieren.—

Goethe. Aph. 273. Das ist die wahre Symbolik, wo das Besondere das Allgemeine repräsentiert, nich als Traum und Schatten, sondern als lebendig augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen.

Aph. 742. Die Allegorie verwandelt die Erscheinung in einen Begriff, den Begriff in ein Bild, doch so, dass der Begriff im Bilde immer noch begrenzt und vollständig zu halten und zu haben und an demselben anzusprechen sei.

Aph. 743. Die Symbolik verwandelt die Erscheinung in Idee, die Idee in ein Bild, und so, dass die Idee im Bild immer unendlich wirksam und unerreichbar bleibt und, selbst in allen Sprachen ausgesprochen, doch unaussprechlich bleibt.³

Die NN der Aph. nach Hempel-Ausgabe⁴

Was den attraktiven (intro?) und expansiven (extra?) Typus anbetrifft so genügt bloss die Seiten 22–25 bei Gundolf nachzuschlagen. Goethe aber erscheint von Hause aus attraktiv, nur nicht so rein wie Dante, als dessen Gegenpol Shakespeare erscheint.⁵

Ich habe vorgestern geträumt, ich hätte einen Sohn bekommen, nur weiss ich nicht von welchem Weibe und bin ich nicht sicher, ob ich wirklich Vater sei. Jemand sagt mir aber, ich solle dem Kinde in die Augen

blicken, die dem meinigen gleichen.—Es grüsst dich

Dein E. Medtner

¹ Only four of Medtner's letters to Jung have been preserved. They are in the Jung Archive of the ETH-Library in Zurich (Hs 1056: 29, 817–18, 821–22). They are reproduced here unedited, with Medtner's sometimes ungrammatical phrasing, spelling errors, and omitted punctuation.

² Wilhelm von Hegeler (1870–1943), author of entertaining naturalistic psychological novels. The reference here is to his story "Das alte Mädchen" in the collection *Pygmalion* (Berlin, 1898).

³ These three aphorisms from *Maximen und Reflexionen*, which Jung evidently asked for, must have come up in analysis sessions dealing with Belyi, anthroposophy, and Goethe. They recurred two years later in Medtner's lectures on "the psychology of belief in spirits" at the Psychological Club (see *Über die sog. "Intuition"*, pp. 60–61, and n. 24 above in "The Final Blow").

⁴ *Goethes Werke*, published by G. Hempel in Berlin, 1879 (vol. 19, *Sprüche in Prosa*).

⁵ Friedrich Gundolf's theories, of course, were of significance to Jung's work on *Psychological Types*. In *Goethe* (Berlin, 1916) Gundolf distinguishes between "attractive" and "expansive" creative types. The former—Dante and Goethe—are driven to transform "the entire world into their ego," while the latter—Shakespeare—strives "to pour the entire abundance within him into the world" (p. 23).

2.

Zürich 15/XI -17. Lieber Jung! Da schicke ich Dir zwei Horoskope: von mir und von Hedwig.¹ Es ist interessant zu wissen, was Du sagen wirst.—Nach meinem Verzweiflungsanfälle suchte ich Dich nicht auf, weil ich selbst damit fertig werden wollte und doch mich nicht stark genug fühlte, um bei eventueller Begegnung über diesen Zustand mich nicht auszubreiten und nur objektive Themata berühren. Andererseits dachte ich, (weiss nicht warum, vielleicht ist das eine Art Identifikation?) ob es Dich nicht vielleicht anöden könnte immer wieder dieselbe Lithanei anzuhören. Wie ich Dir schon sagte kam dieser Verzweiflungsanfall ganz plötzlich und ohne jeden bewusstgewordenen Grund über mich. Erst nachher hatte ich eine unannehmliche Auseinandersetzung mit Rahel.² Und dann bald musste ich auch meine Arbeit an dem Buch von Bjely aufgeben, denn ich fühlte mich gänzlich erschöpft. Und nun wurde es immer schlimmer. Weisst Du? Ich verliere immer mehr die Hoffnung fertig mit mir zu werden. Und dann bin ich wirklich geistig ein Invalid geworden. Denn alle meine Gedanken sind dahin und Fertigkeiten besitze ich keine. Und das Problem „Musik“ bleibt noch wie vor ungelöst. Sowie ich nur daran Hand anlegen möchte, überfällt mich eine lahmlegende Müdigkeit... Es scheint ich gehe einer Blödigkeit entgegen. Nichts fasse ich auf und nichts kann ich, wie ich es früher konnte (richtig oder unrichtig—eine andere

Frage), festlegen, klar, sicher formulieren.—Auch was Analyse anbetrifft. Etwas habe ich doch schon gelesen und von Dir gehört, aber ich ertappe mich immer wieder darauf, dass ich eigentlich, was Analyse anbetrifft, in einer krassen Ignoranz lebe.—Ich hatte einige Träume, unter anderm auch einen, wo Du mitwirkst. Kann sie aber nicht deuten. (Indem ich es gleich schreibe bekomme ich unerwartet Nasenblutung.)—Auch hab ich Martin Luther im Träume gesehen.³ Rahel hat geträumt, ich sei gestorben und werde zur letzten Ruhe von zwei weissgekleideten Backfischen ohne Sarg getragen.

Rahel hat mein Horoskop abgeschrieben und schickte es mir mit einem Brief, der einen Begriff gibt, wie sie manchmal wütend sein kann.—

Also bis Mittwoch! Ist es doch so dumm, dass wir uns so selten sehen. Und noch dümmter ist es, dass ich nicht im Vollbesitze meiner geistigen Kräfte bin um Manches was objektiv wichtig ist besprechen zu können.

Es grüsst Dich

Dein

E.Medtner

¹ Hedwig Friedrich.

² Rachel Rabinovitch.

³ Medtner had just participated in the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Reformation in Zurich. He had seen a “grandiose” production of August Strindberg’s play about Luther *The Nightingale of Wittenberg*, which was part of the program. In a letter of 11 November 1917 to Anna he described Luther as “the greatest hero of the entire Christian epoch” who had taught humankind “inner freedom.” (RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 25, ed. khr. 22.)

3.

