

Ludwig Wittgenstein's Tractatus Odyssey: The Great War and the Writing of the Tractatus-Logico-Philosophicus

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Edited by Radmila Schweitzer

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A collectible book charting Wittgenstein's movements, personal struggles, and intellectual development, from Vienna to Cambridge and Norway, to the battlegrounds of WWI, where he completed what was destined to become the most influential philosophy book of the 20th century.

Contributions from: Allan Janik, Marjorie Perloff, Ray Monk, Knut Olav Åmås, Urszula Idziak-Smoczyńska, Martin Pilch, Xenia Baumann with the 2018 senior philosophy classes at College Preparatory School Kundmanngasse in Vienna, Ian Ground, and Alfred Schmidt.

BONUS FEATURE:

Ludwig Wittgenstein during the Brusilov offensive in the Bukovina

by Martin Pilch

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(July 2023)

Introduction

The following presentation of Wittgenstein's third war notebook (Ms 103) shows the handwritten entries in the middle two columns surrounded by further information about the days in question in the outer columns. The presentation covers the period 21 March 1916 to 15 September 1916.

The personal remarks in the manuscript are mostly written on the on the left-hand pages (verso pages) of the original notebook, the philosophical remarks on the the right-hand pages (recto pages). In the two columns, they are shown opposite to each other according to the date. For the personal remarks Wittgenstein used a simple code a simple code (a = z, b = y, etc.). The use of this code is indicated by *italics*.

The presentation of the remarks is according to the following color code:

personal remarks

philosophical remarks concerning logical aspects

philosophical remarks on ethics and the relationship between world and subject

As text basis served the diplomatic transcription of the Wittgenstein Archive in Bergen (WAB). The translation of the personal remarks is inspired by the edition of the Private Notebooks by Marjorie Perloff (2022), as a basis for the translation of the philosophical remarks served the 2nd edition Notebooks 1914-1916 by G.H. von Wright and E. Anscombe (1979).

The excerpts from the correspondence are taken from the Gesamtbriefwechsel/Complete Correspondence. Innsbruck Electronic Edition. 2nd Release 2011).

The explanations of the course of the war, some of which are day-by-day, as well as the military situation maps are direct translations (quoted by volume and page [Vol, p.]) of the monumental book series "Österreich Ungarns letzter Krieg" (ed. by E. Glaise von Horstenau, Vienna 1931–1938). On the maps, the reconstructed positions of Wittgenstein are highlighted in **green color**.

The files concerning Wittgenstein's military use in the war are in the Vienna Kriegsarchiv as part of the Austrian State Archives.

Quotations from the Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus are highlighted in **blue color**.

The photographs used are largely from the Bildarchiv Austria (Austrian National Library).

The images from MS 103 were kindly provided by the Wittgenstein Archives at the University of Bergen.

Signatures:

www.wittgensteinsource.org/BFE/Ms-103,2r_f

www.wittgensteinsource.org/BFE/Ms-103,8r_f

www.wittgensteinsource.org/BFE/Ms-103,9r_f

www.wittgensteinsource.org/BFE/Ms-103,37r_f

www.wittgensteinsource.org/BFE/Ms-103,43r_f

Military terms abbreviations:

k.u.k. = *kaiserlich und königlich* [Imperial and Royal]

AC = Army Command

AOK = *Armeeoberkommando* [Army High Command]

IBrig = *Infanteriebrigade* [Infantry Brigade]

HIBrig = *Honvéd Infanteriebrigade* [Honvéd Infantry Brigade]

ID = *Infanteriedivision* [Infantry Division]

HID = *Honvéd Infanteriedivision* [Honvéd Infantry Division]

IR = *Infanterieregiment* [Infantry Regiment]

KBrig = *Kavalleriebrigade* [Cavalry Brigade]

KD = *Kavalleriedivision* [Cavalry Division]

HKD = *Honved Kavalleriedivision* [Honvéd Cavalry Division]

DR = *Dragonerregiment* [Dragoon Regiment]

GbBrig = *Gebirgsbrigade* [Mountain Brigade]

DonKosD = [Don Cossacks Division]

UssuriKosD = [Ussuri Cossacks Division]

SchD = *Schützenivision* [Shooters Division]

SchR = *Schützenregiment* [Shooters Regiment]

FJB = *Feldjägerbataillon* [Filed Combat Bataillon]

FABrig = *Feldartilleriebrigade* [Field Artillery Brigade]

FKR = *Feldkanonenregiment* [Field Gun Regiment]

FHR = *Feldhaubitzenregiment* [Field Howitzer Regiment]

GbAR = *Gebirgsartillerieregiment* [Mountain Artillery Regiment]

KnBt = *Kanonenbatterie* [Gun Battery]

Bt = *Batterie* [(Artillery) Battery]

GO = *Generaloberst* [Colonel General]




FZM = *Feldzeugmeister* [Artillery General]



GdK = *General der Kavallerie* [Cavallery General]

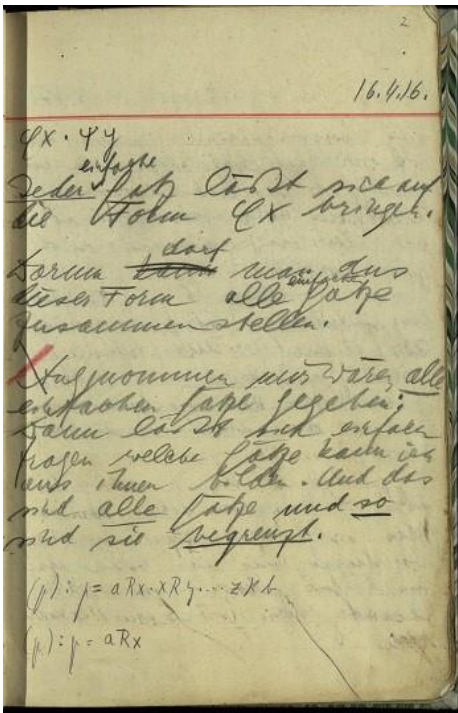


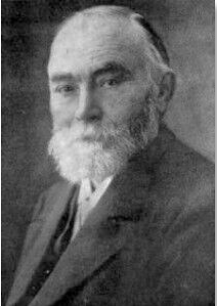
FML = *Feldmarschallleutnant* [Field Marshall Lieutenant]


GM = *Generalmajor* [Major General]


Green color = **Ludwig Wittgenstein's unit** (Army/Corps/Division/Brigade/Regiment/Battery)].



Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
21/03/1916	[IV, 85] On the threshold of a new summer of war, which was to usher in the struggle of the two enemy power groups in 1916 – as it was thought: the struggle for a decision [...].	[Main register sheet:] "War Volunteer Cannoneer [L.W.] transferred on 21 March 1916 from k.u.k. Fortress Artillery Regiment No. 2 to the k.u.k. FKR no. 2"	[Memories of Max Bieler (McGuinness 1988: 235)] „In April (?) 1916 [actually end of March, Ed.] Wittgenstein suddenly received orders to leave for the front. It was a heavy blow for us both. He took with him only what was absolutely necessary, leaving everything else behind and asking me to divide it among the troops. On this occasion he told me that he had had a house built beside a Norwegian fjord where he would sometimes take refuge in order to have peace for his work (I think also that Russell had visited him there). He now wanted to make me a present of this house. I refused it and took in its place a Waterman's Fountain Pen. Among a few other books he took with him <i>The Brothers Karamazov</i> . He liked this book very much. We often spoke about the figure of the <i>starets</i> . [...]"			Ludwig Wittgenstein volunteered for military service immediately after the outbreak of war and was assigned to the 2nd Fortress Artillery Regiment in Krakow in August 1914, but initially he was deployed on the Vistula steamer "SMS <i>Goplana</i> ", until December 1914. Until July 1915 his technical engineer training was used in the artillery workshop in Kraków and later, until March 1916, in an artillery workshop train stationed in Sokal (later also in Stojanow). A fundamental problem of this assignment was that Wittgenstein, as a volunteer, did not have the adequate military rank in order to assume supervisory or superior functions. On 03/02/1916 the War Ministry finally rejected the request of Wittgenstein's superior in Krakow (and later in Sokal and Stojanow, respectively), <i>Oberleutnant</i> Oskar Gürth, to solve this problem by granting Wittgenstein a military titular rank as a so-called "Artilleriezeugsakzessist" [i.e. the lowest rank of a military technical officer in the artillery]. Wittgenstein was transferred on 21/03/1916 as a "war volunteer and ordinary cannoneer" to the 4th Battery of Field Gun Regiment No. 2 directly to the front north of Czernowitz in the Bukovina. The War Ministry, as can be seen from the report of the Inspector of Technical Artillery (Field Marshal Lieutenant Pucherna) dated 01/11/1915, was not prepared to allow a solution which, although perhaps expedient for the individual case, was problematic for military service as a whole. Thus, in March 1916, Wittgenstein had to leave his comparatively secure position as an engineer in the Artillery Workshop Train No. 1 (at that time stationed in Stojanow), which had also given him the opportunity to start working on his <i>Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung</i> (in the handwritten version of the so-called "Prototractatus" in Ms 104).
22/03		"in the field since 22 March"				
23/03						
24/03						
25/03						
26/03						
27/03		[from the report of the K.u.k. Inspector of Technical Artillery, Field Marshal Lieutenant Wolfgang Pucherna, dated 01/11/1915:] "There is no reason to appoint the war volunteer Ludwig Wittgenstein as an <i>Artilleriezeugsakzessist in der Reserve</i> [the lowest grade of military officials in the rank of officers]; on the contrary, this would create a precedent for all those persons with university education who have volunteered. If for disciplinary reasons it is impossible to keep Wittgenstein in his present position, he would have to be transferred.				
28/03			28(?) / 03 / 1916 [...] and must take my life. I suffered the tortures of hell! And yet the picture of life was so enticing to me that I wanted once more to live. I will take poison only when I really want to poison myself.			With the forced transfer to the front, Wittgenstein begins a new diary (Ms 103) with the date 29/03/1916. However, the first page in the diary is missing and thus also part of the entries. The preserved text begins undated in the middle of the sentence (the assignment to 28/03/1916 can be deduced from the following date).
29/03	[IV, 86] There were, after all, always periods of recovery; especially the Winter Truce of 1915/16, which lasted more than half a year and was interrupted only by the New Year's battles in Bessarabia and in Galicia, was not without repercussions on the combat levels. Since the departures during this period - caused mainly by illness, by the way - remained within moderate limits, the average level of all divisions at the end of December 1915 was more than 11,000 firearms in the Northeast and 9,000 in the Southwest; by May 1916 it had risen to 11,000 here and even to 15,000 there.		29/03/1916 <i>Forced to do much that is unfamiliar. I need great strength to endure it. Often I am close to despair. I have done no work for more than a week. I have no time! God! But it is, of course, only natural, for when I am dead, I will also have no time to work. Now the inspection. My soul shrivels up. God enlighten me! God enlighten me! God enlighten my soul.</i>			The life circumstances in a fighting unit, especially as a private without military rank, were very different from his previous work as an engineer in an artillery workshop. In Krakow, Wittgenstein had enjoyed considerable privileges, from the convenience of his own private quarters to an officer-like position as an engineer and personal adjutant protected by the commander. All this now gave way to a much more rigid disciplinary regime combined with unaccustomed hard physical labor, which now left Wittgenstein no time for philosophical reflection.
30/03			30/03/1916 <i>You must do your best! You cannot do more: and be of good cheer. Be satisfied with yourself. For others will not give you support or only for a short time! (Then you will become a burden to them.) Help yourself and help others with all your might. And at the same time be of good cheer! But how much strength should one use for oneself and how much for others? It is difficult to live the good life! But the good life is beautiful. "But not my will but Thine be done."</i>		[Letter of Ludwig's Mother 30/03/1916 to Field Gun Regiment No.2 Battery 4] "My dearest Ludwig, I thank you most affectionately for the written greeting which the corporal brought me and for the card received today. It will not surprise you that I must first get used to the news. I have only one wish: that you, my good dear Ludwig, be satisfied, for that is the most important thing for you. You can imagine that I will now expect news from you with even greater longing under these completely different circumstances. [...]"	The family is obviously both surprised and disturbed by the sudden move to the front. Wittgenstein's attitude also shows a pronounced sensitivity when it comes to the formal recognition of his position, which he strictly demands, even if this has to go hand in hand with special treatment. If the demanded concession fails to materialize, then he draws – similar to the dispute with G.E. Moore in 1914 about his bachelor thesis on logic – the hardest consequences for the participants and above all for himself, in this case that of the relentless frontal engagement, which could certainly have been avoided. That Wittgenstein suffers noticeably from the self-imposed hardship is immediately evident from his personal remarks. As in the fall of 1914 on the <i>Goplana</i> and to some extent also during his time as an engineer, it is above all the "ordinary people" with whom he does not get along.
31/03						
01/04						


Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
02/04			02/04/1916 <i>I was sick. Today still very weak. Today my commander said he would have me sent to the hinterland. If that happens, I will kill myself.</i>			At the time of the reorganization of the artillery units, Wittgenstein is not yet in direct combat action, but in a reserve or standby position somewhat behind (as distinguished from a "firing line" directly at the front). The commander obviously has doubts as to whether Wittgenstein, in his weakened condition, will be able to meet the anticipated demands of combat operations. The question of whether he is fit for war service, however, is of existential importance for Wittgenstein in this critical phase, and the denial of the opportunity to prove himself is a reason for suicide.
03/04						
04/04						
05/04						
06/04			06/04/1916 <i>Life is a</i>		[Mother's letter of 06/04/1916 to FKR No 2 4th Battery] "My dear Ludwig, please do not leave me now for long without at least a short message, all of us ask you because we think so much of you and know so little of you. [...]"	
07/04			07/04/1916 <i>form of torture from which there is only temporary reprieve until one can be subjected to further torments. A terrible assortment of torments. An exhausting march, a cough-filled night, a company of drunks, a company of mean and stupid people. Do good and be happy about your virtue. I am sick and lead a bad life. God help me. I am a poor unlucky being. God deliver me and grant me peace! Amen.</i>	07/04/1916		Here, at the beginning of April, there is a first indication of the resumption of philosophical work in Ms 103: however, 07/04/2016 only contains the date, the first entry of philosophical remarks then occurs week later on 15/04/2016. Since the first sheet in Ms 103 is missing, Ms 103 could also have contained entries between 21/03 and 07/04 of no more than one page. In any case, the verso page of the lost sheet contained coded personal entries between 21/03 and 28/03. Between 22/03 and 29/03, however, Wittgenstein does not get to "work," i.e., to think about philosophical and logical questions ("I have done no work for more than a week. I have no time!" 29/03/1916) and also on 10/04 it says: "Then too, I have not been able to work for a long time." It is possible, therefore, that the original first recto page was free of philosophical entries at all.
08/04						
09/04						
10/04			10/04/1916 <i>I live with difficulty. Have not yet been enlightened. I looked at myself in the mirror today, my cheeks are quite sunken! Then too, I have not been able to work for a long time.</i>			
11/04						
12/04						
13/04			13/04/1916 <i>Still stumbling and falling in the dark. I have not yet awakened to life.</i>			
14/04						
15/04	[IV, Attachment2, 27] 7 th Army Colonel General Pflanzer-Baltin XI Corps General Korda 24 th ID Major General Urbarz 47 th IBrig Colonel Edl. v. Stransky 48 th IBrig Colonel Korzer Infantry Regiment 9 Infantry Regiment 77 Cavallery Colonel Götz 24 th FABrig Colonel Augste FKR 24, FHR 24, 3rd & 4th Bt of FHR 5 14960 Fire Rifles, 64 Guns	[Main register sheet:] "since 15/04 in the state of FHR 5 Battery no. 4". [Colonel General Pflanzer-Baltin] 	15/04/1916 <i>We will be at the firing line in 8 days. May it be granted to me to put my life in play by receiving a difficult assignment!</i> 16/04/1916 <i>Since 22/03 completely asexual. The last few days a time of passage.</i>	15/04/1916. /Only that which we ourselves construct can we foresee! But then where is the concept of a simple object still to be found? This concept does not so far come in here at all. We must be able to construct the simple functions because we must be able to give each sign a meaning. /For the only sign which guarantees its meaning is function and argument.		The entry in the main land registry sheet shows that Wittgenstein does not change units on 15/04/1916, but that they are renamed (according to the Army Command's reorganization plans for the artillery) from "FKR No. 2" to "FHR No. 5". FHR 5 consists of 4 batteries of 6 guns each. Wittgenstein is assigned to one of the 6 half platoons of the 4th Battery. In the spring of 1916, the 3rd and 4th Bt of FHR 5 belong, among other artillery units, to a field artillery brigade that is part of the 24th Infantry Division. This is assigned to the XI Corps (General Korda) during the beginning of the Brusilov Offensive (until 10/06/1916), but on 11/06/1916 the retreat of the Austrian troops requires its transfer to the Benigni Group (from 05/07/1916 onwards VIII Corps). Wittgenstein's unit is part of the 7 th Army under Colonel General Pflanzer-Baltin (1855–1925) during the entire front operation in 1916.
16/04	[IV, 97] In the first months of 1916, the outlines of the planned reorganization [of the artillery] already became clear: newly formed 10 cm howitzer batteries were united into field howitzer regiments, the heavy field howitzer and the 10.4 cm gun batteries into heavy field artillery regiments. Finally, a general				[Letter from Hermine W., 16/04/1916] My darling Lukas, I think about you so much, but can't bring myself to write about it, I'm just convinced that you couldn't have done	Before the change into the "firing line" it was obviously possible to resume the logical thoughts. One can assume that Ms 103 is used in this respect to support Ms 104, in

