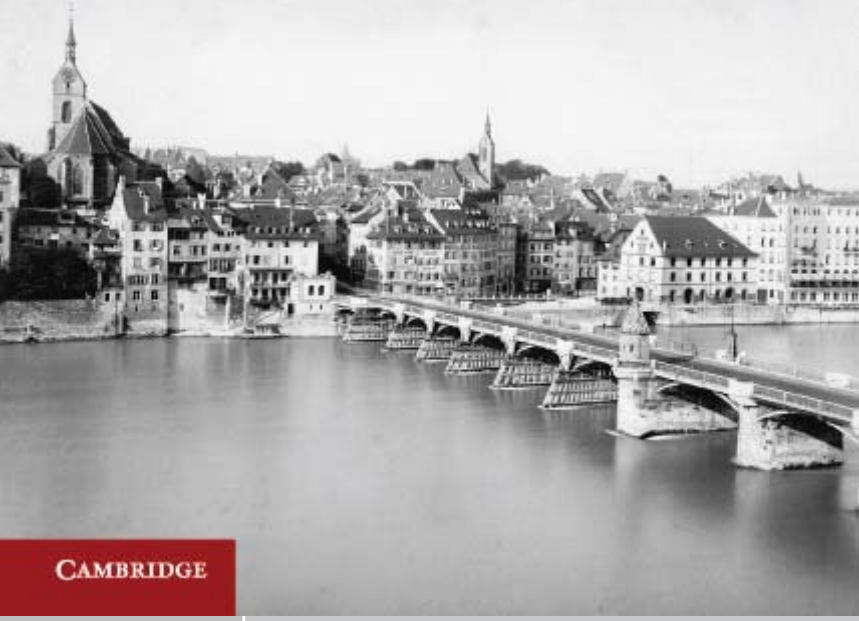
NIETZSCHE'S
Philosophy *of* History

ANTHONY K. JENSEN



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NIETZSCHE'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

Nietzsche, the so-called herald of the 'philosophy of the future,' nevertheless dealt with the past on nearly every page of his writing. Not only was he concerned with how past values, cultural practices, and institutions influence the present – he was plainly aware that any attempt to understand that influence encounters many meta-historical problems. This comprehensive and lucid exposition of the development of Nietzsche's philosophy of history explores how Nietzsche thought about history and historiography throughout his life and how it affected his most fundamental ideas. Discussion of the whole span of Nietzsche's writings, from his earliest publications as a classical philologist to his later genealogical and autobiographical projects, is interwoven with careful analysis of his own forms of writing history, the nineteenth-century paradigms which he critiqued, and the twentieth-century views which he anticipated. The book will be of much interest to scholars of Nietzsche and of nineteenth-century philosophy.

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"The Centrality and Development of *Anschauung* in Nietzsche's Epistemology," *Journal of Nietzsche Studies* 43 [2] (2012), 325–340.

"Self-Knowledge in Narrative Autobiography," in *Nietzsche's Ecce Homo*, ed. Duncan Large (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).

"Nietzsche's Historiographical Context," in *Nietzsche im 19. Jahrhundert. Natur-, geistes-, und sozialwissenschaftliche Kontexte*, ed. Lisa Heller *et al.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).

"*Selbstverleugnung–Selbsttäuschung*: Nietzsche and Schopenhauer on the Self," in *Nietzsche on Consciousness and the Embodied Mind*, ed. Manuel Dries (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013).

"Nietzsche's Critique of Scientific Explanations in History," in *Nietzsches Wissenschaftsphilosophie*, ed. Helmut Heit *et al.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 401–410.

"*Ecce homo* as Historiography," *Nietzsche-Studien* 40 (2011): 203–225.

"Anti-Politicality and Agon in Nietzsche's Philology," in *Nietzsche, Power and Politics*, ed. Herman Siemens (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 281–307.

"*Geschichte oder Historie*? Nietzsche's Second 'Untimely Meditation' in the Context of Nineteenth Century Philological Studies," in *Nietzsche on Time and History*, ed. Manuel Dries (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 213–230.

"The Rogue of All Rogues: Nietzsche's Presentation of Eduard von Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewussten* and Hartmann's Response to Nietzsche," *Journal of Nietzsche Studies* 32 (2006), 41–61.

Citations

For widely available individual works, I cite an abbreviation of the original German title and its section number, followed by reference to the volume and page of the *KSA*. For unpublished works and *Nachgelassene Fragmente* (as *NF*), I use, wherever possible, the *KSA* fragment date and notebook entry reference, followed by the volume and page number. For texts the *KSA* omits, for example, Nietzsche's lectures or published philology, I cite the *KGW* with the relevant division number (Roman), followed by the volume number (Arabic), and the page. For *Jugendschriften* that neither the *KSA* nor *KGW* preserve, I cite the *BAW* according to volume and page number. For unpublished texts such as Ritschl's diary or Rohde's drafted letters, I rely on the Weimar-standard notebooks found in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv and Walter de Gruyter's Nietzsche-Online project. All correspondence is cited by the author, recipient, and date. Thereafter, I cite the *KGB* for letters to Nietzsche, with division number (Roman), followed by the volume number (Arabic), and the page. For letters from Nietzsche, I cite the *KSB*, with the volume number and page.

All translations from German, French, Italian, Greek, and Latin are my own. For confirmation, I have consulted the several translations of Nietzsche's published works in the series *Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy*, under the general editorship of Karl Ameriks and Desmond M. Clarke. For classical texts in Greek and Latin, I have referenced authors according to their most standard citation conventions. Foreign words and phrases are sometimes left untranslated to accentuate the author's original phrasing. Emphases, unless otherwise noted, are always original to their authors.

All quotations from Schopenhauer's works are to Schopenhauer (1977), with reference to the volume and section number of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (as *WWV*) or else the *Parerga und Paralipomena* (as *PP*), followed by the division, volume, and page number.

ABBREVIATIONS OF COLLECTED WORKS OF NIETZSCHE

BAW: *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe: Werke*, 5 vols., ed. Hans Joachim Mette *et al.* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1933–1943).

KGB: *Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Briefwechsel*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975–).

KGW: *Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Werke*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967–).

KSA: *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe*, 15 vols., ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988).

KSB: *Sämtliche Briefe: Kritische Studienausgabe*, 8 vols., ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986).

ABBREVIATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL WORKS OF NIETZSCHE

Published works

GT	=	*Die Geburt der Tragödie*
DS	=	*David Strauss, der Bekenner und der Schrifisteller*
HL	=	*Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*
SE	=	*Schopenhauer als Erzieher*
MaM	=	*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* (I and II)
M	=	*Morgenröthe*
FW	=	*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*
Z	=	*Also sprach Zarathustra*
JGB	=	*Jenseits von Gut und Böse*
GM	=	*Zur Genealogie der Moral*
DFW	=	*Der Fall Wagner*
GD	=	*Götzen-Dämmerung*
A	=	*Der Antichrist*
EH	=	*Ecce homo*

Unpublished works and lectures

DW	=	*Die dionysische Weltanschauung*
EKP	=	*Encyclopädie der klassischen Philologie*
ZuB	=	*Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten*
PTG	=	*Die Philosophie im tragischen Zeitalter der Griechen*
WL	=	*Über Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne*

Introduction

The nineteenth century, for its great diversity of philosophical thought, is not unjustly abbreviated 'the historical century.' Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Hegel, the Humboldts, the Schlegels, the Grimms, Heine, Hartmann, Comte, Marx, Kierkegaard, Dilthey, Rickert, and Windelband – whose thought among these originated in anything other than a deep fascination with the past? The nineteenth is the century of Darwin, Weber, and Durkheim, of Strauss and Renan. It is the century of philologists like Wolf, of Boeckh and Hermann, of Welcker, Lachmann, Haupt, Bergk, Bernhardy, and Müller. It is the century of historians such as Ranke, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Droysen, Tocqueville, Michelet, Treitschke, and Carlyle. And it is the century of Nietzsche, alone among the great nineteenth-century philosophers of history to have been trained to be a professional historian. Nietzsche was a classical philologist. It was the only job he ever had. He was educated by renowned historians and philologists like Koberstein, Corssen, Sybel, Ritschl, and Jahn; appointed at a young age to the University of Basel, arguably the finest historical studies department outside of Berlin; corresponded with the likes of Zeller, Gerlach, Klette, Zarncke, and Taine; feuded with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and developed close friendships with historical writers like Deussen, Rohde, Bachofen, Burckhardt, Overbeck, and Rée.

Despite his general neglect by some of the leading historians of historiography, the philosophy of history Nietzsche developed within the context of these influences is itself remarkable, both for the insight of his critique of the limitations of historiography and for his own affirmative theories of its possibilities.[1] Nietzsche was not merely a philosopher interested in history. He was himself a philosopher *of* history. And there is good reason why

[1] For at least anecdotal evidence, Mandelbaum names Nietzsche only once in his survey of historiographical thought – and at that only as a paltry example of romantic history alongside Hölderlin. Mandelbaum (1967), 35. Sanford's introduction pairs Nietzsche with Wagner and Hitler as anti-Enlightenment figures, and is careful to distinguish them from proper philosophers of history. Sanford (1998), 245. Nietzsche is never mentioned in major pronouncements on the field such as Collingwood

this herald of the 'philosophy of the future' was on nearly every page of his writing concerned with the past. The permanence of things, the subsistence of identities, the unalterability of laws of physics or logic, the immutability of values, the univocity of the meaning of truth: these are each topics about which Nietzsche understood he could not in earnest write without reckoning their development, their change over time – in short, their history. "Philosophy, the way I alone regard it, as the most general form of history, as an attempt to somehow *describe and abbreviate in symbols* the Heraclitean becoming . . ."[2] Yet how can one express a reality that is historical through and through? How can a historian employ words with fixed meanings to encapsulate what is unaffixable? If the moral values of today must be understood in some sense as residual products of complicated dynamic historical processes, for example, then the question as to how historical causes may be said to bring about future effects, how ideals and institutions become instantiated over time, and even how we historians, from within a particular historically situated perspective, select, identify, describe, and explain those events at all is necessarily of great philosophical concern. No stranger to these questions, Nietzsche cast his philosophy of history as both the framework through which his claims about morality, society, the natural world – and even claims about himself – are expressed and at the same time a serious and profound reflection on the limits of what can be known and represented by those claims. An accurate exposition and analysis of his philosophy of history is therefore essential for a proper understanding of Nietzsche's philosophy generally.

Yet a comprehensive exposition of Nietzsche's philosophy of history has never been attempted. This is not to say that scholars have ignored the importance of history for Nietzsche. There has indeed been a wealth of literature on the subject. Studies of Nietzsche's views of history and historians have focused largely on questions about human historicity – how history affects our lives and influences our culture and values. Nietzsche is without question one of the first and remains one of the most incisive theorists of the meaning and consequences of living within a continuous temporal sequence, and this book will address his arguments thereon. But such a myopic focus overlooks both his criticisms of epistemological issues in historiography and also how his own later historical writing was meant to be an improvement of then-prevalent historiographical paradigms. To

(1946), Popper (1957), Dray (1993), Evans (1997), and others too numerous to recite. In influential anthologies like Gardiner (1959), Tucker (2009), or Budd (2009), Nietzsche may earn a few pages of discussion, but is rarely accorded an entry of his own.

[2] *NF* June–July 1885, 36[27]; *KSA* 11, 562. See also *GD* "Vernunft," 5; *KSA* 6, 77.

adequately elucidate this aspect of Nietzsche's thought, beyond clarifying an essential and still-underdeveloped theme in Nietzsche studies, also opens up a wealth of insight for contemporary philosophy of history.

Accordingly, this book has three goals. Foremost, it is to make explicit that, alongside his remarks on historicity, Nietzsche's writing contains penetrating critiques of then-dominant meta-historical paradigms as well as his own affirmative view of how history should be written. It is to show, further, the profound development that Nietzsche's thinking on history underwent throughout his career in the context of his biography and his reading. It is, finally, to reveal how Nietzsche's philosophy of history is relevant to and even anticipates certain contemporary positions on historiographical objectivity, description, and explanation.

The first chapter elucidates Nietzsche's philological method. After contextualizing his education at Pforta, Bonn, and Leipzig, I exposit and critically analyze Nietzsche's three earliest historiographical projects: his rendering of the saga of the Ostrogoth King Ermanarich, his reconstruction of the editorial corruption of Theognis of Megara, and his critique of the authorship of Diogenes Laertius. I argue that, notwithstanding any particular errors he may have made, Nietzsche's earliest projects are driven by a joint commitment to skeptical realism and suppositional naturalistic psychological explanation.

My second chapter contextualizes his work within the major historiographical movements of the nineteenth century. I reveal Nietzsche's discomfited relationship with the two leading philological schools of the day – *Sprachphilologie* and *Sachphilologie* – and the roles his teachers Friedrich Ritschl and Otto Jahn played in the development of his historiography. I argue that the decisive break with his philological career resulted from a combination of personal factors and a general dissatisfaction with the representational realism presumed by working philologists.

The third chapter shows how *The Birth of Tragedy* was a radical break from both his earlier skeptical realism and naturalistic mode of explanation. I begin by expositing Nietzsche's adaptation of Schopenhauer's *aesthetische Anschauung*, and proceed to show that such an 'aesthetic intuition' was the means by which Nietzsche believed he could apprehend the idea of tragedy beyond its appearances within historical transmissions of textual evidence. I show that the famous criticism of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff was an objection precisely to Nietzsche's adoption of Schopenhauer's aesthetic intuition within historiography. In the closing pages of the chapter, I argue that Nietzsche's meta-history in *The Birth of Tragedy* was both an illegitimate cooption of Schopenhauer and internally incoherent.

In the fourth chapter, I outline Nietzsche's 'existential' criticism of history and historians. By looking at his published and unpublished writings from 1873–1877, I demonstrate both that Nietzsche began to psychologize the motivations of historians as the underlying structure of the judgments they make and that, in doing so, Nietzsche broke markedly from *The Birth of Tragedy*'s aim to apprehend history aesthetically. In these years, Nietzsche transforms both his former realism about the past and his view of the aesthetically apprehending subject into a psychological typology that aligns with his newly reconfigured epistemology. The historian can be no objective recorder of the past, but re-presents it according to the typological conditions of his physio-psychological facticities. To illustrate this transition, I articulate Nietzsche's critique of the teleological historiographies of David Strauss, Hegel, and Eduard von Hartmann, and contrast this to his depiction of the 'healthier' psychology of his Basel colleagues: Bachofen, Burckhardt, and Overbeck. It becomes apparent in each of these case studies that Nietzsche never employs his former weapons of source criticism and linguistic philological analysis to show where these historians' representations of the past were accurate or inaccurate; he persistently analyzes the psychological standpoint from which the judgments sprung.

My fifth chapter addresses Nietzsche's naturalist turn and its consequences for his meta-history. I argue that the works from *Human, all-too-Human* to *Beyond Good and Evil* exemplify Nietzsche's dictum that "from now on *historical philosophizing* will be necessary,"[3] while at the same time recognizing the fundamental role played by the subject's physiognomy within historical judgment. I argue that such a framework renders the traditional historian's naive faith in correspondential realism impossible, and that as a consequence the then-prevalent positivistic views of objectivity, description, and explanation must be replaced by a meta-history that acknowledges the essentially perspectival character of historical judgment. In the final two sections, I present what I claim is the distinctive affirmative contribution of Nietzsche's philosophy of history, namely, a representational anti-realist view of judgment combined with a perspectival theory of explanation.

My sixth and seventh chapters exemplify this theory in the practice of Nietzsche's own mature historiography. Granted that Nietzsche rejects the possibility of traditional theories of objectivity, description, and explanation, the structure of his account of the history of European morals will be more sophisticated than a straightforward recitation of presumed historical 'facts.' Accordingly, I analyze in the sixth chapter the meta-historical presuppositions

[3] *MaM* 1, 2; *KSA* 2, 25.

of Nietzsche's most historical expression of his philosophy: the *Genealogy of Morals*. Specifically, I examine Nietzsche's mature conceptions of historical objectivity and the conditions for true historical description in that work, and show how they stand in contrast to Darwinian historiography. Representational anti-realism is revealed to be Nietzsche's preferred mode of historiography on the grounds both that it avoids the ascetic absolutism of traditional realist interpretations of the past and that it admits itself as an interpretation constituted by dynamic power drives. Contrary to postmodern interpreters, I demonstrate that Nietzsche's envisioned genealogy does offer an affirmative account and avoids the appeal of narrative relativism.

The primary focus of my final chapter is Nietzsche's *Ecce homo* as a form of autobiographical historiography. I first argue that the characterization of *Ecce homo* as either the product of an unhinged mind or as a merely fictive narration relies upon a standard of representational realism that Nietzsche rejected. I show how his critique of motivational explanations coheres with his general objections to positivist historiography. I then show how traditional conceptions of introspective description and memory fail to articulate the kind of dynamic process Nietzsche considers the 'self' to be. In a reality characterized as a Heraclitean becoming, traditional interpretations cannot really represent things – including 'selves' – as if they were static objects waiting to be described by static subjects. Introspection and memory turn out to be dynamic and historically contingent expressions of their author's Will to Power. Their expression within the act of autobiography of itself provides a meaningful symbolic representation that makes certain perspectives familiar with Nietzsche's 'self-' development.

In a brief epilogue, I turn away from the expository treatment of Nietzsche and toward a thematic evaluation of Nietzsche's influence on philosophy of history. I show that some of Nietzsche's positions anticipate theories of analytic philosophers of history like Popper, Walsh, and Dray, that continental thinkers from Croce to Heidegger to Derrida adopted aspects of Nietzsche's thoughts about historicity, and that even contemporary theorists like Hayden White, Frank Ankersmit, and Keith Jenkins have employed distinctly Nietzschean themes in their effort to displace positivism for the sake of narrative relativism.

I should also indicate briefly what this book omits. Initially, I had planned a chapter about Nietzsche's views of time and becoming, with special reference to his theory of Eternal Recurrence. On that topic, two recently published books obviate what I could have written: Robin Small (2010) and Paul Loeb (2010). I also came under the impression that Eternal Recurrence was actually tangential to my focus on Nietzsche's philosophy

of history. For if, as some scholars hold, Eternal Recurrence is an actual identity of events over individuated time-sequences, then it has no impact upon the judgment of a historian within any of those loops. Their judgment would be, like everything else, identical with the judgment of each of the other loops at that specific loop-relative moment. Whether or not time is ultimately circular or whether Nietzsche had a worked-out doctrine of time-atoms, historians, including Nietzsche himself, do and perhaps must talk about their objects within a commonplace linear framework of time. Hence, and contray to Karl Löwith,[4] whatever impact his theories of time, becoming, and Eternal Recurrence have for his philosophy generally, they ultimately do not affect his philosophy of history in a way sufficient to warrant extended discussion here.

Furthermore, while I mention the political dimension of Nietzsche's historiography where it demonstrably impacts his development, I would refer the reader to the much more comprehensive studies by Andreas Urs Sommer (1997) and Christian Emden (2008). I also opted to omit a rather lengthy critical discussion dedicated to two other scholars of Nietzsche's historiography: Christian Benne and James I. Porter. Both have presented well-argued though very different visions of Nietzsche's philology and philosophy of history than I do here.[5] Though I draw reference to specific points of disagreement throughout, I make my argument against them more directly in my forthcoming (2013a).

[4] See Löwith (1945), 273–284. [5] See Porter (2000a) and (2000b); and Benne (2005).

CHAPTER I

Philological centaurs

Ermanarich

The history of Nietzsche's historiographical development begins in earnest when he enters Schulpforta at the age of fourteen in 1858.[1] The venerable institution, which had already held its 400th anniversary and counted among its alumni Klopstock, Fichte, and the father of German history, Leopold von Ranke, was long considered the model of humane education in Germany. After the Napoleonic Wars, it was restructured to minimalize its former role in the formation of clergy and to maximize its potential as the preparatory ground for scholars and teachers. To that end, Nietzsche's educators were extraordinarily demanding in its featured subject: classical antiquity, the very field in which Nietzsche showed prodigious talent.

Nietzsche's first sustained effort in the field of comparative philology was an ingeniously bold poem – for a young man of seventeen – on the saga of the fourth-century Ostrogoth King Ermanarich, a project suggested to him by Schulpforta's renowned historian of German literature, Friedrich August Koberstein.[2] In the fall of 1861, Nietzsche, having happened upon Franz Liszt's *Hungaria* symphony, sketched his own composition of a symphonic poem entitled *Serbia*.[3] By February of 1862, he presented to his friends Wilhelm Pinder and Gustav Krug, together with whom Nietzsche forged the idealistic literary circle '*Germania*' two years prior, three additional "Hungarian Sketches" in imitation of Liszt, whose daughter Cosima was

[1] For a detailed account of Nietzsche's reading of historical and historiographical books, see Orsucci (1996), 371–381; Campioni *et al.* (2003); Brobjer (2004), 185–236; and Jensen (2013b). Among the historiography-relevant titles we can prove Nietzsche read at Schulpforta are Cicero's *Epistolae*, Voltaire's *Historie de Charles XII* (1731), Herder's *Der Cid* (1803–1804), and Feuerbach's *Das Wesen Christenthums* (1841).

[2] Preserved as presented to the *Germania* society as *eine Literar-historische Skizze* at *KGW* I/2, 274–284. For the text of the poem, see *BAW* 2, 32–37. For the complete biographical details surrounding his work, see Blunck (1953), 72–74; Janz (1978) 1, 94–96; Cate (2002), 28–33.

[3] On Nietzsche's projected symphony, see Schlechta (1954) III, 101–105.

to become Richard Wagner's wife and for a time Nietzsche's confidante. In November of 1862, Nietzsche outlined the composition of a dramatic production entitled 'Ermanarich.'[4] And as late as the summer of 1865, he was considering the performance of an *Ermanarich, Oper in drei Akten*.[5]

While the musical attempt at an 'Ermanarich Symphony' was abandoned, and though no dramatic performance ever saw the stage, it stands evident in this first sustained thematic enterprise that Nietzsche modulated his ideas from a poetic medium, to a musical form, to a drama, to an opera, and again to – what is most important for our efforts here – a sixty-three-page scholarly treatise.[6] "Scholarship, art, and philosophy," he noticed, were "growing together inside me to such an extent that one day I'm bound to give birth to centaurs."[7] The maturation from the purely artistic to the historical representation of the Ermanarich saga involves Nietzsche's recognition not only of an interesting figure within history, but of how the historical representation of this historical figure was itself a sort of puzzle whose pieces didn't always fit. "Before us is presented the age of Ermanarich, the great and last hero of the Goths before the great migration, whose history really belongs to history, even if we experience the great part of him only through the sources, only in the mythical [*sagenhafter*] clothing of historical events."[8]

Here Nietzsche tried to solve a genuine problem of conflicting historical sources. According to Roman chronicles, Ermanarich had committed suicide in AD 370 out of grief over the impending victory of the Huns over his own Ostrogoths; while Jordanes, a Byzantine monk of Gothic heritage, records a much more sympathetic view, claiming Ermanarich was killed valiantly in battle. In the twelfth century, the chronicler Saxo Grammaticus records the all-too-closely reminiscent tale of an ancient Danish King by the name of 'Jarmarich.' The unreliable chronicle is further marred by an improbably gruesome legend in which Ermanarich, before his death, had ordered his wife to be torn apart by horses – something not only not mentioned in the other accounts, but inconsistent with their portrayal of the king's character. Whoever Ermanarich actually was, and whatever the factual details of his life and death were, are thus likely unrecoverable given the discontinuity of the extant historical evidence.

And this is just the point at which Nietzsche's historical interest in Ermanarich begins. "That he is a historically meaningful personality

[4] *BAW* 2, 144–514. [5] *BAW* 3, 123–124.
[6] Preserved as *Gestaltung der Sage vom Ostgothenkoenig Ermanarich bis in das 12te Jahrhundert* at *BAW* 2, 281–312.
[7] Nietzsche to Rohde, January 15, 1870; *KSB* 3, 95. [8] *BAW* 2, 282ff.

seems to me incontrovertible [*unumstößlich*]."[9] Ermanarich seems on the one hand a noble hero, but on the other hand both a coward and wife-murderer. But how could a single authorial source have so badly described his subject so as to have presented an apparently self-contradictory figure? The philologically responsible reflex would be to suppose the apparent contradiction a result of multiple sources, possibly at different times. Such a hypothesis would serve to supply a natural and sufficient condition for the resulting evidence that is presently observable today.

> There is originally nothing in the saga that attacks Ermanarich, as I will show; but indeed the saga has grown, bit by bit, out of divergent soils, with ever new additions to the image tacked onto what the old saga had constructed, additions which increasingly corrupt the character of Ermanarich to the point where a clear antipathy emerges in the later versions of the saga.[10]

Notice, however, that this says nothing about *why* the original account was changed or *why* the two were combined, and indeed it cannot say anything in a rigorous historical way since this would amount to ascribing psychological motivations to what is without further evidence nothing more than a regulative hypothesis. This, however, is precisely what Nietzsche does next:

> Perhaps it is a repercussion of hate which the conquered people harbor towards Ermanarich, or perhaps it is the hatred of some 'scourge of the people' that was levied against Ermanarich – as if through the saga a large part of the qualities of Attila [the Hun] were transmitted into Ermanarich, while Attila himself sort of shrinks and fades away, to the point that he no longer appears recognizable.[11]

Nietzsche proceeds to trace the hypothetical genealogy that would explain the gradual and layered construction of the saga, from sources in the Near East, Germany, Denmark, and Britain. With a dizzyingly complex heritage, the saga as it now stands turns out to be a blend of misappropriated names, dates, traditions, peoples, and battles that were haphazardly assimilated into a single story. Ermanarich himself, king of Oium in the early 300s, had been confused with various old tribal kings of Gothic Germany, like Hermenrich and Emelrich,[12] and the old Danish tribal leader Jarmarich of whom Saxo Grammaticus spoke. He is named Eormenric in the English epic *Beowulf* and Jörmunrekkr in old Norse songs. His story had been manipulated principally by the choniclers of the Anglo-Saxons, who sought to assimilate the notoriously cruel and rapacious traits of Attila the Hun into their Eastern foes.

[9] *BAW* 2, 283. [10] *Ibid.* [11] *Ibid.* [12] *BAW* 2, 306.