29/I -18. Lieber Freund! Mein Δαίμων fordert, ich solle die Träume und Einfälle niederschreiben. Also es fängt an: 16/17-I. Bin erwacht mit klopfendem Herzen, weil im Traum eine Stimme apodiktisch und im herrschendem Ton Folgendes zu vernehmen liess: Ācārya^{s)} (oder: ^(x)arzuna-ārya) dürfen keine Pelze tragen 17/18-I. Ein fürchterlicher Angstraum. Walpurgisnacht. Ein Chaos von vehementen Bewegungen teilweise reizender teilweise scheusslicher Geschöpfe. Die bekannten Personen, die mittuen, haben verzerrte nichtzuerkennende Gesichter. Unter ihnen befindet sich auch Anūta.¹ Rund herum munkelt man, sie sei Nekromantin (oder von Nekromanie (ohne *t*) besessen.—Jemand, eine grässliche und aufgeschos-sene langbeinige Figur, von schmutzig-braun-grauer Farbe lacht sardonisch

und behauptet, das Fleisch der halbverwesenen Toten sei etwas süsslich. —Ich betrachte Anüta genauer und seh, dass sie ein blödsinniger und dem Gesagten zustimmenden Gesichtsausdruck hat. Ich fasse ihre Hand, aber sie fängt mit einer fremden Stimme zu heulen an: „Was eben möchte ich gleich; was eben möchte ich gleich!“—18/19-I.—Auf dem Lande in Russland. Irgendwo weit von Moskau. Die Eltern sollen auch in der Umgebung wohnen. Ich komme aus der Stadt, wo ich langweilige Geschäfte zu erledigen hatte. Ich wollte mich erholen und zerstreuen. Deshalb war ich im Begriff mit Verotschka spazieren zu gehen.² Aber jemand hielt mich mit einem Gespräch auf und sie ging allein spazieren, worüber ich wütend geworden bin. Wegen der Verstimmung vergesse ich die Eintrittskarte zeitig zu kaufen, um Tristan von Wagner zu hören. Diese Vorstellung sollte in einem Sommertheater stattfinden. Ich geh doch hin und zwar mit Verotschka. Wir bekommen noch Plätze. Die Isolde spielt eine provinzielle Artistin, die ich vor vielen Jahren in Nischni-Nowgorod gekannt habe (auch persönlich). Indem ich mit Verotschka nachhause fahre liebkost sie mich und neckt mich, worüber ich in eine masochistische Stimmung gerate.—20/21 oder 21/22-I. Gegen Morgen im Halbschlaf höre ich wie eine Stimme, die da resolut und didaktisch sagt: du hast von der Existenz Hafis' vergessen, du, Goetheaner, hast ihn nie gelesen... (Am Tage beim Spazieren blicke ich in der Kirchgasse ins Schaufenster und erblicke richtig den *Hafis*, den ich auch sogleich kaufe und den ganzen Abend fleissig studiere³). 23/24-I.—Wieder auf dem Lande in Russland. Nur im Winter. Schneegestöber. In dem grossen Hause ist kalt ungemütlich und der Wind pfeift durch die Fenstern. Das Haus gehört unseren Bekannten, aber wem—ist verschwunden. Wir sind zu Gast: Kolja,⁴ Anüta, Werotschka und ich.—Im Hause herrscht eine peinliche höfische Etikette, besonders bei Mahlzeiten. Wir besuchen wieder das Sommertheater, wo ein Stück gegeben wird, welches zwei Abende in Anspruch nimmt.—Es spielen nur Liebhaber, *unter ihnen Duchowetzky*⁵ (Journalist, den ich oft im Traume sehe, das letzte Mal im Traum, welchen ich in Lugano erzählt habe, wo D. betrunken: Kant ausgerufen hat),⁶ und die *Sonnenhafte Polin*. Das die Letztere mitmacht, gefällt mir eigentlich nicht. (Eine Unterbrechung, dann setzt der Traum fort) Zur zweiten Vorstellung kommend sah ich dass ich meine Eintrittskarte zuhause vergessen habe. Duchowetzky führt mich ins Theater durch den Kulissen-Eingang. (Wieder eine Unterbrechung, diesmal wache ich ganz auf und zwar weil der rasche Gang der Ereignissen wirkt auf mich atemraubend, asthmatisch... Was das für Ereignisse waren behalte ich nicht im Gedächtniss; nur Eines, weil es sehr schrecklich war:)—ich werde einem Kriminalverhör unterzogen, weil meine Bekannte wurde tot mit aufgeschitztem Bauch gefunden; man vermutet einen Lustmord; man fragt mich in was für Beziehungen ich mit der Dame gestanden; es ist nich klar, ob das die „Sonnenhafte“⁷ sei oder

das „Plusquamperfectum“⁸ oder eine Dritte die beider Züge in sich vereinigte. (Nach diesem Teil des Traumes konnte ich nicht mehr einschlafen und dachte bald an die mir eventuell bevorstehende Operation,⁹ bald daran, dass es doch möglich sei (psychologisch) in solch'einer Spaltung der Seele zu leben, dass ein Teil nichts von dem Anderen wüsste und also der „Doppelgänger“ ein Verbrechen begehen könnte, ohne dass das gesunde „Ich“ dessen sich bewusstwerden müsste... Das Greuliche die Kontinuität des Bewusstseins verlieren zu können... Die Angst vor der Operation (die „moralische“ Angst, nicht die Angst vor dem körperlichem Schmerz, der doch nicht eintreten werde,) steigerte sich, als ich bei Freud gelesen habe, dass die Wurzel des Antisemitismus soll mit dem Kastrationskomplex verbunden sein¹⁰).—24/25-I—Anüta liegt irgendwo in einem dunklen Winkel in einem jämmerlichen Bett und sagt: das ist alles, was mir vom Leben geblieben ist. (Unterbrechung des Traumes) Ich begleite Kolja und Anüta zum Bahnhof. Dabei sind irgendwelche Schwierigkeiten in der Kommunikation und innerliche, seelische, auch weltmännisch-konventionelle, vorhanden. (Unterbrechung) Ich geh nachhause vom Bahnhof. Und nun bemerke ich, dass es Lugano ist. Erst Fonicolare, dann die Kirche; aber die Kirche scheint ein heidnischer babylonischer Tempel zu sein. Es ist dunkel. Dann erblicke ich einen Priester, der mir entgegen schreitet. Er hat einen unheimlichen Blick: grausam kalt und blutdurstig. Er klatscht in die Hände, wie als ob er seine Gehilfen zusammenrufen möchte Da begreife ich, dass er mich verhaften und nachher seinem Gott opfern möchte. Ich laufe davon, aber stolpere und... wache auf vor Angst, dabei fühle ich einen heftigen Schmerz im Penis der stark erigiert ist.— (Der erste Einfall: Orestes bei Iphigenie in Tauris¹¹).

Samstag 26/I besuchte ich mit Plusquamperfectum den russischen Ball im Dolder.¹² Die südamerikanischen Tänze machten mich ganz pessimistisch; es schien mir, als ob die arische Kultur zugrunde gehen müsste.—Arisch ist nicht nur ethnographisch; auch geistig, moralisch; so ist Plusquamperfectum, eine Jüdin, „arischer“ als viele „blonden Bestien“. Nachts, nach dem Ball, hatte ich mit P-um Beischlaf gehabt. Dann (also 26/27-I) träumte ich: vor mir hängt ein Bild (Pastell): Gebirgsland, Wolken, die aussehen wie Stiere, und Kühe wie Wolken; einige liegen auf dem Rücken mit den Beinen gegen den Himmel; auf einem Stein sitzt ein Hirtenknabe.—Beim Erwachen fällt mir ein Gedicht von Tretiakowsky, russischer Dichter des XVIII Jahrh. der in der Art wie Opitz talentlose aber formvollendete Versificationen schrieb,¹³ Zweizeiler zum Kalender:

Winter Die Flüsse werden mit Eis bedeckt
 Die Menschen legen Pelze um

Frühjahr Auf der Wiese liegen sieben fetten Kühe
 Und recken ihre Beine zum Himmel

Dann unerwartet der Zweizeler von Goethe:
 Von der Gewalt die alle Menschen bindet
 Befreit der Mensch sich, der sich überwindet.¹⁴

Die Woche, wo ich alle diese Träume gehabt habe, fühlte ich mich bald dumm und dumpf, bald war der Kopf hell und sonderbar aufnahmefähig. — Bald konnte ich überhaupt nicht schlafen, bald fühlte ich wie eine Schlafsucht und schlief 10 Stunden lang wollustig.