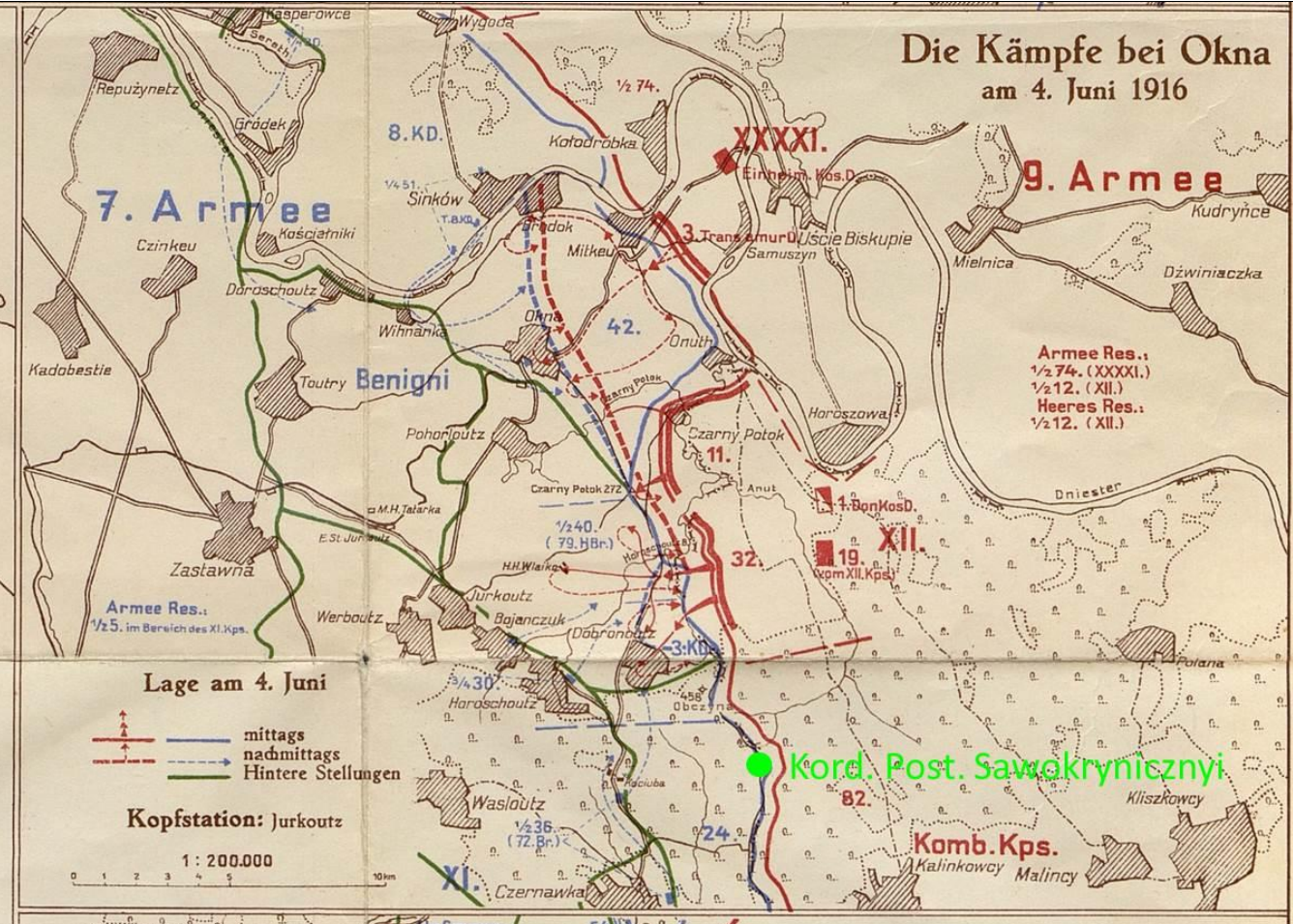
	<p>renumbering was to bring the designation of the artillery troop bodies (field gun regiments, field howitzer regiments, and heavy field artillery regiments) in line with the numbers of the responsible infantry divisions. [...] All in all, the most serious artillery emergency could probably be considered overcome at this time. At the beginning of May there were 804 batteries with 4018 guns in the field and mountain artillery. [...]</p> <p>[IV, 98] According to the [...] expansion plan of the AOK the divisional artillery should be was to be increased to 24 field guns, 36 light field howitzers, and 4 each of heavy field howitzers and 10.4 cm guns. The corps was to have the same number of heavy guns for each of its divisions.</p>		 <p>[Ms 103 folio 2r]</p>	<p>16/04/1916</p> <p>$\phi x \cdot \psi y$</p> <p>Every ^{simple} proposition can be brought into the form ϕx.</p> <p>That is why we can ^{may} compose all ^{simple} propositions from this form.</p> <p>/Suppose that I am given <u>all</u> simple propositions: then it can simply be asked what propositions I can form from them. And these are <u>all</u> propositions and <u>this</u> is how they are <u>limited</u>.</p> <p>(p) : p = aRx.xRy. ... zRb</p> <p>(p) : p = aRx</p> <p>$F(\hat{x}(\phi x)) = \phi \equiv \psi \supset_{\psi} F\psi$ $\Phi \equiv \psi \supset_{\psi} [F(\hat{x}(\psi x)) = \psi \equiv \chi \supset_{\chi} F\chi] =$ $= [F(\hat{x}(\psi x)) = \psi \equiv \chi \supset_{\chi} F\chi]$</p>	<p>anything other than you did. But now Paul has drawn my attention to something <u>really important</u> and even though he has written to you already and wants to write to you about it again, it's not leaving me any peace – I just have to mention it: Paul said that, given your education, you have a claim to volunteer insignia and officer training: i.e., a volunteer training unit. You shouldn't let anything at all mislead you into renouncing that even if you can tolerate being a common soldier in our army, there is a chance that you'll be taken prisoner, and Paul says that having to endure being treated like a common prisoner of war would have meant certain death for him. He just wouldn't have been able to take it. It's difficult enough as an officer. I don't know what's going on with you right now, so I'm taking a shot in the dark, but I beg you: if you have to take any steps in this matter, do not, stubborn and unworldly as you are, neglect them. If this matter were not so serious, I would say: there will be time for you to be a Jamesian type after the war is over. But really, I'm not joking! Perhaps I am simply doing you an injustice, and you are not at all as twisted as I think you are, but I am still afraid that you'll just see it as shying away from difficulties or the like and don't realize that your life can be at stake. I wish I could find out how you really are and what you've been getting up to without having to demand an answer from you!</p>	<p>which the <i>Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung</i> is elaborated. Wittgenstein has already written important core sections of his treatise (up to p. 28 in Ms 104) between September 1915 and March 1916. The progress of the formulation, however, leaves conceptual problems open, which the technical remarks in Ms 103 serve to solve.</p> <p>The conspicuous slanted red margin marks "/ were added by Wittgenstein later, probably in the fall of 1917, to mark "good sentences" for inclusion in Ms 104.</p> <p>The first entries concern problems of the conception of the elementary proposition, which has already gained firm outlines in the <i>Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung</i> (in Ms 104), which is in the process of being written, and which defines the elementary proposition as a "concatenation of names", where "names" stand as "simple signs" for "simple objects". Wittgenstein now has the problem that the simple functions, which stand for elementary propositions, must also be a priori constructible: "Only that which we ourselves construct can we foresee!" – this statement is so important to him that it will later enter the <i>Tractatus</i> as remark 5.556. Constructibility is necessary, because otherwise there would be something like a "logical experience", which he categorically excludes. Once all elementary propositions or "simple functions" are constructed by means of a suitable operation (from names), then "all propositions" can be constructed from them by means of truth operations. Throughout Ms 103, Wittgenstein searches for such a construction for elementary propositions, but cannot find it. He finally gives up the idea and thus gives a new turn to the logical conception of the treatise.</p>
17/04				<p>17/04/1916.</p> <p>Fa - fa The above definition can in its general form only be a rule for a ^{written} notation which has nothing to do with the sense of the signs. But can there be such a rule? The definition is only possible if it is itself not a proposition. In that case a proposition cannot treat of all propositions, while a definition can.</p>		
18/04			<p>18/04/1916</p> <p>Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, to the firing position. So take <u>courage!</u> God help me.</p>			
19/04						
20/04			<p>19 20/04/1916</p> <p>God make me a better person! Then I will also be more cheerful. Today probably already at the firing position. God help me.</p>			
21/04	[Good Friday]			<p>[two examples of 10 cm field howitzers.]</p> 	<p>[Military postcard from Frege dated 21/04/1916 to K. u. k. Field guns regiment Nro 2 Btt 4]</p> <p>"Dear Mr. Wittgenstein, Many thanks for your letter and your card. I find your hope not to let your intellectual work be lost very understandable, and I would very much like to contribute what help I can. However, I still doubt that I can come to Vienna. Many thanks for your friendly invitation. In any case I hope that in some way or other I shall have the privilege of further pursuing our scientific conversations, and then in time we are bound to become closer. I shall return</p>	 <p>[Gottlob Frege]</p>

Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
22/04	[Holy Saturday]				to Jena soon. With kind regards, Yours, G. Frege"	
23/04	[IV, 243] At Easter, which fell on 23 and 24 April, there was complete truce on the entire eastern front. Now reports began to arrive of an impending Russian offensive against the Galician front in May. The 7th AC reported on 23 April that it did not consider an offensive likely with only the enemy forces that had been established so far. But the news, which came in mainly via Bucharest, became denser. Now the Russians also began a planned advance by means of parallel trenches, which were connected to the rear with the previous positions by running trenches. Attempts by our troops to disrupt this work, which was mostly carried out during the night, failed.	[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 22 April. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: "[...] Otherwise, only the usual artillery battles."	23/04/1916 <i>I've been in the firing line for the last few days. The whole long day <u>hard</u> physical labor, which makes it impossible to think. God help me; I have to suffer enormously. I requested to be assigned to the observation post today. In my half-platoon everyone hates me because no one understands me. And because I am no saint! God help me!</i>	23/04/1916 The above definition, however, just does not deal with all propositions, but for it essentially contains real variables. It is quite analogous to an operation whose own result can be taken as its base.	[Letter from Uncle Paul Wittgenstein dated 23/04/1916 to "Leutnant" L.W. FKR 2 FHR 5/4] "A thousand thanks for your dear card! Feel proud joy at your new activity in this war. I am well. Be sincerely greeted by your uncle Paul who loves you dearly."	"Half-platoon" is that subunit of a battery which serves one gun (a 10 cm field howitzer). 2 half-platoons form a platoon (2 howitzers, 4 ammunition wagons), 3 platoons together form a battery (6 howitzers, 12 ammunition wagons, 220 men, 180 horses). Wittgenstein is at this time ("in my half-platoon everyone hates me") presumably assigned to the crew for operating a gun ("hard physical labor") and tries to achieve a transfer to the artillery observers. The position on an observation post is physically less strenuous, but in effect much more dangerous.
24/04	[Easter Monday]					
25/04						
26/04			26/04/1916 <i>The officers of my battery evidently like me very much. That saves me from much aggravation. God be thanked. Thy will be done! Go thy ways! <u>Thy</u> will be done!</i>	26/04/1916 /In this way, and only in this way is the progression from one type to another possible /And one can say that all types stand in hierarchies. /And the hierarchy is only possible by being built up by means of operations. Empirical reality is limited by the number of objects. /The limit shows itself again in the totality of simple propositions. /The hierarchies are and must be independent of reality. The meanings of their terms are only determined by the correlation of objects and names.	It is typical that Wittgenstein strives for the simple life in the sense of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky and therefore tries to lead the life of a simple soldier. But at the same time, he cannot bear the simplicity of his comrades, which appears to him only as crudeness, meanness and a "appalling limitation". He saves himself in the society of officers, whose privileged status he, as his sister admonishes him (in the letter of 16 April), holds anyway by his "claim to volunteer insignia".	"5.252 Only in this way is the progression from term to term in a formal series possible (from type to type in the hierarchy of Russell and Whitehead)." "5.5561 Empirical reality is limited by the totality of objects. The limit shows itself again in the totality of elementary propositions. The hierarchies are and must be independent of reality." The remarks of 26/04/1916 were taken over to a large extent in Ms 104 (<i>Prototractatus</i>) and later in the <i>Tractatus</i> .
27/04			27/04/1916 <i>The platoon, with a few exceptions, hates me because I am a volunteer. So now I am nearly always surrounded by men who hate me. And this is the one thing to which I can't resign myself yet. Here there are cruel, heartless human beings. It is almost impossible for me to find a trace of humanity in them. God help me to live. I had a premonition that there would be an alarm tonight. And really tonight we are on call. God be with me! Amen.</i>	27/04/1916 $\phi x. \psi y$ Say I wanted to represent a function of 3 non-interchangeable arguments. 26/04 $\phi(x) : \phi(), x$ But should there be any mention of non-interchangeable arguments in logic? If so, this surely presupposes that there something about the character of reality. $\phi x . \psi y = x\phi\psi y = xRy$ $Fx.Fy.xRy = F(xRy)$ $F(xRy) = Fx.Fy.\phi x. \psi y$ $\sim(\exists x).\phi x. \quad \psi z \equiv_z \phi z . \supset \psi. \sim(\exists x)\psi x$		The considerations about logic are thus not incidental, but concern with the hierarchy problem the relation to the type theory in the <i>Principia Mathematica</i> by Whitehead and Russell. The symbolic formulaic language that Wittgenstein uses at this point and throughout Ms 103 is also strongly influenced by the one used in <i>Principia Mathematica</i> .
28/04			28/04/1916 <i>At night it was quiet. Wrote to Russell. I had a bad dream last night. God protect me!</i>	 [Bertrand Russell]	[Letter to Russel lost]	The entry proves, as does a remark in Bieler's report, that the correspondence with Bertrand Russell, his teacher in Cambridge, was initially continued in 1916 before it broke off until he became a prisoner of war in 1919.
29/04		[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 29 April. Official announcement: Russian theater of war: "[...] Otherwise the usual gun battles."	29/04/1916 <i>To the observation post in the afternoon. We were shot at. Thought of God. Thy will be done! God be with me.</i>			In response to his request of 23 April, Wittgenstein is thus assigned to the artillery reconnaissance units, at least on a trial basis. He seems to have proved himself in this capacity, for in the following months he is permanently assigned as an observer. His remarkably intrepid actions at the observation post during the beginning of the Brusilov Offensive (from 04/06/1916) will not only lead to receiving the Silver Medal for Bravery (2nd class), but also to a reassignment to the replacement battery in Olomouc in September for training as an artillery observation officer. In the long run, the decision to take the comparatively dangerous position of an observer results in a complete change of Wittgenstein's social situation in the army. With the promotion to officer rank, the
30/04			30/04/1916 <i>During an enemy raid today I'm again going to the observation post: Man needs <u>only</u> God.</i>		[Military postcard from mother dated 30/04/1916 Field Haub-Reg. 5/1] "My dearest Ludwig! Today I received 3 cards from you at once, I hope that you will also receive my various cards - I write to you on average every 3rd-4th day - and that the letter I gave to the soldier is already in your hands. [...]"	

Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
01/05						
02/05			02/05/1916 <i>I must constantly struggle against the brutality of my fellow soldiers.</i>			direct confrontation with comrades from the squad rank, which was perceived as particularly agonizing, was eliminated.
03/05		03/05/1916 <i>I'm having a hard time! God protect me and stand by me. Amen. May the worst ordeal pass me by. But Thy will be done. My work is asleep inside my head.</i>			In this phase of transition from jointly operating a gun to solely observing the front line, philosophical work takes a back seat.	
04/05						
05/05			05/05/1916 <i>On the observation post, I'm like the prince in the enchanted castle. Now all is quiet during the day, but at night there must be terrible things going on! Will I be able to stand it???? Tonight will tell. God be with me!!</i>			The observation posts for the artillery observers at the eastern front were typically very high wooden constructions with ladders without any protection. There should be no other example in the history of philosophy that "ladders" have such an existential meaning for a philosopher as for Wittgenstein in this and the coming months of the war. Climbing up the ladder to the high place means at the same time overcoming his own fear of death.
06/05			06/05/1916 <i>In constant danger of life. The night went well by the grace of God. From time to time I despair. This is the school of the wrong outlook on life! Understand people! Whenever you want to hate them, try to understand them instead. Live in inner peace! But how do you come to inner peace? Only by living godly! Only in this way is it possible to endure life.</i>	06/05/1916 <i>/Underlying the entire Weltanschauung of the moderns is the illusion that the so-called laws of nature are the explanations of natural phenomena. /Thus people stop at the laws of nature as if they were <u>untouchable</u>, like the ancients did at God and Fate. /And they are both right and wrong. But the ancients were clearer, insofar as they recognized a clear endpoint, while the new system makes it appear as if <u>everything</u> were explained.</i>	What Wittgenstein demands of himself is not to "despair" in the exposed and extremely dangerous position, because that would correspond – completely in the sense of Tolstoy – to a "wrong outlook on life". But this is only possible if he overcomes his own hatred of people, however much they give him cause for it, and – completely caught up in the present – finds a kind of "inner peace".	The remarks from 6 May are taken over into the <i>Tractatus</i> : "6.371 Underlying the entire modern worldview is the illusion that the so-called laws of nature are the explanations of natural phenomena." 6.372 Thus people stop at the laws of nature as if they were <u>untouchable</u> , like the ancients did at God and Fate. And they are both right and wrong. But the ancients were clearer, insofar as they recognized a clear endpoint, while the new system makes it appear as if <u>everything</u> were explained."
07/05			07/05/1916 <i>The night passed quietly. Thank God. I alone am a miserable being.</i>			
08/05			08/05/1916 <i>Quiet night. God be with me! The men around me are not so much base as they are <u>appallingly</u> limited. This makes it almost impossible to work with them, because they forever misunderstand me. These people are not stupid, just limited. In their own circle they do well enough. But they lack character and hence depth. "Everything can be understood by the right- thinking heart." * Cannot work now.</i>			
09/05			09/05/1916 <i>I would now have plenty of time and quiet so that I could work. But nothing is budging. My subject is far away from me. Only death gives life its meaning.</i>			
10/05			10/05/1916 <i>Through the grace of God I am now doing very well. Unfortunately I can't work. But Thy will be done. Amen. In my danger, He will not desert me!! —.</i>			

Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
11/05	[IV, 244] The 7th AC believed that an attack "could not be ruled out" against the northern wing of the XI Corps between the wooded zone extending east from Dobronoutz and the Dniester. As an indication of this, [...] pointed out the increase of artillery in this area by about twelve batteries and troop accumulations east of Dobronoutz. Pflanzner-Baltin, however, also reported that he had made appropriate preparations for defense by making strong reserves available.		11/05/1916 <i>Day after tomorrow, change of position. Very unpleasant! But Thy will be done.</i>	11/05/1916 lp (a,a) There are just also operations with two bases. And the "I"-operation is of this kind. $I(\xi, \eta) \dots$ is an arbitrary term of the series of results of an operation. $(\exists x). \phi x$ Is $(\exists x)$ etc. really an operation? But what would be its basis?	The "change of position" that Wittgenstein speaks of concerns the transition from the second position, whose exact location at the front is not known, to a new third one that can be reconstructed from the data of the reward application of 16/06/1916 (see below).	The background of the philosophical remark of 11/05 is complex: Wittgenstein assumes in this phase that there must be a set of basic logical operations. One of them is in any case the Sheffer operation symbolized by a vertical line "I", whose special property, that all truth operations can be expressed with it, was known from discussions with Russell in April 1913 about Sheffer's original work. However, Wittgenstein assumes three further operations: one for the elementary proposition ϕx and one each for existential and generalized quantification. But in the term " $(\exists x). \phi x$ " the expression for existential quantification " $(\exists x)$ " cannot be understood directly as an operation acting on " ϕx ", hence Wittgenstein's doubt ("Is $(\exists x)$ etc. really an operation? But what would be its basis?").
12/05	[IV, 418/419: about Russian General Letschitzki's plan]					
13/05	Thus, an attack with the center of the army seemed to offer the best chance of success. In total, Gen. Letschitzki had a force of 5 1/2 infantry and 2 cavalry divisions in the total strength of 88 battalions, 60 squadrons, and 482 guns.					
14/05	The decisive blow was to come from the [Russian] XI Corps, reinforced by the					
15/05	19th ID of the XII Corps and the 1st DonKosD. It had to break through the enemy positions on both sides of the sharply cut Horoschoutz Creek with closely massed forces (11th and 32nd ID in the first line, 19th ID in the second encounter), then penetrate in a rapid follow-up push between Dobronoutz and Pohorloutz on Jurkoutz and take the strongly fortified Hill 458 ("Kavalleriestützpunkt") ["cavalry strongpoint" about 3 km north of Wittgenstein's location at Hill 417] from the rear.					
16/05			16/05/1916 <i>On the third position. As always, much hardship. But also a great blessing. I am as weak as always. I cannot work. I will be sleeping tonight under infantry fire, probably, I will go under. God be with me! For eternity Amen. I am a weak human being but He has sustained me thus far. God be praised in eternity, Amen. I give my soul to the Lord.</i>		We know from the reward application of 16/06/1916 that Wittgenstein's 4th Battery was stationed on 04/06 in the position at the so-called "Kordenposten Sawokrynicznyi" (in a forest about 5 km southeast of Dobronoutz or 20 km northeast of Czernowitz) and that an observation post for the artillery was set up at "Hill 417" (which can be seen on the 1:75,000 map). The mentioned "third position" must be this location, since no further change of position is noted until 04/06/1916. Wittgenstein's battery is specifically used at this place as artillery support for the Infantry Regiment 77 lying in this section. The so-called "Kordenposten" were artillery posts that had been established at regular intervals on the border with Russia. "Hill 458" (the well-fortified so-called "Kavalleriestützpunkt" [cavalry strongpoint]), which was later heavily contested, directly adjoined the positions of Wittgenstein's 4th Battery. The Russian attack plan thus envisaged breaking through the front in the immediate vicinity of Wittgenstein's location.	
17/05					[Letter from Hermine W. of 17/05/1916] "My dearest Lukas Your last card to Mama made us, i.e. her and me, very happy, first of all because you confirm the receipt of messages and because it sounds somewhat different from the earlier ones. It is very difficult for us to get any idea about your activity and your mood, and of course it is very difficult for us when we want to think of you, because then one reads involuntarily all kinds of things between the lines. [...]" Translation RS	
18/05						
19/05						
20/05	[IV, 369 f.] From 20 May new Russian troops began to move, in advance of the 3rd KD [Cavalry Division] and the 42nd HID [Honvéd Infantry Division], into the front. [...] This obvious threat to the eastern wing of the Benigni Group prompted the 7th AC to take thorough precautionary measures. [...] Pflanzner-Baltin moved half of the 30th ID. [...] Moreover, the 79th HIBrig. of the 40th HID was moved north from the center of the XI Corps and placed in the first line between the 3rd KD and the 42nd HID. [...] Finally, the combined KBrig. Obst. Kranz, divided into four squadrons formed for foot combat, incorporated into the 24th ID. [...] Several batteries were rearmed with new guns, batteries of four were upgraded to those of six tubes.					
21/05			21/05/1916 <i>God make me a better person!</i>	21/05/1916 $(\exists x).(y).\phi(x,y); (y).(\exists x).\phi(x,y); (x)(\exists y).\phi x,y.$ $(\exists y)(x)\phi(xy) . (\exists x)(\exists y)\phi(x,y); (x).(y)\phi(x,y)$		
22/05						
23/05						
24/05	[IV, 370] Even though bad weather and many downpours hampered the work, the always industrious and prudent leader of the 7th Army could justifiably be convinced that he had taken all precautions against the impending onslaught.			24/05/1916 $F_0(x,y,z \dots)$	[Military postcard from the Mother of 24/05/1916] "My good, dear Ludwig, I received a very sweet card from you today, but unfortunately I cannot decipher the date.	The spelling of the formula initiated in the remark is interesting in that it is the first time that the index "0" appears in a function, which is used to mark the elementary propositions in the <i>Prototractatus</i> (Ms 104: 3[15] and 57[7])