To disentangle the story of Ermanarich, Nietzsche first had to straighten out the sources of what the scribe Jordanes writes in his AD 522 book: the *Getica*. According to Jordanes, at the time of the invasion of the Huns, Ermanarich was betrayed by one of his own tribes, the Rosoman. The name of that tribe, however, derives from a convoluted genealogy within the *Getica*, which was discoverd to have been based on an original chronicle by Kassiodorus: other names in other tales include Rosomonorum, Roxolanorum, Rasomonorum, and Rosomorum.[13] From that tribe, which Nietzsche suspects might have been Jordanes' construct, Ermanarich had chosen to be his bride Suanahild – otherwise known in Kassiodorus' source text as Sonilda, Sunihil, Sanielh, and, last but most recognizably, Swanhilde. But upon discovering her infidelity, according to Jordanes, Ermanarich ordered her drawn and quartered by wild horses. Thereafter Sarus and Ammius, leaders of the Rosomans and brothers of Suanahild, sought their revenge against the king. Attacking together, they injured the powerful Ermanarich, but failed to kill him. Knowing meanwhile their enemy's leader to be wounded and his kingdom in disarray, the Huns seized the opportunity to invade. Unable to bear the emotional wound of Suanahild's infidelity, the mutiny of his own people, and sensing the impending Hun conquest, Ermanarich committed suicide.[14]

But Jordanes' history still burdens Ermanarich with two characteristics that seem unbefitting so worthy a ruler. Why would the otherwise benevolent king have chosen so brutal a death for his wife and why would so adept a military strategist have failed even to attempt a defense against the invaders? Nietzsche's answer: It is the hatred or jealousy of later historians – like Jordanes – that made Ermanarich look simultaneously pathetic and cruel. Suanahild had not actually been Ermanarich's wife, Nietzsche claims, but the wife of one of his advisors, who had betrayed his king by defecting to the invading Huns. To avenge his anger, Ermanarich demanded that the traitor's wife be captured and torn apart by horses – a punishment, Nietzsche remarks, that was traditionally reserved for treason rather than infidelity. Suanahild's brothers had then avenged their sister's murder by killing the aged King Ermanarich. This leads Nietzsche to conclude that Ermanarich had in fact not opted for suicide, but was killed in cold blood without the chance to defend his people.

Nietzsche's solution to the Ermanarich problem has hardly been accepted by any scholarly orthodoxy. It is, as is clear, a creative but speculative attempt to reconstruct the motivations of historical agents who may or may

[13] *BAW* 2, 308. [14] *Ibid.*

not have been involved in the sort of relationships Nietzsche contends. But we are not here to criticize the work of a seventeen-year-old. Our task is to exposit the first historiographical attempt of someone who maintained a lifelong fascination with history and historians. And what we see here is that, from an early age, before Schopenhauer, before Wagner, and even before his entries to Bonn and Leipzig, where his unique brand of historiography would win him the attention – both positive and negative – of the entire philological community, Nietzsche's historiography evinces certain methodological tendencies. What Nietzsche had accomplished in his Ermanarich essay was to identify a philological *non sequitur* where pure source criticism served only to bring about a contradiction in equally credible historical testimonies, rendering them each non-reliable barring confirmation from some outside source – which in this case does not exist. But rather than simply identify the equipollent knot and suspend his judgment – in the manner of a scholarly skeptic – Nietzsche offers an artistically plausible but philologically unverifiable solution. He has in fact constructed a hypothetical Ermanarich character to explain what the recorded 'facts' could not prove. His philology utilizes psychological suppositions to fill in the lacunae of what critical philology could demonstrate.

Of note is the considerable impression it made on the typically staunch Karl August Koberstein, rector at Pforta and one of the country's leading literary critics. Nietzsche's confidant Karl von Gersdorff would later recall Koberstein's opinion:

> Nietzsche wrote an independent, bold, critical-historical work on the Ermanarich saga and submitted it to Koberstein. He was pleased in the highest and full of praise for the erudition, the perspicacity, the deductive character and stylistic elegance of his student. Since Koberstein, who was usually quite taciturn at the dinner table, had expressed himself to me with such joyful excitement, that I found cause to meet Nietzsche's acquaintance. Even upon entry into the *Untersekunda*, I had already sensed that he was intellectually far superior to his classmates, and that he would accomplish something great.[15]

Such praise from a revered scholar like Koberstein, a praise that would be echoed by several other philologists as Nietzsche's student years progressed, shows that Nietzsche was very much, at least at this stage, consistent with the spirit, aims, and methods of conventional classical philology.[16] And the

[15] Cited in Janz (1978) 1, 96.

[16] The titles of Koberstein's scholarly books exemplify the multi-faceted character of historical studies at Schulpforta: *Ueber das Wahrscheinlicher Alter und die Bedeutung des Gedichts vom Wartburgkrieg* (1823), *Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen National-literatur* (1827), and *Vermischte Aufsätze zur Literaturgeschichte und Aesthetik* (1858).

Ermanarich project reveals two further points that are typically overlooked in the literature about Nietzsche's development. First, it demonstrates that Nietzsche had a genuine interest in, and talent for, historiography even before his tutelage under Ritschl and Jahn at Bonn. These teachers surely honed Nietzsche's interest and methods, but were the progenitors of neither. Second, Nietzsche's earliest sustained historical project had nothing to do with classical antiquity. It was, in keeping with the Romantics and later with the Wagner circle, an attempt to mine the Middle Ages for 'Germanic' origin-myths. His focus was, curiously, attuned to the way a vibrant, heroic personality had gradually been buried under a convoluted historical series of misappropriations, misattributions, and forgeries, to the point that what once had been considered heroic was now portrayed as degenerate or weak. In a loose way – and as we will see later, *only* in a loose way – such an aim might be compared to his nearly-thirty-years-later genealogical project.

The *Theognidea*

The Ermanarich cycle was just the beginning of Nietzsche's historical studies. His next, more purely philological, effort took shape around the early sixth-century BCE Greek poet Theognis, in a work titled *De Theognide Megarensi* (henceforth, DTM).[17] By the fall of 1864, Nietzsche had completed three sections of what would become his *Valediktionsarbeit*.[18] The piece was well regarded by his teachers at Schulpforta, Wilhelm Corssen and Dietrich Volkmann.[19] In fact, on the merit of the thesis, Nietzsche sufficiently impressed the faculty at Schulpforta to grant him an '*extraordinarius*' commendation in Greek. As a result, Nietzsche was moved to the head of the class at Pforta and encouraged to apply to the best university for classical studies, the home of Otto Jahn and Friedrich Ritschl: Bonn.[20]

The first part of the DTM essay deals with the life of Theognis and the socio-historical background of his native Megara. Although it is not above debate, as we shall soon see, the Greeks of his day typically considered Theognis a teacher of wisdom and virtue due to his morally- and politically-colored apothegms in

[17] Found at *KGW* II/1, 1–58, Nietzsche's "Zur Geschichte der Theognideischen Spruchsammlung" was his first published article. It appeared in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 22 (1867), 161–200. The essay originated at Schulpforta during the summer of 1864, and was later expanded into a lecture presented to the Philological Society at Leipzig, where it caught Ritschl's attention.

[18] *BAW* 3, 21–64. [19] Nietzsche to Gersdorff, April 7, 1886; *KSB* 2, 120.

[20] For details surrounding the transition from Schulpforta to Bonn, see Pletsch (1991), 60–61.

elegiac verse.[21] He wrote in a style similar to that of Callinus of Ephesus, Tyrtaeus of Sparta, Solon of Athens, and Phokylides of Miletus, with each of whom he was later confused. Theognis' lyric expresses political wisdom intended to stir the nostalgic sentiments of his fellow citizens with themes of honor and patriotism. His city of Megara, after claiming its independence from the colonial rule of Corinth, fell under the influence of the Doric aristocracy soon after. As with many city-states, titles of nobility and legal right passed through hereditary estates or were sometimes granted to soldiers of exceptional valor. In about 630 BCE, the despot Theagenes came to power through a series of disingenuous promises of social empowerment made to the lower classes.[22] When Theagenes' aristocratic favoritism was later revealed, there followed a lengthy period of civil war, during which the aristocrats were ousted, then reinstated, then ousted again. The original elegies of Theognis date from this period of instability, when democracy began to displace the entrenched aristocracy. As Theognis considered himself a noble, he lamented the ill fortune of his class and the ruin of the art and temples by the poor who were no longer 'willing' to pay the taxes that supported their upkeep. Most of all, he condemned the contamination of the noble bloodline that resulted from the intermarriage of nobles and the commoners. Theognis himself was likely exiled shortly after he composed his first elegies, during the ousting of the demagogues.[23]

Theognis uses the term 'good' as a synonym for the 'noble' while 'common' is made equivalent to 'wicked.'[24] Nothing virtuous or honorable could be expected from the δειλοί (wretched or poor). Conversely, nothing untoward might derive from what is ἐσθλός (good or fortunate). This social distinction is just the way nature had intended human society to function. How unjustly paradoxical, Theognis thought, that this natural order was everywhere usurped by the intermingling of noble and base through the fluctuating dynamic of commercial advantage.[25] Before, wealth had been earned either by profitably arranged marriages between noble families or by capital inherited from territories won by force and passed down through

[21] The following summary follows Nietzsche's own at the end of *DTM*. See *BAW* 3, 69–75. To supplement his account, I have consulted the standard works of Davies (1873), Hudson-Williams (1910), and Negri (1985, 1993). The Greek text used throughout is Young (1961). Where possible I maintain Nietzsche's manner of citation, for example, in matters of accentuation and versification. For the translation of Greek terms, I follow Nietzsche's renderings into German or Latin rather than translating directly from Ancient Greek into English.

[22] For Theognis' connection to the reign of Theagenes, see Oost (1973), 186–196.

[23] Davies (1873), 130–135.

[24] Nietzsche's account of Theognis' native Megara follows closely that of K.O. Müller (1858), 161ff.

[25] *BAW* 3, 56–57.

generations. But with the rapid expansion of sea-mercantilism came the wider possibility that even a man born of the lower classes could make his fortune through ingenuity and cunning. Gaining political influence was a new class of merchant: sailors and pirates, who, since they quickly accrued substantial wealth, began to attract the daughters of the 'old rich.' Such mixing of the bloodlines effectively enabled cultural competition where previously none was possible: the age-old antagonism between old money and the *nouveau-riche*.[26]

Theognis railed against this unpalatable new bourgeois class that shamelessly combined fabulous wealth and ignoble birth.

Verses 183–193:

> Even among rams and asses and horses, Kyrnos, we select those
> of pure breeding, and choose to mate only those of good rearing.
> Yet a noble man does not mind marrying
> a base woman of base birth if she brings along plenty of money.
> Nor does a woman avoid becoming the wife of a base but wealthy man,
> preferring a rich husband to a good one.
> Possessions are what they honor; the noble weds a base man's daughter,
> the base marries a worthy man's daughter: wealth mixes the race.
> Thus do not be amazed, son of Polypaos, that the townspeople grow feeble,
> for noble is now mixed with base.

As the first author Nietzsche researched in any depth who articulated how an 'agon' between two groups of approximately similar social strength would inculcate a transvaluation of values, Theognis was clearly influential.[27] The notion that cultural values varied according to material conditions, that pedagogy could affect change more effectively than institutional involvement, and that *Rangordnung* was essential for a flourishing society – each of these themes Nietzsche first found in the poetry of Theognis.

But just here we find, as we did with Ermanarich, a historical puzzle. In the course of his research for DTM, Nietzsche was made aware that this 'hard' and 'grim' portrayal was not always confirmed by other authorities. There seemed to be certain inconsistencies in the writings of Theognis that lent themselves to an impossibly wide variety of interpretations in both Hellenistic and Modern times. On the one hand, Plato considered Theognis to be a fine model for aristocratic moral values. Isocrates named him "ἄριστος σύμβουλος [the best measure]."[28] On the other hand, centuries later, the philologist Wilhelm

[26] *BAW* 3, 24–33. [27] Compare *GM* 1, 5; *KSA* 5, 262–264. See my (2008b), 321ff.

[28] Isocrates, *Ad Nicolem*, c. 12. Cited at *BAW* 3, 71. 'Sumbolon' does not take its better-known definition as a 'meaningful token' until sometime in the Hellenistic period. Aristotle's use makes clear its function as a legal measure at *Athenaion Politeia* 65.2.

Teuffel would find him "embittered by society" and "vengeful toward the commoners."[29] Goethe himself would write, "He appears to us as a pathetic Greek hypochondriac."[30] Thus while to the twenty-year-old Nietzsche Theognis' poetry symbolized the very "Glaubensbekenntniß des Adels [the creed of the nobles]"[31] – or, said in his Latin, "Habemus igitur illam superbam Doriensis nobilitatis persuasionem [we have here, therefore, that supreme persuasion of Doric nobility]"[32] – he himself questioned the authenticity of that caricature. Far from straightforwardly presenting Theognis as the paradigm of noble instincts, Nietzsche is well aware of the counter-image of Theognis that had been prevalent since the Middle Ages.

> Theognis seems like a cultured and decadent Junker, with the passions of a Junker; loving his time, full of deathly hatred against the emerging people, tossed about by a sad fate that grinds him down in various ways and makes him milder: a portrait of that ancient blood-nobility, quick-witted, somewhat corrupt and no longer firmly rooted, situated at the boundary between an old epoch and a new one, a distorted Janus-face, since to him the past seems so beautiful and enviable, while what lies ahead, of equal merit in its own right, seems brutal and repugnant, a typical testament to all those noble forms, which represent the aristocracy before a popular revolution, who see their prerogatives threatened for eternity and induce them to battle and to struggle with the same passion for the existence of their class as for their own existence.[33]

Theognis had been made to appear a Junker; he defends something no longer defensible – the possibility of nobility in a world where and a time when the nobility has been displaced by the rise of the new rich. Now it seems the declining times produced a declining figure whose only recourse is to lament his sad state of affairs and entreat the youth to do the same.

In 1867, Nietzsche published in his mentor Friedrich Ritschl's renowned journal *Das Rheinische Museum für Philologie* a revised and more extensive version of DTM entitled *Zur Geschichte der Theognideischen Spruchsammlung* (henceforth, GTS).[34] Nietzsche had presented his earlier

[29] Nietzsche quotes Teuffel (1839–1852), 1849: "[B]ecause of dull experiences, his tone is embittered against the people; and the more he believes it in principle the more he concedes it in practice – that he alone salvages the glory of existence over and against the debasement of life, and through his poetry he wants to avenge himself against it" (*BAW* 3, 52).

[30] *BAW* 3, 36. Nietzsche cites "Goethe, *ges. Werke* v, 549." The opinion, as Nietzsche notes three pages later, is not actually Goethe's own. The paraphrase of Theognis is found in the review of Weber (1826). See Goethe (1887–1919), 212–213.

[31] *BAW* 3, 18. See also Cancik (1995), 10.

[32] *BAW* 3, 60.

[33] *BAW* 3, 74. The quotation is highlighted in Janz (1978) 1, 124; Porter (2000a), 232; and Negri (1985), 9.

[34] Found at *KGW* II/1, 1–58.

work to the Leipzig philology club, and, after having added margin notes that took account of the questions and comments entertained at the meeting, gave the text to Ritschl following one of his class lectures. Less than a week later, Ritschl informed his student that "never before had he encountered such a sureness of approach and such a mastery of analytical technique in a third-semester student."[35] Nietzsche's response to the eminent Ritschl's endearment was positive elation: "Ever since that day when Ritschl assessed my Theognis paper so favorably, I have been very close to him. I go to him almost weekly at noon and find him always prepared, and always an earnest and lively conversation ensues."[36]

Nietzsche immersed himself anew in the scholarly literature on Theognis. Among the opinions he most closely followed are those found in Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker's *Theognidis Reliquiae*,[37] and Theodor Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*,[38] both of which were procured for him with the help of his teacher Volkmann.[39] From his friend Mushacke, Nietzsche requested several manuscript editions out of the University of Berlin library: the *Γνωμολογίαι Παλαιοτάτων Ποιητῶν* edited by Turnebus (1553), and the *Theognis Codex* editions produced by Camerarius (1559), Seberus (2nd edition, 1620), Vinetus (1543), and Stephanus (1566 and 1588).[40] Nietzsche consulted the more recent manuscripts and codices edited by Immanuel Bekker (1815, 1827), Schneidewin (1838), and three shorter publications by Bergk (1843, 1853, 1866). He knew well the critical work of Gottfried Bernhardy (1836),[41] that of Carl Dilthey (1863) (brother of the philosopher),[42] and the *Habilitationschrift* of Karl Rintelen (1858). Nietzsche even reviewed a then-recent edition of the *Mutinensis* manuscript of Theognis published by Christopher Ziegler in 1868.[43] Nietzsche was familiar with Karl Otfried Müller's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, in which a similar

[35] Cate (2002), 69. [36] *BAW* 3, 304. [37] Welcker (1826).

[38] Bergk (1882), 117–236. There were several editions of this work in Nietzsche's lifetime: 1853, 1866, and 1882. The last of these references Nietzsche's own essay, about which I will say more momentarily. Nietzsche had occasion to actually hear Bergk lecture, though he does not seem to have been much interested in what the elder scholar had to say. See Nietzsche to Erwin Rohde, August 6, 1868; *KSB* 2, 305.

[39] Although Volkmann wrote the request, it was sent by Nietzsche. See Nietzsche to Hermann Kletschke, April 5, 1864; *KSB* 1, 277.

[40] Nietzsche to Hermann Mushacke, March 14, 1866; *KSB* 2, 115–116. Nietzsche did not cite the correct years of the editions of Camerarius, Vinetus, and Stephanus in his letter to Mushacke; those provided are my own corrections.

[41] Bernhardy (1867).

[42] C. Dilthey (1863), 150ff. See also Nietzsche to Carl Dilthey, April 2, 1866; *KSB* 2, 117. Volkmann had recommended that Nietzsche write to Dilthey in order to ask his thoughts on the Theognis problem, specifically with its treatment in the Suda.

[43] *BAW* 5, 242ff. See Ziegler (1868). Nietzsche's tone is critical in the review and concerned predominately with philological details.

effort is made to erect a Theognidean *Charakterbild* as an illustration of the older Doric culture.[44]

With his research completed, Nietzsche gave a complete philological exposition to the problem raised in his 1864 dissertation. His main argument was that the massive train of elegiac verse attributed to Theognis was actually the arranged product of a later redactor. The grouping of gnomic apothegms that we have received reflects an intentional method of organization by this redactor according to certain *Stichwörter* or 'catchwords' of shorter poems, many of which are now believed – in part due to Nietzsche's article – to have been written by Tyrtaeus of Sparta, Mimnermus of Smyrna, and Solon of Athens.[45] Nietzsche insisted, "Our collection is arranged neither thematically nor alphabetically. But surely it is arranged according to words. The fragments are linked together by catchwords [*Stichworten*], such that each pair of fragments has the same or a similar word in common."[46] Nietzsche lists hundreds of these repetitious chains of catchwords that occur throughout the poem. Their interconnectedness implies that the phrases in which they are found were intentionally linked together in order to form out of the many smaller gnomic verses one grand, if unwieldy, elegiac chain.

With his schematization of the poem's catchwords,[47] Nietzsche suggests that smaller phrases which contained one of these words were grouped together in order to form a sort of subject heading. Later copyists evidently took these to be titles for the various stanzas, and embedded the reduplicated words within subsequent editions of the text. Thus, when the redactor located phrases containing the words φίλος [love] or πλοῦτος [wealth], he cut them from their original thematic context and tied them to other apothegms irrespective of their contextualized meaning. Worse yet, when the redactor could not find a suitable catchword to link other fragments, he apparently selected short gnomic poems from other authors which were then interspersed throughout the text of Theognis. His action suffices to explain the otherwise verbatim repetitions found throughout the Greek text of Theognis.[48] And it would explain why such awkward thematic

[44] K. O. Müller (1858), 161–166. Nietzsche shares with Müller the belief that the more ancient view of Theognis was the truer one, and that the discrepancy in the opinions about Theognis was due to a confusion stemming from editorial arrangements. Nietzsche, however, thought Müller failed to take proper consideration of the chronological developments in the manuscript tradition.

[45] *KGW* II/1, 16–26. [46] *KGW* II/1, 17. [47] For an illustration, see the chart at *KGW* II/1, 20.

[48] Compare Hudson-Williams (1910), 14 n.1. While critical of Nietzsche's scholarship, Hudson-Williams nevertheless does consider his account on equal footing with the work of other more canonical philologists. He also confirms that Nietzsche's interpretation was defended by Fritzsche (1870) and Sitzler (1878) in later times and is still a valuable account despite some errors.

combinations and passages from other poets disfigure the Theognis anthology that history has granted us.

Let us take an example to illustrate Nietzsche's contention about the *Stichwörter*:

Verses:

> *πρῆξιν μηδὲ φίλοισιν ὅλως ἀνακοινέο πᾶσιν*
> *παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.*
>
> *παύροισιν πίσυνος μεγάλ' ἀνδράσιν ἔργ' ἐπιχείρει,*
> *μή ποτ' ἀνήκεστον, Κύρνε, λάβῃς ἀνίην.*
>
> *πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι*
> *ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.*
>
> Do not discuss any such matters, even with all those friends,
> for indeed few of those many have a trustworthy mind.
>
> Trust few when attempting great works, Cyrnus,
> Lest you come to endure unceasing hardship.
>
> A trustworthy man in times of civil strife, Cyrnus,
> is worth his weight in gold and silver.

'Trust' (my emphasis) is evidently the catchword that the redactor used in assembling the long text we now possess, gauche as the verse may sound. The arrangement is not alphabetical, nor does it suggest any thematic cohesion beyond the single word 'trust.'[49] To a philologist's critical eye, the text implicates an alteration made for some other purpose besides poetic elegance. Nietzsche's contention is that the text of Theognis was arranged according to a specific and intentional method, and done so at a definite point in time after the original composition of Theognis himself.

Explaining why this happened requires outlining the chronology of the text. Nietzsche classifies the medieval manuscripts into three families of texts. The oldest medieval manuscript known to Nietzsche and to us is the tenth-century *Pariser Pergamenthandschrift*, MS (A), dubbed the *Codex Mutinensis* by Immanuel Bekker in 1815.[50] MS (A) is the only one

[49] Here Nietzsche improves upon Teuffel, who wrongly believed that the text was arranged only according to the thematic context of a particular verse's first word. Nietzsche is correct both that the arrangement is not straightforwardly thematic and that the catchword is often not the first word of a verse. See Teuffel (1839–1852), 1848.

[50] Nietzsche used Ziegler's edition of the manuscript.

that includes the *Musa Paedica*, a rather lurid collection of pederastic poems.[51] Second, the *Codex Vaticanus* (O) of the thirteenth century and the *Codex Venetus Marcianus* (K) of the fifteenth century are traceable to a common source and contain some copy errors and omissions, but no additional editorial interpolations beyond what is contained in MS (A).[52] Nietzsche's third group contains the rest of the MSS, which are each severely corrupted.[53]

To make matters more complicated, there are inconsistencies in the transmission of the *Theognidean* manuscripts from ancient times to the medieval for which the transmission records we possess from medieval times to modern cannot account. The problem is compounded since the oldest text, the *Codex Mutinensis*, in which we would expect to find the fewest, actually contains the most editorial additions. Here we do not merely find adjustments within words, e.g., cases or conjugations, but whole additions of structures, phrases, and even entire sentences, all in accordance with the catchword principle.[54] These very obvious repetitions are never mentioned before the fifth century AD, but are frequently cited thereafter. This led Nietzsche to doubt the authenticity of large sections of the inherited manuscripts and to question the lurid *Musa Paedica* as a later interpolation, since it is found only in the earliest edition and plainly does not gibe with either the rest of Theognis' writings or with the reputation allotted him by antiquity.

Given the propensity of older MSS to contain more *Stichwörter*, and to contain them in a more systematic and frequentative pattern, Nietzsche believes that their arrangement was not due simply to later copyists, but was a characteristic of the originally redacted text out of which MS (A) was made. This now lost edition of the corpus was first in use some time between the late fourth and mid fifth centuries, between the time of the moral writings of Julian Apostate and Stobaeus,[55] who appear to have been familiar with different versions of the text. This was at a time, Nietzsche stresses, when the clash between Christian and Pagan worldviews reached its apex. More recent manuscripts, those dating from after

[51] *KGW* II/1, 4–5. [52] *KGW* II/1, 5–7.

[53] *KGW* II/1, 7–14. Nietzsche's manuscript chronology is consistent with the research of his day. Recent scholarship, however, suggests a more complex tradition. Compare Nietzsche's Stemma at *KGW* II/1, 11 with that of Young (1961), xix.

[54] *KGW* II/1, 4.

[55] There was then no clear consensus on the dates of the redactor. Welcker supposed the first redaction was due to Byzantine activity. Welcker (1826), cx. Bergk waffled, but eventually opted for the first century AD. Bergk (1882), 406. Teuffel, with whom Nietzsche agreed on this point, believed it was sometime before Stobaeus. Teuffel (1839–1852), 1848. *KGW* II/1, 26.

the composition of the tenth-century MS (A), suggest that later editors not only refrained from new additions but even sought to repeal the redactions of the MS (A), opting to marginalize an increasing number of what they perceived were unnecessary emendations due to the *Stichwörter* repetitions. They also removed the *Musa Paedica*, evidently since its pederastic overtones were viewed at that time by Renaissance copyists as tastelessly out of keeping in the work of an author so highly regarded by the ancients. The tenth-century MS (A) is thus paradoxically the furthest from Theognis' own intentions as we know them through the testimonies of various pre-fourth-century authors and chroniclers. Since Nietzsche believes it impossible that every ancient authority had so badly misread Theognis, it must be the case that his work had been altered at a time between their writing and the writers after Stobaeus. Indeed, Nietzsche contends that the text as we now have it is not simply a bad patchwork of foreign materials,[56] nor an arrangement based on an innocent misinterpretation,[57] nor a collection of drinking songs,[58] nor even – the reigning thesis today – a cumulative synthesis of Megarian folk poetry from different generations,[59] but an extended elegiac, written originally by a single author, which from a specific time was *intentionally* rearranged and transformed by this later redactor.