30/I -18. Eben habe ich das Obige, was ich gestern abend geschrieben, durchgelesen und als ich die zweite Hälfte des Traumes 24/25 mit dem Iphigenie-Einfall durchlas brach ich in ein Gelächter aus, da mir plötzlich ein witziger (und doch absurdscheinender) Einfall durch den Kopf lief, ob nicht Lugano Tauris; Du—Pylades; Toni—der babylonische Priester und zur selben Zeit auch Iphigenie... Darüber lachte ich allein für mich so verrückt, dass ich hinterher fürchtete, ob nicht die Imber¹⁵ und andere im Hause mich für einen Verrückten hielten—. —

Ich erachte solche indoarische Winke (wie der gegen den Pelz) für Versuche mich von Goethe wegzubringen. Als Gegetrieb erscheint Hafis, eigentlich Goethes orientalische Maske. Gewiss ist Hafis gross; gewiss ist er in seiner Naivetät noch grösser als Goethe; aber seine Weisheit ist primitiver sein Horizont viel enger und seine Kunst eintöniger, einseitiger, ohne gewaltige Steigerungen und Ausblicke.—

Doch bildet Hafis nicht gerade nur den Gegensatz zu ācārya (oder: arzunārya), sondern vielmehr eine Synthese. Denn Hafis ist Pseudonym und heisst der Bewahrende: also der den Koran auswendig wusste.— Mohammed Schemseddin Hafis war ein Meister, ein Derwisch, beinah ein Heiliger geworden; man nannte ihn „Mystische Zunge“ und „Dolmetsch der Geheimnisse“, Hafis wurde zum Scheich (Vorsteher) der Derwischen... Und doch vertauschte er Alles um Liebe. Und in der Sünde blieb er heilig ja wurde noch heiliger, als wie er früher war. „Wende dich nicht ab von dem Grabe Hafis; Selbst wenn er Sünde begeht, setzt er seine Hoffnung auf Gott“.—Hafis' Dichterbuch eröffnet sich mit einem masochisti-

schen Gedicht... Er ist ein tapferer Masochist: hat keine Angst vor dieser „Perversität“ Gewiss ist auch seine Liebe grossartig. Ueberschwänglich, dabei nicht „romantisch“ sondern real, also transszendental.—

Anf. Krönt meine Sünde mit Lob und Preis,
Wer so wie Hafis zu sündigen weiss
Zieht einst in Allahs Rosenhain
Begnadet und mit Zimbeln ein

Du fragst mir, wo mein Glauben ist? Versunken.
Und Meine Tugend? Ganz und gar verunken.
Das schönste aber ist mir treu geblieben:
Betrunken sein und lieben, lieben, lieben

Wie Schiller besingt Hafis die Freude „Nur durch die Freude wirst du eins mit Gott“, wie Nietzsche löst er den gegensatz „Gut-Böse“ auf und „verlegt das Paradies“ ins Diesseits.—Erst durch den Eros hat er sich seine Seele gefunden und das Geheimnis seiner Seele:

Nimm dir den liebevollen Sinn der Muschel,
Die man aus ihrem Meeresfrieden riss,
Zum Vorbild:—und beschenke den mit Perlen,
Der dich zerschlägt, so dass du sterben musst.

So ist Hafis.—Aber die Hauptsache liegt doch darin, dass er als Meister nicht nur den Gegensatz zu ācarya bildet, sondern den Pelz behält trotz seines Meistertums.—Die Erscheinung im Halbtraume des Namens Hafis als Kompensation (nicht polares komplementäres Gegenstück) zu ācarya hat noch die Bedeutung, dass das Eranische mir näher liegt, als das Indoarische.¹⁶ Nachdem ich Hafis zu Ende gelesen habe, nahm ich das Büchlein *Goethe und Lavater* und habe dort sogleich eine sehr wichtige Stelle gefunden. Nämlich der selbe Goethe der eben vor vier Tagen eine Predigt, die Lavater angefangen zu Ende geschrieben hat und zwar so, das als Lavater dieselbe in der Kirche verlesen hat, die Gemeinde gerührt war, der selbe Goethe schreibt “Donnerstag morgen aufm Zürichsee”:

Ohne Wein kan's uns auf Erden
Nimmer wie dreyhundert werden
Ohne Wein und ohne Weiber
Hohl der Teufel unsre Leiber.¹⁷

Und Lavater schreibt, seine Seele dürste von einem Doctor juris (Goethe)
—Theologie zu lernen.¹⁸—

Der erste Traum (17/18-I Walpurgisnacht) übt eine schauerliche Wirkung. Es wird mir schlecht, wenn ich daran denke. Und es scheint mir etwas sehr Schweres Definitives zu bedeuten.—Ist das nicht, dass überhaupt das Vergangene und nicht nur meine persönliche Vergangenheit, sondern alles, also auch die Beschäftigung mit den grossen Toten, was aufzugeben ist? Oder soll man sich nur so beschäftigen, wie ich diese Woche mit Hafis: frisch, prestissimo, so, wie als ob Hafis hier zugegen sei, ganz lebendig??—Russland ist für mich nur Vergangenheit, denn das neue maximalistische Russland ist eine unbekannte Grösse, die noch dazu in einer organischen Auflösung sich befindet.—Der aufgeschwitzte Bauch assoziiert sich mit dem operierten (kastrierten) Penis.—Die Kontinuität des Bewusstseins. Plusquamperfectum brummt, dass ich beim Coitus das Bewusstsein behalte.—Hafis sagt

Wenn der Verstand es wüsste, wie unendlich herrlich
Es sich in Liebeswahnsinn beieinander ruht,—
Ich glaube wohl: wenn das der ärmste wüsste
Verlör er ganz und völlig... den Verstand.

Der Einfall Lugano-Tauris scheint mir gleich eher toll, als witzig zu sein. Ausserdem kann er nicht plausibel mit dem ersten Teil des Traumes (24/25) gemacht werden.—In diesen südamerikanischen Tänzen liegt etwas diabolisches, etwas von der Valpurgisnacht.—Wenn es Neger gewesen wären, die da tanzten, so wäre es nett-primitiv. Aber diese leidenschaftslose Obscönität.—Hier hat wieder Hafis recht.

Nichtswürdig bist du, wenn gemeiner Sinn
Und Roheit dich beim Sündetun beherrschen,
Doch wenn du lautern Herzens Sünde tust,
So ist die Sünde etwas strahlend schönes,
Und du wirst herzhaft sündigend zum Gott.

Nun aber genug! Jetzt habe ich die Hauptsache fixiert und wenn du diese Woche keine Zeit hast, so können wir die Nächste abwarten.