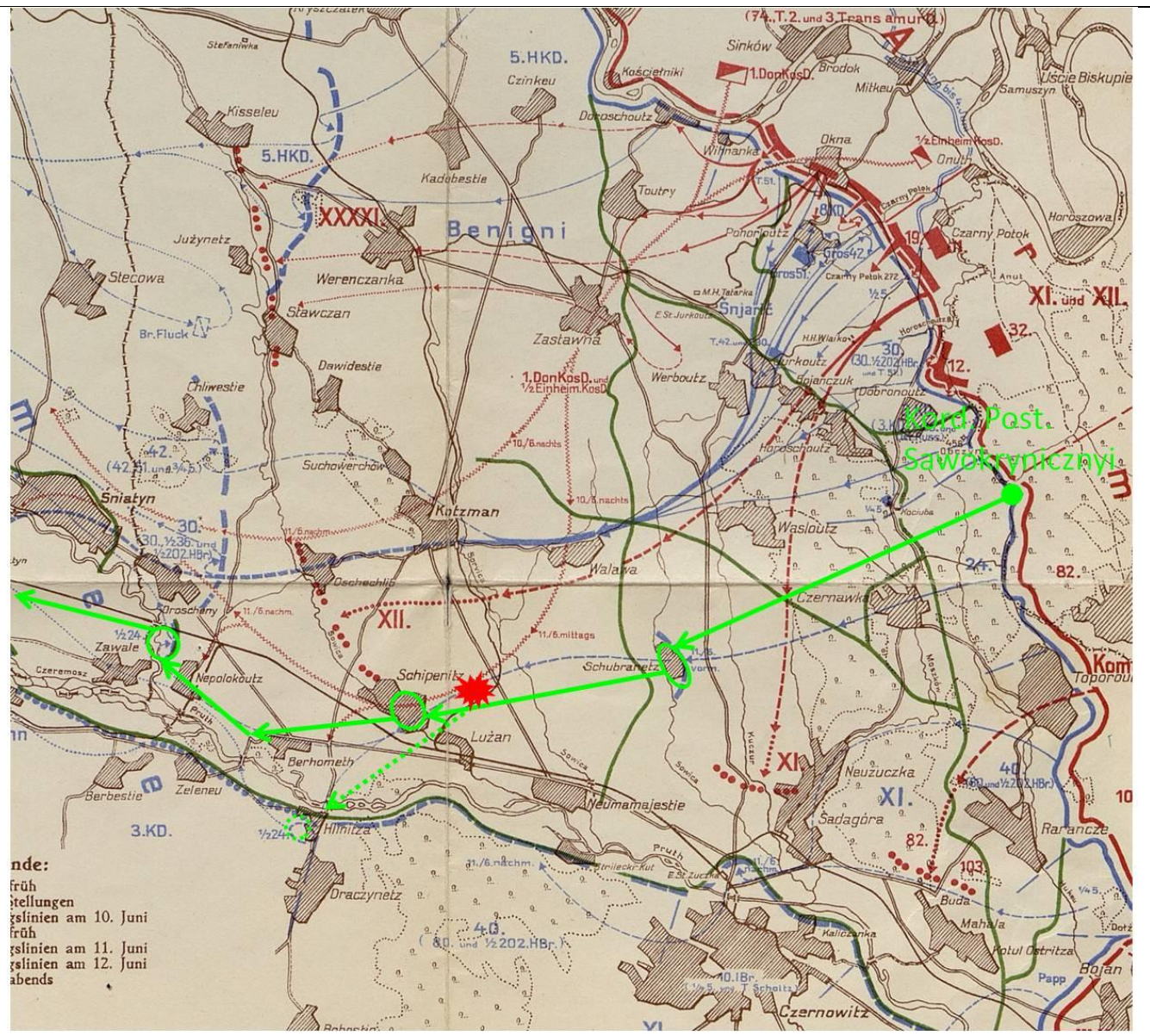
Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
		[General Brusilov] 			You write in it that you hope the sergeant will bring you letters. I hope you have received them by now. [...]"	and also in the early version of the <i>Tractatus</i> Typoscript Ts 204.
25/05			25/05/1916 <i>Being shelled. As God wills it!</i>	25/05/1916		
26/05	[IV, 363] Brusilov suggested 1 June [for the forthcoming offensive]. But since the Western Front under Gdl. Ewert could not be ready to strike before 14 June, Alexeyev set the attack on the southwestern front for 4 June. The insufficient supply of artillery ammunition, especially heavy caliber ammunition, which precluded a simultaneous attack on all three fronts, also spoke in favor of launching the attacks at different times. The Czar approved this proposal on May 26).					
27/05	[IV, 370] At the turn of May-June, after the positional fights had become livelier at the pressure points of the front and also the losses had already become considerable, it became clear to the 7th AC that this onslaught with the main point of attack against the eastern wing of the Benigni Group was imminent.		27/05/1916 <i>Letters from Mining and Mama. Today or tomorrow there is to be a Russian attack. As God wills! I have fallen deeply into sin. But God will forgive me.</i>			Wittgenstein presumably receives the letter from his sister dated 17/05/1916. The imminent great offensive of the Russians under General Brusilov must have been in the air, as it were, if it was expected by the soldiers, although the Czar had only authorized the attack the day before.
28/05			28/05/1916 <i>In the past few weeks, very disturbed sleep. I am always dreaming of being on duty. Dreams that always bring me to the edge of awakening. I have only masturbated 3 times in the last two months. My fellow soldiers disgust me against my will. They often strike me as not even grown-ups but bratty children. A mean-spirited rabble. I do not hate them but they disgust me. Strict on-call duty today. My commander is very gracious to me. I am thinking about the purpose of life. That is still the best thing you can do. I should be happier. Oh, if only my spirit were stronger!!! God be with me! Amen.</i>			
29/05			29/05/1916 <i>God be with me.</i>			With this last impulse prayer – "God with me" – before the offensive, both the personal and philosophical entries in Ms 103 are interrupted for more than a month.
30/05						
31/05	On 31 May Alexeyev issued by telegraph the instructions for the offensive of the army.				[Letter from David Pinsent of 31/05/1916]	Wittgenstein received Pinsent's letter only on 26/07/1916.
01/06		[Main register sheet:] War Volunteer Cannoneer				Promotion to "Vormeister" (equivalent to a "Lance-Bombardier")
02/06		[L.W.] promoted to tit.				
03/06		Lance-Bombardier on 01/06/1916				

Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
4/06	<p>[IV , 375] On 4 June, a bright, moderately warm early summer day, heavy Russian artillery fire shook the entire battle area between Kulikowice on the Styr River and Chernivtsi, far to the south, from 4 a.m. onward.</p> <p>[IV , 419] Heavy artillery fire, which began at 4 a.m. on 4 June, initiated the attack of Letschitzki's army along the entire front of the Benigni group.</p> <p>[IV , 420] At 12h noon the barrage suddenly broke off. [...] The enemy infantry jumped out of the trenches and nearby assault positions, rushed forward and after a few moments appeared in front of the positions of the 79th HIBrig. [...] From the 79th HIBrig only 600 fighters returned and the Russians counted 7000 prisoners.</p> <p>[IV, 421] Major General Elmar, the artillery commander of Benigni's group, had ordered concentric barrage fire in front of the endangered part of the position as soon as the first Russian assault piles appeared. But the barrage was dissipating. Almost all batteries were simultaneously called for help from the other infantry positions.</p> <p>[IV, 422] The Russians had already penetrated 5 km deep into the center of the Benigni group; at 5 a.m. Okna [about 15 km northwest] fell. Then, at last, reserves braced themselves against the terrible collapse. [...] However, the troops ordered to counterattack were unable to recapture the lost positions in the Samuszyn loop as well as at Dobronoutz [about 5 km W of Wittgenstein]. They remained without any artillery support until evening, because their batteries had been torn apart, and suffered considerable losses.</p> <p>[IV, 423] Nevertheless, the result of 4 June was frightening enough. Almost the whole of the laboriously built position had been lost. Only two pillars still defied the Russian tide: the fiercely attacked high position of the 3rd KD east of Dobronoutz, the so-called <i>Kavalleriestützpunkt</i> ["cavalry strongpoint"] about 3 km N of Wittgenstein and the Hill Cz. defended by the Croatian 26th HIR tenaciously defended Hills Czarny Potok [ca. 10 km NW of Wittgenstein].</p>	<p>[Reward application No. 500/1377 of 16/06/1916]</p> <p>"The named [L.W.] was in the 3-day battle from 4 to 6/06 as an observer on expo-nated places in the <i>Kofferstellung</i> [a special form of infantry post] Kord. Post. Sawokrynicznyi and despite the fierce enemy and infantry fire remained at his observation post, from where he transmitted important information about the course of the battle. An intrepid brave non-commissioned officer."</p> <p>[Reward Application No. 500/1482, 17/06/1916]</p> <p>"Volunteer Wittgenstein was assigned to the reconnaissance officer during the fighting in front of the <i>Koffer</i> [a special form of infantry post] IR 77 (KP Sarokrynicznyi) and Cavalry Strongpoint 458 from 4–6/06/1916. He observed regardless of the heavy artillery fire at the <i>Koffer</i> and the exploding mines the firing of the mine launchers and discovered them. The Battery also succeeded in destroying two of the heavy-calibre mine-throwers by direct hits, as the captures made also testified. At the observation post of Bt 417, he [L.W.] watched uninterruptedly in the drum-like fire, although I [Olt. Heinrich Bertl] shouted to him to cover himself. By this singular behavior he made a very reassuring impression on his comrades."</p> <p>[Letter from Heinrich Bertl to L.W., 12/03/1920.]</p> <p>"[...] Summer 1916, Brusilov Offensive, Battery 4 of the FHR No 5, where you earned the small silver [medal] in the 'high' charge of a 'one-year volunteer Lance-Bombardier'. At that time I was your battery commander as</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 5 June. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: the long-awaited attack of the Russian southwestern armies has begun. A great battle has broken out on the entire front between Pruth and Styrknie near Kolki. At Okna there is a fierce fight for the holding of our foremost positions. Northwest of Tarnopol, the enemy managed to penetrate our trenches temporarily at isolated points. A counterattack threw them out again."</p> <p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 6 June. The following is officially announced: [...] North of Okna we withdrew our troops yesterday from the shattered first positions to a line prepared five kilometers to the south after heavy, intermittent fighting."</p> <p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 7 June. The following is officially announced: [...] The enemy has also suffered very heavy losses in the area of Okna and Dobronouc, where its assault columns were often thrown into fierce hand-to-hand combat."</p> <p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 8 June. The following is officially announced: [...] Relative calm prevailed yesterday on the Dniester and on the Bessarabian front.</p>		<p>[Military postcard from Hermine Wittgenstein of 08/06/1916]</p> <p>"My good Lukas, I know that things are getting hot now and I think a lot, a lot of you, I would like to write to you every day as if it were a ribbon, I could hold you by. You will experience a lot and also think a lot, because such a time cannot bypass you without a trace, even if your real work lies in a completely different direction. If only God would --- that's all I'll say!!! - There is nothing new going on with us; [...]"</p>	<p>The fighting at Okna and the subsequent Russian breakthrough were crucial to the collapse of the Eastern Front during the Brusilov Offensive. The events took place in the immediate vicinity of Wittgenstein's location. The heavily contested "Cavalry Strongpoint" (Hill 458) formed the northern boundary of his observation section. Decisive positions south of the Dniester and also Okna itself were already lost on 4/06. It can be assumed that the entire front section was exposed to extremely heavy shelling and that Wittgenstein was exposed to it as an observer without protection. The fact that he refused to seek cover, as can be seen from the reward application of 16 June, must have been considered unusual behavior, especially when he failed to seek protection from the shelling even on the express order of his battery commander. Wittgenstein remained at the observation post and continued to report on the artillery engagement.</p> <p>One almost gets the impression that in this situation of extreme danger, which Wittgenstein on the one hand had sought as a challenge ("May it be granted to me to put my life on the line in a difficult task!" 15/04/1916) and on the other hand feared and devoutly endured, Wittgenstein wants to enforce, as it were, a judgment of God on his life and his work. Survival under extreme threat proves that God considers his life good and his philosophical thoughts worth to be further developed. Otherwise, both could end here and now. In any case, the constantly recurring confessions of fear and despair in the personal notes make clear that the behavior on the observation stand is not simply based on particular cold-bloodedness, but on the overcoming of fear. Despondency stands for the "wrong view of life" (06/05/1916), leaving fear behind, on the other hand, stands for the "happy life" in the real present: "He who is happy must have no fear. Not even of death." (08/07/1916)</p>
05/06	<p>[IV , 423] General Pflanzler-Baltin, who was confined to sickbed at his headquarters in Kolomea by a bout of fever, was probably unable at first to fully comprehend the extremely difficult situation of the Benigni group. He blamed the heavy setback on the fact that the reserves had not been used for a flanking counterattack under unified command.</p> <p>[IV, 424] On the 5th in the morning, [...] the XI Russian Corps continued the attacks. The important hill Czarny Potok was eventually taken by the Russians. Now on the defender's side the bringing up of reserves began again. The IR. 54, which had just arrived by rail at Pohorloutz, had to be deployed for the counterattack. It succeeded in regaining the hill Czarny Potok from the Russians. But in the meantime the incursion had extended to the south.</p>	<p>at the <i>Koffer</i> and the exploding mines the firing of the mine launchers and discovered them. The Battery also succeeded in destroying two of the heavy-calibre mine-throwers by direct hits, as the captures made also testified. At the observation post of Bt 417, he [L.W.] watched uninterruptedly in the drum-like fire, although I [Olt. Heinrich Bertl] shouted to him to cover himself. By this singular behavior he made a very reassuring impression on his comrades."</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 6 June. The following is officially announced: [...] North of Okna we withdrew our troops yesterday from the shattered first positions to a line prepared five kilometers to the south after heavy, intermittent fighting."</p>			<p>The hill "Czarny Potok" (about 5 km southwest from Okna and about 10 km northwest from Wittgenstein's location at the <i>Kordenposten</i> Sawokrynicznyi) turns out to be the bitterly fought over key position in the first days, the loss of which then also leads to the large-scale withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian troops on 10/11 June. The retreat meant the loss of Czernowitz (18/06) and Kolomea (30/06). Wittgenstein, with his 5th FHR in support of the 24th ID, moves west in this gradual retreat under continuous fighting about 100 km to Delatyn, where his unit is later pulled out of the fighting on 4/07.</p>
06/06	<p>[IV , 425] At noon on 6 June, heavy fighting developed anew on the right wing of Benigni's group. The XI Russian Corps sought to extend the penetration at Dobronoutz [about 5km NW of Wittgenstein] to the left. After drumfire, the Russians pushed into the tenaciously defended high positions of the 3rd CD. A counterattack by the Kaiserulans (UR. 4) and parts of IR. 53 drove them back.</p>	<p>at the observation post of Bt 417, he [L.W.] watched uninterruptedly in the drum-like fire, although I [Olt. Heinrich Bertl] shouted to him to cover himself. By this singular behavior he made a very reassuring impression on his comrades."</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 7 June. The following is officially announced: [...] The enemy has also suffered very heavy losses in the area of Okna and Dobronouc, where its assault columns were often thrown into fierce hand-to-hand combat."</p>			<p>The reward applications of 16 and 17 June speak of a "three-day battle" from 4-6 June 1916. On 7-8 June, due to general exhaustion, the situation at Wittgenstein's location probably calmed down to a certain extent. Wittgenstein's behavior on the high observation post must have been exceptional according to warfare standards of the time, regarding what could be expected from a soldier. His commander at the time, <i>Oberleutnant</i> Bertl, still wrote to Wittgenstein four years later, after the war, and brought up this episode.</p>
07/06	<p>[IV, 426] At Okna [about 15 km NW of Wittgenstein], opposite the 42nd HID, the XI Russian Corps, exhausted from its first attack, had entrenched itself and did not attack further. The 7th was also essentially quiet in this section.</p> <p>[IV, 425] At noon on 7 June, columns of the XI Russian Corps once again attempted to take the tenaciously defended Czarny Potok [about 10 km N. of W.] by assaulting seven lines deep. [...] Now the battle stalled. The Russians were exhausted. So far, they have lost 13,000 soldiers in their onslaught.</p>	<p>at the observation post of Bt 417, he [L.W.] watched uninterruptedly in the drum-like fire, although I [Olt. Heinrich Bertl] shouted to him to cover himself. By this singular behavior he made a very reassuring impression on his comrades."</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 8 June. The following is officially announced: [...] Relative calm prevailed yesterday on the Dniester and on the Bessarabian front.</p>			
08/06		<p>[Letter from Heinrich Bertl to L.W., 12/03/1920.]</p> <p>"[...] Summer 1916, Brusilov Offensive, Battery 4 of the FHR No 5, where you earned the small silver [medal] in the 'high' charge of a 'one-year volunteer Lance-Bombardier'. At that time I was your battery commander as</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report: "Vienna, 8 June. The following is officially announced: [...] Relative calm prevailed yesterday on the Dniester and on the Bessarabian front.</p>	<p>[Military postcard from Hermine Wittgenstein of 08/06/1916]</p> <p>"My good Lukas, I know that things are getting hot now and I think a lot, a lot of you, I would like to write to you every day as if it were a ribbon, I could hold you by. You will experience a lot and also think a lot, because such a time cannot bypass you without a trace, even if your real work lies in a completely different direction. If only God would --- that's all I'll say!!! - There is nothing new going on with us; [...]"</p>		

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		<p><i>Oberleutnant</i> Bertl. I remember very well how I had to call you in from the 'fifteen-fold' [binoculars] at the observation post into cover in the murderous fire at the <i>Koffer</i> of the 77th IR near Dobronouc. Can you remember now? [...]"</p>				
9/06	<p>[IV , 425] It was not until the afternoon of 9/06 that the XI Russian Corps renewed its efforts to penetrate the right wing of Benigni's group. Especially against the high positions of the 3rd CD. near Dobronoutz [about 5 km NW of Wittgenstein] sharp attacks were now directed. General Letschitzki had in the meantime received from General Brusilov the half of the 12th ID. with the express order to take the hills [about 3 km N of Wittgenstein] east of Dobronoutz, from which the enemy was flanking the Russian breakthrough group with its artillery and machine guns. The struggle lasted until late in the evening. The Russians did not succeed in overcoming the [...] 3rd CD. However, the tense battle situation and the strong depletion of forces had once again forced the defense to bring up reserves.</p> <p>[IV, 440] On June 9 in the evening, reports arrived at Group Command Benigni that the enemy had dug in on the western edge of Okna and on to Dniester in front of the left wing of the army bodies united under the command of Field Marshal Lieutenant Snjaric - 9th IBrig., 42nd HID., mass of 51st HID., 8th CD. - had entrenched and erected wire obstacles in front of its cover. Russian artillery fire had continued unabated all day in the valley of the Czarny Potok and on the hill of the same name, as well as at Dobronoutz.</p> <p>[IV, 441] General Letschitzki, the leader of the Russian 9th Army, was preparing a new attack on the whole front between the Dniester and the forest zone south of Dobronoutz, [...] During the night of 10 June, in front of the Benigni group, attack preparations of the Russians were not discernible;</p>					<p>The renewed attacks by Russian troops, directly ordered by General Brusilov, once again involved the high positions near Dobronoutz, which were immediately adjacent on the left to the section observed by Wittgenstein.</p>
10/06.	<p>[IV, 441] At 7 a.m. Russian heavy artillery began shelling the Czarny Potok hill and the positions of the 42nd HID south of Okna. An hour later drumfire began in these sections. FZM Benigni expected a concentric assault against Pohorloutz. During the preparatory fire, Russian assault infantry rallied against the left wing of the front line commanded by FML Snjaric. Around 10 a.m. an attack developed from Okna, but it was smothered by the barrage of our artillery. [...] South of Okna, [...] at the hill of Czarny Potok, fierce fighting broke out. There the Russians ran deeply divided in five to six kilometers width against the right wing of the army subordinated to Snjaric's army units. [...] At 10 a.m. the attackers advanced to the hill of Czarny Potok, but were thrust back by [...] the 9th IBrig. in the melee.</p> <p>[IV, 442] At noon the Russians advanced into Doroschoutz; [...] At the same time the positions of the 8th CD. west of Okna were lost. [...] Meanwhile, the battle on the hills around Pohorloutz had once again flared up with great ferocity. [...] The loss of the Pohorloutz hills also caused the withdrawal of the 9th IBrig. The courageous defenders of the hills of Czarny Potok had to retreat from their trenches with their flank torn open.</p> <p>[IV, 443] The 7th AC had already been informed at noon of the unfortunate course of the fighting. General Pflanzer-Baltin did not deceive himself that the battle was lost, for he had no reserves [...] With a heavy heart he issued orders to retreat to Korda, Benigni, and Hadfy. XI Corps to [...] swing back south to the Prut section of Wama-Hlinitza. Benigni's group was to go back only as far as the advanced positions between Walawa and Kadobestie and only in the course of the 11th as far as the line Oschechlib-Stawczan [...].</p> <p>[IV, 446] The XI Corps had begun its retreat on the evening of 10 June.</p>				<p>[Mother's letter of 10/06/1916.] "My dear Ludwig I thank you a thousand times for your kind greetings, they do me so much good. Is there any chance that you yourself will have something to do in Vienna? We are moving the day after tomorrow to Neuwaldegg [...]"</p>	<p>On the 7th day since the beginning of the offensive, Russian troops were able to take decisive positions at Pohorloutz immediately south of Okna, cascading a series of positions that the Austro-Hungarian army could no longer hold, including the Czarny Potok hills, the "cavalry strongpoint," and also the more southerly corden posts, including Wittgenstein's observation point. The XI Corps, to which Wittgenstein's unit belonged," began its retreat to the west on the evening of 10 June.</p>

11/06 [IV, 446] While the main force of the XI Corps was retreating behind the Pruth, the 24th ID had taken up an intermediate position near Schubranetz, where it was to hold for the time being, following Benigni's group to the east with the front. Benigni's shattered divisions, however, had long since moved beyond the originally ordered Walawa-Kadobestie position into the area west of Kotzmann. [...] In an army order issued at 5h30 a.m. on the 11th, FZM Benigni was instructed, above all, to bring order to his disorganized formations. In the Luzan-Chliwestie-Zaleszczyki line, Benigni's and Hadfy's formations were to halt only if not pressed by pursuing Russians. A prepared position between Wolczkowce-Niezwiska was indicated as another line of resistance. The 24th ID was transferred to the Benigni Group.