Theognis appears now to have been a miser, a drunk, and even a pederast. In this guise, we hear him whine, "Often I'm racked with helplessness, distressed in my heart, for never having risen beyond poverty."[60] "I'll drink my fill, without a thought for soul-destroying poverty or enemies who speak ill of me. But I lament the lovely boy who is leaving me, and weep at the approach of grim old age."[61] And even: "Happy is the man who at home engages in erotic exercises, sleeping all day long with a pretty boy."[62] Against this decaying world, Theognis appears no stalwart, no longer resembling anything like that poet who once said, "expend yourself in the pursuit of excellence, hold justice dear to you, but let no shameful advantage take hold of you."[63] Apparently, Theognis can now only respond to life with the tragic wisdom of Silenus, which Nietzsche would later adopt in the third chapter of his *Birth of Tragedy*:

[56] The conclusion of Bergk (1882), 235–236.
[57] The conclusion of Welcker. Teuffel posits a redactor, but insists that his interpolations were merely 'clumsy and mindless.' Teuffel (1839–1852), 1848. Cf. Porter (2000a), 387 ns. 33, 37.
[58] The conclusions of Reitzenstein (1893), 43ff, 264ff; Wendorff (1902, 1909); and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913), 268ff.
[59] See Nagy (1985), 33. [60] Theognis verse 1114. [61] Theognis verse 1129–1132.
[62] Thognis verse 1335–1336. [63] Theognis verse 465–466.

Verses:

425 *Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον*
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

Best of all for those on earth is never to be born,
never to look upon the rays of the keen-burning sun.
Once born, however, it is best to pass most quickly through Hades' gates
and to lie beneath a great heap of earth.[64]

From his skepticism about the manuscript tradition, Nietzsche believes he has discerned what really took place in the past: "our collection is apparently not what determined antiquity's judgment on Theognis: it isn't moral enough. The verses cited in antiquity were just not cited as they stand here."[65] The text of Theognis was assembled to make him appear deplorable and to make the culture who respected him as a pedagogue appear heathen.[66] Nietzsche intimates that the original Theognis certainly *wasn't* this pathetic; his legacy is the victim of the Christian attack on pagan culture. "Was the editor of the *Musa Paedica* a pseudonymous ancient, a monk?"[67]

To show the effects of that attack, Nietzsche turned from the medieval to the ancient manuscript tradition, designating three phases of alteration dating from the thousand years between the *floruit* of Theognis and the writing of Stobaeus. The real, authentic text written in Theognis' hand shortly before his exile was first augmented by the interpolation of about 2,800 verses called the *Γνωμολογία πρὸς Κύρνον* sometime shortly after, at a time when Theognis was already well known.[68] As such, his thoughts on the nature of political society and the essence of good and evil were first given their gnomic and pedagogical tonality.[69] This was not done maliciously, but only to lend Theognis' philosophical speculations on the character of virtue and vice a direct and then much-needed practical relevance: to rally the

[64] Schopenhauer himself had been fascinated by this verse. See *WWV* II, §46; II/2, 687.
[65] *BAW* 4, 200.
[66] Compare Porter (2000a), 232. I disagree with Porter's contention that Nietzsche regarded Theognis as "a literal philological construct, a composite of voices from antiquity." Nietzsche does not doubt that Theognis was a genuine poet, nor that the real truth about him could theoretically – if not practically, due to the marred transmission of his text – be known. He only doubts whether the text we now have is authentic.
[67] *BAW* 3, 75. [68] *BAW* 4, 201.
[69] This was also the assertion of K. O. Müller, who, however, did not proceed to examine the later phase of transmission from the time of Plato to that of Stobaeus. As such he fails to observe the hostile intentions of the later redactor, which Nietzsche is careful to stress. See K. O. Müller (1858), 161.

youth of Megara to the call of their noble heritage and to remain virtuous in the face of tyranny. Philosophical musings were transformed into practical exhortations in order to better fit the needs of a transformed literary audience. During the second phase of the ancient transmission, assorted apothegms of Theognis were utilized in the writings of Plato,[70] in Xenophon,[71] and by Isocrates,[72] centuries after Theognis was dead and his political point of reference made irrelevant. These later authors knew Theognis through what had become a chrestomalogical (student handbook) gnomology of around 5,000–6,000 verses.[73] Believed to be the author of this collection, Theognis was now held up as a pedagogue of civic virtue rather than a revolutionary, and as such was put in the service of the various Socratic schools to fit their own needs. So although they had not made something 'intolerable' out of Theognis, during this phase of transmission, "One no longer reads Theognis; he became a schoolbook!"[74] The revolutionary tones of Theognis had gradually become pedagogical advice; and a "moralizing sentiment," by which Nietzsche means the intrusions of lines originally written by Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Solon, and Phokylides, had actually been imported against Theognis' own intentions.[75]

By the third phase of transmission in the time of Cyril and Julian, Nietzsche thinks the image of Theognis became further confused, as these interpolations became regular. Yet, evidently no *Stichwörter* arrangement had been employed.[76] Sometime between Plato and these later writers an anthology of Theognis' gnomics came into existence, the so-called *theognideische Gnomensammlung*, which, Nietzsche rather doggedly believes, would not have contained the lurid eroticism prominent in the *Musa Paedica*.[77] Because it was used in the schools, there came an increasing

[70] At *Laws* 630a2–b1, Plato writes "We have a poet to bear witness to this [viz., gallantry in war]: Theognis, a citizen of Megara in Sicily, who says, 'Kyrnos, find a man you can trust in deadly feuding: he is worth his weight in silver and gold.'" Plato is referencing Theognis vv. 77–78.

[71] Cited in Stobaeus, *Sermones* 88, 499.

[72] Nietzsche cites Isocrates, *Ad Nicolem*, c. 12. *KGW* II/1, 30. Cancik follows him. Cancik (1995), 10. The citation, however, is incorrect. Nietzsche more probably means *Ad Nicolem*. c. 42, where Isocrates mentions Theognis, along with Hesiod and Phokylides, as the 'best teachers of practical morality.'

[73] *BAW* 4, 206. Nietzsche borrowed the term 'Chrestomathie' from Bergk, who wrongly supposed this to be Theognis' own intention. Teuffel recognizes that pedagogical usefulness was the likely impetus behind the first phase of transformation. Teuffel (1839–1852), 1849.

[74] *Ibid.* [75] *KGW* II/1, 29.

[76] *KGW* II/1, 30–36. On this point, Nietzsche sides more closely with Welcker than with Bergk. The argument, however, is *ex silentio*: the *Stichwörter* are for Nietzsche so obvious that someone would naturally have mentioned them. Because no author does, it is presumed that they were not in the text at that time.

[77] *KGW* II/1, 42. The evidence of the Suda would further suggest that the *Musa Paedica* was not included before this period. Nietzsche discusses this evidence at *KGW* II/1, 42–50. More recently it

need to thematically codify the scattered advisory remarks interpolated into Theognis' text. At this point, Nietzsche's alleged redactor rearranged the text according to a convenient principle of classification – the *Stichwörter* principle – and added or subtracted verses where he saw fit. And so, by the time of Stobaeus we find the same version of the *Theognideischen Spruchsammlung* that is obvious in the *Codex Mutinensis*, MS (A), where the catchword principle is established, the pederasty and drunkenness is included, and the original intentions of Theognis have all but disappeared.

As Nietzsche concludes his manuscript history, "Therefore, if Athenaeus, Julian, and Cyril – AD 433 at the latest – did not know our redaction, but if it was used by Stobaeus, *then it follows that its appearance must fall between 433 and* [the writings of] *Stobaeus, within the fifth century AD*."[78] Subsequent copyists had ignored the textual emendations made around that time, and, with the passing of the centuries, the error became ever more firmly entrenched. Hence, the Theognis text out of which MS (A) was made actually dates from a fifth-century AD version. And in that century, Nietzsche notes, the moral intentions of the devoted Christian editors could not have been further from the original authorial motivations of Theognis.[79] For at that time one did not credit ancient pagan sources with an upstanding moral doctrine, unless it was consistent with the teachings of the early Church. Even the later gnomological handbook of Theognis was far from that; and thus an effort was made to slander his name while at the same time revealing Plato and Isocrates as heathens for their praises of him. The *Musa Paedica* was interpolated in order to make Theognis look wicked, and to strengthen the increasingly popular insinuations of pagan Greek depravity. The image of Theognis as a 'pathetic Greek hypochondriac' was thus due to no fault of Theognis' making, but the result of the deliberate vilification of ancient authors by the early Christians. The real Theognis, and even the later pedagogical Theognis, was made to appear as a drunk, a pederast, and a cheat. "One might believe that he [the redactor] had assembled everything; out of what was somehow put into circulation under the name of Theognis, he constructed a new Theognis from the *disiectis membris poetae*."[80]

In this way, the work preserved under the name of Theognis is actually a parody of the real Theognis' intentions. "All the more do I ardently believe the redactor had a hostile, indeed a *parodistic*, tendency toward Theognis.

has been agreed, contra Nietzsche, that the *Musa Paedica* is both stylistically and thematically consistent with the rest of the Theognidean corpus, and that therefore we lack sufficient evidence to suggest it was interpolated during the fifth century. See West (1974), 43; Vetta (1980), xi.

[78] *KGW* II/1, 35–36. Nietzsche's emphasis. [79] *KGW* II/1, 38. [80] *KGW* II/1, 29.

According to this collection, Theognis the pedagogue should only appear as a *bon vivant*, as a drunk, a lover, even as a pederast, as the proxy of a flaccid morality; in short, the redactor loaded him with every fault from which a pedagogue should be free."[81] As part of the Christian effort to disparage the ancient pagan worldview, this Christian editor used his editorial weapons to further distort and further vilify the image of antiquity.

> Since we now know that the redactor had a hostile tendency toward Theognis, we should no longer believe it was a harmless oversight. He sought weapons to hurt him: he intentionally introduced shadows here and there in the pure character portrait of Theognis. Hence, he assembled parodies of Theognis, and *added verses of Mimnermus*, which, mushy in tone, oddly contrast the hard, energetically powerful, often foreboding and grim thoughts of Theognis.[82]

Nietzsche's historiography is substantially more complex in his 1867 study than in his work on Ermanarich, predictably so given his maturation as a scholar. But, as the key feature of both, we see a philologically careful linguistic analysis of an inherited presupposition about a historical personality. And beyond this skeptical moment we see in both cases how Nietzsche transgresses the boundaries of careful analysis to attribute psychological motivations to a hypothetical construct on behalf of which nothing could definitively be proven. Nietzsche consciously realized his method even back in the 1864 version, and records this tension in a letter addressed to both Gustav Krug and Wilhelm Pinder: "I have recently allowed myself a certain quantity of supposition and fantasy, but I plan to carry the work out to the end, and set it upon a true philological foundation and *in a manner as scientific as possible*."[83]

What is meant by 'scientific' historiography will be discussed in the next chapter. But for now Nietzsche seems clearly to recognize both a scientific and non-scientific element in his writing, the former concerned with what critical philology can prove or disprove to be factual of the real past as it really was, the latter with what can merely be supposed speculatively. Nietzsche adds something 'fantastical' to the reconstruction of Theognis. Without it, however, the most we could say about the redaction is that it

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *KGW* II/1, 37. Nietzsche's emphasis. Cf. Porter (2000a), 232. Nietzsche's supposition concerning Mimnermus has now been largely accepted. It is believed that Theognis verses 1019–1022, for example, were borrowed from Mimnermus, that verses 935–938, 1003–1006 belong to Tyrtaeus, and that verses 153–154, 221–226, 315–318, 585–590, 719–728 are originally lines of Solon. Cf. Carrière (1948), 10.

[83] Nietzsche to Krug and Pinder, June 12, 1864; *KSB* 1, 282. My emphasis.

renders any philologically verifiable – i.e., factually accurate – account impossible. But Nietzsche does not remain at the level of 'skeptical philology';[84] rather he adds to the 'facts' about Theognis and the limitations of those 'facts' a suppositional construction of personality.

"It is a fact, that very many of the fragments (more than half), are connected by catchwords; it is a supposition, that the entire collection was arranged in this way."[85] Already by 1910 many scholars had accepted Nietzsche's 'fact' but at the same time had noticed that his 'supposition' did not follow. As Hudson-Williams objects, "It must first be proven that the poems were *intentionally* arranged on this principle."[86] But to prove something about the redactor's intentions means to prove something about the redactor himself, a redactor who was Nietzsche's hypothesis all along, though admittedly a convenient one that explains the manuscript discrepancies rather well. Concerning the philological veracity of Nietzsche's supposition, Theodor Bergk would be incited to emend his 1882 edition of *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* to say that Nietzsche's constructed redactor is little more than a '*vanum commentum*.'[87]

The *Laertiana*

By 1869, having had his introduction to the history of philosophy primarily through his reading of Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Lange's *Geschichte des Materialismus*,[88] and Friedrich Ueberweg's *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie von Thales bis auf die Gegenwart*,[89] and, having

[84] The term is Porter's (2000a, 230). In opposition to him, I think the skeptical aspects of Nietzsche's philology reflect practical rather than theoretical concerns; i.e., that the past is theoretically knowable but practically unrecoverable due to the failure of evidence in specific cases. For a fuller argument against Porter, see Jensen (2013a).

[85] *KGW* II/1, 19. See Nietzsche to Carl Dilthey, 2 April 1866, *KSB* 2, 117–118. See also Porter (2000a), 386 n.23.

[86] Hudson-Williams (1910), 14. My emphasis.

[87] Bergk (1882), 235–236. The reception of the *Theognidea* was generally favorable. In 1875, the Italian scholar Ramorino actually emended a passage in the Suda in response to Nietzsche's conjecture that Hesychius of Miletus treated Theognis in two articles, once as a poet and once as a philosopher. See Ramorino (1876), 38–49. Karl Otfried Müller utilized Nietzsche's *Stichwort* principle as the foundation of his own interpretation, but stops short of his conclusion that Julian, Cyril, and Athenaeus had a text different from ours. See K. O. Müller (1877). Arthur Corsenn lists Nietzsche's GTS in the bibliography for his *Quaestiones Theognideae*. See A. Corsenn (1887), 26–30. Corsenn, however, is quite critical of the *Stichwort* principle, and finds Nietzsche's explanation of the text repetitions unsatisfying.

[88] Cf. Nietzsche to Gersdorff, August 1866; *KSB* 2: 159ff.

[89] Nietzsche purchased the first of the three volumes of this set on 5 October, 1867. The other two were obtained April 9, 1868.

already published his article on Theognis and his "Der Danae Klage,"[90] Nietzsche published in two parts for the *Rheinisches Museum* his "De Laertii Diogenis Fontibus."[91] The project consumed him for the better part of three years, and along with his subsequent addenda "Analecta Laertiana"[92] and "Beiträge zur Quellenkunde und Kritik des Laertius Diogenes,"[93] he even entertained plans to publish the collection as his first book.[94] As it stands now, the Laertian trio constitutes roughly one-half of Nietzsche's published philological writing.[95]

To the Leipzig Philological Society, of which he was the rising star, Nietzsche presented a paper on the sources of Aristotle in January of 1867.[96] As background, Nietzsche naturally examined the biographies found in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. Made aware of this, the eminent Friedrich Ritschl must have been suitably impressed to ever-so-slightly bend the rules of fair scholarly competition and offer a prize on the very topic he himself encouraged Nietzsche to research months earlier.[97] Whatever his teacher's motivations, Nietzsche translated his German efforts into the Latin required by the contest (to his chagrin),

[90] Found at *KGW* II/1, 59–74. The article, while philologically interesting, did not occupy a central place in Nietzsche's regard for any considerable amount of time, hence my cursory mention here.

[91] Found at *KGW* II/1, 75–167, *De Laertii Diogenis Fontibus* was written with the encouragement of Ritschl, who had it printed in two parts at *Rheinisches Museum* 23 (1868): 632–653 and *Rheinisches Museum* 24 (1869): 181–228. Nietzsche had three editions of Diogenes' text on hand: *De vitis philosophorum libri X cum indice rerum* (Leipzig, C. Tauchnitz, 1833); *De vitis, dogmatis et apophthegmatis clarorum philosophorum libri decem*, edited by H. G. Huebner, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1828–1831); *Von den Leben und den Meinungen berühmter Philosophen*, translated and edited by A. Borheck, 2 vols. (Prague, 1807).

[92] Found at *KGW* II/1, 169–90; published at *Rheinisches Museum* 25 (1870): 217–231.

[93] *KGW* II/1, 191–245; the work was published as part of a 'Gratulationsschrift' for Franz Gerlach on the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary of teaching at the Basel Paedagogium; about one hundred copies were printed by Carl Schultze's *Universitaetsbuchdruckerei* in April of 1870.

[94] Cf. Nietzsche to Ritschl, October 16, 1869; *KSB* 3, 65. Although the project was never carried out, Nietzsche indicates that it was to have been completed by autumn 1871. See *KGW* III/3, 45. A letter to Rohde in 1869 outlines plans to produce a history of philosophy in coordination with Hermann Usener – the same Usener who would later declare Nietzsche 'wissenschaftlich todt' after the appearance of *The Birth of Tragedy*. See *KSB* 3, 18.

[95] Much of this section relies on Jonathan Barnes (1986), 16–40. Barnes' philological analyses of the details of Nietzsche's essay are generally reliable. The main difference in our accounts is that, whereas Barnes thinks Nietzsche's speculative reconstruction is a strange quirk, I show both how it was a pervasive tendency in Nietzsche's early historiography and that it was consciously accepted by his contemporaries.

[96] "Die *Pinakes* der aristotelischen Schriften," *BAW* 3, 212–226.

[97] *Rückblick auf meine zwei Leipziger Jahre*, in *BAW* 3, 311. See also Nietzsche to Hermann Mushacke, November 1866; *KSB* 2, 182ff. For biographical details, see Janz (1978) 1, 280–311. It has also been suggested that Ritschl used this rather unethical tactic to either reign in Nietzsche's attention from his Schopenhauerian interests or perhaps because he feared his star pupil was about to transfer to Berlin. See Hayman (1982), 83–84.

and accepted the proffered silver platter with mixed feelings. As a letter written to Rohde indicates, "The Laertius essay [. . .] won the battle against *Herrn Οὔτις* [Mr. Nobody]."[98]

In examining Diogenes' *Lives*, Nietzsche noticed certain inconsistencies. As with Ermanarich and Theognis, the historical record didn't present a consistent set of sources – in places even Diogenes' writing style betrayed either unmentioned influences or perhaps other authorial hands. Nietzsche's "Grundhypothese" is that Diogenes Laertius "did no more than epitomize Diocles [of Magnesia]."[99] Or, in Nietzsche's Latin, "*Ut igitur brevissime loquar, Laertius est Dioclis* ἐπιτομή".[100] This fact is allegedly confirmed by an argument, Nietzsche rather presumptuously asserts, "*quod vinci nequeat* [which can never be defeated]."[101]

That Diogenes used Diocles as the direct source of at least some of his information is almost certain.[102] After all, Diogenes mentions him at least twenty times, and claims to actually quote him on three occasions.[103] But never does he claim to use Diocles as a "main source," and there is certainly no admission of copying. In fact, he more frequently cites Favorinus as a direct source and Demetrius of Magnesia is repeatedly cited in the material on Cynicism and in the life of Epicurus. References to Antigonus, Apollodorus, Heracleides, Neanthes, Satyrus, Sotion, Sosicrates, and Hieronymus would suggest Diogenes had many more sources. But Nietzsche notes that each of these was likely a source for Demetrius. And the catalogues of the Demetrian book "*On Homonyms*" could only have come to Diogenes from Diocles.[104] At Book x 3–4, Diogenes lists authors who attacked Epicurus and his followers; one in particular, Sotion, wrote a

[98] *KSB* 2, 230. See Nietzsche to Gersdorff, January 16, 1867; *KSB* 2, 194ff; Nietzsche to Rohde, February 3, 1868; *KSB* 2, 245ff.

[99] *KGW* II/1, 203.

[100] *KGW* II/1, 131.

[101] *KGW* II/1, 130. Realistically, though, the point could likely never be proven by strict philological argumentation. Nietzsche's own arguments, in any case, support a more nuanced thesis: that Diogenes's *Lives* relies on three sources: Diocles, Favorinus of Arles, and Theodosius. *KGW* II/1, 207. At one point Nietzsche actually entertains the idea that Favorinus, not Diocles, was the exclusive source of Diogenes; he then later entertained that Diocles and Favorinus had been used equally. Like most contemporary scholars, though, Nietzsche eventually came to minimize the importance of Favorinus.

[102] Barnes (1986), 23.

[103] *Lives* VI 12, 36; VII 48. Following Barnes, ibid.

[104] *KGW* II/1, 130. For a description of the argument and its failings, see Barnes (1986), 24–29. Nietzsche follows Valentin Rose in his eventual accession that all of the *Indices Homonymorum* found in Diogenes are taken from Demetrius. His arguments are interesting but not critical to his overall thesis. Nietzsche makes considerable use of his (1854), (1863), and (1864–1870). Rose is especially relevant to Nietzsche's section on Hesychius, whose work Nietzsche believes is merely a condensed form of the *Lives*. Both Diogenes and Hesychius relied on the same source, though the latter omits several vitae that Diogenes chose to include.

book titled *Refutations of Diocles*, which suggests that Diogenes believed that Diocles was in fact an Epicurean. Thus, if Diocles was an Epicurean himself, and Diogenes felt impelled to copy his book in most other respects, then surely he would have continued to copy the material here, and thus his quotation of Demetrius itself must also have been found in the work of Diocles, leaving Diocles as the source for all the material summarily.[105]

Nietzsche has a second argument drawing from an odd remark in *Lives* X 9. Diogenes reports, "the [Epicurean] School itself, which, while nearly all the others have died out, continues forever without interruption through numberless reigns of one scholarch after another." This statement, at the approximate time that Diogenes wrote, would obviously have been false. The continuity of the Epicurean school was in all likelihood disrupted as early as the first century AD; thus, from whomever the statement was pilfered, it must have been someone living in the first century or before. Diocles fits this bill nicely.[106]

Third, Nietzsche cites *Lives* X 29,[107] where Diogenes writes, "I will also set down his [Epicurus'] Kuriai Doxai and any other utterance of his that seems worth citing, so that you will be able to better understand the man and will know how to judge me [*κἀμὲ κρίνειν εἰδέναι*]." Because we have no reason to presume that Diogenes himself was an Epicurean, but some definite cause to believe Diocles was, it is Nietzsche's conclusion that, "*totam Epicuri doctrinam a Diocle expositam* [the entire account of Epicurus was exposited from Diocles]."[108] Furthermore, the *Lives* is an extraordinarily impersonal work. The intrusion of an unguarded and almost casual self-reference here is very much uncharacteristic of Diogenes' literary style, such that it is. It is not wholly unreasonable to speculate that Diogenes had simply continued to copy over what another author had written – another author of the first century who happened to be an Epicurean sympathizer. And again, Diocles is implicated.

Despite Nietzsche's confidence, each argument reveals definite weaknesses. Against the first, while it may be true that parts of Demetrius of

[105] *KGW* II/1, 89.

[106] Nietzsche's assumption that Diocles flourished in the first century AD is not beyond debate. Maass (1880), 15–19, argues that it actually dates to the first century BC. Generally, Maass is harshly critical toward Nietzsche, despite his having acknowledged the originality of Nietzsche's *Grundhypothese* (*ibid.*, 4–5) and despite the fact that his own thesis very nearly mirrors that of Nietzsche (*ibid.*, 103).

[107] Barnes follows Nietzsche to cite this as *Lives* X 28; the important phrase of the citation, however, is at X 29. See *KGW* II/1, 89; Barnes (1986), 27. Nietzsche's Greek citation of the final sentence of X 28 is paraphrased from the text, and a bit conveniently at that. See *KGW* II/1, 89, starting with the *Ἐπιτομήν* that ought to read *ἐπιτέτμηται*.

[108] *KGW* II/1, 90.

Magnesia are traceable to Diocles, and even if the sections Nietzsche mentions had indeed been copied directly, it simply does not follow that every word of Demetrius would necessarily have come from Diocles. Nietzsche's argument thus leaves him not only defending the claim that everything in Diogenes was epitomized from Diocles, but, very improbably, that everything in Demetrius was epitomized from Diocles as well. The second argument is equally flimsy: the quotation at X 9 does indeed betray a first-century source, but in no way does that necessitate Diocles. It may just as well reference the work of any one of a relatively large number of philosophically concerned first-century authors.

The third argument is a bit more interesting. The text Nietzsche cites at *Lives* X 29 is disputed. What has come to us today is based on an emendation by Nietzsche's associate Hermann Usener, who reads *κἄν* for Nietzsche's elided *κἀμὲ* in the phrase, "and you will know how to judge *me* [*κἀμὲ κρίνειν εἰδέναι*]."[109] Usener has largely been followed, in part because he covers over one of Diogenes' several stylistic quirks, and, in part, because the tremendously influential Hermann Diels would later seek to debase Nietzsche's project altogether – disputed texts included – in his *Doxographi Graeci*. The emendation to the original text would render moot Nietzsche's suggestion that the '*κἀμὲ*' refers back to Diogenes' source Diocles. The problem is: there is no philological need for the emendation.[110] The manuscript is not corrupt, nor does it prevent a sensible rendering. It does fix a certain quirk in the text, but that quirk is precisely what Nietzsche thinks he can explain without altering the text. It is thus possible that Nietzsche may well have been correct, contra Usener and Diels, in his assessment that X 29 is to be read as a self-reference within a source from whom Diogenes absent-mindedly borrowed. Still, his attribution of the *κἀμὲ* to Diocles in particular is not convincing. Even though it would be impossible to prove that Diocles was *not* the original author here, we have no more impetus to point the finger at Diocles than to indict any other author of the first century. As is, Nietzsche has only presented an interesting and creative hypothesis – hardly an argument *quod vinci nequeat*. Quite the contrary, Hermann Diels claims that "Nietzsche's opinion is not only highly uncertain and frailer than a spider's web, but also palpably false."[111]

Beyond Nietzsche's philological skepticism about the legitimacy of the individual text, what we see next is by now a familiar historiographical strategy. The three essays contain numerous harsh criticisms of Diogenes as an author and as a person, which go far beyond the bounds of impartial

[109] My emphasis. [110] Following Barnes (1986), 27. [111] Diels (1879), 162.

scholarly assessment. Diogenes was a "sleepy-head"; he was "stupid," an "impudent and imprudent thief"; that "wretched little Laertius" was "hasty and careless," both "vain and pretentious."[112] Diogenes was a bumbling fool who found himself engulfed in a project whose scope and importance was beyond his ability. That such an absent-minded author's work should have survived for us as the only source for such an extensive portion of Greek philosophy only makes worse his plagiarism. "What is Diogenes to us? No one would waste a word on the philistine features of this writer were he not, by chance, the guardian of jewels whose value he does not recognize. He is in fact the night watchman of the history of Greek philosophy: no one can enter unless Diogenes has given him the key."[113]

Nietzsche's Diogenes is more than just inept. The first section of the *Beiträge*, in its entirety, is occupied with the prospect of a "*Laertius Diogenes als Epigrammendichter*."[114] Diogenes was an epigrammatic poet, and this is the key to the solving the riddle of his cooption of Diocles. Nietzsche believes that Diogenes uses the words *τὸ πάμμετρον* and *ἡ πάμμετρος* (medley of meter), which typically follow the death-tale of the featured philosopher, to signal the subtitle of an entire epigrammatic cycle.[115] The phrase names a mostly lost work of such cycles entitled the *Πάμμετρος*, which eulogized the deaths of philosophers in a similar way as the *Lives* does. The fact that Diogenes sometimes writes in passing *ἐν τῇ παμμέτρῳ* (in the *Pammetros*)[116] without citing its author perhaps does suggest that he himself was the writer – or so Nietzsche hints: the *Pammetros* was 'really' the first book of the collection of Laertian epigrams.[117] "Laertius himself would have had the status of a poet."[118] Naturally, Diogenes would have wanted his poetry to be preserved for future generations. But he knew it would be lost if left entirely in a self-contained work; his poetry was too deficient to be kept safe throughout history. In an effort to guard their memory, he wove them into the *Lives* – which, after all, contained nothing else of originality – as a sort of vehicle to carry a masked selection of his epigrams.[119] The intention of the work, Nietzsche contends, is now clear: the *Lives* was nothing more than a front for his poetry. He copied Diocles, not because he lacked a better source, not because he was vigorously interested in the history of philosophy, but only

[112] See Barnes (1986), 20 for citations. [113] *BAW* 5, 126. [114] *KGW* II/1, 193–201.
[115] *KGW* II/1, 194. Cf. *Lives* II 7, 14; III 30; VII 1, 26; VIII 1, 23.
[116] For example *Lives* VII 1, 26; VIII 2, 11; IX 7, 11. [117] *KGW* II/1, 194. [118] *KGW* II/1, 195.
[119] Barnes (1986), 22, notices the point, but dismisses it as philologically unsound. He is right, at least by the measure of contemporary philology. But the important point, which Barnes fails to consider, is that such speculative explanations were more acceptable to theorists in the nineteenth century.

because he hoped that by encoding his poetry in a valuable philosophical resource it would be preserved through the ages.[120] His position as the "night watchman" of Greek philosophy was something of an unwanted appointment.