Dein
E. Medtner

- ¹ Anna Medtner was always called Aniuta by members of the family.
- ² Vera Medtner (1897–1986), daughter of Karl Medtner Jr., married name Tarasova. Medtner was on very friendly terms with her, often indulging in playful teasing bordering on flirtation.
- ³ Hafis, *Nachdichtungen der Lieder* (translated by H. Bethge), Leipzig 1917.
- ⁴ Nikolai Medtner.
- ⁵ It seems very likely that Medtner had recently met Jung (and Toni Wolff) in Castagnola outside Lugano. Jung may have spent the New Year 1917–18 there, as he had three years earlier.
- ⁶ Fedor Dukhovetskii, a friend of Medtner's since youth, who in 1902 recruited him for his own newspaper *Pridneprovskii kraï*.
- ⁷ "Sunny" was one of Medtner's early liaisons. In letters to Anna he always used this anonymous epithet.
- ⁸ Medtner's name for Rachel Rabinovitch.
- ⁹ Medtner was evidently about to undergo some sort of lower abdomen operation.
- ¹⁰ Freud's 1909 article "A Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy" explains in a footnote (*Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 10 (London, 1986), p. 36) that castration anxiety is the root cause of anti-Semitism. When still very little, boys hear that something is cut off of Jews' penises, and this evokes contempt. This statement must have made a strong impression on Medtner, who in his letters to Anna during the years he was undergoing analysis more or less explicitly alluded to his fear of castration.
- ¹¹ Medtner's reference to the Greek myth, of course, comes by way of Goethe's drama *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which has its source in Eurypides. Pursued by the Erinyes, the matricide Orestes is arrested together with his faithful friend Pylades upon their arrival in Tauris, where he has come to try to appease Artemis. He is sentenced to be sacrificed to the goddess. The priestess in her temple turns out to be Iphigenia, his own sister. In the end she flees with her brother.
- ¹² Hotel in Zurich.
- ¹³ Vasilii Trediakovskii and Martin Opitz share several traits. They were not contemporaries, however: Opitz lived 1597–1639, Trediakovskii 1703–1768.
- ¹⁴ Lines 191 and 192 of Goethe's poem "The Secrets." "Menschen" in the first line should read: "Wesen."
- ¹⁵ Possibly Medtner's landlady at Gemeindestrasse 4, where he was living at the time.
- ¹⁶ Eranos—a meal in ancient Greece to which all guests contributed something—eventually was adopted as the name of the Jungian seminars in Ascona.
- ¹⁷ From Goethe's Swiss diary, July 1775. His authorship of these lines has been questioned.
- ¹⁸ *Goethe und Lavater. Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. H. Funck (Weimar, 1901), p. 4.

4.

Zürich 8/III -18. Lieber Jung!

Ich huste und bin arg verschnupft. Sonst würde ich schon längst Dir telephoniert haben meines Besuches wegen. Hoffentlich aber seid ihr alle da am Zürichsee gesund geworden?

Habe versucht Upanichaden zu lesen! Ja! Mein Kopf fasst dieselben nicht auf. Die Auseinandersetzungen von Deussen geben mir mehr.¹ Ich bin zu verdorben für diese Urspeise.

Die psychischen, aber auch physischen Spuren des Affektes 21/II sind noch immer fühlbar. Ich kann mich weder rasch bewegen ohne sogleich Müdigkeit und Kniezittern zu spüren noch Anstrengungen machen, wenn ich geistig arbeite. Und die Stimmung ist verflucht desperat.

Kurz vor dem Affekt hatte ich gerade einige besonders helle Tage gehabt, die ziemlich produktiv abgelaufen waren. Und nun scheint es mir manchmal, dass der Teufel (respektive die Teufelin) hat sie mir endgültig geraubt.

Zum Kapitel Hafis. 1) Ich besuchte 27/II den schweizerischen Volkslieder-Abend. Ein Lied (köstlich auch vom reinmusikalischen Standpunkte aus) *Gsätzli* hat ein Hafismotiv in der letzten Strophe

Der Liebgott im Himmel
Und's Schätzli im Arm;
Der Liebgott macht sälig
Und's Schätzli git warm.—

2) Und im *Grünen Heinrich* (ein ganz grosses Werk, nicht minder genial als die Epen von Tolstoi und viel viel schöner) B. I. S. 219, wo der liebe Gott, als „Schutzpatron der Landschaftsmaler“ erscheint, lacht einem dasselbe Hafismotiv, wie im *Gsätzli* entgegen.² Das sind... Upanichaden!

Eine Unmasse von Träumen habe ich seit meinen letzten Brief gehabt. Ich schreibe hier nur diejenigen auf, die eine direkte Beziehung zu den früheren haben.

31/I. Wir reisen mit Dir irgendwohin und Du vergisst mir zu sagen, ich solle dies und jenes mitnehmen, woraus eine Unbequemlichkeit oder ein Missverständniss entsteht.—In der Stadt wo wir sind, tu'ich zweimal den selben Fehler; wir wohnen ausser der Stadt, wohin man mit Tram (wie

nach Castagnola) fahren soll, und ich besteige einen Eisenbahnwagen (oder umgekehrt).

1/2-II. Dann kommt der Traum mit dem Gespenst des Ewig-Leeren welches einem Juden in Ulanenhelm (Aureole) gleicht; diesen Traum hab'ich dir erzählt.³

6/7-II. Eine Stimme sagt mir: Du sollst deine mohamedanischen Gedanken niederschreiben!

10/11-II. Ich habe ein Buch über Askese verfasst. Und Rahel lässt das Buch einbinden und schenkt es mir zum Geburtstag (oder zu Weihnachten).

16/17-II. Eine Stimme sagt mir: Wo ist Cassandra? Ueberall wo Agamemnon muss auch Cassandra sein! (Vide Traum 24/25-I und den Einfall 30/1. Iphigenie ist die Tochter und Orestes der Sohn von Agamemnon; das Geschlecht Tantals)⁴

Der erste Einfall war: Ein Führer mit einer prophetischen Seele.

„Agamemnon ging mit Cassandra die er den wilden Armen des Ajax Oilides entrissen hatte“ Schwab S. 144–145.⁵

Kassandra war Priesterin der Pallas-Athene.—Irgendwo unlängst habe ich eine Glosse zum Mythos über die Geburt der Athene aus dem Kopfe des Zeus gelesen (oder es scheint mir, dass ich es gelesen habe?) und nun nach diesem Traum konnte ich mich dieser Glosse nicht entsinnen.

Das Paar Agamemnon und Cassandra wurde vom Paar Klytemnästra und Aegisthes ermordet.⁶

17/18-II -18 Es ist jemand aus Holland angekommen, der Alles zur Versöhnung und Ausgleich bringen könnte.—Einfälle: Optimist Hemsterhuis,⁷ der fliegende Holländer, Hugo Grotius, Das internationale Tribunal in Haag, Erasmus von Rotterdam, Rembrandt als Erzieher, aber auch das Grüne Gesicht in Amsterdam,⁸ auch Peter der Grosse als Tischler in Saardam, auch der javanische Holländer, der dem Nietzsche in Nizza ein starkwirkendes javanisches Schlafmittel gegeben hat, welches er vor dem Zusammenbruch (trotz der Verwahrung des Holländers) zu oft eingenom-

men haben soll; auch Antroposophie, die alles zum Ausgleich und einem Museumzustande bringen möchte.