[IV, 447] Thus, with great effort, a new front was established between Pruth and Dniester early on the 11th. The 24th ID, meanwhile, still held its ground far in front of Schubranetz, since it had not been ordered in time to march back to Schipenitz. When this division finally started to move in the morning, it was suddenly attacked by the 1st DonKosD, which had advanced via Kotzmann, and was blown off to the south at the cost of numerous captured men. Only parts of the division reached Schipenitz, the rest retreated to the southern bank of the Prut near Hlinitza.



[McGuinness 1988: 243] "Wittgenstein himself later told a nephew of his long retreat from this offensive, in which he sat utterly exhausted on a horse in an endless column, with the one thought only of keeping his seat, since if he fell off he would be trampled to death."

On the morning of 11/06, the 24th ID took up an intermediate position near Schubranetz. During the night of 10/06 and the morning of 11/06, Wittgenstein and his battery must have covered some 15 km of difficult terrain. However, the units also retreating north of there were not able to take their intended positions in an orderly withdrawn front line and advanced much further west than intended. Because the 24th ID was apparently not informed of this in time, it found itself in a dangerous position, cut off from the rest of the Austrian forces. The delayed disengagement led to a direct attack by the Russian 1st Donkosak Division, with heavy casualties, and to part of the division being thrown off to the south. According to later personal accounts, however, Wittgenstein seems to have made it 12 km further to Schipenitz with the main part of the division under extreme exertion on a horse from the battery and finally reached the provisionally established front after another 12 km still on 11/06 southeast of Sniatyn. The 24th ID was transferred during the withdrawal from the XI Corps to the Benigni Group operating north of it.

12/06 [IV, 448] During the night of the 12th, the Benigni Group and the Hadfy Group completely released themselves from the enemy and reached the new defensive positions assigned to them by noon the next day, under tremendous marching efforts. [...] The 24th ID, located on Benigni's southern wing, had also broken away from the enemy and had moved with one brigade to Zablotów, and with the other parts to Rudniki.

[IV, 449] Only 3500 of the 16,000 men of the 24th ID were left. [...] No doubt: these badly damaged divisions of the Benigni Group could not sustain against a new Russian attack. Apart from strong cavalry, Hadfy's group faced two, Benigni's group four, and Korda's group two Russian infantry divisions, fully replenished with their overwhelming superiority of soldiers. General Pflanzer-Baltin now doubted whether he could prevent the Russians from breaking into Kolomea and Stanislaw, with his army stretched out between the Prut and the Dniester.

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It is not clear in which unit of the 24th ID Wittgenstein was during the retreat, either in the one that stood near Rudniki from 12–18/06, or the one that reached Zablotow on 12/06 and then assembled until 19/06 north of Kolomea.


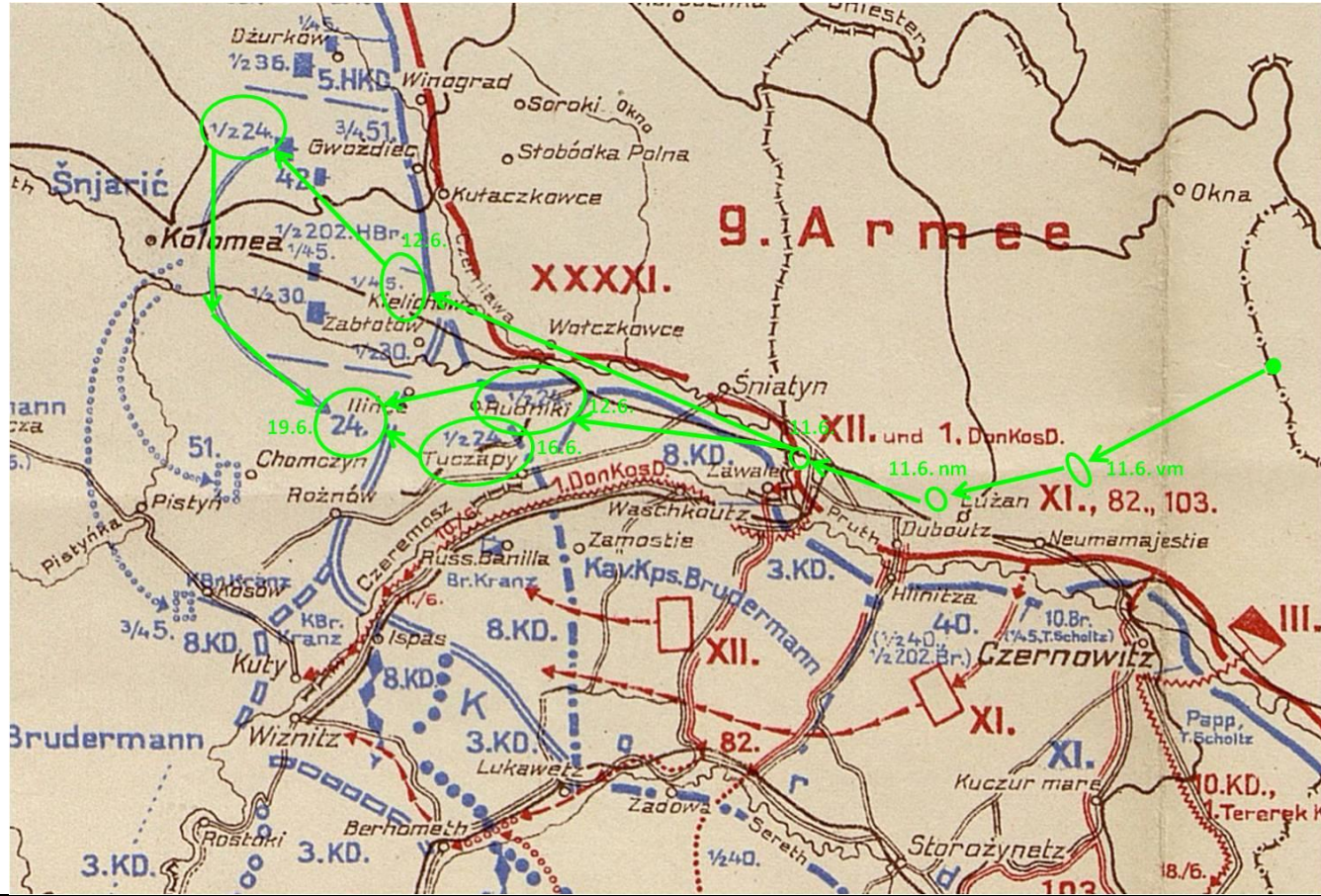
In any case, it seems that the division, reduced to less than a quarter of its original size, had a short respite from combat, allowing, among other things, on 16 and 17/06 to submit reward requests for Wittgenstein and for him to send (on 15/06) a field postcard to his mother.

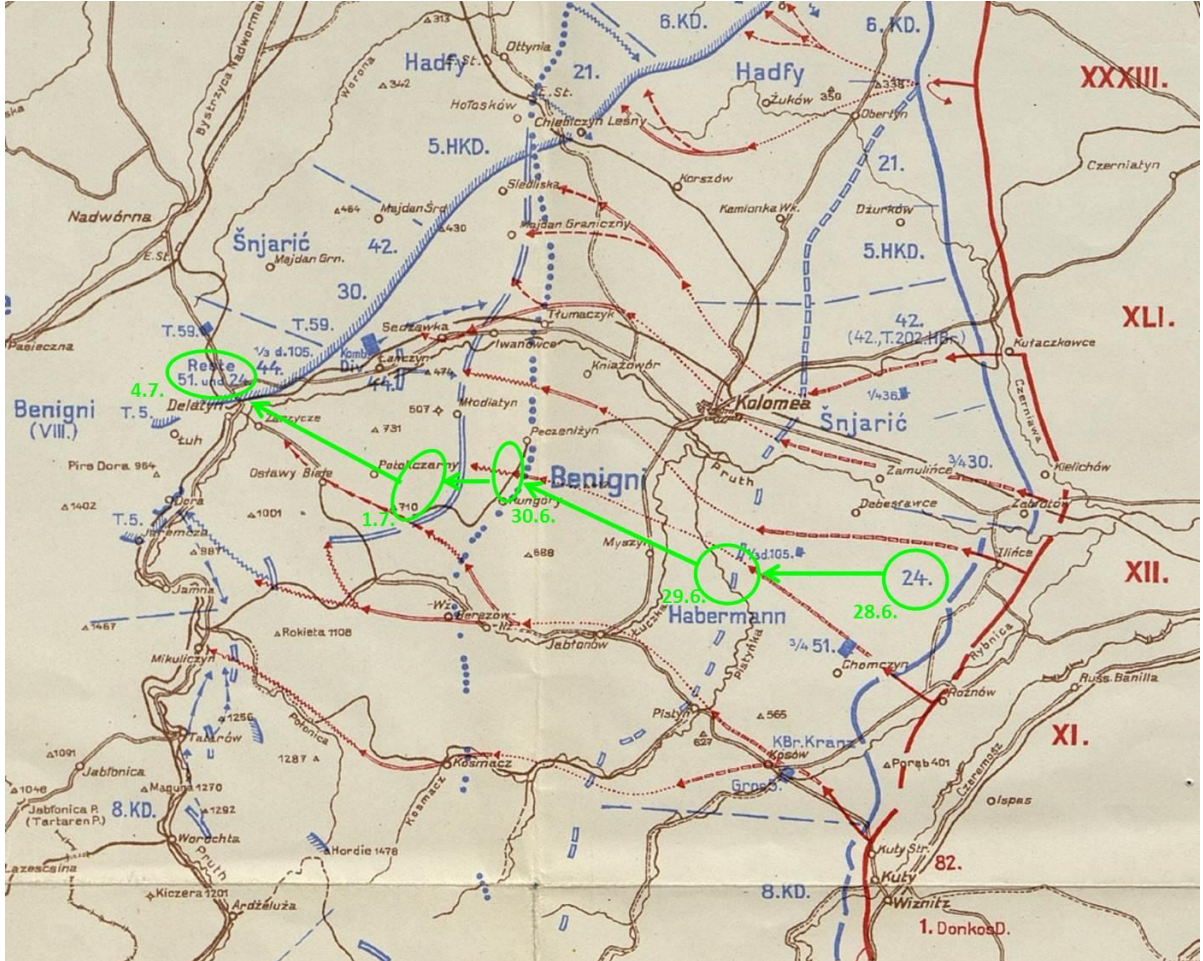
13/06 [...] In this situation, Pflanzer-Baltin thought the best solution would be to bring his "ruined army" into a flank position for the Russian advance. Therefore, he also considered withdrawing the Benigni Group and the Hadfy Group to the mountains of Berezów and Delatyn.


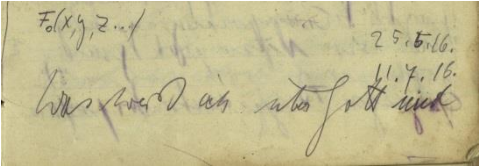
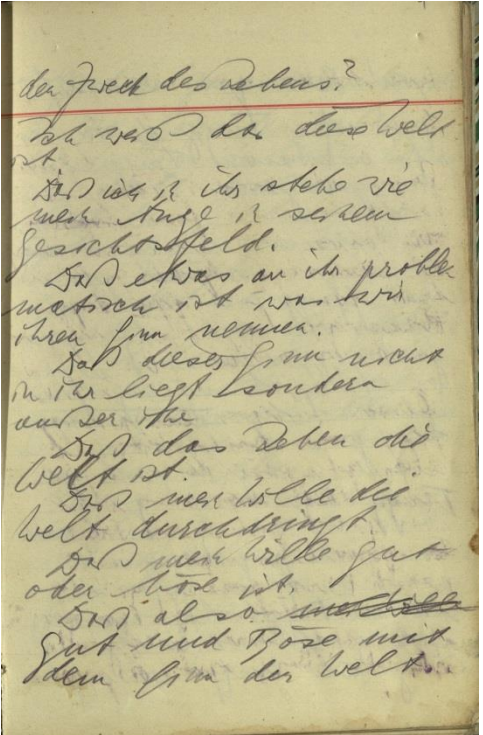
[IV, 457] FML Hadfy expected an attack by superior enemy forces no later than the 14th, which he felt his thinly manned lines were no match for.

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[Military postcard from the Mother, 13/06/1916]
 "My beloved Ludwig, please, if it is half-way possible for you, let me know, with just a few words, how you are. I am and we all are in the greatest anxiety about you. Everything is healthy with us. Unceasingly thinking of you, my beloved son, your most tenderly loving mother".

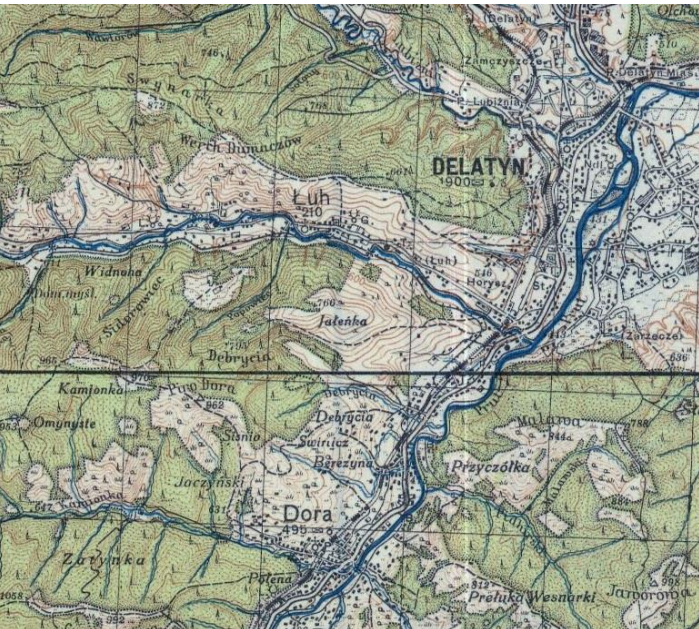
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14/06	Therefore, GO Pflanze-Baltin felt constrained to withdraw the Benigni group and the Hadfy group during the night of the 14th to a position about 10 km further west on the Czerniawa and on the Oknobach.						
15/06	[IV, 458] The next few hours brought new disappointments to the 7th Army commander. During the night of the 15th, weaker Russian divisions crossed the Prut River in the section of the 40th HID at Neumamajestie, despite the higher water level.				[Military postcard to the Mother / lost]		
16/06	[IV, 506] The Russian artillery assumed the advance and, on 16 June, began to bombard the k.u.k. XI Corps' trenches with heavy caliber guns. [...] GO Pflanze-Baltin expected the strongest Russian advances to come by way of Duboutz and of Sniatyn. [...] Half of the 24th ID ensured at the Prut River near Rudnicki.	[Reward Application No. 500/1377, filed 6/16; requested: Silver Medal for Bravery, 2nd class].				Evidently, two separate reward applications were filed for Wittgenstein's conspicuous conduct at the observation post on 4–6 June. They made their way through the judging instances without anyone noticing that here an award was applied for twice for the same act. In the end Wittgenstein received two medals, but due to different evaluation in both files, once the Silver Medal for Bravery 2nd class and once only the bronze one.	
17/06	[IV, 507] On the 17th, the fighting on the Pruth River outside of Czernowitz developed with great intensity. After three hours of artillery fire, at 4:00 p.m. the Russian XI Corps entered the Czernowitz bridgehead. [IV, 508] As the GdK Korda group moved south and southwest from the Pruth, Pflanze-Baltin's understandable concern was that the 7th Army's front would be split down the middle. For this reason, at 8:30 a.m., he ordered GdK Korda to hold firmly with the XI Corps at Sereth. [...] The parts of the 24th ID standing south of the Pruth had always to fight in line with the Korda group.	[Reward Request No. 500/1482, submitted by Olt. Bertl on 17/06; requested: Silver Medal for Bravery, 2nd class].					
18/06	The k. u. k. XI Corps headed for the Sereth on 18 June, in the middle of exhausting forced marches and after battles with heavy losses. [Czernowitz falls]	[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 5 June. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: yesterday the garrison of the third redoubt at Czernowitz had to be withdrawn before the concentric gunfire of a far superior enemy. During the night the enemy forced its way across the Pruth at several points and entered Czernowitz. Our troops abandoned the city. In Eastern Galicia the situation is unchanged."					
19/06	[IV, 512] GdK Korda could not throw any reserves against the enemy at Sereth. So he began his retreat on the 19th. He found it advantageous to immediately withdraw the right wing of the XI Corps to the edge of the mountains south of the Suczawa. [...] In the evening, enemy pressure increased at Tuczapy, where the 8th KD and the 24th ID were aligned. The latter was soon forced by the [...] Russian 1st DonKosD to retreat to Ispas. GO Pflanze-Baltin struggled to consolidate the sagging front between the Korda group and the Benigni Group. [...] All troops of the 24th ID were to be united on the southern bank of the Pruth river.						On 19/06, one day after the loss of Chernivtsi, all remnants of Wittgenstein's 24th ID are reunited and stand together on the front line south of the Pruth, which will hold until 28/06, before another withdrawal to Delatyn becomes necessary.
20/06	[IV, 513] On the 20th, the Russian General Promtov advanced with his ruthless cavalry across the Sereth against the northern edge of the Carpathian Mountains. [...] From Roznów to the Pruth, the 24th ID with the attached Cavalry Brigade of Colonel Kranz covered the roads to Kosów. The Benigni Group and the Hadfy group were deeply entrenched behind the Czerniawa and further north to Niewiska on the Dniester. The Russians on the opposite side were still waiting.						Wittgenstein is located from 20/06 on somewhere near Ilinca between Roznów in the south and the Pruth in the north.
21/06							
22/06							
23/06	[IV, 549] At noon on the 23rd, the Don Cossacks reached Kutly. A short advance of the 24th ID's right wing from the Roznov area to the east caused the Russians to surrender Kutly again. Soon, however, the Russian horsemen regained possession of Kutly. The 8th KD retreated, skirmishing, to the heights just west of the village. The 3rd KD took position south of the burning Wiznitz up to the junction with the 40th HID near Berhometh. On the left of the Brudermann Cavalry Corps, the 24th ID held position between Kutly Str., Roznów and the Pruth, together with the subordinate KBrig of Colonel Kranz. The newly arrived k. k. Landsturmbataillon 153 was inserted into the dispersed front on the outermost right wing of the 24th ID.	[Reward Motion No. 500/1377 seconded by Col. Uherek (24th FABrig Command) endorsed].				The capture of Kutly by the Russians (about 20 km to the south of Wittgenstein's location) is met with an advance by the 24th ID, whereupon the Russian units withdraw again from Kutly. The 24th ID thus secures the entire section from the Pruth to Kutly.	
24/06	[IV, 555] The Battle of Kolomea (first phase) [IV, 556] Now General Letschitzki decided to attack the enemy positioned between the Dniester and the village of Kutly. He had already, after the fall of Czernowitz, formed the XII Corps in the area south of Sniatyn and the XI Corps southwest of Czernowitz for the attack towards the west. [...] In the meantime, the 8 KD had hastily entrenched itself the hills west of Wiznitz-Kuty. North of the Brudermann Cavalry Corps stood the 24th ID with its attached KBrig. Obst. Kranz and the newly arrived k. k. Landsturmbataillon 153 on the hills north of Kutly Str., on both sides of the Rybnica Creek, then just west of Roznów and at Ilinca on the Pruth River. FML Habermann had pulled the 5th ID and the 51st HID (201st HIBrig) closer to the north wing of the 24th ID. The enemy was pressing up against the 30th ID, adjacent on the left.					At the beginning of the next phase of the fighting ("The Battle of Kolomea"), Wittgenstein's division was still in its high positions between Pruth and Kutly. Brian McGuinness states laconically: "Wittgenstein's division was also involved in these battles [in Bukovina in mid-June], as well as in the Battle of Kolomea from 24 June to 6 July".	