Of course, there is little to support Nietzsche's claim, philologically speaking. Aside from the spurious κἀμὲ of *Lives* x 29, we have next to nothing about Laertius himself in either his own words or those recorded by any other ancient author. The argument is entirely speculative – to professional scholars it is, as Jonathan Barnes claims, "merely silly."[121] Even if we grant the work is Diogenes', Nietzsche's belief that he *intentionally* hijacked a second work only to preserve the first is unwarranted and unlikely. It is more reasonable to imagine an author, who, having already written numerous epigrams about philosophers, inserted key excerpts at appropriate places in his present writing simply because they fit nicely and add a further layer of depth to the account. They might just as easily be considered supplementary quotations in an academic essay, cited not in order to preserve the older work for posterity, but simply to supplement the present work in a convenient fashion.

The reception of Nietzsche's work on Diogenes was deeply divided. Hermann Diels, in a note already cited, attacks the arguments of Nietzsche's *Grundhypothese*.[122] While Ernst Maass recognizes the merit of the study, he chides Nietzsche for his "youthful ardor," and effectively substitutes Favorinus for Diocles as the *Hauptquelle*.[123] Julius Freudenthal has a more unsavory attack against Nietzsche's ability as a philologist generally, as well as a focused diatribe on the impossibility of the *Grundhypothese*.[124] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff dismisses Nietzsche's contention that Favorinus was an alternate source to Diocles.[125] On the other hand, there was also considerable praise for Nietzsche's work. Gottlieb Röper, the first to comment on the work, calls Nietzsche "an astute and learned interpreter" who possesses "marvelous powers for seeing in the dark."[126] Hermann Usener had unrestrained praise for the

[120] *KGW* II/1, 195. [121] Barnes (1986), 23.

[122] Diels, too, recognizes the need to investigate the sources of Diogenes, but finds Nietzsche's "immature and untrained mind" inadequate to the task. Cf. Diels (1879), 161–169.

[123] See Maass (1880), 103.

[124] See Freudenthal (1879), 309. In a particularly harsh moment, Freudenthal claims that Nietzsche cannot distinguish between possibility, probability, and necessity. At other times he thinks Nietzsche's insights are "breathtaking, subtle, and keen."

[125] See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1876), 498–506; and (1880), 142–164. In the latter work, Wilamowitz challenges the views of both Nietzsche and Maass, though much of his chiding of Maass revolves around the fact that he relied too heavily on Nietzsche.

[126] Röper (1870), 568. Like many of these commentators, Röper was ambivalent in his attitude. Nietzsche is said to be remarkable for his insight and daring, but prone to making questionable conjectures.

young Nietzsche's "youthful freshness and penetrating insight."[127] The great philological historian Conrad Bursian considered it among the best works on the subject.[128] Nietzsche's work even merited a personal letter from the philosophical historian and Neo-Kantian Eduard Zeller: "Your investigations on the sources of Diogenes are certainly of the highest value; and the conclusion, which had already been recommended to me in your earlier essay – that Diocles had been the main source – is nowadays still further confirmed."[129] As for the one opinion that mattered most to Nietzsche, professionally and personally, Friedrich Ritschl was reservedly approving. Nietzsche notes much later in *Ecce homo* what he perceived to be his mentor's attitude. "My old teacher, Ritschl, actually claimed that I planned even my philological essays like a Parisian *romancier* – absurdly exciting."[130] One can perhaps see why Ritschl combined 'exciting' with 'absurd.'

The story of Ritschl's role in Nietzsche's appointment at Basel is familiar enough to obviate a rehashed account here.[131] What should be emphasized is that he did so knowing full well what kind of philologist Nietzsche was in his published philological works. He was not at this time the intuitive historiographical disciple of Schopenhauer and Wagner, but in temperament and method like Ritschl: a *Sprachphilolog* with a penchant for speculation. The next chapter will detail precisely what that meant in the context of nineteenth-century historiography. For now, two points about Nietzsche's meta-history warrant emphasis.

In terms of his formal meta-history, first, Nietzsche is an ontological and representational realist about the past. In each of the pieces examined he assumes both that the past exists and that the representations he proposes correspond to the nature of that real past. With each, there *was* a text, an actual, stable, extant source upon which the false interpretations were gradually built. There was a poet named Theognis and he intended every word he wrote in a work written shortly before his exile. There was also a redactor, the traces of whose handiwork we can decipher by carefully separating it from what is genuinely Theognis. Even while Nietzsche's skepticism is piqued against the presumption that the contemporary version of the text reproduces Theognis' own thought, the theoretical possibility of

[127] Freudenthal recalls this phrase from Usener's lectures; see Freudenthal (1879), 309. See also Usener (1892), 1023–1034.
[128] See Bursian (1883), 929.
[129] Zeller to Nietzsche, May 22, 1870; *KGB* II/2, 211–212. While cordial in tone, Zeller does raise concerns for Nietzsche's interpretation. Nietzsche does not bother to respond, but only reports derisively to Ritschl that Zeller's questions were "just wrong." *KGB* II/1, 124.
[130] *EH* "Bücher," 2; *KSA* 6, 301.
[131] For details, see Stroux (1925); Janz (1978); Pletsch (1991); Cate (2002).

fully understanding Theognis, were it not for this irreparable editorial tradition, is never questioned. And the same goes for the text of Diogenes. Diocles and Favorinus are real people, and they really say what they mean about the ancient personalities. And Diogenes really meant to do what he did in melding the various biographies together. Even while Nietzsche's skeptical finger points out the occluded character of the present-day text, he never doubts the reality of these facts of the past nor the historian's theoretical ability, *ceteris paribus*, to set them aright. The truth conditions of Nietzsche's philological historiography entail the commonplace adequation between the interpretation offered and the real past external to him. He considers his arguments successful insofar as what he claims as having happened really did happen.

Second, Nietzsche consistently employs in each of these works a speculative hypothesis which serves as an explanatory mechanism. He is not, however, attempting to construct a new past, to somehow fabricate the reality of the redactor, or of Ermanarich's real intentions with Suanahild, or of the authorial motivations of Diogenes.[132] The speculative moments in each of these three philological projects serve as explanatory mechanisms rather than ontological assertions that of themselves constitute some new past. While this may seem obvious given what we have discussed, it bears repetition since Nietzsche would profoundly alter his historiographical methodology very shortly after these papers, effectively shunning *Sprachphilologie* for an intuitional historiography in *The Birth of Tragedy*. In his middle and later writings, he would shift his historiographical method again, maintaining his ontological realism but adopting a representational anti-realism. These methodological shifts will be the focus of the following chapters.

Before proceeding, three additional observations should be made about how Nietzsche's early exercises in realist linguistic analysis affect his characterization of the 'Greeks.' It perhaps goes without saying that, if text is the sole criterion for adjudicating claims about the past, then our attention will be focused on authors, institutions that preserved documents, and events that were of sufficient import to merit something being written down about them. To be in a position to write was to be in at least better than average socio-economic standing. Most women, the majority of men, children, the poor, slaves, non-Greek and non-Latin speakers: hardly any of these voices of antiquity endured by means of the written word to modern times. And not only are their voices forgotten, their 'petty'

[132] Contra Porter (2000a) and (2000b), see Jensen (2013a).

interests – blue-collar labor, household management, music, games, fashions, etc. – were largely ignored by those whose voices were remembered. Descriptions of great people and great events comprise the overwhelming majority of our texts of antiquity. What does this say about the aristocratic values Nietzsche so often 'discovers' in Greece as compared to the plebian values of the exponentially increased quantity of contemporary historians?

The second point concerns Nietzsche's early resistance to classicism. From the very start, Nietzsche chose not to focus on the classical aspects of the Greeks: their grace, beauty, balance, tranquility, loftiness, wisdom – everything captured by the Winckelmannian term *Heiterkeit* – all of these qualities are resoundingly absent in Nietzsche's portrayal of Ermanarich, Theognis, and Diogenes. What they have in common are all-too-human traits like pride, envy, and scorn. These are not Raphaelite idols languidly discussing far away and lofty ideas, but gritty figures motivated by the underside of our everyday desires.

This leads to a third observation. These studies persistently avoid appealing to the sorts of extra-natural explanations popular among the speculative and romantic philosophers of history. Figures like Herder, Hartmann, and Hegel had long been engaged in battle with positivists like Comte and Buckle over the nature of causation in history. While not necessarily always teleological (for example, Herder), the former group relied upon extra-naturalistic mechanisms like 'National Character' or 'The Absolute' or 'Spirit' to explain the transitions of epochs. The explanatory schemas of the latter three were reined in by the limits of the observable, natural world. Nietzsche's own practice of historical explanation in these early works is clearly closer to the latter. It is not the historical spirit which moves the redactor's hand, but simple human revenge. Diogenes was not unwittingly fulfilling the aims of the *Weltprozess*; it was vanity that led him to epitomize. While Nietzsche's claims are speculative insofar as they are not confirmable given the available evidence, they remain naturalistic insofar as they could at least theoretically be confirmed had we more complete evidence. Said briefly as possible, Nietzsche's philological methodology is best classified as a skeptical realist description combined with speculative psychological explanation. In character, it is naturalistic, non-teleological, and non-classical.

CHAPTER 2

Early meta-history and context

Among the philologists

Historical events, whether the corruption of ancient texts or the representation of that corruption by historians themselves, take place within historical contexts. To better understand why Nietzsche held the particular meta-historical presuppositions he did, we turn now to Nietzsche's own historical context. As philology in the early nineteenth century was the crown jewel of the historical disciplines, and the battle between two groups of competing philologists indicative of the in-fighting between critical and speculative historians, Nietzsche's unique place in this field at one of its most formative moments is intrinsically interesting for the development of his meta-history.[1]

Among the eighteenth-century philosophers of history in Germany, none were greater than Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). For Winckelmann, "The universal and predominant characteristic of the Greek masterpieces is a noble simplicity and tranquil grandeur both in posture and expression."[2] Winckelmann was positively consumed by the notion of 'classical perfection,' and it was this notion, he believed, that should serve as an educational model for his contemporary German culture. "The only way for us to become great, and indeed – if this is possible – inimitable, is by imitating the ancients."[3] Lessing's *Laokoon* perceived within the majesty of antiquity the life blood of his contemporary

[1] Much of my select history of philology relies on Sandys (1908) and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff ([1927] 1982), sources which, while outdated, better reflect the nineteenth-century attitudes with which Nietzsche would have been more familiar. In other words, I am more concerned here to provide a history of philology as Nietzsche would have known it rather than one built upon the best research available today. For confirmation on certain points, however, I have consulted the modern histories of R. Pfeiffer (1976); and Calder III and Briggs (1990). For a contextualized reading of Nietzsche's readings of classical philology at this time, see also Jensen (2013b).

[2] Cited in Nisbet (1985), 42. [3] *Ibid.*, 33.

culture, prompting Nietzsche's appellation as "the most honest [*ehrlichste*] of theoretical men."[4] And for Herder, a detached or impartial vision of history became untenable and even undesirable. The precondition for understanding a poem, a tragedy, or a work of art is a prior acquaintance with, and ideally even an assimilation of, the viewpoint of the author. We must feel our way into history: *einfühlen*. And once we do we will intuit, if never deduce, that history's successive epochs are akin to the stages of growth, maturation, and decline found in every organic being, none more perfect, none less valuable or necessary.

German Classicism of the nineteenth century is heralded by the emergence of Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824). He was the first German to matriculate as a *Studiosus Philologiae*.[5] As a lecturer at Ilfeld, he concentrated his efforts on the Homeric question and wrote several introductions to Greek and Roman philosophy. During his twenty-three years as professor at Halle, he offered lectures on more than fifty different subjects in antiquity, some of which were attended by Goethe. His attention to the methods of philology led to his systematization of all that could be proven of the ancients, lifting philology from a series of interesting portraits of antiquity to a comprehensive and methodologically independent science. But his lectures were not intended purely for the dissemination of factual knowledge. The stimulation of student minds was Wolf's primary concern.[6] His pedagogical ideal can be summarized as "purely human education," an "elevation of all the powers of the mind and soul to a beautiful harmony of the inner and the outer man."[7] Even his famous *Prolegomena to Homer* (1795), concerning which Schopenhauer would express to Wolf his admiration and on which Nietzsche relied for his own Homeric studies,[8] arose out of a pedagogical motivation, as his students were sorely lacking a solid introduction in German. And while there was some variance in his work's reception, it was much welcomed by that other great reformer of education, Wilhelm von Humboldt, as well as by the Schlegels, and at times by Goethe.[9] His lectures on the 'Encyclopedia of Philology'[10] beginning in 1785 aspired to nothing less than a complete comprehension of classical antiquity itself and the entirety of its manifold aspects.

[4] *GT* 15; *KSA* 1, 99.
[5] Sandys (1908), 51–52. See *NF*, March 1875, 3[2]; *KSA* 8, 14. See also Horstmann (1978), 51–78.
[6] Sandys (1908), 54. [7] *Ibid.* [8] See *EKP* 8; *KGW* II/3, 373.
[9] The *Prolegomena* did not find favor in the poetic circles of Schiller, Voss, and Wieland. Goethe's own opinion fluctuated somewhat over time. See Sandys (1908), 57.
[10] Nietzsche owned the first two volumes of Wolf (1831–1835).

> Our antiquity considered as a whole is at the same time a world unto itself; as such it strikes every species of observation in its own way and offers another something else in order to educate and practice its trade, to broaden its knowledge through what is worthy of wisdom [*Wissenswürdiges*], to sharpen its sense for truth, to make finer its judgment of the beautiful, to lend its dreams weights and rules, and to awaken all the powers of the soul through its adducent tasks [*anziehende Aufgaben*] and practices, and to shape them in proportion.[11]

Contemporaries of Wolf were Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), Goethe (1749–1832), Schiller (1759–1805), and the Schlegel brothers, August Wilhelm (1767–1845) and Friedrich (1772–1829). The direction in which each took Wolf's conception of classical studies is telling. Of the five, Humboldt concentrated his efforts on reforming the German educational system, and accomplished this to a significant degree from his post as the educational secretary of the Prussian Home Office and in his influence upon the newly founded University of Berlin. As a founder of the neo-humanist historical tradition, Humboldt maintained the purpose of study of history to be bound more to the formation of young minds than to the endless accumulation of facts. With a sentiment Nietzsche would echo in his 1874 *Nutzen und Nachteil*, Humboldt writes:

> It is in this way that history is related to active life. History does not primarily serve us by showing through specific examples, often misleading and rarely enlightening, what to do and what to avoid. History's true and immeasurable usefulness lies rather in its power to enliven and refine our sense of acting on reality, and this occurs more through the form attached to events than through the events themselves.[12]

As a student at Leipzig, his friend Goethe consumed a healthy portion of philology, syncretizing the aims of Winckelmann, Lessing, and Herder.[13] Ever fascinated by antiquity, Goethe relied heavily on Wolf's *Prolegomena* for his own palinode, *Homer wieder Homer*.[14] His dramatic works such as *Torquato Tasso*, *Egmont*, and *Iphigenie auf Tauris* exemplify Weimar Classicism, though he himself was later rather critical of Winckelmann's conclusions, a point evident in his 1805 essays.[15] Schiller's poetry reflects its author's deep affinity for ancient literature, culture, and philosophy. And his conception of the past is imbued with a constant eye toward a

[11] Wolf (1807), 139ff. [12] Humboldt ([1822] 1967), 59ff.
[13] There are several studies on Goethe's place in philology and Nietzsche's relation to it. See, for example: Schlechta (1976); Politycki (1981, 1989); Siemens (2004); and Ulfers and Cohen (2004).
[14] Sandys (1908), 69. [15] Cf. Siemens (2004), 399.

comparison with the contemporary.[16] In his *Ueber naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1796–1797), a work that influenced Nietzsche's own work on tragedy, Schiller portrays Greek culture as the very paradigm that must advance humanity itself, in sharp distinction to the self-alienating culture of his contemporary Germany. As for the Schlegel brothers, a predominant theme in August Wilhem's *Ueber dramatische Kunst und Litteratur* (1808) and in Friedrich's *Vom Wert des Studiums der Griechen und Römer* (1795–1796) is the revision of the German notion of self-cultivation along the lines of the ancient models; through the study of antiquity, we acquire an apprehension of the concepts 'noble,' 'good,' and 'beautiful,' through which we accordingly constitute the humane structure of our lives.[17] Friedrich Schlegel would later argue that such idealist self-construction was ultimately a delusion, and that the historian's representation of the past was a reflection of himself. One common thread that unites them all is a characteristic disdain for critical analysis of sources, codices, and the analysis of grammar, in preference to their exposition of the classical world according to their own educational, artistic, and cultural purposes. Although their influence is nearly absent in Nietzsche's philological publications, it is pronounced in *The Birth of Tragedy*, *On the Future of our Educational Institutions*, *On Truth and Lies in an Extramoral Sense*, and the notes to the proposed *Wir Philologen*, all of which will be discussed in our fourth chapter.

The birth of professional philology served as counterpoint to the Romantics. A generation after Wolf, Gottfried Hermann (1772–1848) and August Boeckh (1785–1867) became heads of two rival schools, the first of which has sometimes been labelled the 'positive' or 'critical' school, approaching antiquity with the tools of textual emendation, codices, and literary criticism, while the second, being more concerned to effectively demonstrate the writ-large spirit of antiquity and to implant that ideal into the hearts of their students, was variously named the 'hermeneutical,' 'antiquarian,' or 'humanistic' school.[18] (To avoid confusion in these labels, though, I will refer to them as *Sprach-* and *Sachphilologen* respectively.) The *Sachphilologen* sought to construct classical worldviews, while the

[16] For Schiller's relation to Nietzsche, see Andler (1958) I, 33–48; Rehder (1976), 156–164; and the comprehensive study of N. Martin (1996).

[17] For a concise discussion of both Schiller and the Schlegels, see Emden (2004), 376–378.

[18] Two thorough, if somewhat dated, studies of this rift are Sandys (1908), vol. III; and Paulsen (1919–1921), vol. II. For accounts of it that relate specifically to Nietzsche see Whitman (1986), 453–468; Porter (2000a), esp. chapters 1, 4, and 5; Benne (2005), esp. 68–88. I myself am inclined to believe that this division is too simplistic. However, it seems to be the picture Nietzsche inherited from his instructors and from the histories of philology composed at the time.

Sprachphilologen tried to tear down their speculative fancies in the name of philological certainty and interpretive precision. Nietzsche, as we shall see, was on the front lines of this debate during his education at both Bonn and Leipzig.

Turning first to Hermann, we find the establishment of philological positivism, the view that all that can be claimed of the past must be verifiable by textual evidence.[19] In his work on grammar, the *De emendanda ratione Graecae Grammaticae*,[20] in his dissertation on the term 'αὐτός,' and in his 'Four Books on the particle ἄν,' Hermann insisted on the central importance of syntactical perfection as the prior condition of any knowledge of antiquity.[21] A hermeneutical rendering of classical texts without a grounded insight into the myriad uses and meanings of the words and grammar of those texts would prove empty. "Indeed the language of a people, as the living image of its spirit, is what most characterizes its essence; more important still is that only through it can what a people truly is be conceptualized and understood."[22] Not a fanciful construal of the ancient world – like something out of Hölderlin, Goethe, or Schiller[23] – but a certain, precise, and elemental philological method should be the aim of established scholars' research, as well as their sole pedagogical goal. For how could an author such as Goethe teach us anything about the 'spirit' of Iphigenia or Prometheus without an adequate knowledge of the history of the emendations of the Aeschylean texts? *Sprachphilologie* exists, as Nietzsche quotes Hermann, "*ut recte intellegantur scripta verterum* [so that the writings of antiquity be rightly understood]."[24] Among Hermann's many respected students at Leipzig, of particular note are Moritz Haupt and Theodor Bergk, and also, interestingly enough, Friedrich Ritschl.

August Boeckh exemplified a methodology antithetical to that of Hermann.[25] The student of Wolf and Schleiermacher, Boeckh sought to explain from the broad scope of a comprehensive worldview what he considered the most pedagogically important aspects of antiquity. The aim of studying the classics was to eventually emulate the classical models; and, to accomplish this task, one must sense the overarching spirit of the classics – "a complete system, cast by the hand of a master"[26] – something which a single-mindedly technical focus on individual words and phrases

[19] See, for examples, Hermann (1796, 1816, and 1818).
[20] On Hermann's theory of grammar, see Tichy (2010), 123–142. [21] Sandys (1908), 91.
[22] Hermann (1826), 4.
[23] Among the best studies on these influences are those of Politycki (1981, 1989); and Ulfers and Cohen (2004).
[24] *BAW* 4, 6. [25] See Poiss (2010), 143–165. [26] Boeckh (1877), 75.

was likely to retard. Unlike Hermann and his later followers, Boeckh viewed grammatical and technical scholarship as a mere tool toward the more interesting and more pedagogically valuable portrayal of antiquity as a whole.

> An outline of the whole by a scholar and connoisseur [. . .] with a breadth of vision and conceptual rigor is especially necessary today – and not, as before, simply a collection of raw unorganized data hastily thrown together; most classical scholars, especially the younger ones, are ever more inclined to blindly follow a kind of philology which, though not to be despised in itself, is nonetheless oriented principally toward the tiniest details, and is hardly even a study of words – just syllables and letters.[27]

Boeckh's magisterial endeavor, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*, which was the first rigorous edition of such a huge body of learning, earned only harsh criticism from Hermann. "[Boeckh] had generally accepted the transcripts on trust, and his restorations had often done violence, either to the evidence of those transcripts, or to the laws of the Greek language."[28] His lectures were never pure scholarship, the point on which Hermann scoffed; they stand, however, as a profound application of previous generations of scholarship to holistically conceived branches of classical learning, such as economics and methods of inscription.[29] Among his prize students at Berlin was Nietzsche's professor Otto Jahn. And although Ritschl studied under Hermann, the great historian of philology John Edwin Sandys claims he was personally "among the warmest admirers of Boeckh."[30]

The generation of classical scholars that followed was effectively polarized into either the camp of Boeckh or else the school of Hermann. Among the *Sachphilologen*, we find Gottfried Bernhardy (1800–1875). In a somewhat Hegelian vein, Bernhardy conceives of grammar as the 'instrument' of the system of classical learning, while criticism and interpretation are classified as its 'elements.'[31] The interplay between them was to lead to a synthesis of historiographical perfection. In his most widely read works, the *History of Roman Literature* (1830) and the *History of Greek Literature* (1836–1845), both of which Nietzsche owned, Bernhardy sets a standard seldom met for both grandeur and thoroughness. Excepting his Hegelianism, Bernhardy's

[27] Quoted from Boeckh's *Staathaushaltung der Athener* without reference by Kaegi (1947–1985) II, 30; I have been unable to verify the original.
[28] Cited in Sandys (1908), 99. [29] For a discussion of Boeckh's methods, see Horstmann (1992).
[30] Sandys (1908), 100ff. Nietzsche himself owned Boeckh's 1809 *Commentatio Platonica*, which influenced his own lectures *Einleitung in das Studium der platonischen Dialoge*, delivered during the Winter Semester of 1871–1872.
[31] Bernhardy (1832), 420.

system of synthesis and division was to a degree the model after which Nietzsche patterned his own attempt at a '*Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*'[32] and an '*Encyclopädie der klassischen Philologie*.'[33]

Following the critical school of Hermann was Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), who largely codified textual criticism into a strict methodological discipline – something he believed was not sufficiently respected by those poets, artists, and musicians more concerned with generalizations about the "true majesty of antiquity."[34] He maintained that a complete understanding of an historical period or culture could only be achieved by a thorough apprehension of the particular work; that apprehension, in turn, can only be attained by the aid of the results of several generations' effort in the form of repeated critical examination.[35] Along with his close friend Moritz Haupt (1808–1874), Lachmann maintained an almost religious devotion toward the teachings of Hermann. Among the most important students of this pair – one who actually obtained his doctorate under Haupt – was none other than Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931).