23/24-II. Wir bummeln mit Dir irgendwo; Rachmaninow ist auch zugegen. Wir mussten mit Dir noch irgenwohin gehen um unsere Bücher und Kleider zu nehmen; wir vergessen aber es zu tun und nun muss man eilen um den Zug nicht zu versäumen. Ich entferne mich für kurze Zeit irgendwohin mit Rachmaninow. Als ich zurückkehre, seh ich wie Du mit einem Unbekannten Likör aus grossen Seideln trinkst. (Dies ist der erste Traum nach dem Affekt von 21/II).—26/27-II. Ich träume, ich falle in Ohnmacht.

1/2-III -18. a) Ich heirate die Tochter von Tolstoi; b) Ich heirate die Tochter von Nikisch.

Dann wachte ich auf konnte mehr nicht einschlafen, war sehr desperat und es schien mir im Halbschlummerzustande, dass beide Heiraten müssen eine sehr grosse Bedeutung haben und das etwas geschehen sei, was nicht mehr wieder gut zu machen oder zurückzunehmen sei.—

3/4. Kolja ist jung, wie ein Knabe, hat, wie es wirklich der Fall war als er Kind gewesen, goldblondes Haar und ist etwas mädchenhaft. Rahel sieht ihn an und sagt zu mir: das ist ja Feminismus. Ich wache auf und im Halbschlaf läuft Folgendes durch den Kopf, was ich nachher im völlig wachen Zustande aufschreibe: es ist als ob ich jemandem diesen Traum deute und meine Kolja sei die androgyne und doch apollinische Natur in mir, also heisst es, es komme zu einem schöpferischem Schwung bei mir, vielleicht durch das Verbrennen im Affekt des Wässerigen meiner Seele; aber derjenige, dem ich das deute, (er gleicht dem bekannten Mazdasdanisten⁹) sagt darauf: Unsinn—s'ist Analerotik und Mazdasnan hat recht; da sehen Sie, bitte, diese Retorte an; ich blicke hinein und sterbe vor Ekel; in der Retorte im Spiritus bewegt sich Etwas, ein unförmliches Geschöpf von schmutzig-gelber Farbe, ein Embrio oder ein Oktopus; je mehr ich aber das Unwesen betrachte, desto sicherer werde ich, dass trotz dem Ekel gleicht es der androgynen Erscheinung Kolja's; Der freudianische Mazdasdanist sieht, dass ich stutzig geworden, und sagt triumphierend: dies Unwesen stack in Ihrem Eingeweide!

4/5-III. Ich erblicke mich in einer ritterlichen Ausrüstung, die aber ganz leicht, wie aus Papier maché oder Alluminium gemacht ist; auf der Brust

bei mir (auf dem Panzer) steht deutsch geschrieben Kein Glauben kann das Wissen ersetzen (aber auch umgekehrt).

6/7-III. Gottfried Keller muss Etwas tun, was auch ich tun muss; er tut es vor mir (was das hab'ich vergessen); ich aber kann es nicht, oder habe keinen Mut. Da erscheint mein Vater und ich wache auf.

7/8-III. Wir sind irgendwo mit Dir. Ich muss aber fort; Du fängst mit mir ein langes Gespräch an und nun ist es zuspät zum Morgenzug zu kommen; ich will mit dem Abendzug reisen, aber der reduzierte Fahrplan zeigt denselben nicht an, Also muss ich im Hôtel übernachten. Mein Zimmer inzwischen wurde besetzt und ich bekomme ein Anderes, wo ich den Strassenlärm höre und wo ich näher zu einem Hause, welches gebaut wird, bin. Dabei lese ich einen Brief: ein Bekannter, der sehr antimilitaristisch ist, schreibt mir: Ach! bestellen Sie, wenn es nicht anders geht, den Abguss Ihres Kopfes dem militärischen Departement, damit Ihr Kopf aus dem Kanonenerz sei.¹⁰

7/8-III (dieselbe Nacht) Ich erzähle Dir und Toni Wolff das Rahel mich misshandelt.

Ich wollte Dich fragen, (weil es mir immer wieder in den Sinn kam!): 1) in welchen Fällen geschieht es mit Libido dass sie (oder Etwas durch sie) ohne weiteres (also nicht durch ein bewusstes Vorgehen) in Gegensatzpaare sich auflöst. 2) Wie verhält sich die Ekstase zum Chthonischen. 3) Neurasthenie, Angstneurose und Zwangsneurose (terminologisch-jungianisch!).

Und dann noch Etwas: Rahel's Arzt meint, man könne den Ring nicht selbst anbringen und sie konnte es auch wirklich nicht tun.

Wann wäre es bequemer Dich nächste Woche zu sprechen?

Dein

E. Medtner

¹ Paul Deussen (1845–1919), German Indologist, had written a number of works on Vedantic philosophy. Medtner had one of them published with Musagetes in 1912 (see n. 4 above in “Belyi’s Encounter with Steiner”).

² At the end of the first part of Gottfried Keller’s *Der grüne Heinrich*, the most famous novel in Swiss literature, the young hero describes his view of God as “the friend and patron of the landscape painters.”

³ “The Eternally Empty,” Jung’s expression for a sense of cosmic vacuum, which is in opposition to “the Eternally Feminine.” He first used it in an analysis session with Medtner in early 1915.

⁴ Agamemnon ascended the throne in Mycenae after driving out Aegisthus. He was noted for his bravery in the Trojan War. After the fall of Troy King Priam’s daughter Cassandra, the prophetess, became his captive.

⁵ The verbatim quotation from Gustav Schwab’s popular *Die schönsten Sagen des klassischen Altertums. Nach seinen Dichtern und Erzählern* (vol. 2:5, ch. 9) reads as follows: “Ihm (=Menelaus, M.L.) zur Zeite ging Agamemnon, sein Bruder, mit der hohen Kassandra, die er den wilden Armen des Ajax entrissen hatte.”

⁶ Clytemnestra, Agamemnon’s wife, was seduced by Aegisthus while Agamemnon was absent during the war. Together they murdered her husband and Cassandra when they returned from Troy. Orestes revenged his father’s death by murdering his mother.

⁷ Frans Hemsterhuis (1721–90), idealist and pantheist Dutch philosopher.

⁸ Gustav Meyrink’s novel *Das grüne Gesicht* (Leipzig, 1916) tells of a group of mystics in Amsterdam who find their way to Chidher Grün, the life tree of the Hassidic Cabala. The “green face” of the tree represents the essence of spiritualized love.

⁹ Wilhelm Warschatka.

¹⁰ Eduard Bick had recently completed his bronze sculpture of Medtner’s head. See also Jung’s letter of 20 February 1918 to Medtner (No. 6).

JUNG'S (AND EMMA JUNG'S) LETTERS TO MEDTNER¹

5.