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25/06	[IV, 557] On 25 June, the Russian cavalry (1st DonKosD) rode from Wiznitz against Rostoki, conducting reconnaissance.						
26/06	It deployed the next day opposite the 3rd KD and sought to encircle its left wing. At the same time, Russian Rifle Lines were advancing from Kutý against the 8th KD. The southern wing of the 24th ID on the Porab hill just north of Kutý St. was repeatedly attacked by Russian infantry. [...]	[Reward application No. 500/1377 endorsed by GM Urbarz (24th ID)]			[Military postcard to the Mother / lost]	The fact that Wittgenstein's reward applications in the ascending line of duty were signed by Major General Urbarz again confirms that his artillery unit was assigned to support the 24th ID in June 1916.	
27/06	German reinforcements, quickly dispatched on trucks, arrived in Kolomea early on the 27th. [IV, 559] GO Pflanzler-Baltin learned on the evening of 27 June that in addition to the VIII Corps (44th SchD and 59 ID), the German 119th ID would also join the 7th Army. Following the arrival of these reinforcements, the offensive along the Dniester was to be launched [...].						
28/06	The expected Russian attacks began the very next morning on the entire front between the Czeremosz and the Dniester. The assault of Letzhitsky's army was directed mainly against the 24th ID in the area east and northeast of Kosów, against the 30th ID and the 42nd HID on the Czerniawa, and against the 21st ShD on the hills east of Obertyn. [...] the fighting initially progressed favorably. The Russians stormed the Porab Hill, but it was recaptured by the Kaiser infantry (IR 1). Similarly, the 24th ID managed to stop the Russian assault between Roznów and Ilince. GO Pflanzler-Baltin supported this part of the front with the German IR 129, which had been handed over by the Southern Army. New Russian attacks began in the afternoon. [...] At Kutý the enemy broke into the positions of the 8th KD, IR 1 lost the Porab Hill again; the Russians flanked the 24th ID in an all-out attack from the south. [...] The reinforcements rushed to Habermann's right wing (IR 93 and 54 of the 5th ID), but in spite of all their bravery, did not succeed in breaking the force of the enemy attack. In the evening, Habermann's entire group withdrew to Kosów and to the hills north of it.	[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 28 June. Official announcement: Russian theater of war: At Kutý, the enemy renewed its attacks with the same failure as on the previous days. Otherwise in Bukovina and Eastern Galicia nothing new."	[Course of the Battle of Kolomea from 28/06 to 07/07/1916]			Wittgenstein's 24th ID is fully hit by the Russian attack on this day and can hold its positions only between Roznów and Ilince for the moment. As a result of the retreat of the whole Habermann group (south of Wittgenstein), the 24th ID also withdraws from its positions about 7 km in the direction of Pistyn.	
29/06	[IV, 560] On the 29th [...] the Russians once again pushed fiercely against the adjacent 8th KD on the left and against the southern wing of FML Habermann's group. [...] In the afternoon, the troops fighting at Pistyn (parts of the 5th, the 24th ID and the 51st HID) came under severe pressure. The Imperial Infantry threw itself once again into the breach. But even the Silesians' bravery was not sufficient to restore the situation. Habermann's southern wing had to retreat to Jablonów under heavy fighting and many losses.					[Military postcard from the Mother, 29/06/1916] "My dear Ludwig! I have not heard from you since the 15th, or rather since I received your first card of the 15th, and although I know that there is no other way now, this does not prevent me from eagerly expecting news. All is well with us, [...]"	Near Pistyn there is heavy fighting for Wittgenstein's division, which makes it necessary to withdraw again the next day.
30/06	That evening the Brudermann Cavalry Corps held in the Zabie-Krzyworównia-Kosmacz area. The FML Habermann group was covering the Berezów-Delatyn road with the 5th ID and with half of the 24th ID.					[Military postcard to the Mother / lost]	A part of the 24th ID now secures the road to Delatyn, which is important for the retreat. On 30/06, Wittgenstein's battery is about 20 km east of Delatyn as part of the entire retreating Austrian army.
01/07	[IV, 564] Gen. Letschitzki, however, had no time to wait for the arrival of reinforcements [...] so already on 1 July, after a brief respite, he had his army center attack the Benigni Group once again to the south and north of the Pruth. After heavy gunfire, the Russians captured the hills southeast of Peczenizyn which were defended by parts of the 51st HID and the 24th ID in the front section of FML Habermann.						In the further retreat, the 24th ID is unable to hold even the hills west of Pistyn (southeast of Peczenizyn). On 01/07 Wittgenstein's battery stands as part of the entire retreating Austrian army about 20 km east of Delatyn.
02/07	[IV, 565] On 2 July, FML Nemeček's k. k. 44th SchD drove the Russians back in the Pruthal valley via Sadzawka. [IV, 566] In the midst of these difficult combat days, the command structure and, to some extent, the organization of the forces within the 7th Army had undergone a reorganization. On 1 July, FZM Scheuchenstuel, the VIII Corps commander, and his chief of staff had arrived at Pflanzler-Baltin's headquarters. Scheuchenstuel was supposed to take command of the divisions standing on the south wing of the previous Benigni Group. What the VIII Corps commander and his chief of staff found here showed them the gravity of their task. They saw unconfident staffs, poor positions, fleetingly built-up wire obstacles, and worn-out troops, some of whom had lost the courage and confidence to resist the Russian attacks. Since much of the newly arrived core troops had already been used up as stopgaps, FZM Scheuchenstuel asked to be relieved of the command he had been assigned with the 7th Army. [...] GO Pflanzler-Baltin credited FZM Benigni [...] for not shirking the heavy burden of responsibility in continuing to command their group and the reinforcements that had been brought in (44th SchD and 59th ID). The reinforced Benigni Group was now called the VIII Corps.					[Military postcard from Frege on 02/07/1916] „Dear Mr. W! Many thanks for your cards! I am sorry that your earlier high spirits are missing from them. I very much hope that you regain these soon in the successful struggle for a great cause in a decisive world-historical context the likes of which there has never been. Right now I too lack enough strength and frame of mind for genuinely scientific work, but I am trying to occupy myself by working out a plan that I hope may be useful to the Fatherland after the war.2 Then I hope that we shall be able to resume our conversations so as to make progress on our mutual understanding and on logical questions. With best wishes for your well-being, Yours, G. Frege	Due to a successful counterattack in the Pruth valley, the retreat in Wittgenstein's sector comes temporarily to a halt.
					[Military postcard from Hermine W. of 02/07/1916] "My good Lukas, I am not writing to tell you something but only to be somehow		



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					connected with you, nothing is happening here that could interest you now and my thoughts are only with what is going on far away. The only thing I enjoy here is the closeness to my siblings and to Mama, which, thank God, is not disturbed at all now. [...]"	
03/07	[IV 565/566] On 3 July, the Russian XI and XII Corps advance groups pushed back the defence units of the k. u. k. 8th KD from the hills near Kosmacz towards Tatarów and Mikuliczyn. FML Habermann's right wing, which had been badly hit, also had to give way to enemy pressure and retreat from Berezów Wz. to the area of Oslawy Biale. At the same time, Letschitzki led fierce counterattacks on the Prut River and further north. [...] Originally, GO Pflanzler-Baltin had intended to deploy the 59th ID united with the southern wing of the Benigni Group . However, the retreat of the 24th ID and the fierce struggle at Sadzawka now prompted him to order the previously disengaged 59th ID troops to be ready at Delatyn, so that they could either march to Oslawy Biale or turn to the threatened section in the Pruth valley.		[MS 103 fol. 8r]			Since the 24th ID has little combat power left, it is decided to pull it and other worn-out units out of the front, move them to a reserve position (near Delatyn), and replace them with fresh troops (59th ID).
04/07	<p>[IV, 595] In the course of 4 July, the Russians had closed in on Benigni's right wing on the hills east of Oslawy Biale. GO Pflanzler-Baltin sent there parts of the newly arrived 59th ID to relieve the 24th ID regiments and the remnants of the 51st HID, which had been exhausted after fighting with heavy losses.</p> <p>[GO Pflanzler-Baltin in Delatyn]</p>  <p>Strasse in Delatyn in Galizien nach der Wiedereinnahme unserer Frontstadt. Rechts gehend der Kommandant der Bukow. Strasse General Pflanzler-Baltin.</p>	[Reward Request No. 500/1482 endorsed by Col. Uherek (24th FABrig Comm.)]	  <p>[MS 103 fol. 9r]</p>	<p>11/07/1916</p> <p>What do I know about God and the purpose of life?</p> <p>I know that this world exists. That I am placed in it like my eye in its visual field. That something about it is problematic, which we call its meaning. That this meaning does not lie in it but outside it. That life is the world. That my will penetrates the world. That my will is good or evil. Therefore that my will good and evil with the meaning of the world are connected somehow. The meaning of life, i.e. the meaning of the world, we can call God. And connect with this the comparison of God to a father. To pray is to think about the meaning of life. /I cannot bend the happenings of the world to my will: I am completely powerless. I can only make myself independent of the world – and so in a certain sense master it – by renouncing any influence on happenings.</p>		<p>After the long pause since 25/05, the entries in MS 103 resume almost eruptively on 04/07 and 06/07. The subject matter has radically changed: the remarks about God, the World, I, the Meaning of Life, which are quite new in this intensity, become characteristic for the further course in MS 103 and undoubtedly go back to the existential episodes of the last month. Beginning with his unconditional perseverance at the observation post during the fighting at Okna at the beginning of the Offensive, which is tantamount to challenging God's judgment on his philosophical work, Wittgenstein goes through all the manoeuvres of the 24th Infantry Division until its almost complete annihilation, and it is akin to a miracle that he has survived the numerous perils without any physical harm.</p> <p>The date (11/07) of this first entry after the battles is definitely wrong, because it is followed by an entry of 05/07. The error can refer either to the month or to the day. However, an entry on 11/06 (error in the calendar month as similarly before already in May) can be excluded because exactly on this day the exhausting first big retreat after the breakthrough at Okna took place. Thus the entry can either be from 01/07 or (as McGuinness assumes) from 04/07/1916. In favor of the latter is the fact that the thought is immediately continued on 05/07. The error therefore would concern the calendar week, which would be only too understandable in view of the turbulence of the preceding weeks. The sentence initially marked in the manuscript, "I cannot bend the happenings of the world to my will [...]" was not included in Ms 104 or in the <i>Tractatus</i>.</p>
05/07	[IV, 596] So, when the heir to the throne, FML Archduke Karl Franz Joseph, arrived at Chodorow, the location of the 12th Army Commando, at 11h in the morning of 5 July, Pflanzler-Baltin's main forces were engaged in heavy fighting. [...] The intended designation "Army Group FML Archduke Karl" was not applied for the time being. However, the newly established 12th Army Command assumed authority over the 7th Army and over the Southern Army. [...] Hadfy's group then had to bend its right wing in line with the [from 5. 7.]			<p>05/07/1916</p> <p>/The world is independent of my will. /Even if everything we wished were to happen, this would only be, so to speak, by the grace of Fate, for there is no logical connection between will and world, which</p>	As a soldier of the more cumbersome artillery, Wittgenstein seems not to have participated in the above-mentioned deployment of the infantry battalions from the 24th Infantry Division on 05–06/07. The impending withdrawal of his division from the front gave him the	<p>"6.373 The world is independent of my will." "6.374 Even if everything we wished were to happen, this would only be, so to speak, by the grace of Fate, for there is no <i>logical</i> connection between will and world, which</p>


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	<p>VIII Corps Benigni. By then, however, even this front seemed to have been broken through, as a report from FML Snjaric came in the evening that the Russians were advancing over the hills on Majdan Srd. In this threatening situation, Pflanzer-Baltin [IV, 597] and Benigni brought in tiring marches all the available reserves to the Pruth valley near Delatyn as well as to Snjaric's group at Ostawy Biale. These were twelve battalions from four different divisions, IR 9 of the 24th ID, SchR 21 of the 44th SchD, IR 97 of the 36th ID, and parts of the 59th Division. An assault group under GM Jesser was to be formed out of these forces in the area north of Lanczyn and on 6 July they were to attack in the northeast direction.</p>			<p>would guarantee this, and the assumed physical connection we could not again will. <i>/If good or bad willing affects the world, it can only affect the limits of the world, not the facts, what cannot be depicted by language but can only be shown in language.</i> <i>/In short, the <u>world</u> must thereby become a different one altogether.</i> <i>/It must so to speak wax or wane as a whole Like by the addition or removal of a sense.</i> <i>/As in death, too, the world does not change, but ceases to be.</i></p>	<p>opportunity to resume his diary entries after more than a month's interruption.</p>	<p>would guarantee this, and the assumed physical connection itself we could not again will." "6.43 If good or bad willing changes the world, it can only change the limits of the world, not the facts; not that which can be expressed by language. In short, the world must thereby become a different one altogether, it must so to speak wax or wane as a whole." "6.431 As in death, too, the world does not change, but ceases."</p>
06/07	<p>[IV, 597] Early on 6 July the Russians renewed the attack south of the Pruth. [...] On the morning of 6 July, FML Archduke Karl Franz Joseph [...] had gone to Bohorodczany to the 12th Army Command to be informed about what had happened since the fateful breakthrough at Okna. The Archduke Heir to the Throne went with GO Pflanzer-Baltin to the VIII Corps Command and to the Snjaric Group Command. At this time, GM Jesser's assault group had not yet finished preparing the artillery. [...] When GM Jesser, after artillery preparation at Benigni's north wing, had set the attack at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, something unexpected happened. From the hills east of Oslawy Biale, assault clusters of the Russian XI Corps descended on the weary 24th ID, broke through the positions of the Galician IR 45, captured the remnants of the HIR 300 still engaged there, and engulfed the adjacent 44th SchD on the left.</p>		<p>06/07/1916 <i>Colossal exertions this last month. Have thought a great deal about all sorts of things, but curiously enough cannot establish their connection to my mathematical line of thought.</i></p>	<p>06/07/1916 And in this sense Dostoevsky is right when he says that the man who is happy is fulfilling the purpose of existence. Or again we could say that the man is fulfilling the purpose of existence who no longer needs to have any purpose except to live. That is to say, who is content. <i>/The solution of the problem of <u>being</u> life is seen in the vanishing of this problem.</i> But is it possible for one so to <u>really</u> live that life stops being problematic? That one is <u>living the eternal</u> ^{in eternity} and not in time?</p>		<p>The "colossal exertions" to which Wittgenstein was subjected can be largely understood by following the path of the 24th ID during the Brusilov offensive, its battles and almost complete annihilation. His presumed continued use as an artillery observer was particularly dangerous throughout. "6.521 The solution of the problem of life is seen in the vanishing of this problem."</p>
07/07	<p>[IV, 603/4] On 7 July, FML Archduke Karl Franz Joseph reported to the army command that the 7th Army's condition urgently required the supply of at least one fighting division. The two newly arrived divisions (44th SchD and 59th ID) would not have been able to make up for the losses suffered in the fighting that had already lasted more than four weeks. The 5th, 24th, 30th, 42nd, and 51st Divisions would have only the combat strengths of weak regiments. The archducal heir to the throne considered it imperative to withdraw these troops from the front in order to make them combat-ready again. The army command decided to give the 7th Army one more division from the Tyrol, the 34th ID. In view of the setbacks on the Pruth, however, it seemed doubtful whether these reinforcements, which were to begin moving in only on 12 July, would arrive in time [...].</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 7 July. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: Our troops have captured 500 prisoners and four machine guns in successful battles in the Bukovina. In southeastern Galicia, between Delatyn and Sadzawica, Alpine regiments of the Landwehr have put up heroic resistance and thwarted numerous Russian attacks".</p>	<p>07/07/1916 <i>But the connection will be made! What cannot be said, <u>cannot</u> be said!</i></p>	<p>07/07/1916 <i>/Is not this the reason why men to whom after long doubting the sense of life became clear, could not then say wherein this sense consisted?</i> If I can think of a "<u>type</u> of objects" without knowing whether there are such objects, then I must have constructed their prototype for myself. Isn't the method of mechanics based on this?</p>	<p>[Military postcard from the Mother dated 07/07/1916]. "My dear, darling Ludwig! I have already thanked you for your last, dear card of 26 June, now I am looking forward again to the next message. May it again tell us something reassuring! Everything is well with us; [...]"</p>	<p>(Is not this the reason why men to whom after long doubting the sense of life became clear, could not then say wherein this sense consisted?)" Without transition Wittgenstein comes at this point to a logical problem of the constructability of prototypes [<i>Urbilder</i>] and then continues the previously developed thoughts on the following day. This is not uncharacteristic for his way of working.</p>
08/07	<p>[IV, 607] The worn-out regiments of the 24th ID and the 5th ID and the German IR 129 were withdrawn from the front, and the forces of the 59th ID, which were with FML Snjaric's group, were also released and united with the main force of that division standing at Delatyn.</p>		<p>08/07/1916 <i>Alas, alas! I have no peace to work!</i></p>	<p>08/07/1916 To believe in a God means to understand the question about the sense of life. To believe in a God means to see that the facts of the world are not the end ^{of the matter}. To believe in God means that to see that life has a sense. The world is <u>given</u> to me, i.e. my will approaches the world completely from the outside as to something finished. (What my will is I do not yet know.) That is why we have the feeling of being dependent on an alien will. <u>However this may be</u>, at any rate we <u>are</u> in a ^{certain} sense dependent, and what we are dependent on we can call God. In this sense God would simply be fate, or, what is the same thing: The world – which is independent of our will. I can make myself independent of fate. There are two divinities: the world and my independent I. I am either happy or unhappy, that is all. One can say: good or evil do not exist.</p>		<p>The realignment of his thoughts, which for the time being cannot be connected with his reflections on linguistic logic (his "mathematical trains of thought"), also lastingly change the character of the <i>Abhandlung</i>, which – even if this does not happen until 1917 – is increasingly transformed from an initially purely logical treatise into a metaphysical philosophical text. In the end, Wittgenstein is convinced that the ethics that remain unspoken constitute the actual meaning of the work.</p>

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				<p>Who is happy must have the^{no} fear. Not even of death. Only who does not live in time but in the present is happy. For life in the present there is no death. /Death is not an event of life. It is not a fact of the world. /If by eternity is understood not endless temporal duration but timelessness, then one can say that someone lives eternally who lives in the present. In order to be^{live} happy^{ily} I must be in agreement with the world. And that is what "being happy" <u>means</u>. I am then, so to speak, in agreement with that alien will on which I appear dependent. That is to say: "I am doing the will of God". Fear in face of death is the best sign of a false, i.e. a bad, life. When my conscience upsets my equilibrium, then I am not in agreement with Something. But what is this? Is it <u>the world</u>? Certainly it is correct to say: Conscience is the voice of God. For example: it makes me unhappy to think that I have offended such and such a man. Is that my conscience? Can one say: "Act according to your conscience whatever it may be"? Live happy!</p>		<p>"6.4311 Death is not an event of life. [...]. If by eternity is understood not endless temporal duration but timelessness, then someone lives eternally who lives in the present."</p>
09/07	<p>[IV, 604] Meanwhile, GO Pflanzer-Baltin, for whose exhausted army nothing could be done for the time being, was already trying to help himself by letting the XI Corps move forward from the southern tip of Bukovina, despite their low attack strength. After the loss-ridden retreat from the Pruth, the units lacked in particular the supply train necessary for a deep push through the difficult mountainous terrain.</p>			<p style="text-align: right;">09/07/1916</p> <p>If one could not give the most general form of proposition, then there would have to come a moment where we suddenly had a new experience, so to speak a logical one. That is, of course, impossible. $\phi x, \psi y, \chi z, \neg fa$ $\neg fa, (\exists x).fx (\exists \phi).\phi a, (\exists \phi, x).\phi x$ Do not forget that $(\exists x)fx$ does not mean: There is an x such that fx, but: There is a There is a true proposition "fx". The proposition fa speaks of particular objects, the general proposition of <u>all</u> objects.</p>		<p>The philosophical entries after 09/07 demonstrate that Wittgenstein, despite the new topics, had not forgotten his logical reflexions and was again turning his philosophical work to the remaining problems of the <i>Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung</i>, which was being worked out.</p>
10/07	<p>[IV, 617] New fighting was already unfolding near Delatyn early on 10 July. It seemed as if the Russians, coming from the Pruth valley by Dora, were trying to bypass the VIII Corps right wing. The 12th Army Command had rallied the severely depleted regiments of the 5th and 24th ID, which had only recently been disengaged from the front, as well as the 59th ID, as a reserve at Nadwórna. In view of the danger that threatened south of Delatyn, these forces were assigned to GO Pflanzer-Baltin. On 10 July he dispatched the remnants of the 5th and 24th ID to the hills northwest of Dora to protect Benigni's threatened flank.</p>					<p>Wittgenstein's 4th Battery seems to have been initially unaffected by the movement of the remains of the 24th ID to the hills near Dora, as the philosophical entries continue for a few days. It is possible that the infantry units of the division were first set in motion.</p>
11/07	<p>[IV, 618] On the evening of 11 July, GO Pflanzer-Baltin gave the order for a concentric attack on the enemy south of Delatyn. The attack was to be carried out on 13 July by the right wing of the VIII Corps, consisting of the remnants of the 5th ID and the 24th ID, and by the 8th KD, reinforced by the 202nd HIBrig, under the unified command of FZM Benigni.</p>			<p style="text-align: right;">11/07/1916</p> <p>The particular object is a very remarkable phenomenon. Instead of "all objects" we might say: <u>All particular objects</u>. If all particular objects are given, "all objects" are given. In short with the ^{particular} objects all objects are given.</p>		