One figure, though not strictly a philologist, whom no account of the nineteenth century can overlook is Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886). Although it had since Wolf been commonplace in philology, Ranke is credited with the introduction of critical rigor to historiography generally: the systematization of methods and demands for both positive evidence and objectivity. The historian's first and only duty was to elucidate the past "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* [as it really was]."[36] Historical inquiry must excise the subjective element as far as possible and represent the past as unadulterated and free of prejudice as the scientist who articulates without judgment the objects of her inquiry. Subjective intrusions that result in account selectivity, presumptions about human psychology, and the like, not only diminish the scientific rigor of the field, they engender dangerously value-laden judgments that ought to be below the historian's professional dignity.[37] In contradistinction to the later historians Treitschke and Droysen, Ranke believed history should remain unsullied by contemporary interests, especially politics and religious values. Among the vast number of nineteenth-century historians influenced by Ranke, two of his most

[32] *KGW* II/5, 7–353. [33] *KGW* II/3, 339–437.
[34] Bursian (1883), 789. For insight into how Lachmann figured into Nietzsche's consideration of 'scientific' historiography, see Babich (2012), 292–295.
[35] Sandys (1908), 131.
[36] Ranke (1972), 57. Nietzsche owned Ranke's *Französische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (1856).
[37] See Vierhaus (1977), 63–76.

prominent were Heinrich von Sybel, whose lectures Nietzsche attended enthusiastically at Bonn,[38] and Jakob Burckhardt, whose importance for Nietzsche's historiography we will outline a bit later on.

Although this historical sketch is all-too-general, it is a fair summary of the two major opposing trends of philological scholarship in which Nietzsche was raised as a scholar: those who felt that historiography should, like the natural sciences, only present demonstrable facts, and those who considered those facts as a means to a particular pedagogical end. The stage is now set for us to discuss the two most important philologists with respect to Nietzsche: the putative *Sprachphilolog* Friedrich Ritschl (1806–1876) and *Sachphilolog* Otto Jahn (1813–1869). Nietzsche would have been made familiar with both men and their methodological tendencies from his days at Schulpforta. His teacher and supporter Dietrich Volkmann completed his studies under Ritschl, whereas Karl August Koberstein was mentor to the young Jahn.[39]

A letter to his mother and sister in November of 1864 expresses the first impressions these *Philologen* made on Nietzsche. "To even imagine knowing these heroes of *Wissenschaft* – men such as Ritschl, who held a lecture on philology and theology for me, and such as Otto Jahn, who, like me, does philology and music without making one or the other accidental – exerts a great influence on me."[40] The structure of their introduction to his family is telling. Nietzsche had intended to attend Bonn as a student of theology, with the eventual aim of following his deceased father's footsteps into a parsonage. His heart, as his family feared, strayed more toward music than sermon. Ritschl, whose father was the minor theologian and Thuringian

[38] See *KSB* 2, 18; *KSB* 2, 76. Nietzsche had two other less famous instructors of history at Bonn, Anton Heinrich Springer and Wilhelm Ludwig Krafft. Nietzsche received some training in the history of philosophy from Karl Schaarschmidt at Bonn as well. There is not much evidence to suggest that any of their historiographies, however, had significant influence on Nietzsche. See Emden (2008), 21–23.

[39] His Pforta teachers did not teach a radically different approach than the Bonn scholars, with whom many were collegial. Were we to presume it nevertheless, such a delineation of influence would need to compare the compositions from his last semester at Pforta until his first year at Leipzig. Where this can be done on any single theme, however, similarity rather than dissimilarity suggests itself. See, for example, his philological draft "Theognis als Dichter" (June–July 1864), his Pforta dissertation, "De Theognide Megarensi" (July–August, 1864), the sketch "Studien zu Theognis" (September–November 1864), and his first publication while at Leipzig, "Zur Geschichte der Theognideischen Spruchsammlung" (August–September, 1866; published 1867). These pieces don't much vary in their meticulous concern with literary sources, emendations, patterns of text arrangement, original character, and literary intentions of the author, etc. So from 1864 to 1867, dates which effectively frame the period of time during which the new influence of Ritschl or Jahn should have been discernible, the treatment of Theognis does not bear evidence of a philological revolution in terms of an altered methodology, as much as an intensive progression in terms of a deepening and broadening of Nietzsche's original insights into a fuller yet not fundamentally different expression.

[40] *KSB* 2, 18.

minister Friedrich Ludwig Ritschl, offered the possibility of a philology shaped by both the discipline and rhetorical thunder of Pietism. Jahn, the very secular son of a lawyer, represented the prospect of combining philology with the guilty secular pleasure of music. Whereas Ritschl's name meant duty, Nietzsche's first glance at Jahn must have promised the fulfillment of his own wishes. Jahn was a first-rate philologist, musician, and, like Koberstein, a connoisseur of German literature, especially romantic literature and literary history. The decision to follow a respectable career in the academy instead of the enticing but unstable life of a musician was one faced in a similar fashion and at the same age by both Jahn and Nietzsche.[41] Jahn's ability to engage both interests professionally may have appeared a viable solution to Nietzsche's own predicament.[42] Yet although a certain respect for Jahn is expressed from 1865 to 1868, and while it is tempting to believe there *should* have been a friendship, there is hardly evidence of a personal bond between them.[43] Nietzsche was glad to please Jahn with his first substantial work at Bonn, "*Simonidis lamentatio Danaae*."[44] But the degree to which he adopted Jahn's philological methods in that essay – we will see that they were not so different than Ritschl's when it came to individual philological subjects – is impossible to determine.

Friedrich Ritschl

Having studied with Hermann at Leipzig and then Hermann's student Karl Christian Reisig at Halle, Ritschl made it his life's work to complete Hermann's initiatives on Plautus with a philological method unmatched in rigor.[45] Ritschl spent more than thirty years detailing every slight alteration in mood, tone, and voice, every textual emendation made throughout a millennium, every seemingly meaningless speck of editorial dust that had gathered on or around the image of Plautus. A motto Ritschl drummed into the members of his seminar is indicative of his martinet-attitude toward method: "*Lesen, viel lesen, sehr viel lesen, möglischst viel lesen* [Reading, a lot of reading, a whole lot of reading, as much reading as possible]."[46] Such a careful training Ritschl acquired under his *Sprachphilologen* teachers. "The best that

[41] It is only speculation, however tempting, that Nietzsche might have consulted Jahn about this decision. See Reibnitz (1991), 210.

[42] *Ibid.*, 208.

[43] Janz maintains that while Nietzsche did not develop genuine ties to either teacher he was nevertheless closer to Jahn due to their shared interest in music. Janz (1978), 1, 154. Janz's presumption, however, overlooks the fact that the musical inclinations of Jahn were quite contrary to Nietzsche's. Overstated is Bažant's characterization of Jahn as Nietzsche's "once beloved master." Bažant (1991), 20.

[44] Reibnitz (1991), 209. [45] Vogt (1990), 390. [46] Ritschl (1879) v, 28.

there is in me as regards philology I owe to seminary exercises under my teachers Gottfried Hermann in Leipzig and Karl Reisig in Halle."[47]

Given that Nietzsche himself had no real interest in Plautus, would he have had patience with such a micrological Hermannian? Just here is the point on which Ritschl has been misjudged by scholars of Nietzsche, and where his historiographical influence has been falsely ascribed.[48] Misunderstood is that Ritschl never considered his own accomplishments – *petits faits* that they were – the proper goals of philology but examples of the appropriately rigorous methodology that should serve as but one contributory rung on the ladder to a more multifaceted education. A worthy philologist must begin with these basic and most certain elements of the text, and from there proceed to useful and philologically valid images of that text's author, and then only from there move into the grand scope of *Alterthumswissenschaft*. Ritschl had, in encyclopediae formally consistent with Boeckh's better-known version, attempted to express the grandiose accumulation of his learning. His "Zur Geschichte der classischen Philologie," "Gutachten über philologische Seminarien," and "Zur Methode des philologischen Studiums" each appear strongly influenced by Boeckh, but are 'corrected' by means of a more serious analytic tone.[49] Boeckh and the Romantics he helped to inspire – Goethe, Hölderlin, and the so-called 'historical' philosophy of the Hegelians – too often overlooked those preliminary stages before constructing their *Gesamtbilden* of the ancient world. Speculation without critical rigor, Ritschl taught, remains mere guesswork. In his lectures on metric, Ritschl sought, "the reproduction of the life of classical antiquity through intuition and knowledge."[50]

[47] Gildersleeve (1884), 352. The passage is quoted second hand from J. H. Wright in an address at the National Educational Association in 1882.

[48] Silk and Stern (1983), 92; Figl (1984), 154–172; Reibnitz (1991), 204–233; Calder III (1991), 202; Niemeyer (1996), 60–64. Nietzsche's French biographer Charles Andler judges: "Ritschl was a puritan of science." Andler ([1958] 1920–1931) I, 298. Benne is a positive corrective in this respect: Benne (2005), 60–65. Apart from these, the neglect of Nietzsche's teacher is startling. In the Weimar Nietzsche-Bibliographie, there is only one entry on Ritschl, and that is in a French collection of correspondence surrounding *The Birth of Tragedy*. This is additionally surprising in light of the recent quantity of research on Nietzsche's philology, some of the best known of which practically ignores these figures. Although Porter often cites Ritschl's correspondence with Nietzsche as evidence of the latter's development, Ritschl himself and his influence receives no sustained treatment. Porter (2000a). The neglect has been such that the biographer Ronald Hayman talks at length about Nietzsche's teacher *Albrecht* Ritschl. Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) was a professor of theology at Göttingen when Nietzsche was at Bonn. He was the author of an important work on the origins of the Catholic Church. He was not, however, the teacher of Nietzsche.

[49] All are found in Ritschl (1879).

[50] The lectures on metric were delivered in the winter semester of 1831–1832. The citation is provided by Ribbeck (1879–1881) I, 85. For how Ritschl's lectures on metric shaped the content of Nietzsche's thoughts on the same topic, see generally Günther (2008).

Emphasizing the combination was key: one may not reduce philology to either the knowledge of the *Sprachphilologen* or the intuitions of the *Sachphilologen*. Accordingly, scholars should not pigeonhole Ritschl himself into one school or the other. Ritschl's destination was Boeckh's, but his road was distinctively Hermann's.[51] As one student recalls, "He was rigidly just to the letter, but he read in every tittle of the letter the revelation of the spirit."[52]

This was something of a taboo. At the same time Ritschl tried to maintain a personal loyalty to Hermann and to both the strict methods and the fierce distrust of metaphysics he taught at Leipzig – contrary to the intuitive assemblages of Boeckh and Welcker – he never accepted Hermann's narrow corralling of the antiquarian's holistic pedagogical goals. Philology must not be taught as a collection of obscure facts about long-desiccated texts; it must serve to inculcate in its students a desire for critical rigor, a patience for certainty, and an intrepid spirit tempered with a deep appreciation for their cultural heritage. Only then could philology reclaim its magisterial role as the guardian of culture. A few years after his 1829 dissertation, a *sprach-philologische* apology entitled *Schedae Criticae*, Ritschl published an important manifesto for the field: "Ueber die neueste Entwickelung der Philologie" (1833). Here Ritschl laments the quarrel between the two factions, on the grounds that it moved the field further away from the more noble balance established by Wolf. The blame goes to the *Sachphilologen*, Ritschl thought, for having too-enthusiastically aligned themselves with the optimism of Winckelmann and for having adopted too-uncritically the idealistic theories of intuition put forth by Schelling and Hegel.[53] Their disavowal of linguistic criticism opened the door to clever but indemonstrable speculations about the 'meanings' of art and archeological artifacts. Such speculative theorizing precipitated an overcorrection from the critical school, however, which had nobly sought empirical evidence in the face of intuitive reconstruction, but ultimately overcompensated by trying to force history into a scientific straitjacket. The intended pedagogical ends of the antiquarians were worthy, but the means they employed illicit. The methods of the critical school were justified, but their goals were stilted.

Although Ritschl's philological practices were indeed dry critical analysis, they must be considered in the context of these pedagogical ideals. Philology must play an essential part in universal history if it is to have cultural value; through it, classical antiquity should be one of the chief steps

[51] Cf. Sandys (1908) III, 100–101. [52] Gildersleeve (1884), 339. [53] Ritschl (1879) V, 2–8.

upon the general course of development for human education.[54] Ritschl was aiming, in a way that would be echoed by his student Nietzsche, at "complete human education," forming the whole person for the sake of their cultural and spiritual development, creating future men rather than just future instructors.[55] Without the re-enlivened spirit of philology practiced properly, "all higher culture of modern times would become narrow, muddy, and wither away."[56] In accordance with what Nietzsche would later demand of true educators, Ritschl did serve culture by effectively forging students who in fact surpassed him. Ritschl's words: "The mark of a true master is the creation of a more elevated version of himself – and taking joy in such elevation."[57] In a collection of epigrams and aphorisms that bear close resemblance to Nietzsche's own, Ritschl writes, "All too many will be crushed under the weight of philology. All too many will simply not understand it. However, those who can, those who have a sense for the great and broad, the height and depth of science – that is an invaluable, eternal victory for life."[58] Note how closely this stands to Nietzsche's dictum in 1874: "And so let my proposition be understood and pondered [*erwogen*]: *history can be borne only by strong personalities, the weak are entirely extinguished* [löscht . . . aus] *by it*."[59] These pedagogical intentions distanced Ritschl from Hermann and thereby endeared him none to Hermann's Berlin disciples, Karl Lachmann and Moritz Haupt.[60]

Beyond his mischaracterization as a narrow-minded *Sprachphilolog*, it is sometimes thought that Ritschl was non- or even anti-philosophical, and that he thus would have rejected philosophically colored interpretations *tout à fait*. This is simply an overstatement.[61] We have already witnessed the deeply reflective way in which he cast his methodologies and pedagogical ideals; but beyond this, Ritschl had in fact been the mentor of F. A. Lange, who completed his dissertation at Bonn in 1851 on a theme that Nietzsche himself would directly take into his own hands under Ritschl: '*Quaestiones Metricae*.' That Ritschl could be mentor to two of the greatest philosophers of the later nineteenth century forces us to reevaluate those labels. It is more accurate to say that Ritschl mistrusted, as nearly all stripes of neo-Kantians did, the kinds of idealized speculations about historical matters so

[54] *Ibid.*, v, 11. [55] *Ibid.*, v, 21–22, 27. [56] *Ibid.*, v, 15. [57] *Ibid.*, v, 31. [58] *Ibid.*, v, 29.
[59] *HL*, 5; KSA 1, 283. Nietzsche's emphasis.
[60] Nietzsche considered these scholars "unreasonable opponents of Ritschl [. . .], little half-witted barkers." Nietzsche to Edmund Oehler, January 15, 1866; *KSB* 2, 107.
[61] Contra Pletsch, Nietzsche's dual lament that Ritschl overestimated the value of philology and was averse to philosophy in his *Rückblick auf meine zwei Leipziger Jahre* need not be understood as a narrow-minded devotion to the existing norms of critical philology. Pletsch (1991), 75. See *BAW* 3, 305.

prominent in the Romantics and Idealists. That Herder, Hölderlin, Schiller, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel purported some sort of special apprehension of historical matters beyond the limits of phenomenal experience– or in philological terms: beyond textual-linguistic evidence – was, to Ritschl, as much as to Helmholtz, Lange, Cohen, or Windelband, radically unacceptable. But according to the common academic prejudices of the mid nineteenth century, to be anti-Speculative or anti-Idealist was sometimes to be branded anti-Philosophical.

Only with this versatile outlook combined with these pedagogical goals, something forgotten in Nietzsche scholarship today, could Ritschl have been almost universally lauded by his students. Ritschl never bred mechanical Plautus scholars nor inculcated the sort of lifeless pedantry Nietzsche came to revile. His charisma in the classroom was earned through presenting to his students a Wolfian whole of antiquity won through careful critical philology.[62] Only with this universal outlook, too, could Ritschl have been appointed to the co-editorship of the field's most important journal, *Das Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, alongside F. G. Welcker, himself a fervent *Sachphilolog*. The longtime Bonn journal had been founded there by Boeckh in 1827, and had long been the measuring stick of historical studies. Ritschl's appointment to its helm, as the former student of Hermann, would have baffled anyone at the time who still believed he was a blind apostle of his teacher. Ritschl saw it as his mission to bridge the gap left by Hermann and Boeckh, to return to the ideals and methods intertwined by F. A. Wolf. "*Kritik* and *Hermeneutik* are at the same time the means and the end." They must each look upon the other as "*Bauleute an einem und demselben Gebäude* [builders on one and the same building]."[63]

As a teacher, mentor, and friend, no one exercised a more consistent function in Nietzsche's early scholarly activity than "*Hochverehrter Herr Geheimrath*" Ritschl.[64] We saw in the previous chapter Ritschl's extraordinarily high praise of Nietzsche's early scholarly pieces. And we see now the degree to which Nietzsche's early publications were grounded in Ritschl's ideal combination of *Kritik* and *Hermeneutik*. As a good *Sprachphilolog*, Nietzsche uses the methods of linguistic analysis and source criticism to critique the extant texts of his chosen authors and the editorial tradition from which they arose. But as an interpreter, Nietzsche – like Ritschl, but unlike Hermann, Lachmann, and Haupt – never remained at the level of pure linguistic critique. He repeatedly overstepped the negative task of

[62] Cf. Benne (2005), 49. [63] Ritschl (1879) v, 14–5.
[64] This was often Nietzsche's address to Ritschl. See for examples, *KSB* 2: 224, 226, 242, 244, 251.

philology to offer a creative, speculative, but persistently naturalistic explanation of an historical agent's motivation in order to offer his audience a clearer picture of the meaning of antiquity generally.

Otto Jahn

Jahn's philological development was no less a hybrid of *Sprach-* and *Sachphilologie*. Like Nietzsche, Jahn was a Pforta alumnus, studied and became friends with the venerable Romantic August Koberstein, and was held in special regard for his dual expertise in philology and music.[65] After Pforta, Jahn was given a diverse schooling in both reigning trends of philology: under G. W. Nitzsch at Kiel, Hermann in Leipzig, and Lachmann in Berlin. He was also student of Boeckh at Berlin, and was considered alongside his friend Theodor Mommsen, whom Jahn also taught while both were at Kiel, as the heir to Boeckh's demand for methodological rigor combined with historical spirit.[66] Having written his dissertation on the tragic saga of Palamedes in 1836, he was appointed to the department of archeology at Leipzig in 1847, where Gottfried Hermann still taught. There he developed a friendship with Hermann and his son-in-law Moritz Haupt, one that blossomed in larger part because of their shared political than philological views. Jahn compiled an eloquent biography of Hermann[67] and joined with Haupt and Mommsen in the 1848–1849 revolutions for the imperial constitution – alongside one of the losing factions of the *bürgerliche Liberale*. Prosecuted for high-treason thereafter, Jahn escaped a more serious punishment by permanently surrendering his position at Leipzig in 1850.

During his hiatus from the academy, Jahn indulged his passion for music, art, and literature.[68] Jahn undertook a critical analysis of Goethe's *Iphigenia auf Tauris*[69] and wrote a long-standard biography of Mozart in 1859,[70] wherein he pioneered the application of the methodological principles of philology to the production of critical editions of musical arrangements. Invited to catalog the vase collection of King Ludwig I, his meticulous systematization of ancient iconography restored what had been scattered

[65] Calder III (1991), 195. [66] See, for example, Mommsen (1912), 14.
[67] Jahn (1866b), 89–132. It was first presented to the University of Leipzig as a *Gedächtnisrede* in 1849.
[68] His theoretical works on music are collected in Jahn (1866a). On the quality of Jahn's own musical compositions, see Draheim (1991), 169–188.
[69] See Jahn (1843); Jahn (1844), 367–371. See also Jäkel (1991), 133–143.
[70] Otto Jahn (1856–1859). See also Gruber (1991), 144–150.

and speculative guesses at the meanings of images to factual descriptions of their observable features into categorized groupings.[71] For years his system of classification served as a kind of formal introduction to Greek *Vasenkunde*.[72] Jahn made major philological headway in epigraphy, numismatics, cultural and religious history, and in the study of the ancient novel. Perhaps his most influential endeavor, however, was his use of rigorous philological technique in the area of archeology. Before him, there was no "critically arranged framework for archeological materials."[73] Myths and oral-tradition fables were hardly justifiable evidence upon which to build, for example, a critical interpretation of the figures found in relief portraits or of the possible religious significance of a particular artifact discovered in the vicinity of an ancient temple. A firm scientific footing was needed for the codification of archeological interpretation. Jahn accomplished this in large part through his hawkish concentration upon the individual observable characteristics that made up an artifact: the particular poses of individual athletes in relief, the expression of a particular god's face carved upon a mask, the length and heft of a blacksmith's tools. He thereby opened new vistas of insight into the tendencies of artisans and into how these tendencies shifted in correlation with the development in their respective cultures over both time and location. Just as critical philology uncovered the authentic text buried under layers of editorial interpolation and millennia of redactions, Jahn's critical archeology brushed speculation and generalization off long misunderstood cultural artifacts.

Jahn's stance on music was consistent with his general worldveiw. "He was an outspoken '*Aufklärer*,' lover of and fighter for reason and truth. He was well aware that the future of mankind depends on the willingness to reform itself continuously, to improve perpetually its way of thinking and its way of living."[74] This liberalism inculcated a respect for what was traditionally overlooked in culture. Where history – including Nietzsche's own – had long been dominated by accounts of the ruling elite and philology concerned with the very few educated male citizens capable of authorship, archeological evidence would offer a glimpse into an ancient world unfiltered by the traditional boundaries of established social order and rank. Such a presentation of a temperate democratic Alexandrian culture was calculated to counterpoint the mystical Old Aristocracy. Like Winckelmann before him and both Mommsen and Wilamowitz after him, Jahn's optimism aimed at presenting the continuity between antiquity and Germany precisely in its enlightened sensitivity to liberal aims. Whatever

[71] Jahn (1854). [72] C. W. Müller (1991), 26. [73] Cited in Hausman (1991), 5. [74] Bažant (1991), 11.

failures of the German character persisted in the present could be ameliorated through a wider dissemination of education, liberty, and tolerance – and this project could in part be carried out through a greater understanding of humankind's common inheritance from antiquity.

Given this entire constellation, we see that both Ritschl and Jahn occupied politically hazardous positions in the field.[75] Jahn, the once-assumed heir to Boeckh, became politically linked to the Hermannians while retaining his anti-Hermannian philological stance on the equal worth of the non-linguistic artifacts of antiquity. Ritschl, prize student of Hermann, was increasingly drawn to Boeckh's hermeneutical project and demands for pedagogical holism. The pair was effectually united in their aim of reconciling the division of their field through a wider application of the critical methodology: Ritschl by linking philology to an idealized vision of pedagogy and Jahn through applying philology to the breadth of ancient cultural artifacts. It is in fact fair to say that Ritschl and Jahn were not so much divided on methodological issues or by their conception of the purpose of philology as they were on the proper objects of study. For Ritschl and the *Sprachphilologen*, antiquity could only be understood properly through a complete apprehension of its ideas – and these were only able to be communicated by means of recorded speech: the rest was speculation. For Jahn and the *Sachphilologen*, the word represented an absolutely integral part of the culture of antiquity, but only a part. The entirety of ancient culture could only be discovered through careful analysis of the entire range of ancient artifacts. But for both Ritschl and Jahn, historiography could do more than merely 'get straight' the facts of the past. By both its rigor and its attention to noble exemplars, history was an essential tool in the cultivation of youth.

Philology or philosophy

In 1865, Nietzsche found himself directly in the crosshairs of the famous *Philologenkrieg* between Jahn and Ritschl, which eventually led to Ritschl's and Nietzsche's departure from Bonn. Although their academic in-fighting

[75] Contrary to Emden, I do not see much evidence to suggest that the 'political' rift between them is reducible to the opposition between Ritschl's conservatism and Jahn's liberalism. See Emden (2008), 27–35. Much more do I think the matter revolved around a combination of petty 'political' academic in-fighting and deep disagreements about the proper aims and scope of their field. Ritschl himself invited Jahn after the latter's well-known banishment for political activism. It is unlikely that Ritschl would only figure out Jahn's outspoken political position a decade later. During that time, they worked together in relative peace without either man substantially changing his political views.

opened up some of the old scars that endured for a generation between the *Sach-* and *Sprachphilologen*, their fight was more personal than philological.[76] Nietzsche's disgust with the entire incident was palpable. "No one can be happy about such things, with the possible exception of those spiteful theologians, for whom a scandal in the field of philosophy [*sic*], the representatives of humanity, won't be a terrible displeasure."[77] Once away from the *Bonnerstreit* at the more conducive University of Leipzig, Nietzsche's scholarly star began to rise as the prize student of Ritschl . . . until a "daemon" intervened in the fall of 1865.[78]

Nietzsche famously devoured Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, to the point of worrying the aging Ritschl.[79] By 1866, Nietzsche would name Schopenhauer alongside Lange and Kant in the context of "the only books I need"[80] – a bold statement for someone studying to be a classical philologist. Thereafter, he would increasingly accentuate the aesthetic and mystical-metaphysical aspects of Schopenhauer's thought, in keeping with Wagner and in opposition to Ritschl. To 'guard' Nietzsche from this influence of Schopenhauer, the old professor now sought surreptitious means to entice Nietzsche back to grounded scholarship: a prize created for a theme which he knew Nietzsche had already completed, indexing projects to keep Nietzsche's attentions focused, and even invitations to become involved in his family life.[81] Although we shall say much more about this in the following chapter, the Romantic-Idealist aspect of Schopenhauer's philosophy was one major factor that pulled Nietzsche from the anti-Idealist (but not anti-philosophical) Ritschl.

The second factor pulling Nietzsche from his philological career was music. It ranks among the great ironies of Nietzsche's personal development that the same cluster of events that began to turn Nietzsche away from philology was only brought about through his friendship with Ritschl. In the fall of 1868, Nietzsche was invited to play Wagner's *Meisterlied* for Ritschl's wife, Sophie. Frau Ritschl was an intimate friend of Frau Brockhaus, the sister of Wagner. When the master himself performed the song for the two women while on a visit to Leipzig shortly after, Sophie

[76] See the detailed histories by Paul Egon Hübinger (1964), 162–216, and C. W. Müller (1990), 230ff.

[77] Nietzsche to Franziska and Elisabeth, May 3, 1865; *KSB* 2, 49. Nietzsche did not follow Ritschl to Leipzig due to any perceived 'victory.' Because of Ritschl's behavior in the quarrel, Nietzsche actually favored Jahn. "Here in Bonn the biggest flap, the worst cattiness about the *Jahn-Ritschlstreit* still dominates. *Ich gebe Jahn unbedingt Recht* [I think Jahn is entirely in the right]." Nietzsche to Gersdorff, May 25, 1865; *KSB* 2, 56.

[78] *BAW* 3, 298. [79] Nietzsche to Rohde, February 1868; *KSB* 2, 248ff. [80] *KGB* 1/2, 184.