228 Seestrasse 11 X 1917
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Medtner!

Kommst Du morgen Freitag Abend auf 7h zu mir zum Nachtessen? Es wird mich freuen, Dich wiederzusehen.

Mit bestem Gruss
Dein Jung.

¹ RGB, f. 167, op. 1, kart. 14, ed. khr. 62.

6.

228 Seestrasse 20 II 18
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Medtner!

Ich möchte gerne Dein erzener Duplicat sehen, jedoch kann ich jedenfalls noch längere Zeit nicht heraus. Du musst Dich schon einmal zu mir bemühen. *Zudem habe ich heute Nacht von Dir geträumt*, Du wolltest „Indien erleben“, wie Du sagtest, „weil Du das für Deine Arbeit notwendig hältst“. Du wolltest zu diesem Zweck einen *Singhalesentrupp* oder eine sonstige Curiositätenausstellung besuchen. Worauf ich etwas entrüstet entgegnete: „Indien erlebst Du in den Upanishaden. Dorthinein solltest Du gehen“.

Ich habe eine richtige Kinderkrankheit in vollentwickelter Form, Keuchhusten sive Pertussis vulgaris. Hie und da etwas Fieber, deshalb im Bett. Wenn Du keine Angst hast vor Infection, so wird es mich freuen, wenn Du mal zu mir kommst. Ich bin allerdings zeitweise huser, sodass ich zur Schonung der Stimme nur flüsternd sprechen kann.

Ich kann aber viel für mich lesen. Habe auch Einiges geschrieben in den fieberfreien Zeiten.

Mit besten Grüßen
Dein Jung

Telephoniere nur, wenn Du kommst; jede Zeit ist frei, ausgenommen Donnerstag und Sonntag Nachm. und Abend.

7.

228 Seestrasse 1.V.1918
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Medtner!

Dein Brief ist allerdings unbeantwortet geblieben, allerdings nicht aus böser Absicht, sondern weil ich in jenem Momente wieder den Versuch machte, meine Arbeit in vollem Umfange aufzunehmen. Es gab damals einen solchen Haufen von Correspondenzen, dass Dein Brief in dieser Hochflut ertrunken ist. Kaum hatte ich aber meine Arbeit wieder aufgenommen, so kam auch schon der Rückfall und damit eine totale Unfähigkeit, irgend etwas anzurühren.

Kommst Du vielleicht am nächsten Freitag, 3.V. zu mir zum Nachtesen um 7 Uhr? Dann können wir alles Weitere mündlich erledigen.

Mit bestem Gruss

Dein

Jung.

8.

Château d'Oex
16 Nov. 1918

Lieber Medtner!

Entschuldige die Verspätung meiner Antwort. Ich habe nämlich unverschämt viel zu tun, da der grössere Teil meiner Ärzte durch die Mobilisation weggeholt wurde. Zudem kommt in etwa 10–12 Tagen der Rücktransport aller Internierten, infolgedessen ich mit Vorbereitungsarbeiten überhäuft bin, oft bis 10h Abends. Ich kann Dir darum nicht empfehlen zu kommen. Wir wollen es lieber am Anfang Januar schieben, wo wir uns wieder an der Sonne Ludens erleben wollen. Sonst habe ich nichts von Dir, und dann ärgert es mich bloss, dass Du da bist und ich keine Gelegenheit habe mit Dir Zu reden. Ich komme in 12–14 Tagen wahrsch. (?) zurück.

Mit bestem Gruss

Dein Jung.

9.

228 Seestrasse 19 I 1919
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Freund!

Ich danke Dir herzlichst für deinen freundlichen Brief und Neujahrswunsch. Ja, die Welt hat sich seither noch einmal umgedreht. Mit der Gefühlsrealisierung kommt man nicht nach. Ich habe das Nachfühlen infolge zu grossen „Stoffandranges“ aufgeben müssen. T. Wolff hat mir so einigermaassen von Dir berichtet. Sie hat mich und meine Frau während der Grippe in aufopfernder Pflege besorgt.

Könntest Du am *nächsten* Dienstag 4 Uhr in den Club kommen und mit mir den Tee nehmen? Ich habe eine oder zwei Freistunden. Ich bin noch nicht voll leistungsfähig.

Es muss allerdings für Dich eine schreckliche Situation sein, deine Angehörigen in dieser Narrenhöhle zu wissen. Hoffentlich wird im Frühjahr der Bolschewismus von der Entente erdrückt.

Mit besten Grüssen
Dein Jung.

10.

228 Seestrasse 24 IV 1919
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Medtner!

Es ist mir am liebsten, wenn Du mal Abends um 8h zu mir kommst. Ich schlage Montag den 28.IV. vor.

Ich lege Dir eine Carte bei für Ilg's¹ Premiäre im Pfarrentheater Samstag 26 April. Das Stück heisst „Der Führer“ und will das Publicum mit dem Wesen der $\psi\alpha$ bekannt machen. Der Autor hat mich selber eingeladen. Aber ich habe unüberwindliche Widerstände. Ich wäre Dir dagegen sehr dankbar, wenn Du mich dort als Zuschauer vertreten würdest. Zugleich wäre ich Dir dankbar, wenn Du mir nachher Deine Eindrücke mitteiltest.

Mit bestem Gruss
Dein Jung

¹ Paul Ilg (1875–1957), Swiss writer of poetry, prose, and drama. *Der Führer* is among his best known works.

11.

228 Seestrasse 4 III 1920
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Freund!

Besten Dank für das Schriftenverzeichnis. Ich werde es ganz gewiss richtig besorgen. Der Artikel von Baudouin hat mich interessiert.¹ Mein Typenbuch ist eigentlich fertig, ich „krabble“ aber ebenfalls noch etwas daran herum. Es waren noch einige Fehler drin, d.h. solche, die ich sah; von denen, die ich nicht sehe, muss ich notgedrungenerweise schweigen. Alle Arten Kunstanzuschauen ist für mich von Übel. Nur Antike und frühster Mittelalter nebst Praehistorie sind erlaubt. Ich gehe am Samstag nach Tunis, um Karthago und Anderes anzusehen. Anfangs April bin ich wieder zurück und hoffe Dich dann einmal zu sehen.

Mit herzlichem Gruss
Dein Jung.

¹ Charles Baudouin (1893–1963), French psychologist, subsequently professor at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva. In 1919 he defended his doctoral thesis *Suggestion et autosuggestion*, which was influenced both by the Geneva school of psychology and by psychoanalysis. In 1922 he published *Études de psychoanalyse*.

12.

Sousse III 1920¹

Lieber Freund!