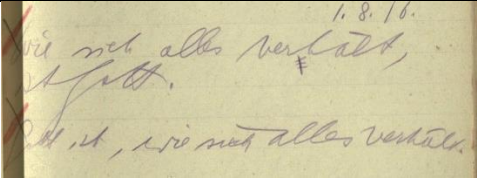
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				<p>/If there are objects, then "all objects" are also given. Therefore, it must also be possible to establish the unity of the elementary propositions and the general propositions. /For if elementary propositions are given, then <u>all</u> elementary propositions are thereby also given and thus the general proposition. – And is not unity already established with that?</p>		<p>"5.524 If the objects are given, then <i>all</i> objects are thereby also given to us. If elementary propositions are given, then <i>all</i> elementary propositions are thereby also given."</p>
12/07	<p>[IV, 618] GO Pflanzler-Baltin diligently carried out preparations for the operation and repeatedly visited the VIII Corps Command in Nadwórna. Deploying artillery in the trail-poor mountains was difficult and time-consuming. Moreover, on 12 July it began to rain. In the afternoon, FZM Benigni had to report that he could not possibly begin the attack before 14 July. In the evening, the [7th] Army Command, in view of Russian troop build-ups south of Delatyn, ordered the operation to be stopped. In the meantime, the Russians had not remained completely inactive near Delatyn. The outposts of the VIII Corps had already been attacked there during the night of 12 July.</p>			12/07/1916		<p>The transfer of the artillery units to the mountains in the hinterland between Delatyn and Dora probably took several days and involved waiting times for Wittgenstein, which gave him further opportunity for philosophical work. In any case, on 16 July he speaks of being "in the mountains" and also mentions the rain, which apparently began on 12 July and was still hindering the Austrian troops on 18 July.</p>
13/07	<p>[IV, 619] The following day, Benigni's fortifications on the hills northwest of Dora had to defend themselves against Russian advances.</p>			13/07/1916	<p>[Military postcard from the Mother dated 13/07/1916]. "My dear Ludwig! I have the deepest longing for a line from you! The last one was dated 30/06. I know we must be glad to have received it already but the anxious waiting seems always terribly long. Today a letter to you came from Zurich, dated 31 May, signed Davy. If you wish and take the risk that I send it to you, I will in any case have it copied first, because of the danger of it getting lost. It is a lengthy letter. Hopefully, this card will come into your hands, so that you are informed that it is coming. [...]"</p>	<p>"5.503 As it is obviously easy to express how propositions can be constructed by means of this operation and how propositions are not to be constructed by means of it, this must be capable of exact expression."</p>
14/07	<p>[IV, 619] On 14 July, artillery fights flared up in the fighting section east of Nadwórna. At the same time the Russians renewed their advances at Delatyn and also against the Pirs Dora. According to Pflanzler-Baltin's instructions, this important hilltop, a key point of the front, was not to be abandoned under any circumstances, lest the VIII Corps unravel and render all positions up to the Dniester untenable.</p>	 <p>[On the map: Delatyn, Luh, Dora and the Hill "Pirs Dora"] [From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 15 July. Official announcement: Russian theater of war: [...] Increased combat action near Delatyn. Enemy vanguards who had penetrated the town were pushed back to the southern edge. An attempted attack by the Russians southwest of Delatyn collapsed in our fire. Otherwise, nothing new in the northeast."</p>	<p>And this expression must already be given in the general form of the sign of an operation. And mustn't this be the only legitimate expression of the application of an operation? Obviously it must! For if the form of operation can be expressed at all, then it must be expressed in such a way that it <u>can</u> only be applied correctly. But what is the right expression for $(\exists x).\varphi x$? $(\exists \alpha).[\varphi \alpha \psi \beta \dots]$ $\varphi x \psi y \quad (\xi, \eta) \dots = \varphi_0(x, y, \dots)$ $(\exists x).\varphi_0(x, y, \dots), (\exists y):(\exists x).\varphi_0(x, y \dots)$ $(\exists \alpha):(\exists \alpha):(\exists \alpha).\varphi_0(\alpha, \alpha, \alpha, \dots)$ $(\exists \alpha)\{ \varphi_0(\alpha \dots) \} \dots$ Now still express the alternation between $(\exists x)$ and (x). But then the generality of the form as in the Ancestral Relation! $aRx \cdot xRy \cdot yRz \dots uRb$ $\cdot xRy \{ aRx \} \dots$</p>	14/07/1916	<p>It is noteworthy that the modified version of the remark in Ms 104 (<i>Prototractatus</i>) and later in the <i>Tractatus</i> speaks of "operation" in the singular, whereas in MS 103 four basic operations are still cited: "φx", "$\psi \chi z$", "$(\exists x)$." and "(x)". Of these four operations, however, only the second one, the so-called Sheffer Operation "$p q$" is still relevant in the final version of the <i>Tractatus</i>. In the <i>Tractatus</i> this operation is generalized by the "N-Operator" introduced in TLP 5.502. The three remaining operations in the remark of 13/07/1916, one for generating <i>all</i> elementary propositions, and two further for quantification are subsequently rejected. Again, as already in May, Wittgenstein poses the question of the expressibility of the existential quantifier $(\exists x)$. φx as its own basic operation. and here establishes a connection to the series of forms $aRx \cdot xRy \cdot yRz \cdot uRb$. In the end, however, these considerations do not lead to a useful result. There is nothing comparable in the <i>Tractatus</i>.</p>	
15/07	<p>[IV, 619] On 15 July, Pflanzler-Baltin held the 59th ID ready in the Luh area, in anticipation of a major Russian attack. This division did not have to be deployed, however, since Pirs Dora was claimed by the 5th ID.</p>			15/07/1916	[Feldpostkarte an die Mutter / verloren]	
				<p>$(\exists(aRx.xRy \dots zRb))$ $aRb \vee aRx.xRb \vee aRx xRy \cdot yRb \vee \dots \vee$ $aRx \cdot xRy \cdot yRz \cdot \dots uRb$ Here, reasonably, there can be no talk about an existence of things since also the</p>		


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				proposition aRb already fulfills the conditions. Nothing seems to be easier than a sentence like "a is a descendant of b"!		
16/07	[IV, 638] On the morning of 16 July, troops of the Russian XI Corps attacked the k.u.k. 8th KD and broke through its thin front on the hills northwest of Tatarów and in the Pruth valley. Tatarów was lost, but the pursuing Russians south of it were brought to a halt. The 202nd HIBrig still held firm at Vorochta and farther southeast. The 3rd KD was close to succumbing to enemy pressure at Zabie.		16/07/1916 <i>Terrible weather. It's bad in the mountains, not sufficiently sheltered, icy cold, rain, and fog. An agonizing life. It's terribly hard not to lose oneself. For I am, after all, a weak human being. But the spirit helps me. The best thing would be if I were already sick, then at least I would have a little peace.</i>	16/07/1916 xRy -- ξ · ξRη xRy · yRz xRy · yRz · zRu · ξRη (-- Rξ) ... -----		Wittgenstein's description suggests that his unit was stationed with some delay in the "mountains" of Pirs Dora (with an altitude of 962 m) and remained there until the end of July or beginning of August, being exposed to Russian attacks, which could be countered.
17/07	[IV, 641] Furthermore, the 10th IBrig Command and IR 13 were to be brought from the XI Corps to the VIII Corps and united with the forces located on its south wing, the 5th ID. Its commander was now GM von Felix.					
18/07	[IV, 640] The 7th Army's divisions were still rather disorganized. [IV, 641] Before this reorganization of the forces within the 7th Army was accomplished, GO Planter-Baltin, with the approval of the Army Group Command, ordered the VIII Corps southern wing to make a short advance, in order to drive back the Russian forces that had advanced across the Prut River south of Delatyn and to finally consolidate the slack link between the Benigni Corps and the Brudermann Cavalry Corps. The 5th ID and the 18th GbBrig arrived on the afternoon of 18 July. Difficult mountain terrain, rain, and fog complicated the operation.					
19/07	Nevertheless, by 19 July morning, the brave fighters had managed to drive the enemy situated between Delatyn and Dora back across the Pruth River. More than 500 Russians, who could not find their way back over the swollen river, were captured. [...] [IV, 644] The 24th ID, which was part of the k. u. k. VIII Corps, was also to be sent to the Hindenburg Army Group, so that it could then provide another German division for the Kövess Army.	[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 19 July. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: southwest of Delatyn, our	19/07/1916 <i>I still get angry. I'm a weak human being.</i>			
20/07	[left column: Wittgenstein's former unit 24th ID]. [IV, 649] In the last third of July, Letschitzki prepared for an attack on Stanislaw and Nadworna, covered by the left wing that had advanced deep into the Forest Carpathians. He planned to conduct this attack at the same time as Brusilov's decisive move on Kowel. [...] As early as 20 July, Russian troops attempted to advance from Jaremce into the flank of the k. u. k. VIII Corps. They did not succeed. The 9th IBrig, secure on the hills west of the Pruth, rebuffed the enemy.	[right column: Wittgenstein's future unit 68th IBrig (from 28/07/1916)] troops pushed back Russian divisions that had advanced on the west bank of the Pruth across the river, capturing 300 prisoners and two machine guns. Further north, nothing of note."	20/07/1916 <i>Just keep working so that you become good.</i>	20/07/1916 The ^{My} old classification of all propositional forms was basically correct only that a different kind of generality is needed. Man cannot make himself happy without more ado. Whoever happily lives in the present lives without fear and hope.	[Military postcard from the Mother, 20/07/1916] "My dear Ludwig, Received today your dear card of the 15th, from which I see to my sorrow that of all the cards I write to you and of what Mining writes to you, nothing comes into your hands. I immediately telephoned Trenkler to let him know of your wish. He will do his utmost to ensure that you receive the money safely and as quickly as possible. May he succeed! From my small snacks package which went off approx. 8 days ago to you probably nothing has arrived yet. We are all healthy [...]" [2 related Military postcards from Hermine W. dated 20/07/1916] "My dear Lukas! We are so happy that there always comes a message from you! Poor Mama doesn't show how worried she is, but you know it and because she lives only with her heart, there is no distraction for her like there is for us, for whom the head plays the greater role. [...]"	
21/07	[IV, 645] On 21 July, the Archduke Heir to the Throne launched the guiding thoughts of the 12th Army Command for the intended offensive push south of the Dniester and out of the Carpathian Mountains. [...] On both sides of the Pruth, a second attack group, comprising the 44th SchD, 5th ID, and 59th ID, was to advance in the direction of Myszyn and on Kolomea. [IV, 646] However, the planned deployment of forces for this major concentric attack against the 9th	[IV, 646] The resistance of the 3rd KD, protecting Czeremosz at the top of Czarny, had weakened. The division was exhausted and reported that it would not be able to halt until it reached Kopilas, where the 68th IBrig had taken up a position in the meantime.	[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 21 July. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: [...] The hills north of the Prislop Pass have been swept clean. The fighting near Tatarov continues. At Yamma, southwest of Delatyn, several Russian attacks failed."	21/07/1916 What really is the situation of the human will? I will call "will" first and foremost the bearer of good and evil. Let us imagine a man who could use none of his limbs and hence could, in the ordinary sense, not exercise his <u>will</u> . He could, however, think and <u>want</u> and thereby communicate his thoughts to someone else. Could therefore do good or evil through the other man. Then it is clear that ethics would have validity for him, too, and that	[Military postcard from the Mother dated 21/07/1916]. "My dear Ludwig! Since you never wrote to me that your field post number had changed again, all our cards, including the small food packets, were sent to your field post number 110. Now I see that you are writing 72 again and this explains why you have not received anything for so long, even though I write to you every 3 or 4 days. We are doing very well, even my foot is better. The money comes off immediately. Affectionately loving, Your Mother".	

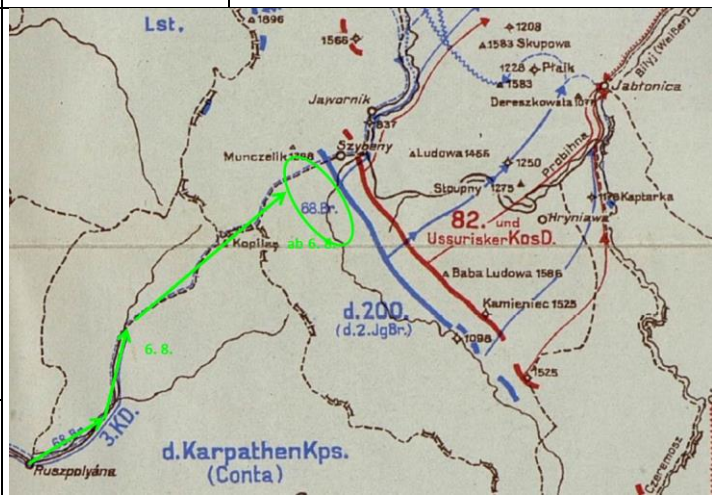
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	<p>Russian Army could not be carried out. [...]</p> <p>[IV, 646] By the time GO Pflanzler-Baltin arrived from Bohorodczany to Maramaros-Sziget on 21 July, the situation of the 7th Army was as follows: Habermann's XI Corps in southern Bukovina had remained fairly undisturbed by the enemy during the last few days. On its left wing, Major Russ's group [...] was located on the Gura Rucada. The further advance of this weak group through the rough forest mountains towards Jalowiczora was not possible for the time being, due to the increasingly unusable roads and the supply difficulties.</p>				<p>he in the <u>ethical sense</u> is the bearer of a <u>will</u>. Now is there any difference in principle between this will and <u>that</u> which sets the human body in motion?</p> <p>Or is the mistake here this: even <u>wanting</u> (thinking) is an activity of the will? (And in this sense, indeed, a man <u>without</u> will would not be alive.)</p> <p>But can we conceive a being that isn't capable of Will at all, but only of Idea (of seeing for example)? In some sense this seems impossible. But if it were possible then there could also be a world without ethics.</p>		
22/07	<p>[IV, 649] In the following days, Russian reconnaissance raids [...] had to be rebuffed at Dora and at various points between the Pruth and Dniester. GO Kövess pushed the newly formed Obst. Kranz group, made up of three battalions of Hadfy's group, into the 5th HKD's combat section. Further he extended the 30th ID (16th IBrig and IR 97) and the 44th SchD to the right, thus enabling the 24th ID to pull out at Delatyn. At the same time, the 59th ID, GM Kroupa, was deployed in place of the 5th ID on the hills west of Dora and of Jamna, and its right wing was extended to such an extent that the connection with the 34th ID standing on the Jablonica Pass was secured. [...]</p> <p>The detached troops of the 24th and the 5th ID moved to Nadworna in the course of 22 and 23 July.</p>					[Military postcards to the mother and to Hermine W. / lost]	
23/07		<p>[IV, 647] Meanwhile, the Army Group Command at Ruszpolyána had determined the offload of the incoming German Carpathian Corps. On 23 July, just one day before the first transport trains arrived, GO Pflanzler-Baltin reported to Army Group Command that reinforcement of FML Krauss's front appeared urgent if the Tartar Pass was to be held. This could be achieved if the 68th IBrig on the Kopilas were to be relieved by a regiment of the Carpathian Corps and then moved to the left wing. [...] However, the tense momentary situation on the 7th Army's left wing demanded a prompt attack, in order to relieve FML Krauss's group. So the Army Group Command decided on a quick advance of Group FML Bruderemann (68th IBrig, 3rd KD) from the Kopilas. With the cooperation of the Carpathian Corps, this operation was later to be continued for a deep penetration of the Russian front.</p>	<p>[Reward Application No. 500/1482 endorsed by Major General Urbarz (24th ID), but downgraded to Bronze Medal for Bravery; Oberleutnant Bertl's parallel application results in awarding the Silver Medal].</p> 	 <p>[vom 16. 7. – 28. 7. auf der Höhe „Pirs Dora“]</p>			<p>Wittgenstein's 4th Battery was not affected by the transfer of the 24th Infantry Division to the station at Nadworna (for transport to the German troops in the north) and presumably remained in the mountains near Dora for the time being as artillery support (very likely for the 59th Infantry Division which was located there at that time). On 24/07 and 28/07, respectively, it must in any case have been in a forward firing position ("We are being shelled" 24/07; "Yesterday, I was fired at" 29/07).</p> <p>The attested detachment of FHR 5 from the 24th Field Artillery Brigade (which remained with the 24th Infantry Division transferred to the German forces) and the associated reassignment of the 4th Battery to the 68th Infantry Brigade, deployed further south in the Carpathians, occurred no later than 28/07; the actual (three-day) rail transport to the new firing position was delayed until 03/08/1916.</p>
24/07	<p>[IV, 649] On 24 July the k. u. k. 24th ID [without FHR 5], designated for exchange with German forces, departed for Army Group Hindenburg.</p>	<p>[IV, 648] On 24 July GO Pflanzler-Baltin, who had proceeded to the Kopilas, gave FML Bruderemann orders for the attack. The 68th IBrig - although it included only 4 battalions and 6 batteries - was to</p>	<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "In eastern Galicia south of the Dniester, the approach of enemy</p>	<p>24/07/1916</p> <p><i>We are being shelled. And at every shot my soul contracts. I would like so much to keep on living!</i></p>	<p>24/07/1916</p> <p><i>/The world and life are one. Physiological life is of course not "Life". And neither is psychological life. Life is the world.</i></p>	<p>[Military postcard to the Mother / lost]</p> <p>[Military postcard from the Mother of 24/07/1916]</p> <p>"My good Ludwig! Hopefully by now you have received at least the money and the</p>	<p>"5.621 The world and life are one."</p>


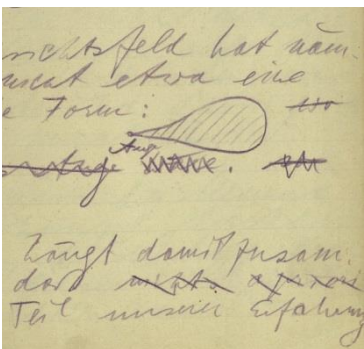


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	proceed as the main assault group across the Ludowa Hills A 1466 and over the ridges east of Czarny Czeremosz. The 3rd KD's rifle divisions were to lead the push up the valley via Jawornik on Zabie. A cavalry regiment each was to accompany the attack on the right and on the left side.	divisions was thwarted by artillery fire."		/Ethics does not treat of the world. Ethics must be a condition of the world, like logic. /Ethics and aesthetics are one.	card I sent to your last field post number and now you know that we are all healthy and my leg is much better. The last card I received from you was dated the 18th. Hopefully another one will come from you soon, because your affectionately loving mother is always anxiously thinking of you".	[this remark, although it bears the same marginal sign as the remarks above and below, was not included in the <i>Tractatus</i>] "6.421 [...] (Ethics and aesthetics are one.)"
25/07	The 68th IBrig and the 3rd KD moved in early on the morning of 25 July. The assault forces managed to advance from the Kopilas and from the border ridge east and west of it for about three to four kilometres through the high forest. Sent in advance assault troops penetrated the Russian outpost line on the right bank of the Czarny Czeremosz, but were forced to turn back by enemy counterattacks.					
26/07	On 26 July in the morning FML Brudermann's group continued the advance and at noon, after a strenuous downhill, reached the depths of the Czeremosz Valley. The attack of the 68th IBrig did not go any further because of the great fatigue of the troops. Parts of the 3rd KD, still successfully fighting with Russian advance troops, climbed the steep slope ridge of Baba Ludowa and occupied the summit of Kamieniec. Towards evening the Russians tried to drive the opponent back down into the Czeremosz Valley. The brave DR 3, however, managed to maintain the hard-won space gain).		26/07/1916 <i>Touching letter from David. He writes that his brother has been killed in France. Terrible! This sweet, affectionate letter opens my eyes to how I live here in exile. It may be a healing exile, but I feel it now as an exile. I am banished among a bunch of worms and must live with them under the most disgusting circumstances. And in this environment, I am supposed to lead a good life and purify myself. But it is <u>terribly</u> hard! I am too weak. I am too weak! God help me.</i>	 <p>[David H. Pinsent 1909]</p>	[Military postcard to the Mother / lost] [Letter from David Pinsent of 31/05/1916] "My dear Ludwig, Many thanks for your letter which I received today. Am very sorry indeed that my letters haven't reached you. I sent them through an agency in Switzerland, but this one I send through the same lady through whom I have received your letters; so it is certain that this one will reach you. My earlier letters, although not written long ago, have evidently gone astray, because you ought to have received many in the last 6 months. It grieves me infinitely and I can only hope that you will get this communication and that it will explain everything to you. – My dear Ludwig, I feel so sorry for you, when I hear from you, that you have recently had to live through difficult times. Bear them with courage, and after the war we shall no doubt at once do our very best to see each other again. Believe me, I miss you very much! Imagine, my brother Richard, who went out to France in the war, was killed in France a couple of months ago. He and you were the two persons whom I most of all liked to see and wanted to be with – and now he is no longer here. Now I long even more to see you again. The War cannot change our personal relations; it has really nothing to do with personal relationships. I assure you that it has not in the least influenced my feelings towards you. For a second time some 5 months ago I was refused service in the army for medical reasons, and work at present extremely hard in connection with the war as – incredible to me – a mechanic. I have not heard much music lately, I am sorry to say. – Please write to me again when you have received this and tell me how you are – that all goes well with you. I look forward confidently to seeing you again and we shall both wait patiently for that moment. It will come, and it will be splendid after so long to go back to the	
27/07	[IV, 648] On 27 July morning, the 68th IBrig, supported by the 3rd KD, made its way up the ridge that swept northwest from the Ludowa. Brudemann's fatigued troops, however, were unable to penetrate the main Russian positions. In the afternoon the securing departments located on the hills north of Szybeny were thrown. The artillery failed to produce any effect in the confusing forest terrain. Rain and fog took away all visibility. The soldiers suffered greatly from the bad weather. Major food supply difficulties also made themselves felt. FML Brudermann reported the difficult situation to his army commander. GO Pflanzler-Baltin demanded perseverance in the present position.					