[81] See Janz (1978) 1, 280–311.

explained to him that she had already heard it played by, of all things, a certain young philology professor.[82] The philologist and the great man were to meet; Nietzsche famously fell under his spell. There was now no choice between dry and nearly thankless academic prospects and a life at the side of Germany's cultural icon – its greatest musical genius combined with its most famous admirer of Schopenhauer. Ritschl, and the life he offered, could not compete.[83] In the same month Nietzsche met Wagner, he would label philology the "miscarriage of the Goddess Philosophy."[84] Of course, nothing here suggests that Nietzsche took sides for or against either brand of philology. It is more accurate to say that his musical and philosophical interests rendered his allegiance to academic philology itself untenable.

Disappointed as Ritschl became, the more dramatic change was in Nietzsche's attitude toward Jahn.[85] Even though Jahn was a musician, was at least conversant in philosophy, was non-religious, and – at least to Nietzsche – less blameworthy in the affair at Bonn, he never felt much allegiance. In October of 1868, Nietzsche read Jahn's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Musik*. As this was one month before his personal acquaintance with Wagner, Nietzsche could with some objectivity remark that Jahn made a few valid criticisms – specifically, that Wagner stood as representative of modern *Dilettantismus* – but noted that Jahn still had an "instinctive aversion" and was listening with "half-plugged ears."[86] Jahn's critique revolved around Wagner's flaunting of emotional affects, the overly romantic flights into formlessness, and his general air of disrespect toward musical genius other than his own.

Nietzsche's proximity to Wagner exacerbated his distance from Jahn. The lesson to be learned from the ancient past was not one of commonality, but one of unbridgeable distance between the ecstatic glory of Greece and our own emasculated bourgeois culture. Should Jahn point with pride to the later Alexandrians as being exceptionally like the moderns, it is only because they were the exception, hardly the rule, of the tragic age.[87] There can be no return to this artificial vision of antiquity propounded by the antiquarian Hellenists like Jahn; indeed, our scholars cannot begin to understand the depth of the tragic age because our values are exactly the reverse of theirs. Only through the recognition of the greatness of individuals and the willingness to lay foundations that would allow that greatness

[82] Nietzsche to Rohde, November 9, 1868; *KSB* 2, 337ff. [83] Janz (1978) 1, 192.
[84] Nietzsche to Deussen, October 1868; *KSB* 2, 329. Cf. Schmidt (1989), 38.
[85] For an exemplary account of Nietzsche's later attitude toward Jahn, see Reibnitz (1991), 204–233.
[86] Nietzsche to Rohde, October 8, 1868; *KSB* 2, 322. [87] Compare Burckhardt (1999), 6.

new breath in the contemporary world, especially through the art of Wagner, might Germany give a newly refashioned rebirth to a culture on a comparable level of individual flourishing. In the notes to his proposed *Wir Philologen*, Nietzsche writes, "Concerning talk about philologists, if it comes from philologists one learns nothing; it is purely chatter – for example Jahn (*Bedeutung und Stellung der Alterthumsstudien in Deutschland*). No feeling for what to defend, what to protect: thus speak people who still haven't imagined that they can be attacked."[88] In place of Jahn's sentimental feeling for the bond with our enlightened liberal ancestors, philology must be a thunderous pronouncement of how superior to us the ancients have been and an exhortation that we might nevertheless yet overcome them if we focus our creative talents toward the production of greatness.

Nietzsche's defense of Wagner against Jahn is shockingly disrespectful toward his former teacher.[89] Even if he was no great spiritual inspiration to Nietzsche, even if his view of the Greeks was regarded as skewed, Jahn had by all accounts been a very worthy educator. Jahn's political and aesthetic views ran counter to Wagner, which meant, *argumentum ad hominem*, Jahn himself ran afoul of Nietzsche.[90] "Jahn, and this was the deciding factor, represented the wrong worldview – he was a 'healthy man,' an 'enlightened man,' a 'liberal man.'All of this ran counter to his newly won Schopenhauerianism and Wagnerianism."[91] In sum, Nietzsche's attitude toward Jahn after 1868 had manifestly little to do with scholarship, more to do with music, but most of all with a 'world view' difference that Nietzsche, as the philological apologist for Wagner, took personally. Jahn represented

[88] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[125]; *KSA* 8, 73.

[89] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, whose criticisms of Nietzsche we will say more about in the next chapter, took the attacks against Jahn personally. When Wilamowitz had studied at Bonn, he developed as close a relationship with Jahn as Nietzsche ever had with Ritschl. In his dissertation, under Jahn's close friend Haupt in Berlin, Wilamowitz writes, "At Bonn I became a disciple of Otto Jahn, a man with whom I can compare no one else. It will always be my greatest glory that he looked on me with favor. Would that I might learn not only to admire his august example, but to imitate it as well." Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1870), 59.

[90] F. A. Wolf, despite Nietzsche's deep respect, was another target of critique on this score. "Our terminology already indicates our tendency to misrepresent the ancients. For example, the exaggerated taste for literature – or Wolf, who, speaking of the 'inner history of classical erudition,' calls it 'the history of the *learned enlightenment*.'" *NF* March 1875, 3[5]; *KSA* 8, 15ff. Nietzsche's quotation here is of Wolf (1869), 844.

[91] Reibnitz (1991), 215. Nietzsche nevertheless retained his meticulous notes from Jahn's 1865 lecture "Grundzüge der Archäologie," and mined these for details in his 1871 "Einleitung in das Studium der klassischen Philologie." Cancik's judgment that Nietzsche's encyclopedia lectures are "unqualifiedly centered on Jahn's 1865 lectures," is, however, too strong. Cancik (1999), 14. Portions of that lecture are taken from various sources, including Jahn (1868), 1–50. See also Brobjer (2005), 339.

everything that the Nietzsche–Wagner–Schopenhauer front rallied against, but that battle was hardly over particular historical methods.

From Ritschl, whom Nietzsche still addressed with a fatherly *Verehrter* and to whom he still signed his letters "*Ihr ergebenster Schüler*," there was little support to be found after the publication of *The Birth of Tragedy*. Ritschl's responses to his former pupil's various requests are measured, polite but unaffectionate; they lack the intimacy once shared between the master and disciple. Nietzsche would never read it, but Ritschl wrote in his diary that the book was "an inspired waste of energy."[92] Still trying to guide his former student to a moderate and comfortable professorial career, he writes:

> I am a bit sorry that so important a man [Wagner] has expectorated about matters of which he understands nothing; and I am still more sorry for your sake that to this battle against Wilamowitz's critical pamphlet he brought no better weapons, and that through his arrogance in writing about things outside his competence he has probably harmed you more than helped you. It is my firm opinion that a strict scholarly refutation of the Wilamowitzian pamphlet is the only way. This is not to be published as part of Richard Wagner's crusade against philology. At the very least, you had better understand, my dear friend, that an old philologist like me – such a "hardboiled sinner" in R. W.'s eyes – cannot fight your battles for you.[93]

This letter replies to one sent by Nietzsche in which he expresses surprise that Ritschl failed to see the book as forwarding their shared aims. "I thought that if you had ever met with anything hopeful in your life, it might be this book, full of hope for *our* classical studies."[94] We've seen that Ritschl was no blind *Sprachphilolog*, but how could Nietzsche have thought that any academic could have approved the book? Nietzsche was, in fact, half right. As the letter shows, Ritschl did think there was merit in the *Birth* – only that this value was not to be communicated by the voice of a musician. Ritschl saw the value of speculation when (and, more importantly, *only when*) it was practiced with the proper critical foundation. Nietzsche may have been half right, but was inexcusably half wrong. He may have anticipated Ritschl's appreciation of the originality of his sweeping worldview concerning the 'real' nature of Greek tragedy, but badly underestimated how his lack of meticulous source criticism or engagement with the original sources would offend Ritschl. For his part, Ritschl never writes anywhere that the *Birth* was untrue, just that, no matter how grandly

[92] Cited in Silk and Stern (1983), 92. For more on Ritschl's guarded opinion, see *KGB* II/1, 281–282; II/2, 541–543; II/1, 295.

[93] *KGB* II/3, 15–16. [94] Nietzsche to Ritschl, January 30, 1872; *KSB* 3, 281–282.

'inspired,' the book's attempt to intuit the 'real idea' of tragedy beyond critical analysis was just a 'waste of energy.' "What the main thing is," he wrote to Nietzsche, is that "in my entire nature I follow the *historical* direction and the historical observation of human things so decisively, that I never seem to have found the solution to the world in one philosophical system or another."[95] When Nietzsche visited his academic master at Leipzig in December 1873, the two became engaged in an intense argument about Richard Wagner's *Weltanschauung*, and bitterly cut off their correspondence for more than two years.

Closing the book on philology

In January of 1876, when Nietzsche's ardor for both Wagner and Schopenhauer was finally waning, Nietzsche sent a poignant letter to Ritschl that seeks a reconciliation of sorts. "I stand to you and your most honorable wife as always, in the same love and thankfulness, even when I remain silent. [. . .] *bin* ich, der ich war [I *am* who I was]."[96] Soon after, Ritschl died. For his part, though, Nietzsche never forgot the debt he owed to his former mentor, and in a mature reflection to Georg Brandes, Nietzsche recalls with pride that his early career had attracted the attention of "*der alte Ritschl, damals der erste Philolog Deutschlands* [old Ritschl, who at that time was the top philologist in Germany]."[97] And in that same year of his life, he writes in *Ecce homo*, "Ritschl – I say it with reverence – the only scholar of genius on whom I have laid eyes to this day. He was characterized by that agreeable corruption which distinguishes us Thuringians and which makes even Germans sympathetic."[98]

What, finally, can be definitively said that Nietzsche learned from Ritschl and Jahn in terms of historiography? It is too simple to presume that Nietzsche's later methods of critical reading, which admittedly is a kind of philology, can be read *tout court* as the result of his early training under Ritschl.[99] As to their actual methods, Ritschl and Jahn were closer than has been commonly assumed: both insisted on rigorous training, technical mastery, and systematicity. With respect to the objects-to-be-studied, Nietzsche stands

[95] Ritschl to Nietzsche, February 14, 1872; *KGB* II/2, 541.
[96] Nietzsche to Ritschl, January 12, 1876; *KSB* 5, 131. Notice the inversion of the phrase Ritschl had written to Nietzsche years before: "Werde, der du bist." Ritschl responded with a short postcard from Leipzig on January 14 of that same year. *KGB* II/6 (1), 274. Nothing more passed between the two, though Nietzsche and his wife Sophie exchanged heartfelt words following Ritschl's death.
[97] Nietzsche to Brandes, April 10, 1888; *KSB* 8, 288.
[98] *EH* "klug," 9; *KSA* 6, 295.
[99] Contrary to Benne (2005), 101.

closer to *Sprach* than *Sachphilologie*. The fact that Nietzsche never took an abiding interest in archeological research, vase paintings, or numismatics may result from his rejection of Jahn's mark on those fields. The fact that he shows almost no interest in the lifelong passion of Ritschl, namely Plautus, may also indicate a certain rejection. Then again, the reason behind Nietzsche's thematic preferences may be no deeper than a matter of personal taste. It is thus not possible to sort out from lectures, correspondence, or even philological articles, where the influence of Ritschl began, where that of Jahn waned, or vice-versa. In fact, once matters of scope have been accounted for by the limitations imposed on Nietzsche by either research experience or his position in the field (presuming one tends to take on bolder projects as a professor than as a student), it becomes unfeasible to delineate their immediate influence even apart from that of Nietzsche's earlier teachers at Pforta like Volkmann or Koberstein. In the precise period when one would expect to find the definitive stamp of either mentor, 1864–1868, the lesson is not so much revolution as it is progression.

Furthermore, it cannot be maintained that Nietzsche's reaction against his teachers is tantamount to a rejection of their methods. Nietzsche's attack on Jahn has little in common with his critique of philologists or historians; however unsavory, it was alternately aesthetic, political, and personal, but as such went nowhere as a critique of philology itself. Ritschl's demanding source criticism was never the issue either, at least when taken in the correct dosage. While he and Nietzsche no doubt disagreed as to what that quantity was, the more serious problem for both lay with those who saw its value restricted to assemblages of bare, disconnected, and sterile '*petits faits*.'[100] Clear from the pedagogical observations quoted earlier from Ritschl himself, Nietzsche would not have associated the Hermannian 'philology for the sake of philology' with Ritschl – and in fact there exist no published mentions of either Ritschl or for that matter of Jahn as having possessed precisely these sins. His attitude toward Ritschl from 1872–1874 was marked by resignation more than vehemence.[101] Ritschl's later 'weaknesses' in judgment – slipping rigor, longing for approbation in place of thankless truth, growing unwillingness to fight strong opponents and loyal students alike – are attributed to old age rather than philological method. In short, Nietzsche chose Schopenhauerian metaphysics over Ritschl's empiricism and the Wagnerian artist over Jahn's democratic enlightenment. Nietzsche's final word about the entire philological civil war came in 1875: "Wort-und Sach-philologie – dummer Streit! [word- and thing-philology – stupid fight!]."[102]

[100] Ribbeck (1879–81) 1, 456. [101] See Nietzsche to Rhode, March 19, 1874; *KSB* 4, 210.
[102] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[106]; *KSA* 8, 67.

CHAPTER 3

Aesthetic intuition and the history of tragedy

Nietzsche's early philological publications combined skeptical realist descriptions with psychological explanations. He presumed the existence of a real past, imbued with real individuals whose motives and actions were in theory, though not always in practice, decipherable to the trained philologist. For a historiographical statement, and by extension an interpretation, to be true the evidence on which it was based must correspond to the real past out of which it was produced. At times the evidence presented is either unreliable because of some failing in the credibility of the record or else inadequate insofar as it presents an incomplete picture of the facts. Far from necessitating the construction of a rhetorical fiction, the unreliable or partial evidence of itself provides the warrant for the philologist's work. It is their task, as it was Nietzsche's, to evaluate sources by means of critical hermeneutics, and to fill in evidence-lacunae with hypothetical explanations. It is their task to receive inherited traditions only with a skeptical eye, but an eye simultaneously intent on re-presenting the past as it genuinely must have been. We saw, too, that Nietzsche's earliest efforts were manifestly naturalistic, in opposition to the teleological philosophical historians of the nineteenth century. Rather than ascribe some invisible hand, divine fate, material forces, or metaphysical inevitability as the hidden cause by which historical change is driven, Nietzsche consistently invests the agents of his studies with perfectly familiar, albeit somewhat dour, human motives like jealousy, pride, and lust. Although these explanations are admittedly speculative and as such would not satisfy a *Sprachphilolog*, they are at least in principle, if not in practice, naturalistically verifiable.

Given his willingness to employ speculative explanations, Nietzsche cannot be considered a blind adherent to *sprachphilologische Methode*. In his aversion to artificats, he was no follower of *Sachphilologie*. But neither was he a radical outlier at this stage in his career. He was a professional historian who worked alongside other historians. Clear enough in practice, this was also evidenced by the tenor of the criticisms and praises of his work: some of his day's leading scholars disagreed with either the logic or the implications of his arguments and

some accepted his findings, just as we would expect with any scholar whose work merited critical attention. His psychological reconstructions were at least acceptable if not overtly endorsed by his venerable mentors at Pforta like Koberstein and Volkmann, both of whom encouraged his Ermanarich and Theognis reconstructions, and by the philological worlds at Bonn and Leipzig, where he was singled out from his peers in the field for special acheivement. His philological essays were in fact methodologically consistent with Ritschl's and Jahn's demands for critical rigor and skepticism about evidence, their belief that scholarly skills were essential to forming balanced individuals and by extension strong cultures, and their faith that the real past could be presented by means of the philological science. That consistency, however, was about to change.

Although there has been some recent scholarly consensus that Nietzsche's first book, *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), is consistent either with his earlier philology, his later historiographical methods, or with both, I will show here that there are in fact pervasive meta-historical inconsistencies.[1] The *Birth* and the shorter preparatory works surrounding it are anomalies in Nietzsche's historical writing. They retain Nietzsche's earlier realism about the past as well as his speculative forays into psychology; but they eschew the naturalistic tenor and *sprachphilologische* methodology of his early work for the sake of an aesthetic intuition into what is named the real Idea of tragedy.

Problems of justification

The actual birth of tragedy in ancient Greece is proclaimed by Nietzsche to be "the duplicity of the *Apolline* and the *Dionysiac* in much the same way as reproduction depends on the duality of genders which co-exist in a state of perpetual conflict interrupted only by periodic occasions of reconciliation."[2] The temporary suspension of the conflict between these two impulses is put forth as a mechanism intended to explain how tragedy historically came into existence. To the philologically uninitiated this claim looks at least plausible on the surface: the waning of the ecstatic elements of earlier poetry, the gradual 'individuation' or 'enumeration' of characters from the Dithyrambic chorus to the spectacles of Aeschylus to the secular egalitarianism of Euripides, and the increasing tendency to 'explain' rather than 'proclaim' the will of the gods – all of these are apparent in a survey of the literature of the time in question and lend some evidential credence to Nietzsche's assertion about these Apolline and Dionysiac tendencies.

[1] For a more complete critique of this thesis, especially with respect to the arguments of Porter and Benne, see Jensen (2013a).
[2] *GT* 1; *KSA* 1, 25.

But the status of Nietzsche's claim is deeply problematic. For historians, literary theorists, and classicists the origin of tragedy remains largely shrouded in mystery due to the ostensible lack of direct testimony from the Ancients themselves. Beyond the dearth of textual evidence, Nietzsche's overarching argument that the entwining of two psychological drives is manifested in the creation of tragic art, and that the predominance of one over the other leads to degenerate forms of that art, is hardly verifiable since the only observable manifestation of the 'right' confluence of those drives takes place precisely within the phenomenon they are said to explain. How could one, moreover, test the accordant counterfactual – that tragedy would never have developed were it not for the proper confluence of the Apolline and Dionysiac? His most basic claim about the birth of tragedy, then, is worse than unjustified; it is unjustifiable to both *Sprach-* and *Sachphilologie*, to positivists, naturalists, and indeed any historians who prefer proof to speculation.

Where specific claims in the text actually can be tested against otherwise accepted historical facts, Nietzsche's account fares little better. Nietzsche's contention that Euripides is a sort of puppet of Socrates is readily contradicted by the fact that Socrates was only fourteen years old when Euripides was already an international celebrity.[3] Nietzsche believes that Homer really was a single genius author, whereas many classicists even then utilized 'Homer' as a nominal designation for the centuries long rhapsodic tradition of poetic songs; Nietzsche fails to distinguish Pan, Silenus, and satyrs; he wrongly surmised that the folk song was older than elegy, and thereby overlooked the ostensibly non-musical elegy as the origin of lyric poetry; he misidentifies the chorus of Attic tragedy with the older satyr chorus; and he makes several chronological errors in his treatment of Aeschylus and Sophocles.[4]

But the larger problem with Nietzsche's account is not a matter of 'getting the facts straight.' It is not a historical, but a meta-historical issue that besets Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*. The best and duly most famous summary of this problem – a diatribe cast against Nietzsche's mode of historiography itself – comes from his early rival, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff:

> Mr. N by no means presents himself as a scholarly researcher. Insights garnered by intuition are presented part pulpit-style, part journalistic logic . . . As an *epopt* of his god, Mr. N announces miracles already performed and those still to come. [. . .] Indeed this was the origin of his "glorious experiences." Would it be possible to admit a *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* [first falsehood] in a more naive fashion? Because R. Wagner affixed his seal to Schopenhauer's "eternal truth," namely

[3] See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (2000), 19.
[4] For a more complete evaluation of these objections, see Porter (2000a), esp. Chapter 5.

> that music has an exceptional status in comparison with other art-forms, this same insight had to be found in classical tragedy. I claim that this is the exact opposite of the type of research which the heroes of our (and ultimately only real) science have pursued. Unwavering in their pursuit of a final result and honoring only truth, they proceeded from one understanding to the next, seeking to grasp each historical phenomenon based on the sets of assumptions of its own time, thereby justifying it in historical necessity. This critical-historical method, in principle common to the scientific community is, as I claim, the exact opposite of a dogmatic point of view which demands ongoing self-confirmation. Mr. N could not overlook this either. His solution is to revile the historical-critical method, denouncing any aesthetic intuition which deviates from his own, and to ascribe a 'complete misunderstanding of the study of antiquity' to the age in which philology in Germany, due to Gottfried Hermann and Karl Lachmann was raised to an unprecedented height.[5]

We will say more about Wilamowitz, his place in the history of *Sprachphilologie*, and his criticism of Nietzsche in the next section. For now, his diatribe raises an important question for Nietzsche's philosophy of history. What justifies Nietzsche's account of the birth of tragedy? That is, on what basis does Nietzsche hope to convince us that his account is really the 'right one'? Nietzsche offers at best scant textual and absolutely no archeological evidence for his grand speculations.[6] Indeed, how could one provide textual evidence about a phenomenon whose 'birth' was never written down? There is no chronology that could either support or deny his claim about the historical origin of tragedy, no written textual or even archeological evidence that could hope to confirm or disconfirm it, even in principle. More often than not, the reader is asked to take these interpretations of poetry or music for historical explanations, these shamanesque hypothetical ways of meaning-divination for justified demonstrations of historical truth.

I will not defend the specific philological mistakes listed. In fact, I think Nietzsche really was quite sloppy as a historian in this work, however brilliant his philosophical insight.[7] What I hope to provide instead is an examination of the way Nietzsche himself thought his general historical claim about the causes of tragedy was justified. Far from offering us a rhetorically fictional account, intentionally or unintentionally, I contend Nietzsche did have a fully developed,

[5] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (2000), 3–5.

[6] The basic Apollonian–Dionysian dichotomy and its prevalence in early Greece was much earlier proposed by Nietzsche's elder colleague at Basel, J. J. Bachofen. Unlike Nietzsche, however, Bachofen offered substantial archeological evidence for his views, which Nietzsche very likely knew but chose not to reference in his own argument. See the entirety of Bachofen (1861).

[7] Later scholars like Dodd, Cornford, and Burkert did construct genuinely historical accounts around Nietzsche's general correction of the Winckelmannian worldview. For a summary of Nietzsche's historiographical reception in France, see Henrichs (1984), 206.

if deeply problematic, and highly unusual 'aesthetic' theory of historical justification at work in *The Birth of Tragedy* that relies upon a realist view of intuition borrowed problematically from Schopenhauer. And this view, I contend further, represents both a definitive break with and in fact rejection of his earlier philological writing, one which, moreover, he would soon after abandon.

Aesthetic intuition

To locate the meta-historical framework that guides Nietzsche's explanation about the origin of tragedy, we turn to the very first sentence of the *Birth*. Boldly yet clearly, Nietzsche promises the source of his understanding of antiquity and the sphere in which his account would be justified, "not just through logical insight, but through the unmediated certainty of *Anschauung* [*nicht nur logischen Einsicht, sondern zur unmittelbaren Sicherheit der* Anschauung]."[8] The key term *Anschauung*, which has too often been passed over in the literature,[9] along with its verbal and adjectival derivatives, are repeated no less than thirty-seven times throughout the text. Neither 'intuition,' nor 'point of view,' nor 'perception' – various words translators have inconsistently used[10] – fully captures Nietzsche's usage. I would put forward the translation 'aesthetic intuition' in order to highlight its peculiar dual status as an epistemological-*cum*-aesthetic notion. As opposed to Kant, for whom it designates a direct awareness of individual

[8] *GT* 1; *KSA* 1, 25.

[9] No reference to *Anschauung* is made, for example, in the best known English commentary, Silk and Stern (1983). The term was not included in the *Nietzsche-Wörterbuch*, van Tongeren *et al.* (2004–), volume 1. It is nowhere mentioned in the most prominent book about Nietzsche's relationship with Schopenhauerian philosophy, Simmel (1991). Among the few references to a theory of *Anschauung*, see Reibnitz (1992), 54–58. While Reibnitz does note the connection between Nietzsche's conception of *Anschauung* and Schopenhauer's aesthetics, the scope of her work does not permit tracing its development throughout Nietzsche's career. Ivan Soll discusses the importance of disinterested contemplation in the context of Nietzsche's aesthetics, but does not draw out the historiographical relevance that I demonstrate here; see Soll (1991). Burnham and Jesinghausen concentrate on *Anschauung* as part of their analysis of the intricacy of *GT*'s first sentence, but note mostly its Kantian background. See Burnham and Jesinghausen (2010), 30ff. James Porter maintains that Nietzsche was ironically posing the 'immediate certainty of *Anschauung*,' that he never intended to move beyond intentionally posed conflicting appearances, and that the metaphysics which would support this ironical stance is perfectly consistent throughout Nietzsche's thinking. See Porter (2000b), 2–4, 8–9, 40–42. Claudia Crawford's account is very informative, but passes over the romantic aspects of *Anschauung*. See Crawford (1998). The most thorough account is Sören Reuter (2004), 369ff.

[10] Daniel Breazeale, for example, translates *Anschauung* as 'perception,' finding it to be the ordinary act of perceiving an object through the senses. Breazeale (1979), 41. Crawford opts not to translate it, but defines *Anschauung* as "perception operating in the sense of intuitive or unconscious inferences from the senses, before discursive thinking in language offers the percept" Crawford (1988), 159. This definition is adequate for Nietzsche's use in *On Truth and Lies* and in notes from the 1870s. However, it fails to account for the Schopenhauerian overtones in Nietzsche's published usage both at this time and in his later criticisms, specifically with respect to being an inferential knowing from the senses.

entities by way of a passive sensibility and of the formal percepts through which we become aware of those entities,[11] or Schelling, for whom it is the organ of all transcendental thoughts, it is Schopenhauer's notion of the aesthetic *Anschauung* that most influenced Nietzsche's own vision at this time, and that most indelibly appears in *The Birth of Tragedy*. Since the term is absolutely crucial to understanding the explanatory framework in which his historiography operates, we would do well to understand its historical context.

For Schopenhauer, understanding always involves representing an object under the forms of intellection. Having reduced Kant's forms of the understanding to the trio of space, time, and causality, Schopenhauer holds that the world is presented to us representationally only under these logical forms. To know an object, then, is to do so only subjectively and only phenomenally, only insofar as it can be presented to our forms of intellection, but never in-itself. Where Schopenhauer most radically breaks from Kant, however, is in his belief that the intellectual forms of subjectivity could be literally suspended, either in the ethical realm through sympathy with all living beings or else, what concerns us here, in aesthetic contemplation. This aesthetic *Anschauung* is the special mode of perceiving wherein we apprehend 'beyond' the physical spatio-temporal object presently at hand, past the *principium individuationis*, and gaze into the corresponding Idea, which for Schopenhauer is the first objectification of the thing in-itself, the Will.