Ich habe heute Deinen Brief erhalten und muss schleunigst darauf reagieren—wenigstens dem Gefühl nach. Ich werde wohl kaum richtig zum Reden kommen, wo Africa vor mir steht, eine grausam schöne, blutrünstige Erde, briss und trocken, mit plötzlichen kalten Winden aus den Wüstenfelsen des Atlas—Staub, in dem Osiris blutrot mit rotvioiolettem Opferrauch untergeht—eine wunderbare Fruchtbarkeit aus sattbrauner Erde, ein grünes Getreide, so grün, wie man es kaum glauben kann—auf gleissend weissen Strassen schwerschreitende Kamele—verschwiegene Innenhallen hinter blaugrünen Majolikapforten. Eine feine, d.h. subtile Roheit und Grausamkeit wittert in der Luft und das macht, dass Alles so schrecklich schön ist. Ich verstehe Augustin und seine Doppelheit, und dass er Gott dankte, dass Er ihn für seine Träume nicht verantwortlich machte.² Ich verstehe die Feinheit in Tertullians Essay: *De virginitibus velandis*—das muss hier so sein.³ Die Araber tuen es ja auch—es

gibt hier *furchtbar* schöne Augen, nicht die traurigen Tieraugen der Primitiven, sondern erweckte Augen und noch voll Abglanz der Tiererinnerung—ein Land und eine Menschheit, die auf die Dauernicht christlich sein können. Hier wird alles wieder eingeschmolzen, Völker und Culturen. Du siehst alle Hautschattierungen von Weiss bis Tiefschwarz. Man sieht Kabylen mit rotblonden Haaren, die ebensogut in der Lombardei zu Hause sein könnten. Du siehst hier das verworfenste Menschenzeug und die vornehmste Specificierung des mediterranen Menschen.

Das geheimnisvollste hier sind die Nächte des Viertelmondes, der in unbeschreiblicher silberner Reinheit über den dunkelklaren Himmel Africas wandert. Das Symbol der punischen Gräber Karthago's ☾, Astarte selbst, kamen mir nahe, als ich zum ersten Mal den Mond über Palmenwipfeln langsam versinken sah. Flaubert hat die Stimmung über alle Maassen getroffen, nur spricht er zu laut für das heutige Africa, das schläft und einer neuen Culturoffenbarung harret.⁴ Hier ist Alles Erwartung, weil Alles Alte zerfallen ist, Karthago, Rom und der Islam, und alle drei sind noch lebendig. Die Frauen tragen noch ihre antiken Amphoren zum Brunnen und der maurische Mittelalter ist noch nicht zu Ende.

Ich bin mit innerer Notwendigkeit hiehergekommen, vom Ubw. längst vorbereitet, eine symbolische Handlung grössten Styles, jedoch ist der Sinn noch dunkel.

Der Character der Landschaft und des maurischen Hauses ist ungeheuer introvertiert, enorm zu sagend, aber alles noch unzugängliches Rätsel. Es hat gewiss mit dem Mittleren zwischen Osten und Westen zu tun, aber hier kann man nicht nachdenken.

Ich komme Anfangs April wieder zurück. Sigg⁵ lässt Dich bestens grüssen.

Ich gehe vielleicht noch weiter südlich ins Innere.

Herzlichst

Dein Jung.

¹ This letter has obvious points in common with Jung's letter from Sousse to his wife (15 March 1920), excerpts of which are in the appendix of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*.

² See *Confessions*, 10th book, paragraphs 41-42.

³ Tertullian's essay "De Virginibus Velandis" (written in Carthage in 208-209) argues that all women, married or not, should wear a veil when attending services.

⁴ Gustave Flaubert's novel *Salammô*.

⁵ Hermann Sigg (d. 1925), Küsnacht businessman and member of the Psychological Club board, who like Medtner went hiking with Jung in the Alps. Jung was accompanying him on his business trip to Algeria and Tunisia.

13.

Küsnacht, 22.VI.1921

Lieber Freund!

Herzlichen Dank für die freundliche Zusendung Deines Separatums.¹ Es ist mir ganz unbekannt, dass eine Uebersetzung des „Tatbestandes“ gemacht worden ist. Ich halte es auch vor äusserst unwahrscheinlich.

Mit besten Grüssen

Dein

Jung

¹ Probably a dedication copy of Medtner's *Meister Nikisch*.

14.

228 Seestrasse Sept. 1. 1925

Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Medtner!

Man sollte sich wohl mit Le Lay irgendwie arrangieren.¹ Ich komme aus der ganzen Geschichte nicht recht drauss. Ich bin zu wenig auf dem Laufenden, aufgefressen wie ich bin. Ich fliehe vor Europa zu den Negern, wo man weder Bücher schreibt, noch liest und noch weniger übersetzt.²

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Dein Jung.

1 Beilage³

¹ Yves Le Lay, French teacher of philosophy (1888–1965), had suggested that *Symbole und Wandlungen der Libido* be published in French with an introduction by him. Jung was willing to have Medtner—who now had connections with France through Nikolai and Anna—assume responsibility for the project, which he did. See also n. 1 to letter 16 below.

² Jung set off on a research trip to East Africa in mid-October 1925 and returned at the end of the year.

³ Probably Le Lay's letter.

15.

228 Seestrasse
Küsnacht-Zürich
13 Nov. 26

Lieber Emil!

Karl schickt Dir beiliegenden Brief zur Einsicht u. lässt Dir sagen, dass er bereit sei ein Exemplar an Payot¹ zu schicken, da es ihm im Interesse der Sache scheine, auf diesen Vorschlag Payots einzugehen.

Mit besten Grüssen

Emma Jung

x Bitte von baldige Antwort.

¹ Gustave Payot (1884–1960), Lausanne publisher, founder of Payot-Paris, which in 1928 first published Jung in French, Dr. Grandjean-Bayard's translation of the 1926 revised edition of *Die Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse* entitled *Das Unbewusste im normalen und kranken Seelenleben* (*L'Inconscient dans la vie psychique normale et anormale*). Payot's letter to Jung, evidently an invitation to work on this volume, was forwarded to Medtner.

16.

228 Seestrasse
Küsnacht-Zürich
1.II.1927

Mein lieber Medtner!

Beiliegend Le Lay's Introd.¹ Sie ist ausgezeichnet. Einige kleinere Abänderungswünsche habe ich L. persönlich mitgeteilt.

Von Toni höre ich, dass Mrs. McCormick wieder Schwierigkeiten macht. Im Falle Du es für nötig findest, will ich gern meinen Einfluss bei ihr geltend machen. Ihre Adresse ist doch noch Lake Shore Drive 1000?

Mit herzlichem Gruss

Dein Jung.

¹ In 1927, Le Lay assumed responsibility from Medtner for the translation of Jung's works into French. Between 1931 and 1970 he published a number of his own translations. The introduction mentioned here is to *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, and was published in Paris with Louis de Vos's translation of the book (*Métamorphoses et symboles de la libido* (1931)).

17.

228 Seestrasse
Küsnacht-Zürich
14.II.27

Lieber Emil!

Karl liegt schon seit 8 Tagen im Bett mit Grippe u. lässt Dir sagen, Eure Untersuchung müsse infolgedessen noch etwas hinaufgeschoben werden. Hoffentlich ist er nächste Woche wieder ganz hergestellt—es geht jetzt schon besser, nur ist noch bisweilen etwas Temperatur vorhanden u. er fühlt sich noch sehr „caput“.

Die Anfrage von der Polizei sei bis dato noch nicht gekommen.

Mit besten Grüßen von uns Beiden
Emma.