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						<p>times we had together and which, like so many other things, now appear so distant and almost inconceivable. Ever your friend, Davy"</p> <p>[Military postcard from Hermine W. of 26/07/1916] "My dear Lukas, I am so sorry that we did not know your new field post number, of course you could not get any of our messages! Your last card gave me immense pleasure, I am so anxious to receive your letter. What I would give to be able to talk to you, oh my good Lukas, when will that be possible? Writing is too difficult, because my thoughts are all chaotic, but in conversation many things would become clearer to me. What interests me most would be to know whether this time brings you something new or whether your work is completely apart; in any case, it must make one think! - There is nothing new with us [...]"</p> <p>[Military postcard from the Mother of 27/07/1916] "My dear Ludwig, to my joy I received another card from you yesterday, dated the 22nd. This always makes me feel alive again! Things are fine with us [...]"</p>	
28/07	<p>[V, Enclosure 7, Outline on 28/07/1916] 7th Army GO Pflanzler-Baltin Cavalry Group Command Bruderman 3rd KD Colonel Ritter von Szibo 68th IBrig Col. Greger (of the 34th ID) [from 1 August Lt. Gen. von Conta] IR 33 FJB 28 4th Bat FKR 24 4th Bat FHR 5 3rd Bat FHR 24 2nd KnBt GbAR 26 2800 fire rifles, 16 guns</p>		[I was fired at]		<p>[Military postcard from the Mother dated 28/07/1916.] "My dear Ludwig! I would so much like to know if the money we sent to three different field post numbers, most recently to 47, got into your hands and if you received Pinsent's letter. I have kept the copy. We are all well [...]"</p>		
29/07		<p>[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 29 July. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: [...] Yesterday the enemy resumed its attacks on extensive sections of the front. South of the Dniester the Russian attack was brought to a halt in front of our second line running east of Tlumacz. [...]"</p>	<p>29/07/1916 <i>Was shot at yesterday. Was terrified! I was afraid of death! I have now such a desire to live! And it is hard to renounce life once one is fond of it. That is precisely what "sin" is, an unreasonable life, a wrong view of life. From time to time I become an animal. Then I can think of nothing but eating, drinking and sleeping. Terrible! And then I also suffer like an animal, without the possibility of inner salvation. I am then abandoned to my desires and aversions. Then an authentic life cannot be considered.</i></p>	<p>29/07/1916 /For it is a fact of logic that wanting does not stand in any logical connexion with its own fulfilment. And it is also clear that the world of the happy is a <u>different one</u> from the world of the unhappy. Is seeing an activity? Is it possible to will good, to will evil, and not to will? Or is only he happy who does <u>not</u> will? "To love one's neighbour" would mean, Will! But can one want and yet not be unhappy if the want does not attain fulfilment? (And this possibility always exists.) Is it, according to common conceptions, good to want <u>nothing</u> for one's neighbour, neither good nor evil? And yet in a certain sense it seems that not wanting is the only good. Here I am still making crude mistakes! No doubt of that! It is generally assumed that it is evil to want someone else to be unfortunate. Can this be</p>	<p>[Military postcard from the Mother of 29/07/1916] "My dear Ludwig! Yesterday, in addition to a card to me dated the 24th, for which I thank you most deeply, there was also one to Mining dated the 22nd, in which you write that you have not received any news from home for more than a month. You will not think that we do not write to you for such a long time. In fact, I write to you myself at least twice a week, and more often lately, but your field number changes so often that even if I write immediately to the one you gave me, the card does not reach you there. So it happened that we sent the requested money to four different field post numbers. Also the second copy of Pinsent's letter will be sent today to number 189. May Heaven help that it gets into your hands. We are healthy my leg much better. Affectionately yours Mama".</p> <p>[Military postcard from Frege of 29/07/1916] "Dear Mr. Wittgenstein: I thank you very much for your greetings. I am always pleased when I get</p>	<p>"6.43 The world of the happy is a different one from that of the unhappy."</p>	

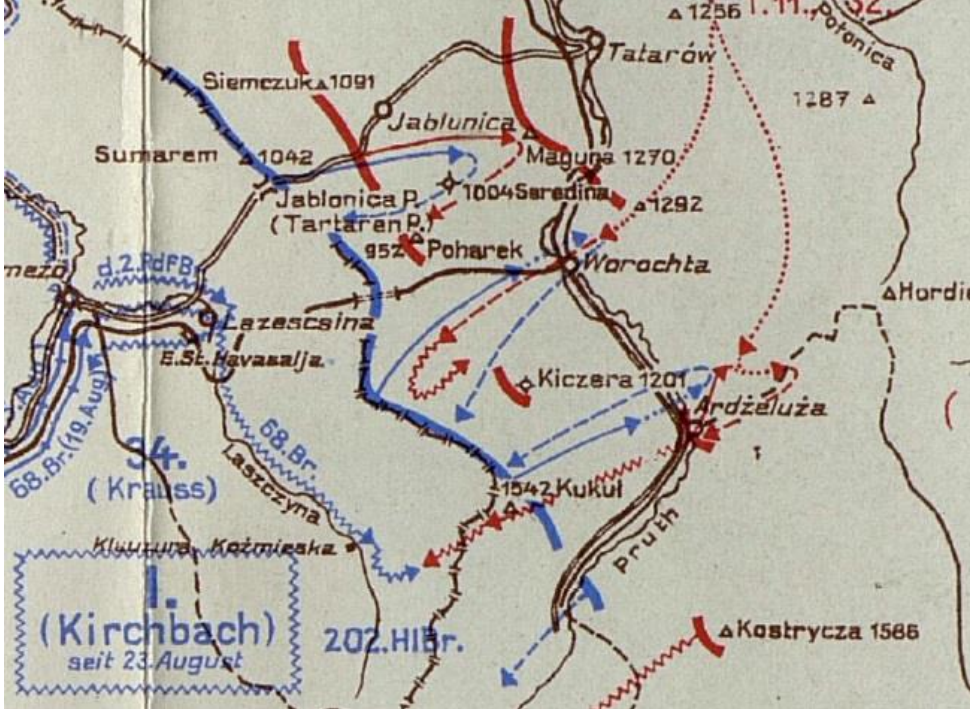
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				<p>correct? Can it be worse than to want him to be fortunate? Here everything seems to turn, so to speak, on <u>how</u> one wants. It seems one can't say anything more than: Live happily! The world of the happy is a different one from that of the unhappy. The world of the happy is <u>a happy world</u>. Then can there be a world that is neither happy nor unhappy?</p>	<p>a sign of life from you. But do forgive me that I reply to you so infrequently. Although on the surface life goes on as usual, so much runs through my head right now that I rarely get around to writing cards. I hope I shall soon receive another card from you in which I read of your truly high spirits. With best regards, Yours, G. Frege"</p>	<p>"6.43 The world of the happy is a different one from that of the unhappy." [However, the similarly worded passage above was marked in the manuscript].</p>	
30/07			<p>30/07/1916 <i>Funny: Today I am annoyed that in the infantry, to which I am now assigned, I cannot qualify for the officers' rations, as had earlier been promised would be the case. So I behave as childish and badly as possible. Even so, I cannot control my anger about the injustice endured. Again and again, I dwell on it, and wonder what I could do to remedy it. That's how stupid man is.</i></p>	<p>30/07/1916 / The first thought in setting up a general ethical law of the form "thou shalt ... etc." is: And what if I do not do it? / But it is clear that ethics has nothing to do with punishment and reward. This question as to the consequences of an action must therefore be irrelevant. At least these consequences will not be events. For there must be something right in that formulation of the question. There must be some sort of ethical reward and ethical punishment, but this must lie in the action itself. (And this is clear also that the reward must be something acceptable, and the punishment something unacceptable. I keep on coming back to this! simply the happy life is good, the unhappy bad. And if I <u>now</u> ask myself: But <u>why</u> should I live happily, then this of itself seems to me to be a tautological question; the happy life seems to be justified, of itself, it seems that it <u>is</u> the only right life. / But this is really in some sense deeply mysterious! <u>It is clear</u> that ethics <u>cannot</u> be articulated. But we could say: The happy life seems to be in some sense more <u>harmonious</u> than the unhappy. But in what sense?? What is the objective mark of the happy, harmonious life? Here it is again clear that there cannot be any such characteristic, that can be <u>described</u>. This characteristic cannot be a physical one but only a metaphysical one, a transcendental one. / Ethics is transcendent.</p>	<p>[Military postcard from Hermine W. of 30/07/1916] "My dear Lukas! I received your dear card of the 23rd yesterday. How gladly I would write you something to thank you that would interest you, but my thoughts are as one-sided and monotonous as my work. What a blessing a stimulating word would be for me! I unfortunately do not have time to read, there is too much to do. Even if I go tomorrow for 2 days to the Hochreit where all sorts of things are going on, I will not be able to read, but perhaps I will wake up a bit. I like talking to Paul and when the Salzlers are on the Hochreit, I will sometimes have the occasion to speak with them in the evening. Max's optimism is too shallow for me, although I personally like him a lot, he proves everything with details that is too easy! Your sister Mining embraces you most affectionately". [Military postcard to the Mother / lost, but preserved is a draft on the reverse side of the letter from David Pinsent, which Wittgenstein received on 26/07.] "Dear Mama! Forgive me for bothering you with a big request. The brother of our officer, a certain August Bertl, has fallen into Russian captivity. [...] The name of the prisoner is [...] he was captured on [...]. Now I thought that it might be possible to make inquiries through Otto Franz. Oberleutnant i d. Res Dr August / Bertl / K. u k. Res. I. R. 2 / 3 July 1916 captured / battles near Baranowitschi / Oblt i d. Res Dr Augusts Bertl a brother of our first officer [...] fell into Russian captivity in the battles near Baranowitschi [...]. One could"]</p>	<p>The changed rations arrangements (at the 59th Infantry Division) indicate the transitional situation after the withdrawal from the 24th Infantry Division and before the arrival at the 68th Infantry Brigade. "6.422 The first thought in setting up an ethical law of the form 'thou shalt ...' is: And what if I do not do it? But it is clear that ethics has nothing to do with punishment and reward in the ordinary sense. This question as to the consequences of an action must therefore be irrelevant. At least these consequences will not be events. For there must be something right in that formulation of the question. There must be some sort of ethical reward and ethical punishment, but this must lie in the action itself. (And this is clear also that the reward must be something acceptable, and the punishment something unacceptable.) Wittgenstein is apparently trying to locate August Bertl, the brother of his battery commander, who had fallen into Russian captivity (see the mother's replies of 08/08 and 09/08/1916). "6.421 It is clear that ethics cannot be articulated. Ethics is transcendental. [...]"</p>	
31/07			[From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:]		[Letter to David Pinsent / lost]		
01/08		[V, 155] On 1 August, [Prussian] Lt. Gen. von Conta assumed command of the 68th IBrig of the previous Brudermann Group, in place of FML Brudermann.	<p>"Vienna, 31 July. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: [...] In south-eastern Galicia the day passed relatively quietly."</p>	 <p>1. 8. 16. Wie mit alles verhält, ist, ist, wie mit alles verhält.</p>	<p>01/08/1916 / How things stand, is God. / God is, how things stand. Only from the consciousness of the <u>uniqueness of my life</u> arises religion – science – and art.</p>		<p>The two marked sentences "How things stand, is God. God is, how things stand." were transcribed into Ms 104 at the end of 1917, but they were not given a propositional in the <i>Prototractatus</i> and are not found in the final version of the <i>Tractatus</i>. By this decision, posterity has probably been spared a library-heavy number of secondary works on "Wittgenstein's Theology."</p>

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02/08		 <p data-bbox="507 674 804 747">[Archduke Karl with Lt. Gen. von Conta during the inspection of the Carpathian Corps.]</p>			<p data-bbox="1834 142 1952 170">02/08/1916</p> <p data-bbox="1507 176 1952 1234"> And this consciousness is life itself. Can there be any ethics if there is no living being but myself? If ethics is to be something fundamental: yes! If I am right, then it is not sufficient for the ethical judgment that a world is given. Then the world in itself is neither good nor evil. For it must be all one, as far as concerns the existence of ethics, whether there is living matter in the world or not. And it is clear that a world in which there is only dead matter is ^{in itself} neither good nor evil, so even the world of living things can in itself be neither good nor evil. /Good and evil only enter through the <u>subject</u>. And the subject does not belong to the world but it is a limit of the world. One could say (à la Schopenhauer): The world of the imagination is neither good nor evil, but the willing subject. I am conscious of the complete unclarity of all these sentences. Going by the above, then, the willing subject would have to be happy or unhappy, and happiness and unhappiness could not be part of the world. As the subject is not a part of the world but a presupposition of its existence, so good and evil which are predicates of the subject, are not properties in the world. Here the nature of the subject is completely veiled. Yes, my work has extended from the foundations of logic to the essence of the world. </p>	<p data-bbox="1967 142 2309 562"> [Military postcard from the Mother of 02/08/1916] "Dearest Ludwig, I hope to God that you have finally received our messages and money! The latter I sent to the 4th field post numbers 72, 110, 47 and 189 as well as many cards from Mining and from me, also two copies of a letter from your friend Pinsent to you. I am quite unhappy that also your two dear cards from the 26th and 30th which I received today do not confirm anything, hopefully something has meanwhile come into your hands. Lately it was written in various newspapers that Russell has been dismissed. - Everything is healthy with us [...]" </p>	<p data-bbox="2318 659 2635 711">"5.632 The subject does not belong to the world but it is a limit of the world."</p> <p data-bbox="2318 1121 2846 1230"> see <i>Tractatus</i>: "5.4711 To give the essence of proposition means to give the essence of all description, therefore the essence of the world." </p>
03/08	<p data-bbox="181 1262 825 1451"> [V, 155] On 3 August the German Carpathian Corps descended over the border ridge of the Forest Mountains into the upper Czarny Czeremosz Valley to attack, in conjunction with the 68th IBrig, the Russian main position, which stretched at an altitude of 600 meters above the valley of the Kamieniec along the broad-arched ridge of the Baba Ludowa to the south of Jawornik. The k. u. k. 3rd KD was pulled out of the front line and moved to the Vissö valley towards Borsa. [V, 156] At noon on 3 August, Lt. Gen. Conta, after vigorous artillery preparation, attacked the Russians (troops of the XI Corps) in their positions on Kamieniec and on the ridge sweeping from Baba Ludowa to Czeremosz. The Heir to the Throne GdK Archduke Karl Franz Joseph and his Chief of Staff GM Seeckt stayed on the Kopilas to witness this attack. [...] At noon the German fighter battalions stormed uphill and, in a first attempt, snatched the Kamieniec Hills and Baba Ludowa from the shaken enemy. The k. u. k. 68th IBrig seized the Russian barricade position north of Szybeny. </p>		<p data-bbox="1041 1262 1389 1289">[Transfers/train travel to the Carpathians].</p>			<p data-bbox="1967 1262 2309 1289">[Picture postcard to the Mother / lost]</p>	<p data-bbox="2318 1262 2846 1430"> The transfer of Wittgenstein's battery probably took place in a cumbersome way from the railway station in Nadworna via Hungary and therefore took several days. The journey must also have given the opportunity to send postcards and letters instead of the usual field postcards. The last part of the route to the front could only be made on foot ("On the march to the firing position", 06/08). </p>
04/08			<p data-bbox="1041 1654 1389 1682">[Transfers/train travel to the Carpathians].</p>		<p data-bbox="1834 1654 1952 1682">04/08/1916</p> <p data-bbox="1507 1688 1952 1877"> /Is not in the end the imagining subject mere superstition. /Where in the world is a metaphysical subject to be found? /You say it is the same ^{here} as with the eye and the visual field. But you do <u>not</u> actually see the eye. </p>		<p data-bbox="2318 1682 2703 1709">"5.631 There is no thinking, imagining subject."</p> <p data-bbox="2318 1740 2763 1900"> "5.633 Where in the world is a metaphysical subject to be found? You say it is the same here as with the eye and the visual field. But you do <i>not</i> actually see the eye. And nothing in the visual field </p>

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				And I think that nothing in the visual field lets one infer that it is seen by an eye.		lets one infer that it is seen by an eye."
05/08	[V, 178] On 5 August the troops of the k.u.k. 59th ID advanced against the Russian positions at Dora in order to divert the enemy's attention from the Tartar Pass.	[V, 179] On 5 August, the Carpathian Corps prepared to attack the high-altitude position occupied by the UssuriKosD and detachments of the Russian 82nd ID, which stretched 1077, 1228, and 1208 meters from the Dereszkowata across the Plaik and the Kreta between the Czarny and the Bilyj Czeremosz.	[Transfers/train travel to the Carpathians].	05/08/1916 The imagining subject is probably empty delusion. But the willing subject exists. If the will did not exist, neither would there be that centre of the world, which we call the I, and which is the bearer of ethics. What is good and evil is essentially the I, not the world. The I, the I is what is deeply mysterious!		
06/08	[V, 178] The 59th ID's local advance succeeded, triggering enemy counterattacks on 6 and 7 August but these were repulsed.	[V, 179] On 6 August Conta's main forces (the German 2nd Hunter Brigade) stormed the hills of Dereszkowata and Plaik. The Russians were thrown back on Jablonica. The k. u. k. 68th IBrig was in a continuing attack against height 1208.	From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:] "Vienna, 6 August. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: south of Jablonica and Tartarov the Austro-Hungarian and German troops are advancing despite violent resistance from the enemy. The army of Colonel General von Köveß countered strong Russian advances southwest of Delatyn. Further north, no special events."	06/08/1916 <i>After 3 days on the train, on the march to the firing line. Not in the best of health and sick to my soul due to the bigotry and meanness of my compatriots. God give me power, the inner strength, to defy this soul-sickness. God keep me in good spirits.</i>	[Postcard to the Mother / lost]	
07/08	[V, 181] On 7 August General Letchitsky was ready to advance on Tiumacz and on Nizniow, as Brusilov had ordered him to do on 4 August. The artillery opened a heavy cannonade early in the morning on the whole front from the Pruth to the Dniester. [...] At the southern wing of the k. u. k. VIII Corps, the 59th ID repulsed sharp advances near Dora.	[V, 179] On 7 August, the 68th IBrig was under threat from Russian forces advancing southward along the Pod Kreta ridge and on the west bank of the Bilyj Czeremosz. Hereupon Lt. Gen. Conta decided to reinforce the 68th IBrig with forces of the German 2nd Fighter Brigade and to continue the push over Jablonica and against Zabie only after the situation had been clarified.		07/08/1916 The I is not an object.		Wittgenstein escaped from the continuing fighting at Pirs Dora, where his battery had remained until late July, after leaving the 24th Infantry Division to support the 59th . Thereby they escaped also from the capture of the hills by the Russians, by being transferred to the 68th Infantry Brigade .
08/08	[V, 180] On 8 August, the newly arrived German 1st ID, GM Paschen (totaling 9 battalions, 1 squadron, and 15 batteries), was transferred to Lt. Gen. Conta, who already had under his command Major Russ's group, the reinforced German 2nd Fighter Brigade, renamed the 200th ID, and the k. u. k. 68th IBrig ; Conta also received command of the 40th HID and of Lt. Col. Schmidt's group, located at Sarata.			08/08/1916	[Military postcard from the Mother of 08/08/1916] "My dear Ludwig, in all haste, thank you very much and with many kisses for your letters received in the last two days and for the card written on the march. Otto Fr. can do nothing in this matter, can only pass on the news back and forth when one knows the whereabouts, but I have immediately asked the Red Cross to investigate, through a skillful and agreeable individual. This never happens quickly. Unfortunately! I have written to Dolezal, hope he will come to see me soon. We are all healthy [...]"	It is unclear to what extent Wittgenstein's artillery unit was involved in the fighting of the 68th Infantry Brigade in those days. However, it can be assumed that artillery support was needed on an ongoing basis, as it had been in the 24th Infantry Division, although the conditions in the mountains were more difficult. The fact that Wittgenstein finds time again from 11/08 on to make long philosophical entries speaks against a direct participation in a combat mission.
09/08	[V, 184] On 9 August the forces of the Russian XI Corps, standing on the upper Prut, attacked the 59th ID and in the afternoon, after hard fighting, captured the important hill of Pirs Dora. That division had to withdraw its left wing to a prepared second position.	[V, 194] On the left of the 200th ID, the Russians began to attack the fuses of the k. u. k. 68th IBrig on the Kreta Ridge in the evening of 9 August.			[Military postcard from the Mother of 09/08/1916] "My dear Ludwig! Today I received a message from the relevant person employed by the Red Cross that the inquiry about the whereabouts of the first lieutenant would be sent to the Russian Red Cross immediately, but that an answer unfortunately could not be expected for another two months. With our Paul it took much longer, that is the terrible thing! Warmest thanks for your dear postcard greeting from the 3rd. Your mother, who is constantly thinking of you, embraces you most affectionately in spirit".	
10/08					[Military postcard from the Mother / lost]	