> Raised up by the power of the mind, we relinquish the ordinary way of considering things, and cease to follow under the guidance of the forms of the principle of sufficient reason merely their relations to one another . . . Further, we do not let abstract thought, the concepts of reason, take possession of our consciousness, but, instead of all this, devote the whole power of our mind to *Anschauung*, sink ourselves completely therein, and let our whole consciousness be filled by the calm contemplation of the natural object actually present . . . We *lose* ourselves entirely in this object, to use a loaded expression; in other words, we forget our individuality, our will, and continue to exist only as pure subject, as clear mirror of the object, so that it is as though the object alone existed without anyone to perceive it, and thus we are no longer able to separate the intuitor from the intuited [*den Anschauenden von der Anschauung*], but the two have become one.[12]

[11] That Kant rejects the mystical form of what he calls *Intuitius Originarius* is suggested at B 72 of the *First Critique*. The term 'interesselose Anschauung' is, of course, fundamental to Kant's *Critique of Judgment*. However, Nietzsche's repeated conflation of interest-less *Anschauung* with mystical *Anschauung* suggests more strongly the Schopenhauerian formulation. To my knowledge, Nietzsche only uses the term *Anschauung* in connection to the specifically Kantian forms of intuition once: *NF*, end 1886–spring 1887, 7[4]; *KSA* 12, 269.

[12] *WWV* 1, §34; 1/1, 232.

Unlike Plato's *eidē*, Schopenhauer's *Ideen* are not static metaphysical realities that cause an object to be what it is. Similar to Plato's, however, they are the most universal and non-relational notions of an object possible, "*also nicht mehr das Wo, das Wann, das Warum und das Wozu . . . sondern einzig und allein das Was* [thus no longer the where, the when, the why, or to what end . . . but ever only the what]."[13] An apprehension of what is allegedly relation-less cannot be accomplished through normal acts of perception, wherein our attention to the object is effectively determined in relation to its possible instrumentality in satisfying our will. It is only in the aesthetic contemplation of the beautiful, especially music due to its lack of visual form, that we free our gaze from the demands of the empirical will. Schopenhauer himself was entirely a naturalist when it came to knowledge-claims bounded by the fourfold root of the principle of sufficient reason, but recognized the essentially unbounded character of contemplative capacities of great artists. He writes:

> But now, what kind of knowledge is it that considers what continues to exist outside and independently of all relations, but which alone is really essential to the world, the true content of its phenomena, that which is subject to no change, and is therefore known with equal truth for all time, in a word, the *Ideas* that are the immediate and adequate objectivity of the thing-in-itself, of the will? It is art, the work of genius. It repeats the eternal Ideas apprehended through pure contemplation, the essential and abiding element in all the phenomena of the world.[14]

In the act of aesthetic intuition we look upon the object as an instance of the universal rather than as a particular in some relationship with other objects in the world. Thus, in the contemplation of such an object, we rise above the demands of will and become like a clear mirror of the object as Idea.[15]

The means by which this mystical way of knowing is attained is most thoroughly explicated in Schopenhauer's chapter "On the Pure Subject of Knowing."

> The apprehension of an Idea, its entry into our consciousness, comes about by means of a change in us, which might also be called an act of Self-Renunciation [*einen Akt der Selbstverleugnung*]. It consists in turning away entirely from our own will . . . and considering things as though they could never in any way concern the will. For only thus does knowledge become the pure mirror of the objective inner nature of things.[16]

Since plurality, difference, and individuation are themselves nothing subsistent ontologically but phenomenal properties resulting from the peculiar interaction

[13] *WWV* I, §34; I/I, 231ff. [14] *WWV* I, §36; I/I, 239. [15] *WWV* II, §31; II/2, 450.
[16] *WWV* II, §30; II/2, 435.

among the spatio-temporal forms of intuition that constitute the principle of sufficient reason, a disruption or suspension of these forms would logically annul those same phenomenal properties that only result from them. The corresponding act of *aesthetische Anschauung* is thus achieved outside the framework of the normal subject–object dichotomy, in an act that effectively renounces the affects of the will, transforming the visceral subject into a "*reines*, willenloses, schmerzloses, zeitloses *Subjekt der Erkenntnis*."[17] In such a disposition, one temporarily dispenses with one's phenomenal self and approaches a greater degree of unity with the *Ur-Eine*. And through this suspension of the forms of the phenomenal self, we no longer approach the world as will from the standpoint of a knowing subject, but as an aesthetically apprehending one. "As soon as knowledge, the world as representation, is abolished, nothing in general is left but the mere will, blind impulse."[18]

Aesthetic objectivity

Schopenhauer's formulation of aesthetic intuition was essential for Nietzsche's understanding of how he, as an historian, could apprehend the real essence of tragedy. Far removed from today's superficial measures of intelligence, Schopenhauer's artistic genius is characterized by his extraordinary ability to contemplate non-conceptually, that is, past the bounds of 'logical insight,' as Nietzsche phrased it, and apprehend the most fundamental truth of reality itself. And not only is genius a measure of depth or intensity, it is also one of objectivity. The notion of objectivity in Schopenhauer, however, only barely resembles the common definition in the nineteenth century.

To elucidate how idiosyncratic Schopenhauer's theory of objectivity is, and ultimately to illustrate how Nietzsche awkwardly adopted it, a comparison to more traditional theories is in order. For positivists like Henry Thomas Buckle, typical historiography was deficient in comparison to the natural sciences both insofar as it failed to identify laws under which it could explain the phenomena of its inquiries and, what concerns us here, insofar as the value judgments of the historians were 'read-into' the real and genuine past whose task it was theirs to study. It was largely Buckle's goal to outline and put into practice a methodology that corrected this tendency, and to raise history in its objective rigor up to the level of those natural sciences.[19] Leopold von Ranke, too, was for years mostly revered as a model of objectivity for insisting on the necessity of primary sources as the only way the actions and motivations of historical agents could be revealed as

[17] *WWV* I, §34; II/I, 232. [18] *WWV* I, §34; I/I, 234. [19] Buckle (1870) I, 4.

they actually happened. Criticized since by philosophers of history from Marx to Hayden White as beset by a naive empiricism, his writings nevertheless exemplify his age's faith in a subject-neutral rendering of the objects of the past through their traces in evidence. Finally, Johann Gustav Droysen, the father of critical hermeneutics, came to the conclusion that Ranke's subject-neutral ideal of research could only fruitfully produce knowledge if the ideas within the subject could be shown to correspond to the real past as it was.[20]

Two trends emerge from this brief summary. The thing described must be a real object, and it must be capable of being known by human knowers in a way that avoids any intrusion of their subjective prejudices, values, and biases.[21] In other words, an objective judgment concerns a real world and stands independent from the biases of the judge. Schopenhauer's vision of objectivity at least shares both of these contentions. But the means by which he believed the knower could reach the object to be known varied wildly.

> If, however, the individual will sets its associated power of imagination free for a while, and for once releases it entirely from the service for which it was made and exists, so that it abandons the tending of the will or of the individual person which alone is its natural theme and thus its regular occupation, and yet does not cease to be energetically active and meaningfully perceive *das Anschauliche* with full attentiveness, then it will forthwith become completely *objective*, i.e. it will become a faithful mirror of objects [*treuen Spiegel der Objekte*], or more precisely the medium of the objectivization of the will appearing in this or that object, the inmost nature of which will now come forth through it the more completely the longer the *Anschauung* lasts, until it has been entirely exhausted. It is only thus, with the pure subject, that there arises the pure object, i.e. the complete manifestation of the will appearing in the object perceived which is precisely the (Platonic) *Idea* of it.[22]

In the contemplative state of aesthetic intuition, for Schopenhauer, one is freed temporarily from the bonds of individuation. But since individuation is nothing more than a result of the application of the understanding's forms of space, time, and causality, the kind of intuition here described will carry the intuitor beyond the normal subject–object dichotomy. In this passage we see an added benefit of the *anschauliche Auffassung* of the object beyond an increased proximity. For if the intellect and its forms of representation

[20] Droysen (1893), 61–89; see also Burger (1977), 168–171; MacLean (1982), 347–350. Droysen was also the first to object to Buckle's ideal of methodological identity between history and science. See generally (1893), especially section 8.

[21] The two most famous continental-philosophical critiques of this view are those of Gadamer (1979), 232; and Foucault (1977).

[22] *PP* II, §206; X/2, 458ff.

are themselves a manifestation of the will – as all things ultimately are for Schopenhauer – whose purpose is to procure in a more elaborate manner than non-intelligent life forms the various satisfactions of the will, then representational knowing in the normal manner will always be tied to individuated acts of willing. Intellect will understand objects instrumentally, insofar as they can at least temporarily serve to satisfy the will. All normal representative acts of intellection are instrumental, he claims, "because all our thought and striving, all our hearing and seeing, stand by nature directly or indirectly in the service of our countless personal aims, big and small, and consequently it is the *will* which spurs on the faculty of knowledge to the fulfillment of its functions."[23]

All representational knowing, insofar as it serves the aims of an individuated will, is 'subjective' properly speaking. It can ever only fail to consider things as they are in-themselves, but adds predetermined considerations of what is 'meaningful,' namely, how the object stands in relation to its potential efficacy at satisfying the individual in some way. Because of this, Schopenhauer preserves the typical nineteenth-century notion of objectivity as a 'subject-free rendering of a real object,' but rejects the model typically used to exemplify it: the natural sciences. For science never considers objects in a non-relational way, but only as a means of 'doing something' with them in a way meaningful for the scientist, in a way that aims to satisfy either hers or else humankind's desires. Science is hardly a model of objectivity, then, as even Schopenhauer's cordial acquaintance Friedrich August Wolf believed, but the most perfectly subjective intellectual pursuit since its sole aim is to understand objects for the sake of their instrumental benefits for us. This is certainly no criticism of science, since for Schopenhauer human beings remain a slave to the will in *nearly* all their activities; the practice of science is on the contrary celebrated as being among the most reliable providers of temporary satisfaction to the great majority of people in the great majority of their active endeavors.

> Moreover, knowledge [*Erkenntniß*] activated by this instigation completely suffices for practical life, even for the various branches of science, since they direct themselves to the *relations* [Relationen] between things and not to their intrinsic and inner being. Wherever it is a question of knowledge of cause and effect or of grounds and consequences of any kind, that is to say in all branches of natural science and mathematics, as also in history [*Geschichte*], or with inventions, etc., the knowledge sought must be an *aim of the will* [Zweck des Willens].[24]

[23] *PP* II, §206; X/2, 459. [24] *PP* II, §206; X/2, 459ff.

Note well the mention of history in this quotation. Schopenhauer groups history with science in a way very different than nearly all his contemporaries. The debate for Buckle, Ranke, and Droysen hinged on whether and how far the methodologies of historiography could be sufficiently scientific – whether history could, like the positivist vision of natural science, present an account of its objects in a non-subjective way. No one meant this literally, of course. No one meant that the historian would actually lose his or her self, break free from the bonds of their individuality, any more than a scientist could somehow observe nature absent their senses or brain. Ranke and Buckle tended to indict religious views as prejudices or biases about their author's accounts; Droysen usually had in mind a speculative teleology that only considered events insofar as they served later developments. Schopenhauer, however, makes literal the meaning of an 'objective' claim to knowledge insofar as in the act of *Anschauung* the knower loosens the bonds of subjectivity and becomes like a clear mirror of the primary objectification of the will, the Idea.

Since the will is the principle that "twists, colors, and distorts"[25] our normal perceptions of spatio-temporal objects, the gaze of the will-less genius will apprehend its idea without that subjective prism of interestedness. Our aesthetic intuition is thus 'objective' in the sense of being freed from all subjective desires, impulses, or motivations.

> All deep knowledge, so far as it is real wisdom, springs from the intuitive apprehension of things [*anschaulichen Auffassung der Dinge*]. [. . .] An intuitive apprehension [*anschaulichen Auffassung*] has always been the process of generation in which every genuine work of art, every immortal idea, received the spark of life. All original and primary thinking takes place figuratively. On the other hand, from concepts [*Begriffen*] arise the works of mere talent, mere rational thoughts, imitations, and nearly everything calculated for only the present need and for contemporary events.[26]

While most human individuals are at least minimally capable of attaining this disinterested mode of apprehending, the genius is abnormally or extraordinarily proficient – contrary to the doctrines of Kant or Dilthey – in his ability to distance himself from the affects of the will and can gaze upon objects in the world aesthetically, detached from practical concerns.

Remember, though, that Schopenhauer groups history alongside the sciences in being tied to the forms of representational thinking, as opposed to the aesthetic apprehension that carries the power to reach the true inner

[25] *WWV* II, §30; II/2, 442. [26] *WWV* II, §31; II/2, 448.

nature of the world. There are two reasons for this.[27] Historical accounts, whether today we name them explanations or stories, will often involve causal constructions. Even in today's postmodern narratalogical theories, historical claims always involve temporal determinations of some kind or another. Because for Schopenhauer time is nothing other than a form of representation within the intellect, history, like science, cannot aspire to the apprehension of the timeless, eternal, unchanging truth of art. Historical claims by their nature cannot be timeless. "Therefore, he who seeks to know mankind according to its inner nature [*ihrem innern*], its appearances and developments identical with its Being [*Wesen*], and thus according to its Idea [*Idee*], will find that the works of great, immortal poets present him with a much truer and clearer picture than the historians can ever give."[28]

The second reason Schopenhauer did not apply *aesthetische Anschauung* is due to the manifest 'interestedness' within historical accounts. Not everything is fit to be considered historical. Not every stone in the Great Wall merits a historical account, nor every blade of grass on the field of Antietam. These topics only receive treatment insofar as they interest the investigator or, in Schopenhauerian terms, address a possible satisfaction of the will. Great art, the proper domain of *Anschauung*, is supposedly different since it serves the will in no instrumental way. A genuinely aesthetic appreciation of Picasso's *Blue Guitar* in no way involves the observer's hope to use the guitar, of course, but neither does it involve an intellectual curiosity about who the old man in the painting actually was nor why Picasso chose the particular pose he did to present the figure. Satisfying those curiosities is how the intellect temporarily calms the desires of the Will, but because of that can achieve no genuine aesthetic contemplation of the beautiful work of art in-itself.

For these two reasons, Schopenhauer categorizes the historian alongside the scientist and opposite the artist. Nowhere in his writing does he claim that the historian has access to the sort of *aesthetische Anschauung* that would allow for the sort of objective, subject-free intuition into the object under investigation, in this case, the real nature of tragedy.

Dionysian historiography

Schopenhauer's philosophy certainly had a profound attraction for the young Nietzsche. Well known is how deeply Nietzsche absorbed aspects

[27] Contrary to Emden (2008), 48, Schopenhauer's criticisms of history are not simply the expression of his hatred of Hegel. They are a logical consequent of his metaphysical and epistemological philosophy generally.

[28] *WWV* 1, §51; 1/1, 310ff. See also Emden (2008), 47.

of his metaphysics, epistemology, and aesthetics, even if in contemporaneous private writing he had formulated important critiques thereof.[29] My contention is that this influence also impacted Nietzsche's historiography in a transformative way, a way, however, which is both internally incoherent and which Schopenhauer never would have endorsed. It is from the perspective of Schopenhauer's artistic genius and not just of the critical philologist, as the first sentence of *The Birth of Tragedy* states, that Nietzsche believed he could intuit the real 'idea' of tragedy,[30] behind the phenomenal evidence of its transmission through the relevant ancient texts, and apart from 'logical insight.' And by recognizing Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* as a historiographical adoption of Schopenhauer's aesthetics, Wilamowitz was right to disqualify Nietzsche's work as a bastardization of historiography.

Although the connection between Schopenhauer's aesthetics and Nietzsche's historiographical method has not been sufficiently noticed by Nietzsche scholars, certainly Nietzsche's friends like Ritschl, Burckhardt, Wagner, and Rohde saw it plainly. The former two lamented that hereby Nietzsche had turned his back on the academy, while the latter two saw it as a great triumph of art over scholarship. Consider what Rohde, himself a card-carrying Schopenhauerian, writes in an intended but never-published review of *GT*:

> The philologist and aesthetician must be equally interested by seeing the solution to such astonishing problems here through a happy combination of historical and aesthetic observation [*historischer und aesthetischer Betrachtung*]. [. . .] From this profound education the most elated piece of art [*erhabenste Kunstwerk*] wants to spring forth like the most marvelous flower, tragedy born from German music. Yes, whosoever with equally pious devotion as the author already feels the highest delights of such noble art is able to assimilate the artistic creations of the great master himself: Richard Wagner, a man of the same mind, to whom this writing is dedicated. Like all the purest and innermost convictions of his friend, so too does the author share the fundamental intuition of music as a (Platonic) idea of the world [*Grundanschauung der Musik als einer (platonischen) Idee der Welt*], which presents Richard Wagner [. . .] in affirmative connection with that singular

[29] Nietzsche sketches a criticism of Schopenhauer's attempt to logically adduce the character of Will in his 1868 notes "Zur Schopenhauer," noting that it may only be apprehended with the help of "poetic intuition." See "On Schopenhauer" in Ansell-Pearson and Large (2006), 25. Recent research has come forth showing that Nietzsche's early relationship to Schopenhauer was more critical than purely adulatory. See Janaway (1998), 18–22 and Barbera (1994), 217–233. I would agree with their arguments that Nietzsche was privately critical of Schopenhauer from the start, but also emphasize that his published work, especially *The Birth of Tragedy*, does not genuinely shift from the Schopenhauerian metaphysics, epistemology, or aesthetics until after about 1875.

[30] Cf. *EH* "Geburt," 1; *KSA* 6, 310: "An 'idea' ['*Idee*'] translated into metaphysics – the opposition of the Dionysiac and Apollonian; history itself as the development of this 'idea.'"

> sufficient meaning of music which Arthur Schopenhauer had achieved from the depths of his world-knowledge [*Welterkenntniß*].[31]

If Rhode knew Nietzsche's intentions better than we today, then we must trust that the justification for Nietzsche's claims about the 'inner' or 'real' nature of tragedy was never intended to have been of the same sort as his earlier philology, not – as we saw in the previous chapters – a straightforward correspondence between the account and what the evidence portrays to be real. Here, in addition to many individual empirically verifiable claims, we are presented an overarching intuition about the birth of tragedy that transgresses the boundaries of empirical observation even in principle. But beyond traditional historical versions of intuition in the manner of Herder or Collingwood, Nietzsche believes his own intuitions about tragedy are true precisely insofar as he has left the phenomenal realm behind and become identified with the inner nature of the tragic world in-itself. Through a sort of mystical echo of the ancient standard of truth as identity between the knower and the thing known, the principle that "like is known by like,"[32] Nietzsche thinks he can communicate the real inner Idea of tragedy. And he proclaims precisely this:

> Only insofar as the genius, during the act of artistic procreation, merges fully with that original artist of the world does he know anything of the eternal essence of art; for in this condition he resembles, miraculously, that uncanny image of fairy-tale which can turn its eyes around and look at itself; now he is at one and the same time subject and object, simultaneously poet, actor, and spectator.[33]

Nietzsche means this literally. Like Wagner,[34] who in his own aesthetic ecstasy was claimed by Nietzsche to have attained a "sort of omniscience [*Allwissenheit*] . . . as if the visual power of his eyes hovered not only upon surfaces, but '*ins Innere*,'"[35] Nietzsche believed himself to inhabit the sort of aesthetic state of Schopenhauer's genius, to have made possible, "*das volle sich Versenken und interesselose Anschauen des Künstlers* [the entirely sunk-into-himself and interest-less aesthetic intuition of the artist]."[36] The aesthetic genius is the opposite of – again in precisely Schopenhauerian terms – "a non-genius, that is, as his own 'subject,' that entire unruly crowd

[31] Cited from Nietzsche-Online: *Erwin Rohdes nicht veröffentlichte Rezension der GT*. DOI: 10.1515/NO_W015182_0222.

[32] Though in a different context, see *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 293ff. [33] *GT* 5; *KSA* 1, 47–48.

[34] An earlier draft of the *Birth*'s discussion of the metaphysics of music from spring 1871 makes clear how deeply indebted he was to an apprehension of it "*auf Grund einer beliebten aesthetischen Anschauung*." *KSA* 7, 359–369; here 363.

[35] *GT* 22; *KSA* 1, 140. [36] *NF* spring 1871, 12[1]; *KSA* 7, 364.

of subjective passions and striving of his own will aiming at something particular, which appears real to him,"[37] who can in no way understand the character of the tragic play as an instantiation of the undulation of the two manifested forces, the Dionysian and Apolline. "If the philologists fail, and are reduced to mere scholars, it is because they lack aesthetic sense."[38] Such non-geniuses cannot, in fact, ever understand the true nature of the world as will, which may "only be justified as an aesthetic phenomenon."[39]

> Let's not forget, that every process [proceeds] only from our necessary form of appearance [*unsere nothwendige Erscheinungsform*], insofar as it remains without any metaphysical reality: that we with all our proofs cannot overstep these limitations and they are at best only able to be understood as such. But if in the preceding I dared to speak of genius and appearance as if in my disposal stood a knowledge that had exceeded those bounds and as if I were able to gaze out from the pure, great world eye [*reinen großen Weltauge*]: well, it will be explained in what follows why I don't think I'm overstepping the anthropomorphic circle with that image. But who could endure to exist without such mystical possibilities [*mystische Möglichkeiten*]? And yet I expect – – –[40]

Non-geniuses deal with knowledge within the fourfold root of sufficient reason. Great artists and geniuses, in the Schopenhauerian sense, deal with the true essences that lie beyond the possibility of empirical knowledge. "In the artist," Nietzsche confirms, "the Will comes to the ecstasy [*Entzückung*] of *Anschauung*."[41] More than detached spectators of the tragedy, in the ecstatic state we are the chorus – immanent revelers in the ongoing and already determined play. "*Der Mensch ist nicht mehr Künstler, er ist Kunstwerk geworden* [The man is no longer an artist, but has become an artwork]."[42] Through our participation we intuit the object beyond its phenomenal representation, i.e., non-conceptually, outside the boundaries of space, time, and causality, only insofar as a change has taken place in us, only insofar as we are able to suspend our individuated subjectivity. We are Prometheus unbound from the chains of our subjectivity. "[E]ach person feels himself to be not simply united [*vereinigt*], reconciled or merged with his neighbor, but as one [*eins*] with him, as if the Veil of Maya had been torn

[37] *GT* 5; *KSA* 1, 45. [38] *KGW* II/3, 367.

[39] *Ibid.* The phrase cannot simply be read as if artistic objects justify the otherwise tragic character of existence. Understood in the context of Schopenhauer's aesthetics, this often-quoted phrase makes no claim about the nature of the world, but about our apprehension of it. Contrary to Came (2006), 41–57; Hyland (1988), 57–62; and the original progenitor of the view, Nehamas (1985), 13–41. Closer to my own reading in this respect is Strong (1989), 989–1007; and Urpeth (2003), 215–236.

[40] Contained in a draft of "Socrates und die griechische Tragoedie"; *KSA* 14, 541.

[41] *NF* end 1870–April 1871, 7[175]; *KSA* 7, 209. [42] *GT* 1; *KSA* 1, 30.

apart, so that mere shreds of it flutter before the mysterious primordial being [*Ur-Einen*]."[43] The non-conceptual apprehension that enables Nietzsche to grasp the real Idea of tragedy with allegedly perfect objectivity is precisely what he would later criticize in the retrospection of *Ecce homo*: "Listen to the world-historical accent that introduces the concept of the 'tragic attitude' [. . .]. This is the strangest 'objectivity' that there can be: absolute certainty about what I *am* projects itself onto some accidental reality – the truth about myself speaks from out of an awesome depth."[44]

After an extensive quotation of Schopenhauer on the characteristics of the lyric poet,[45] who "is conscious of himself as pure, will-less knowing," Nietzsche brings home more personally the same attribution. "But where the subject is an artist, he is already released and redeemed from his individual will and has become, as it were, a medium, the channel through which the one truly existing subject celebrates its release and redemption in semblance."[46] Just as the Dionysian frenzy identifies the spectator and the performer, the *Anschauung* dissolves the subject–object dichotomy in such a way that allows an unmediated apprehension of the object in question, from the inside, as it were. As Nietzsche says in the contemporary essay "*Die dionysische Weltanschauung*," whose very title is striking, "The Dionysiac power of enchantment proves itself even here, at the very summit of this *Weltanschauung*: all that is real is dissolved in semblance, and behind it the unified nature of the Will manifests itself . . ."[47] In this higher form of direct apprehension, both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche believed that the subject approaches an ecstatic release from the phenomenal affects of the individual will and comes closer to merging with the *Ur-Eine* and the Dionysian ecstasy.[48] "[T]he Dionysiac enthusiast is stimulated to the highest intensity of all his symbolic powers [*höchsten Steigerung aller seiner symbolischen Vermögen*]; something never felt before demands expression: the annihilation of *individuation* [Individuatio], one-ness [*Einssein*] in the genius of the species, indeed of nature."[49]

It is only by understanding this aspect of Schopenhauer's philosophy that we can contextualize historiographically the mystical pronouncements and dogmatic statements which notoriously lack the possibility of verification in *The Birth of Tragedy*. "I had *discovered* the only historical simile and facsimile of my own innermost experience [*meiner innersten Erfahrung*] – and this led me to apprehend the amazing phenomenon of

[43] *GT* 1; *KSA* 1, 29ff. [44] *EH* "Geburt," 4; *KSA* 6, 314ff. [45] *WWV* 1, §51; 1/1, 314ff.
[46] *GT* 5; *KSA* 1, 47. [47] *DW* 3; *KSA* 1, 571. [48] Cf. *NF* end 1870–April 1871, 7[157]; *KSA* 7, 199ff.
[49] *DW* 4; *KSA* 1, 577.

the Dionysian."[50] Another retrospective evaluation claims the work was, "Constructed entirely from precocious, overgreen personal experiences [*übergrünen Selbsterlebnissen*], all of which lay at the very threshold of what could be communicated."[51] This is because the work was not scientific-philology, but was "located in the realm of *art* [. . .] perhaps a book for artists with some subsidiary capacity for analysis and retrospection (in other words, for an exceptional type of artist [. . .]), full of psychological innovations and artist-mysteries, with an artist's metaphysics [*Artisten-Metaphysik*] in the background."[52] Nietzsche acknowledges that in place of logical argumentation, *The Birth of Tragedy* was, or should have been, a musical expression: "It should have *sung*, this 'new soul' – and not spoken!"[53] – a not-so-veiled reference to Schopenhauer's belief that the inner nature of the world is best expressed through music. Talk of "transcending subjectivity," of "disengaging the will," of "seeing into true essences," and the dogmatic claims about the true nature of Greek tragedy and the Greek spirit that derive from this peculiar mode of apprehension are firmly entrenched in "aesthetic intuition."