18.

228 Seestrasse
Küsnacht-Zürich
27 Juli 1927

Mein lieber Medtner!

Hier ist eine Vernehmlassung aus Chicago! Bitte, schreibe mir über Deine Meinung.

Meine gegenwärtige Adresse ist: Dr Jung *Bollingen*

Ct. St.Gallen

Herzliche Grüsse und Wünsche für eine gute Badecur!

Dein Jung

19.

(17.VIII.1927)

Lieber Medtner!

Danke für Deinen Brief! Ich habe an Mrs McCormick geschrieben, dass ihr Plan nicht „feasible“ sei, und dass Du mit der franz. Aufgabe nicht mehr „concerned“ seiest, sondern Le Lay.¹ Dazu noch einige gepfefferte Bemerkungen. Natürlich ist das Krennschwein dahinten.² Er passt sich ihrer Psychologie geschickt an; dass muss man ihm lassen.

Was nun?

Mit bestem Gruss
Dein Jung.

Bollingen.

¹ See n. 1 to letter 16.

² Edwin Krenn.

20.

228 Seestrasse 12 III 1932
Küsnacht-Zürich

Lieber Emil!

Besten Dank für deinen freundlichen Brief! Ich habe eine solche ehrfürchtige Hochachtung vor der Grösse des menschlichen Irrtums, das ich mich von seiner Majestät der angelsächsischen Höflichkeit bediene, auch die beste Wahrheit—als von Menschen gemacht—im bescheidenen Gewande der „working hypothesis“ einzuführen. Lass Dich davon ärgern.

Dein Bild¹ hat mich interessiert. Eine zu intensive usw. Sphaere als Pendant zu einer irgendwie gesperrten Bewusstseins-sphaere—dadurch zuviel Distanz zwischen bew. und usw. Oben zu reinlich intellectuell, unten zu urwaldmässig. Etwas russische Seele der Vorkriegszeit. Wo der Hauptpunkt sitzt [☉ !!], ist er am dünnsten, also in Gegensatzpaare auseinandergezogen, daher Spannung und Krampf, keine Gelassenheit, sondern Neigung zur Besessenheit. Auge ist: Entleerung des Usw. in phantastische Gestaltung mit nachherigen Verständnisversuchen. Der unerschütterliche Grabstein im Bew. muss gesprengt werden.

Herzlichst
Dein C.G. Jung

¹ A photograph of Adolf Hitler.

Küsnacht-Zürich
 Seestrasse 228
 den 31. Januar, 1933.

Herrn E. Medtner,
 Le Vert Logis,
 6, rue du Cours,
 Montmorency.
 Seine et Oise. France.

Lieber Emil,

Besten Dank für das Curiosum. Ich habe vor kurzem eine ganz ähnliche Anfrage aus Holland erhalten, wo sich offenbar auch ein kleiner Animusverein sehr um mich bekümmert.

Was Du von Rubarkin [sic, M.L.] schreibst hat mich auch sehr interessiert.¹ Es tut mir leid von Dir zu hören, dass Du so geplagt bist. Es ist schade, dass ich nicht telepathisch zaubern kann. Ich kann es nicht einmal hier, denn ich habe augenblicklich auch das Bett zu hüten wegen einer gänzlich überflüssigen Grippe, oder etwas derartigem. Ich vertriebe mir aber die Zeit in höchst unmoderner Weise indem ich Origenes contra Celsum lese und psychologische Parallelen über Plotin, Proclus zu Hegel und, last not least, zu Karl Marx verfolge, wo dann eben jene Enantiodromie einsetzt, die unserer und noch einigen nachfolgenden Generationen höllisch zusetzen wird. Es muss der Teufel selber gewesen sein, welcher in Gestalt des Metropoliten Demetrius die griechische Kirche der Esoterik des Origenes beraubte, glaubte er doch noch an eine „doppelte Kirche der Menschen und der Engel.“² Er hatte überhaupt Ideen welche genau dem Stula und dem Sukhma-Aspekt der vedantischen Philosophie³ entsprechen.

Ich kann leider nichts tun, als dir gute Besserung wünschen.

Dein
 C.G. Jung.

¹ Nikolai Rubakin (1862–1946), Russian bibliophile, bibliographer, and publisher. He managed his own Russian library in Lausanne, and in the 1920s developed a theory on the effect of books on the reader, so called bibliopsychology. Like other emigrants in Switzerland, Medtner frequented his library.

² Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria condemned Origen's Neoplatonic view of Christianity, which as a result was eventually entirely rejected by the Church.

³=the gross and the subtle aspects of Vedantic philosophy.

Zürich den 31. Juli, 1935

Herrn Dr. E. Medtner,
 Pension les Balysis,
 11 rue Ernest Renard,
Bellevue. S & O.

Lieber Emil,

Zunächst danke ich Dir herzlichst für Deine freundlichen Glückwünsche. Sodann aber bin ich Dir ganz besondere Dankbarkeit schuldig für Deinen Beitrag zur Festschrift. Schon die Tatsache der Festschrift hat mich ungeheuer überrascht. Ich habe mich gleich auf Deinen Artikel gestürzt und ihn mit grossem Interesse gelesen. Ich fand es nämlich ungemein originell, wie Du Deine Aufgabe aufgefasst hast. Sie zeigt wie temperamentsmässig philosophisch Du bist und wie Du die Persönlichkeit immer und unabwendbar im Lichte der Idee betrachtest. Das hat mich ungemein gefesselt. Zudem ist Dein Beitrag ausserordentlich kurzweilig zu lesen und erfreut durch seinen originellen Humor, wie auch durch das Farbenspiel seiner ingeniosen Einfälle. Für ganz besonders geglückt halte ich den aphoristischen Stil, der das Ganze des Bildes in unendliche Facetten auflöst und es dem Leser überlässt, aus der Vielheit der Eindrücke ein Ganzes erstehen zu lassen. Es ist ein richtig impressionistischer Stil.

Ich kann bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht unterlassen, Dir zu sagen wie sehr ich es geschätzt habe, dass Du in meiner Sache zur Feder gegriffen hast. Ganz abgesehen von der Mühe, welche schon der beträchtliche Umfang Deiner Arbeit erfordert hat, muss ich des Umstandes dankbar gedenken, unter was für Schwierigkeiten und Erschwerungen Du diese Arbeit geleistet hast. Du kannst aber versichert sein, dass Du mit dieser Arbeit eine ebenso interessante wie, vermöge ihres innern Wertes, dauerhafte Leistung vollbracht hast.

Hoffentlich kannst Du Dich jetzt richtig ausruhen und Dich der Besserung Deines Zustandes widmen. Meine besten Wünsche hiezu!

In tiefgefühlter Dankbarkeit,

Dein
 Karl

P.S. Ich hoffe Du wirst entschuldigen, dass ich diesen Brief durch die Maschine habe schreiben lassen. Ich bin aber dermassen mit Korrespondenzpflichten belastet, dass es ganz unmöglich wäre die Briefe von Hand zu schreiben.

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The Russian Mephisto.

A Study of the Life and Work of Emilii Medtner

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