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11/08			<p>11/08/1916 <i>I am living in sin, hence unhappyly. I'm morose, joyless. I'm at strife with my entire company.</i></p>	<p>11/08/1916 I objectively confront every object. But not the I. /Thus there really is a way in which, in philosophy, there can and must be talk of the ¹ <u>in a nonpsychological sense.</u></p>		<p>"5.641 Thus there really is a sense in which, in philosophy, there can be talk of the I nonpsychologically.</p>
12/08	<p>[V, 194] Lt. Gen. Conta reinforced this brigade with troops of the 200th ID and on 12 August had it continue the attack against Zabie. After tough forest battles, elements of the k. u. k. 68th IBrig and German Fighters captured a Russian position southeast of Bystrzec on the evening of 12 August. After this local success, however, Conta's left wing, in front of which the Russian resistance was intensifying, had to confine itself to defensive operations.</p>		<p>12/08/1916 <i>You know what you have to do to live happily; why don't you do it? Because you are unreasonable. A bad life is an unreasonable life. The important thing is not to get angry.</i></p>	<p>12/08/1916 /The I enters philosophy in that the world is <u>my</u> world. /For the visual field does not have a form such as this:  where Eye A would be the eye, but / Connected with this is that nothing is a priori no part of our experience is a priori. /Everything we see could also be otherwise. Everything we can describe at all could also be otherwise.</p>		<p>The I enters philosophy in that "the world is my world". [...]" „5.6331 For the visual field does not have a form such as this:  Auge" "5. 634 Connected with this is that no part of our experience is a priori as well. Everything we see could also be otherwise. Everything we can describe at all could also be otherwise. [...]"</p>
13/08	 <p>[Feldzeugmeister Benigni]</p>	<p>[Reward Request No. 500/1377 endorsed by 8th Corps Command FZM Benigni "as former group commander"].</p>	<p>13/08/1916 <i>Still fighting in vain against my weak nature. God strengthen me! —</i></p>	<p>13/08/1916 Suppose that man must could not exercise his will, but had to suffer all the misery of this world, then what could make him happy? How can man be happy at all, since he cannot ward off the misery of this world? Just through the life of knowledge. The good conscience is the happiness what that the life of knowledge preserves. The life of knowledge is the life that is happy in spite of the misery of the world. Only the life is happy that can renounce the amenities of the world. To it the amenities of the world are so many graces of fate.</p>		
14/08					<p>[Military postcard from the Mother, 14/08/1916] My dear Ludwig! Yesterday, the exceptionally nice man from Wöllersdorf visited me and talked to me about his profound affection for you, as if he had been wound up. He came in the morning, stayed for lunch and was really happy. But I was even more grateful to him. We are all healthy [...]"</p>	
15/08	<p>[V, 202] It was now urgent to reinforce the left wing of the k. u. k. 7th Army. GO Pflanzler-Baltin dispatched to Rafailowa a brigade of the 3rd KD, already arriving at Körösmező. In addition, he brought the 68th IBrig, deployed on the left wing of the Carpathian Corps in the direction of Zabie, via Ruszpolyana to the Tartar Pass.</p>				<p>[Military postcard tot he Mother / lost]</p>	
16/08	<p>Lt. Gen. Conta withdrew the German 200th ID from its advanced positions near Jablonica back to Kaptarka and Skupowa, in order to be able to move forward forces of this division in place of the k.u.k. 68th IBrig against Zabie.</p>	<p>[Reward Request No. 500/1482 endorsed by 8th Corps Command FZM Benigni "as a former group commander," upgraded from bronze back to Silver Medal of Bravery]</p>		<p>16/08/1916 A point cannot be red and green at the same time: at first sight there seems no need for this to be a <u>logical</u> impossibility. But the very mode of expression in physics reduces it to a kinetic impossibility. We see that between red and green there is a difference of structure.</p>		<p>see <i>Tractatus</i>: "6.3751 For two colours, e.g. to be at one place in the visual field, is impossible, logically impossible, for it is excluded by the logical structure of colour. Let us consider how this contradiction presents itself in physics. Somewhat as follows:</p>

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				<p>And then physics arranges them in a series. And then we see how here the true structure of the objects is brought to light.</p> <p>That a particle cannot at the same time be in two places does look much more like a <u>logical</u> impossibility.</p> <p>If we ask why, e.g., then straight away comes the thought: Well, because we ^{should} call particles that were in two places different particles, and this in its turn ^{all} seems to follow from the structure of space and of particles.</p>		<p>That a particle cannot at the same time have two velocities, i.e. that at the same time it cannot be in two places, i.e. that particles in different places at the same time cannot be identical."</p>
17/08				<p>17/08/1916 /An operation is the transition from one term to the next one in a formal series. /The operation and the formal series are equivalents.</p>	<p>[Military postcard from the Mother of 17/08/1916] "My dear Ludwig, since your card of the 3rd I have received nothing more from you and am anxious for a message from you. I wrote you that Dolezal visited me and I found him a very likeable person. I think he would rather be with you than in his present occupation. Things are going well with us [...]"</p>	<p>see <i>Tractatus</i>: "5.232 The internal relation that orders a series is equivalent to the operation by which one term arises from another."</p>
18/08						
19/08	<p>[V, 215] The Honved managed to hold its ground at first, but was attacked again fiercely on the 19th. It lost the Kukul and was pushed down the Laszczyna Valley to Klauzura Kozmieska. The Russians were now standing on the flank of the Tartar Pass. In a hurry, the reserves, two battalions of the 68th IBrig, which had meanwhile arrived in Körösmező, were assigned to Colonel von Savoly for the recapture of Kukul to Klauzura.</p>		<p>19/08/1916 <i>Surrounded by viciousness! Shall be off to the cadre in the hinterland in the near future. I'm glad about it. Surrounded by viciousness. God will help.</i></p>	<p>19/08/1916</p>		<p>It is unclear whether Wittgenstein was participating in actions of the 68th Infantry Brigade in the following days. In any case, it is conspicuous that for the next ten days there are neither personal nor philosophical entries and the one intended by the date on 19/08 was not written. In any case, the expected transfer to the hinterland did not occur until 02/09/1916.</p>
20/08						
21/08	<p>On 21 August, the situation worsened. The German 200th ID was engaged in new fighting on the hills of Kreta and Stepanski. It rebuffed the Russian attacks in a thorough and bloody manner. But to its left the Russians boldly advanced up to Turkul, bypassed the Landsturm guards standing on the Spyci hills and entrenched themselves on the Tomnatic ridge. Lt. Gen. Conta had no choice but to turn the endangered left wing of the 200th ID back to the frontier ridge. [...]</p>				<p>[Military postcard from the Mother of 21/08/1916] "My dear Ludwig! On your dear card of the 10th I noticed that you have the field post No. 72 again and wrote to you immediately. I hope you received the card and now perhaps also the previous one in which I reported to you that the nice Dolezal had visited me. I was so grateful that through him I could learn more about you. How I pine for you, my beloved child, there surely isn't an hour in which I don't think about you. We are all well [...] I received with gratitude your dear card of the 15th today."</p> <p>[Military postcard from Adele Jolles of 21/08/1916, Military mail redirected to Olomouc F.H. Regt 5.-Ers.Bt/Galgenberg 3] "Dear Mr. Wittgenstein. It seems that my last card and a small box of pretzels haven't reached you. It was supposed to be a <i>ballon d'essai</i> to be followed by something better. - How may you be? And where should we look for you in our thoughts? - We know approximately about all our acquaintances - about you, unfortunately, as good as nothing. In any case - wherever you might be, you are accompanied by our heartfelt wishes. How is your lady mother? Haven't you had a vacation since last year?! As I write this, the clarinet quintet is accompanying me and would also like to bring you warm wishes."</p>	

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22/08	Meanwhile, during the attack on the Kukul, the 68th IBrig and the 202nd HIBrig had slowly gained ground.				<p>[Letter from David Pinsent of 22/08/1916] My dear Ludwig, Thank you very much for your letter of 31st July which I got today. I am so glad that everything is still good with you. I think it admirable that you still have time and energy to think about the old philosophical problems. Until about eight months ago, I too did the same. I also wrote a longish Essay which you must see some day, but latterly I had to work so hard that I no longer had time for that. – I am an engineer or rather a craftsman; I work in a factory for engines. Very interesting but also very fatiguing. For many months I have had no holidays except for 5 days sick leave recently when I went out sailing in a small boat. – It is a long time since I visited Cambridge and it is difficult for me to go there, but I shall write to Russell and give him greetings from you and tell him that he can write to you. – I long to see you again; as soon as the War is over, we shall meet, if necessary – in Switzerland. Ever your friend, Davy PS My mother asks me especially to tell you that she very much hopes to see you in our home in England when the War is over, and she thanks you most sincerely for your condolences on the occasion of Richard's death. Ever yours Davy</p>	
23/08	On 23 August, the Honved recaptured a position east of Klauzura, but then came to a halt.					
24/08	In the afternoon of 24 August, counterattacks by the Russians had to be crushed by the 202nd HIBrig in a fierce struggle.					
25/08	[V, 216] On the evening of 25 August, the 202nd HIBrig was once again attacked by the Russians near Klauzura. It had to withdraw from some of its positions. Two days later,					
26/08						
27/08	on 27 August, the Russians advanced also against the frontier ridge northwest of the Kukul; but they were driven back by the k.u.k. 68th IBrig. [Romania's declaration of war on Austria.]	[Berlin, 28 August:] "The Romanian Government Declared War on Austria-Hungary Last Night."			<p>[Military postcard from Adele Jolles of 27/08/1916] "Dear Mr. Wittgenstein, according to your last kind words, you again haven't received any of my cards! And neither the parcel. It is awful, –and therefore I can't send you anything. Do you receive what is sent to you from home? My goodness, didn't you have another vacation since last August? I have asked so often. - Oh God, imagine what we're going to play when you come back – if I can still read music and move my fingers by then, that is. And do I understand you right - you want to have the "third, seventh and ninth" – Beethoven?!!! have you so changed? All the best with you, affectionately AJ."</p>	<p>If Wittgenstein's battery took part in the attack of the 68th Infantry Brigade on Mount Kukul, then he must have been in the Laszcyna valley between 19 and 27 August; otherwise he will probably have remained in his previous position until his detachment at the beginning of September. From the lack of philosophical entries until 29 August, one can at best conclude that he was busy with military tasks. In any case, the files of the War Archives at this time (and until 2 September 1916) still list him as "in the field".</p>
28/08	<p>[Archduke Friedrich's army order:] Today the following order has been issued by the Army High Command: Soldiers! Fellow warriors! I did inform you that a new enemy has appeared in the ranks of our adversaries: the Kingdom of Romania. Your honest soldier sense will find the right measure of contempt for this predatory invasion. In the last years we have overcome many a difficult hour, we will fight with honor also this new bunch, faithful to our oath to the banners of the Supreme Military Commander! God be with you!</p>	<p>[Reward application No. 500/1377 endorsed by the 7th Army Command, but downgraded from the silver to the Bronze Medal of Bravery].</p>				

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	Archduke Friedrich, Field Marshal.				<p>are healthy. In saying that everyone is going through some kind of martyrdom at this time, you are absolutely right. Whatever I do, my thoughts are always with you, my beloved child. [...]"</p> <p>[Military postcard from Gottlob Frege, 28/08/1916, redirected to the Reserve Battery/Olomouc] "Dear Mr. Wittgenstein, Many thanks for your card of the 16th! I have just heard that Romania has declared war on Austria. Now we must summon all our strength and stiffen our backs! This so disturbs me that at present I can think of little else. Could you not now and then spare some time to set down your thoughts— even if disjointed and unordered—on paper, and communicate them to me? I will preserve these letters for you and attempt to answer you. In this way a scientific exchange might be brought about between us that would be at least a small substitute for face-to-face conversation. With best regards, Yours, G. Frege"</p>	
29/08				<p style="text-align: right;">29/08/1916</p> <p>The question is whether the usual small number of basic operations is adequate for the construction of all possible operations. It seems that this must be so. One may also ask whether one can pass from every expression to ^{every} akin one by means with those basic operations.</p>		<p>see <i>Tractatus</i>: "5.474 The number of necessary basic operations depends <i>only</i> on our notation."</p>
30/08		From the Austro-Hungarian Army Report:]				
31/08		<p>"Vienna, 30 August. The following is officially announced: Russian theater of war: In the Galician Carpathian Forest, the German troops have recaptured from the Russians the hills of Kukul, which had been hotly contested in recent weeks. Apart from the forefield fighting on the Russian front, no special events."</p>			<p>[Military postcard from Hermine W.. 31/08/1916] "My dear Ludwig, we are incredibly happy to have news from you. Unfortunately, your field post number is locked and I am writing just at random so that the card is sent as soon as the lock is lifted. The external conditions are pretty much the same for us. Mama's well-being changes, but without any real change. Paul divides his time between piano and the war effort. I am happy because Greti is in Vienna for a few days; I can't tell you how much I love and admire her! Why does she have such quirks that lead to sharper reprimands than for those who don't act as well and as generously in great things as she does? Even Mama is offended by certain comments, toilets, etc., and it is just these that are easily and hourly visible, the inner greatness can't be held up to everyone's nose. (My dear Lukas, you in the field already have the opportunity to show this and we know that you do it, that's all I'm saying and also only in parenthesis so that you don't get angry) If only I could also do something decent but here the spirit is willing and the flesh is weak! I now have a vacation which I will spend on the Hochreit and so that I don't just hang around as it would be necessary, they give me Mariechen as a stumbling block; she is delighted about it because for her the Hochreit is paradise and I am also very pleased about a younger</p>	

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					generation's interest in the Hochreit. I often think now how mortifying it must have been for Papa that none of his children had any interest in what he was doing; I didn't care at all whether there were cows or rhinoceroses in the barn and unfortunately I can no longer tell him that I am very interested in it now that it concerns me! - Won't you get a vacation after such a long hard time? How happy we would be to see you! Poor Mama is really not complaining at all, she is also great in her way, but her nerves are already pretty low and it is impossible to say what that would mean for her. - My good Lukas, I have been writing these silly cards for 10 days now, because I have much more inside me that I want to tell you than what can be on a card, my heart is really full! With the warmest affection, your sister Mining".	
01/09		[Main register sheet:] [L.W.] promoted to tit. Corporal on 01/06/1916				The promotion to corporal is connected with the transfer to the officer training at the reserve battery in Olomouc.
02/09		[div. files: "in the field" until 2 September 1916]	<p>[from MS 102] 23/05/1915 The limits of my language mean the limits of my world. There really is only one world soul, which I for preference call my soul and as which alone I conceive what I call the souls of others. The above remark gives the key for deciding the way in which solipsism is a truth. I have long been conscious that it would be possible for me to write a book: 'The world I found'. [...]</p> <p>In the book 'The world I found' I should also have to report on my body and say which members are subject to my will, etc. For this is a way of isolating the subject, or rather of skewing that in an important sense there is no such thing as the subject; for it would be the one thing that could <u>not</u> come into this book.–</p>	<p>02/09/1916 /Here one sees that solipsism strictly carried out coincides with pure realism. /The I in solipsism shrinks to an extensionless point and what is left is the reality co-ordinated with it.</p> <p>$p \cdot q \rightarrow p$ $\{p \cdot q\} \vee p \cdot \sim q = p$</p> <p>What has history to do with me? Mine is the first and only world! I want to report how I found the world. What others in the world have told me about the world is a very small and incidental part of my experience of the world. I have to judge the world, to measure things. /The philosophical self is not the human being, not the human body or the human soul, with which psychology is concerned, but the metaphysical subject, the limit (not a part) of the world. The human body, however, <u>my</u> body in particular, is a part of the world among others, among beasts, plants, stones etc., etc. Whoever realizes this will not want to procure a pre-eminent place for his own body or for the human body. He will regard humans and beasts quite naïvely as objects which are similar and which belong together.</p>		<p>Return from the front to Vienna (short leave): The entry "in the field until 02/09/1916", which can be found in several documents of the Vienna War Archives, is probably to be read as meaning that Wittgenstein left the front on this day and came to Vienna. In any case, he stayed in Vienna from 02–12/09. There is a lot that suggests that the notebook entry of 02/09 was written already in Vienna and that Wittgenstein had access to his own notebook Ms 102 that had remained there, and that he specifically looked again through the remarks of 23 May 1915. There are clear and otherwise hardly explicable partly literal similarities, which are especially striking in the phrases "The world I found" (Ms 102) and "how I found the world" (Ms 103). If we look for a connection to the "Here" in the opening sentence "Here one sees that solipsism [...]", we do not find a possible counterpart in Ms 103 itself, but the remarks fit very well to the remark of 23/05/1915.</p> <p>The passages in the <i>Tractatus</i> corresponding to the marked sections: "5.64 Here one sees that solipsism strictly carried out coincides with pure realism. The I in solipsism shrinks to an extensionless point and what is left is the reality co-ordinated with it." "5.641 [...] The philosophical self is not the human being, not the human body or the human soul, with which psychology is concerned, but the metaphysical subject, the limit—not a part—of the world."</p>
03/09						During his vacation in Vienna, Wittgenstein seized the opportunity to prepare a typescript with selected remarks from his diaries from 1914 to March 1916. This typescript was later corrected in Olomouc and used there for the further elaboration of the <i>Abhandlung</i> in MS 104.
04/09						
05/09						
06/09						
07/09						
08/09						
09/09						
10/09						
11/09				11/09/1916		

Date	Austria-Hungary's Last War (ÖULK)	War Archive files	Ms 103 (personal remarks)	Ms 103 (philosophical remarks)	Correspondence	Commentary (Martin Pilch)
		[Reward Application No. 500/1482 endorsed by the 7th Army Command, Silver Medal for Bravery].		The way in which language signifies is mirrored in its use. That the colour is not a property is shewn by the analysis of physics and That the colours are not properties is shewn by the analysis of physics, by the internal relations in which physics displays the colours. Apply this to sounds too.		see <i>Tractatus</i> : „4.123 [...] (This bright blue colour and that stand in the internal relation of lighter and darker eo ipso. It is unthinkable that <i>these</i> two objects should not stand in this relation.)
12/09		[Adolf Loos 1911] 	[no date] <i>I am depressed. Alone alone!</i> <i>Thank God: Loos is alive.</i>	12/09/1916 /Now it is becoming clear why I thought that thinking and language were the same. For ^{thinking} thought is a kind of language. For a thought <u>too</u> is, of course, a logical picture of the proposition, and therefore it just is a kind of proposition.		The coded diary entry is not dated, but stands on the verso page exactly opposite the remark of 12/09 on the recto page. From the mother's letter of the following day it can be deduced that Wittgenstein was in contact with Adolf Loos during these days, which is why an attribution to 12/09 is very likely. The marked sentence is not found in the <i>Tractatus</i> .
13/09				[Letter of the Mother of 13/09/1916, sent to Olomouc] "My darling Ludwig, it is a blessing to finally be able to write a sealed letter and not just a military postcard! However, this is only a small part of the blessing to know that you are so close and to be able to hope for a possible reunion very soon. The days when you were here were heavenly for me, I can't describe to you how good they made me feel! I enjoyed listening to you read aloud like nothing I have heard in a long time. On this occasion I must tell you that old Loos is now in possession of two copies of the Dostoyevsky books, since Mining also sent him a copy at your request. Mine differs only by the Bussy accompaniment. I will gladly keep one if Loos sends it back to me. Hopefully the issue with the keys has not caused you any great discomfort! My dear darling, be most tenderly embraced by your mama - I hope that you are in good care because of your ailment and that you will soon get rid of this agony. All is well with us!"		Train travel from Vienna to Olomouc, for officer training at the reserve battery. Through the recommendation of Adolf Loos, Wittgenstein met the architect Paul Engelmann and interacted with his literary circle.
14/09				[Military postcard from Walter Groß, 14/09/1916] "Dear friend! Returning from [Strigg?], where I went for shopping, I learned of your promotion to corporal, on which I warmly congratulate you. Thank you very much for your 3 cards. How do you like it in Olomouc? As you may already know, Weinlich is a cadet. Best regards from your Walter". [Letter from David Pinsent, 14/09/1916] My dear Ludwig, I have just heard from Russell and he asks me to give you his very best regards and wishes and to congratulate you that you also in spite of present conditions have made progress with your philosophical work. He says he wrote to you some time ago but did not receive any answer and was worried about you; but he assumes that his letter never reached you. – I often think of you and ask myself how you are getting on. I hope that all goes well with you, I myself am still working hard. Recently I played the accompaniment (Schubert) for a friend who sings. Something from the old "Wintertag" which we used to play. Please God that we shall soon be able to play again! Ever your friend, Davy		Nothing is known about the nature and the contents of the training in Olomouc. However, it cannot have been too time demanding, because in Olomouc Wittgenstein expanded the text of the <i>Abhandlung</i> from p. 28 in the manuscript 104 to at least p. 64. During the Christmas holidays in Vienna, he then reached a preliminary conclusion of the work on the treatise with p. 70, a version that was called " <i>proto-Prototractatus</i> " by Brian McGuinness.
15/09				[Letter from Hermine W., 15/08/1916] "My darling Lukas, every day I have to argue with you in my mind about the natural laws and quite a few other things and I really can't wait to be able to talk to you again, so that you can give me answers to my questions. In the meantime I will try to formulate them as exactly as I can, so that we don't waste much time. If only you could come to Vienna on an odd Sunday! I will not ask you how you are and what you are doing, because you will not tell me, at the most if something has been accomplished with the City Hall Tower, which I do not believe. Are you going to keep yourself busy with your work or do you dread it too much? I can't describe how happy and proud it would make me if I could help you a little bit, of course it would only be manual work, but that is exactly something for women, and at the same time the aeronaut would make me rise a little bit again! Adieu my darling Lukas, Your sister Mining embraces you".		The "City Hall Tower" mentioned by the sister (see illustration) refers to Wittgenstein's unsuccessful attempt to take up quarters on the top floor there during his officer training. Wittgenstein continued to write philosophical entries in the wartime diary Ms 103 until 10/01/1917, but it was no longer used for personal entries.



[Olomouc in 1916 with the tower of the City Hall]

OLOMOUC. Masarykovo náměstí od severní strany s radnicí a sochou nejev. Trojice.