Indeed, the deep truths of the book were to have been expressed, not just by means of logical insight but through aesthetic intuition. Nietzsche says just this.

> In the *Anschauungen* described here we have already all the constituent elements of a profound and pessimistic way of looking at the world and thus, simultaneously, the doctrine of the *mystery-teaching of tragedy*: the fundamental recognition that everything given is a unity [*Einheit*]; the observation of individuation [*Individuation*] as the primal source of all evil; and art as the joyous hope that the spell of individuation [*Bann der Individuation*] can be broken, the sense of recreated unity [*Ahnung einer wiederhergestellten Einheit*].[54]

In this statement we hear the notes of Nietzsche's early metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics: that the unity of Will is the true noumenon 'behind' all phenomenal appearances, that empirical existence is delusion and the root of misery, and that one way to momentarily stave off that misery is by disengaging from the phenomenal self through aesthetic contemplation. Most importantly, these are themselves the 'deep truths' about ancient tragedy. They were not said to have been reached through 'logical

[50] *EH* "Geburt," 2; *KSA* 6, 311. [51] *GT* "Versuch," 2; *KSA* 1, 13.

[52] *Ibid.* Nietzsche suggests even that a parallel transition between 'mythical' and 'historical pragmatic' historiography took place in Greek itself, about which we will say more in Chapter 4. See *GT* 10; *KSA* 1, 74.

[53] *GT* "Selbstkritik," 3; *KSA* 1, 15. [54] *GT* 10; *KSA* 1, 72ff.

insight' – for how could critical philology ever have reached beyond appearances to the tragic inner character of the world? – but again, through *Anschauung*. "The genius reaches at every moment from that monstrous all-contemporaneous point of view of the *Ur-Einen* the entire pyramid of appearance up to its very peak."[55]

Nietzsche, in sum, regards himself in *The Birth of Tragedy* as speaking from this contemplative-aesthetic position wherein his claims are to be considered objectively 'true' because he is in position to express the Idea of the object in question: in this case, the eternal essence of tragedy. Nietzsche assumes he has, in terms of Schopenhauer's notion of *Anschauung*, a privileged access into the real idea of tragedy beyond its shifting phenomenal appearances within textual evidence and stakes the justification of his historical claims there – not to textual evidence – but to the alleged fact that he, Nietzsche, has, as the clear mirror of the objective nature of the world, the aesthetic intuition of the way things 'really were.' As such Nietzsche retains his earlier realism insofar as his apprehension is of an allegedly real state of things. Yet the means by which he has access to it are no longer tied to that combination of skeptical realism and armchair psychological speculation. His aesthetic intuition could not be further from his earlier naturalism, and involves the assumptions, as he himself admits, of "miracles" in a way analagous to "fairy-tales."[56]

This view, however, is deeply problematic for several reasons. Not least of which is that Schopenhauer, from whom this peculiar conception of intuition arose, clearly did not think it applicable to historiography. Since historiographical judgment is both interested in its objects of investigation and bound to supply time-beholden claims about the events in its purview, it cannot as a subject be raised to the level of genuine *anschauliche Auffassung* of a timeless, non-relational object.[57] Nietzsche's application of Schopenhauer's aesthetic intuition to history bares an obvious inconsistency, since by definition it was supposed to take the subject beyond the merely sensible forms of experience, including space and time. "History, because it is the inexhaustable, timeless, eternal."[58] But how could any historical claim about a temporal origin seriously entertain a non-temporal framework of judgment?

[55] This passage comes from an extensive notebook entry which is likely an earlier draft of *GT*. The adoption of the standpoint of the Schopenhauerian genius is substantial. See *KSA* 7, 333–349; here 334.
[56] Also the position of Alexander Nehamas, though the conclusion is reached by a much different argument. See Nehamas (1985), 42ff.
[57] See his chapter "Über Geschichte"; *WWV* II, §38; II/2, 516–525.
[58] *NF* winter 1869–spring 1870, 3[3]; *KSA* 7, 59.

There are other problems beyond Nietzsche's ill-advised appropriation. Under a common contemporary meta-historical framework wherein a proposition only has meaning insofar as it is verifiable, Nietzsche's claim about the extra-natural origin of tragedy would not be taken seriously.[59] Worse, the mysticism involved in thinking a historian-artist could somehow break free of the bonds of the empirical self and become a 'medium,' as he said, who has "merged fully with the original artist of the world" is incredibly farfetched. Even if particular theses in his work have since become popular – for example about the deeply irrational aspects of tragedy and pre-Platonic culture generally – the methods by which Nietzsche reached these conclusions were speculative and even mystical, but not historical. The fact that Nietzsche was himself a very fine historical scholar who had command over a number of philological resources shows that his meta-historical framework was no accident:[60] Nietzsche intentionally left philology behind.

To his credit, Nietzsche recognized it. His 1886 "Attempt at a Self-Criticism" summarizes his dissatisfaction: the book was an attempt to view a properly historical question "*under the optic of the artist*,"[61] under the sway of the Schopenhauerian aesthetic theory . . . even though Schopenhauer said almost nothing of value about tragedy.[62] *The Birth of Tragedy* "lacks the will to logical cleanliness, [it is] very convinced and therefore too arrogant for proof, mistrustful even of the *propriety* of proving things, a book for the initiated, 'music' for those who were baptized in the name of music."[63] Nietzsche had, then, quickly and roundly rejected his earlier mystical account of the mind and with it the hope of seeing into the essence of tragedy apart from the conditions of his own subjectivity. And if the earlier notion of *Anschauung* is not tenable within this newly naturalized philosophy of mind, then with it must go Nietzsche's justification for his claims about the "real Idea" of tragedy that depended on it – no wonder that Nietzsche would in 1886 label *The Birth of Tragedy* "an impossible book." It was not wrong in the sense that its insights were incorrect; just impossible in the sense that the means he employed to reach them were meta-historically untenable.

Dead as a scholar

The professional reception of Nietzsche's philological research in the late 1860s was concerned mainly to evaluate the individual ideas within the

[59] See, for example, Dummett (1978), 333–350; 358–374.
[60] See Porter (2011), 89. Porter takes this intuitionism as a mere "posture" and not Nietzsche's actual position, as I do.
[61] *GT* "Versuch," 2; *KSA* 1, 14. [62] *GT* "Versuch," 6; *KSA* 1, 19. [63] *GT* "Versuch," 3; *KSA* 1, 14.

particular articles of a then still mostly unknown scholar. As we saw in the first chapter, some of Nietzsche's conclusions were praised and some criticized by those in his immediate field, perfectly in keeping with his status as a budding scholar. After the publication of *The Birth of Tragedy* in 1872, however, the general tenor of the commentary shifts to an evaluation of the author behind the work. The shared and repeated criticism, which provides support for our characterization of it as such, is that Nietzsche's method is aesthetic rather than historical, that he abandoned critical philology for this foray into Schopenhauer's notion of aesthetic intuition.

Although the historical circumstances surrounding the so-called "violent controversy"[64] between the two young philologists are often exaggerated,[65] the most notorious opinion of Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, as we saw above, was that of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Published by the firm Gebrüder Borntraeger at his own expense, the piece is vitriolic and misquotes (perhaps intentionally) to a severe degree.[66] Its title, *Future Philology! A Reply to Friedrich Nietzsche's "The Birth of Tragedy"*, resounds as an overt criticism of the Wagnerian elements within *Birth*, a parody of the renowned musician's *Zukunftsmusik!* The publication comes on the heels of Rohde's own review in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the only journal of three in which he was successfully published.[67] Also to Nietzsche's defense jumped Richard Wagner, deriding the "unappointed" Wilamowitz for his audacity in challenging a chaired professor. "We [Wagner and Nietzsche] by ourselves look out from the mountaintop over the wide plain without disturbance from the scuffling peasants in the tavern below us." Wilamowitz "seems to us an old-fashioned Berlin bum, stumbling from beer to schnapps."[68] With misplaced indignation, Nietzsche vents to Rohde: "The guild has condemned me to death; but that it is strong enough to kill – of this I have my doubts."[69] Nietzsche felt himself to be taking the moral high ground in not stooping to defend himself against this silent 'conspiracy.'[70]

[64] The phrase belongs to Hugh Lloyd-Jones (1983), xii.

[65] Such interpretations include Hayman (1982), 150; Kaufmann (1950), 27; Hollingdale (1965), 213. More developed accounts include: Ernst Howald (1920); Silk and Stern (1983); Lloyd-Jones (1976); Porter (2011). See also Krummel (1998–2006) 1, 1–17.

[66] See the appendices of miscitations provided by Porter (2011), 90–94.

[67] See Nietzsche to Rhode, February 1872; *KSB* 3, 293. See generally Crusius (1902) and Whitman (1986). Cf. also Gründer (1969), 114.

[68] Preserved in Gründer (1969), 57–65.

[69] Nietzsche to Rohde, July 7, 1872; *KSB* 4, 19.

[70] Letters to various friends from June 5 to 26 indicate that Nietzsche felt himself engaged against "das Echo seiner inspirirenden 'Höheren.'" That this was paranoaia, see Calder III (1983); Whitman (1986); Mansfeld (1986).

Although he would never comment in public, Ritschl was sorely disappointed that the same student on behalf of whose meteoric rise he had staked his professional reputation did nothing to defend himself by means of the *Erkenntnis* with which he had taken pains to arm him. After all, "It is better to err with method than to find the truth without it, i.e., accidentally" [*Besser methodisch irren, als unmethodisch d.h. zufällig das Wahre finden*].[71] It was his "firm opinion that a strict scholarly refutation of the Wilamowitzian pamphlet is the only way."[72] But too much the soldier in "Richard Wagner's crusade against philology," Nietzsche's response never came.[73] Noticeably later, Rohde again defended his friend, this time in a pamphlet with a title to parody the original review by Wilamowitz: *Afterphilologie*.[74] And again, Rohde found little interest from scholarly publishers, and reluctantly settled on Nietzsche's own printer, E. W. Fritzsch – then a known Wagner apologist. Here Rohde drew a line in the sand between the dry scientism of the academy and philology's true importance for cultural life that he and Nietzsche apprehended, an "enlivening global *Anschauung* [*beseelenden Gesammtanschauung*] and an ethical feeling for the whole,"[75] in contrast to "the sort of objectivity that pretends to rest on evidence alone [which] is purely illusory."[76] Nietzsche's Schopenhauerian historiography represents the "unification of our scholarliness with the deepest mysticism; and, just as in myth, the expectation of the identity of the ἕν with the πᾶν [the one with the all] and of the simultaneous overcoming of [the difference between] mysticism and rationalism in art."[77]

[71] Ritschl (1879) v, 26. [72] *KGB* II/3, 15ff.

[73] *Ibid.* Raymond Geuss emphasizes Nietzsche's contemporary goals in *GT* as overturning his day's degenerate culture and returning to an ancient one as part of the general Wagnerian project. Geuss (1999), x. Although those well-known political and cultural aims are outside our scope here, it is helpful to point out that, if my formulation of Nietzsche's adoption of Schopenhauer's artist-metaphysics is correct, his account is not simply a naïve case of believing one can return to a healthier historical epoch. Indeed it would be bizarre for a professional historian to have researched so carefully a topic that was intended only to serve as an exhortation about contemporary matters. Along my reading, however, Nietzsche considers himself entitled to draw such historical consequences for the contemporary world precisely because the 'ideas,' in Schopenhauer's sense, are timelessly true. Thus the value of tragedy in the present is not a return to some salutary prior state of affairs, but a recognition that the correctly proportioned interplay of the Dionysian and Apolline is eternally the fundament of healthy culture.

[74] Preserved in Gründer (1969) I, 65–111. The letters between Nietzsche and Rohde were previously only available in the irresponsibly edited Förster-Nietzsche and Schöll (1923). New letters have been released from the Rhode estate that show how badly Nietzsche bullied his friend. See Calder III (1983), 239ff.

[75] Calder III (1983), 244. Cf. Porter (2011), 75. [76] Rohde (1872), 74. Cf. Porter (2011), 87.

[77] *KGB* II/2, 553. Soon after his apologies Rohde found several professional doors closed to him and came to regret the personal nature of his attack on Wilamowitz. See the letters between Rohde and

Collected correspondence has preserved the opinions of several noteworthy philologists, historians, and philosophers of history. In a private letter from Ribbeck to the once-Baseler philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey, who was both the brother of Nietzsche's philological associate Carl and the brother-in-law of Hermann Usener, we hear a more objective description of the work: "An artistic-philosophical dithyramb in the Schopenhauerian-Wagnerian mode. Something of charming madness and fermentation in its main point (which is of course almost entirely original), striking and interesting throughout."[78] Jacob Bernays, whom we remember as Ritschl's once-favorite student, complained on the contrary that the *Birth* had basically co-opted ideas he already published, and did so rather badly; very interestingly, Bernays believed Nietzsche was illicitly borrowing his "*Anschauungen*."[79] But besides Wilamowitz, the most famous judgment is the alleged opinion of Nietzsche's acquaintance, Hermann Usener:

> In Leipzig, there reigns *one* opinion about my book: according to this the great Usener, whom I so much respect in Bonn, upon questioning from his students, has let slip, "It is mere nonsense, of which nothing can be made: anybody who has written such a thing is dead as a scholar [*sei wissenschaftlich Todt*]." It is as though I had committed a crime; there has been ten months of silence now, because everybody believes himself to be so far beyond my book that there is not a word to be wasted on it. Thus, [Franz] Overbeck represents to me the situation in Leipzig.[80]

This letter, and its often parroted '*wissenschaftlich Todt*,' are interesting for several reasons. To start with, the account is reported at least third-hand: this is Nietzsche reporting to Rohde what Overbeck claims to have heard from a student of Usener's. Second, Overbeck notes that Usener had only 'let slip' [*verrathen*] the famous quip when asked by his students about the book. Usener chose never to publish his opinion, and perhaps did not want his once cordial acquaintance to know how he viewed its lack of scholarship. Moreover, even if the condemnatory phrase is his, Usener does not lambast the work as a whole or any of the actual theses contained therein, but stresses its ineligibility to qualify as scholarship. Usener, who had read

Otto Ribbeck dating from November 5, 1872 to March 1, 1873, preserved in Calder III (1983), 242–244. Shortly before Rohde died, he labeled the entire affair "a difficult and sad tragedy." Calder III (1983), 247.

[78] The letter is preserved in Calder III (1983), 247–248. I have altered the phrasing slightly to change what I believe is a printing error.

[79] A later chronicler, Ernst Howald, labeled the profession's response, "an icy silence." Howald (1920), 20. Silk and Stern cite a "silent disfavour." Silk and Stern (1983), 91. Lloyd-Jones (1976), 7 goes too far to claim the "work was greeted with derision by most of his professional colleagues."

[80] Nietzsche to Rohde, October 25, 1872; *KSB* 4, 70ff.

Nietzsche's philological publications with interest, was keen to see the same sort of skeptical realism and naturalism in this book. But he would only find a transformed Nietzsche who had evidently grown discontent with the phenomenal descriptions of events through their evidential transmissions in an effort to intuit the 'real essence' of tragic antiquity. And Usener, like Wilamowitz, was right.

Nietzsche did not advertise any regret at the prospect of having his scholarship disliked by professional academics.[81] Since the truth of a position rested not on evidence but upon the aesthetic state of the historian who wrote it, those mere scholars were not only unjustified in their critiques but were incapable of understanding the ideas Nietzsche was in privileged position to expound:

> The philologists of the present age have proven themselves unworthy of being permitted to consider me and my book as one of their own. It is hardly necessary to affirm that, in this case as well, I leave it up to them whether they want to learn anything or not. But I still do not feel in the least inclined to meet them half way. May that which now calls itself 'philology' (and which I designate only neutrally on purpose) ignore my book this time as well. For this book has a manly temperament and is of no value for castrati.[82]

Yet on a personal level, Nietzsche did feel stung by the guarded remark made by Usener and probably even worse about the lack of support from Ritschl.[83] His mentor never addressed particular theses in the work, but in a personal letter to him worried "whether your *Anschauung* can serve as a new foundation for *education* – whether the great majority of our youth would only be subjected to an immature hatred of science, without substituting a developed sensitivity for art – whether we bear thereby a greater danger of opening the door to dilettantism on all sides instead of widening the reach of poetry."[84] Characteristically concerned with historiography's role in education, Ritschl was rightly worried that such far-flung mysticism masquerading as history would only corrupt Nietzsche's few remaining students. "But our Nietzsche!" Ritschl would also write to Wilhelm Vischer, the man who a few years before hired Nietzsche at Basel. "It's remarkable how in one person two souls live next to each other. On the one side, the strictest method of academic scientific research . . . on the other this fantastically overreaching, over-enthusiastic, beat-you-senseless,

[81] One even-tempered review appeared two years after the *Birth*, Guhrauer (1874). Nietzsche nowhere records whether he read it. Richard Falkenberg, who was later one of the first historians of philosophy to mention Nietzsche, also reviewed the *Birth* in 1876. For a history, see Krummel (1998–2006) 1, 32.

[82] *KGW* III/4, 25ff. [83] See, for example, Nietzsche to Rohde, January 28, 1872; *KSB* 3, 279.

[84] Ritschl to Nietzsche, February 14, 1872; *KGB* II/2, 541.

Wagnerian-Schopenhauerian art-mystery-religion-crap [*Kunstmysterienreligionsschwärmerei*]! [. . .] What really makes me mad is his impiety against his true mother, philology, who had suckled him at her breast."[85]

Nietzsche never stopped thinking about history, nor certainly about the ancients; but he had effectively abandoned philological science for his aesthetic intuition into the 'real' nature of tragedy, as everyone near him understood. Wilamowitz, and with him both sides of the philological guild, maintained the former as the only genuine path to historical truth. And curiously, though he would never hold anything resembling the Schopenhauerian conception of *Anschauung*, in a later pronouncement Wilamowitz would, indeed, admit the value of a more intuitional approach to philology:

> The historical method and that of '*Anschauung*,' however, are two different approaches; and to justify something in a scholarly way naturally always presupposes that you have no presuppositions. But I am far from denying that an approach from the purely artistic, abstract side is unfruitful. Quite the contrary, because it is just this approach that comprehends the essence of the thing and – if it is successful – brings out from within through '*Anschauung*' far more perfect results than we, who only believe what we know, can bring into it from without.[86]

But Wilamowitz-Moellendorff wasn't the only one who shifted his views. Nietzsche himself was by then already experimenting with a newfound epistemology. In place of the *Birth*'s attempt to abandon the subjective affects and 'merge' into the '*Ur-eine*' in a purely contemplative aesthetic moment for the sake of trying to re-present reality free from the prejudiced colorations of the will, Nietzsche would begin to see affects, drives, and prejudicial perspectives as both essential constituents of subjectivity, and, by extension, the conditions for the possibility of constructing an historical account.

[85] *KSA* 15, 46ff.
[86] This is stated in a reaction to a copy of his dissertation. Cited in Calder III (1983), 231.

CHAPTER 4

History and historians

Almost immediately after *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche rescinded his mystical view about the historian's ability to intuit the real Ideas, in Schopenhauer's technical sense, of the nature of tragedy beyond a mediated observation through historical evidence as a misguidedly "überhistorisch" endeavor.[1] His increasingly skeptical attitude toward the mystical aspect of Schopenhauer's philosophy led Nietzsche to revise major aspects of his thought.[2] How his anti-Schopenhauerian reformulation of knowledge and subjectivity transformed his conception of historical judgment will be the subject of our fifth chapter. For the moment, and in order to keep our loosely chronological story of Nietzsche's development in view, we turn now to Nietzsche's next writings and their historical context. The major theme during the *Baslerjahre*, that post-*Birth of Tragedy* and pre-*Human all-too-Human* phase of his development, is no longer just the possibility of 'correct' historical judgments – the possibility of 'getting history right' – but a consideration about the relationship between the historian and his historical situatedness. It is a turn to consider not just history but historians in terms of the psychological dynamic of which their judgments are a typical function. This theme features prominently in Nietzsche's work until the very end of his authorship.

[1] Nietzsche defines 'überhistorisch' as "the power, to turn the gaze away from becoming and toward that which bestows upon existence the character of the eternal and univocal, towards *art* and *religion*," which fits rather well with his description of tragedy in the *Birth*. *HL* 10; *KSA* 1, 330. It should be noted, too, that Nietzsche only draws significant attention to the terms '*unhistorisch*' and '*überhistorisch*' in *HL*, hence my mere mention of it here. Thereafter, the former is primarily mentioned in reference to unreflective naivety while the latter refers to various manifestations of essentialist metaphysical thinkers ranging from Plato to Schopenhauer. For Nietzsche's reading and influences in his Basel years, see Jensen (2013b).

[2] This is well enough known to obviate any complete discussion here. For a sampling, see Barbera (1994); Riedel (1995); Clark (1998, 2001); and Janaway (1998). What I add to their discussions is an emphasis that Nietzsche's historical philosophy, with the obvious exception of *The Birth of Tragedy*, runs counter to Schopenhauer's metaphysical thought.

Nietzsche's changed focus is hardly an innocent shift of attention. His analyses of the psychological characteristics of historians are only relevant, obviously, if he believes that those psychological aspects play some key role in their judgments about the past. But notice the drastic change. His hope in *The Birth of Tragedy* was to apprehend the inner nature of tragedy beyond its empirical evidence by becoming 'objective' in the sense of the Schopenhauerian artist, which necessitated the mystical possibility of a subject 'breaking free' of the bonds of his empirical will and apprehending the object purely, immediately, and without relation to the satisfaction of that individuated will. By the mid-1870s, his central concern is to analyse the psychological factors that constitute historical judgments, those same factors he proclaimed the pure subject of knowing was freed from a few years before. His fascination with investigating *why* historians make the sorts of judgments about history they do, *why* they want to study the past, or are even interested in the past to begin with, itself suggests to what extent Nietzsche rejected his own view – which I maintain was an anomaly in his development – that the past can only be truly known by a subject set free from those same conditions. As he articulates clearly only two years after *The Birth of Tragedy*, in the very same terms he endorsed previously:

> And even in its highest expression [i.e., the Schopenhauerian] may an illusion not creep into the word objectivity? Here one understands a condition in the historian whereby he so purely apprehends [*so rein anschaut*] an event in all its motivations and consequences that it has not effect at all on his own subjectivity: it is analogous to that aesthetic phenomenon of detachment [*ästhetische Phänomen, jenes Losgebundensein*] from personal interest with which a painter gazes at [*schaut*] a stormy landscape with thunder and lightning, or a rolling sea, only the picture of them within him, the phenomenon of being completely absorbed [*völlige Versunkensein*] in the things: it is a superstition, however, that the picture which these things evoke in a man possessing such a disposition is a true reproduction of the empirical nature of things.[3]

In what follows in this chapter, I will present this shift in Nietzsche's attitude in a practical way by outlining his critique of the various historical 'types,' i.e., those historians who evidently bear certain drives which lead them to represent the historical world in certain ways and to, consciously or otherwise, ignore certain aspects of it. Then, in the next chapter, we will

[3] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 290. Cf. what is possibly an alternative version, at *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[96]; *KSA* 7, 673, which also stresses that his new view opposes precisely the possibility of 'interesseloses Anschauen.'

analyse more carefully the epistemological position that necessitates this particular meta-historical mode of critique.

Uses and disadvantages

In the second *Untimely Meditation*, *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life*,[4] Nietzsche outlines three major 'types' of historiography: the 'critical,' the 'antiquarian,' and the 'monumental.'[5] All three can both serve life and, if utilized improperly, inculcate a deleterious effect within him who wields it. And while Nietzsche is notoriously mum in this work as to precisely what life *is* such that history could serve it, his definition in the *Gay Science* could serve well here. "*What is life?* – Life – that means something that continues to repel [*abstossen*] and to die [*sterben*]; Life – that means being cruel and relentless against everything that is weak and old in us; Life – that therefore means being without piety toward the dying ones, the tattered ones, and the old ones [*Sterbende, Elende und Greise*]."[6] If life is such a state in which organisms grow by seeking empowerment and in which the elimination of what can no longer do so is fostered, then a historiography that serves life would by extension simultaneously displace those aspects of the past that hinder our growth, preserve what contributes to well-being, and highlight what is power-engendering. Now very far from his published philology's aim of establishing facts *quod vinci nequeat*, and from the *Birth*'s aim of apprehending truth outside the boundaries of individuation, Nietzsche holds that each of the types of life-serving historiography has as its task the construction of a story about the past, one that is to help its writers and readers existentially as a means of orienting ourselves to our past, present, and future lives.[7] Toward the background fades the demand for established facts, while to the fore of history emerge questions of value and meaning of various narratives for one's life.[8]

[4] In my summary of this essay I have consulted Campioni (1975); Zuckert (1976); Salaquarda (1984); Stambaugh (1987); Gerhardt (1988); Meyer (1998).

[5] For my own more thorough analysis of these types, see Jensen (2008a), 213–229.

[6] *FW* 16; *KSA* 3, 400. [7] See, for example, Born (2010), 31ff.

[8] It is important to distinguish Nietzsche's view here from the well-known position of Croce, whose catchword is "all history is contemporary history." Croce (1960), 12. For Croce, the historian always composes according to his present interests and aims; thus, history does not so much articulate the past, but a range of contemporary concerns. Nietzsche, as we will see, agrees insofar as historical judgments follow from the typological perspective of the historian. However, those perspectives are themselves constituted by the way the past affects the historian. In that way, the historian's judgment about the past is simultaneously a record of the past's effects even as its representation is a construction of it. How this impacts historical judgment will be the topic of Chapters 5–7.

The critical historian, armed with codex and lexicon in his campaign against unreliable sources, seeks to scrutinize heritages and traditions of interpretation that have been built up around historical claims, like forensic detectives whose primary concern is not what happened but whether and to what extent what is claimed to have happened can be proven. The roots of long-held traditions and belief-systems are methodically unearthed and laid bare in the light of skeptical analysis. Like Nietzsche himself, both in his role as critical philologist and in his later genealogical effort to discredit the 'sources' of modern presumptions about good and evil, the critical historian requires a hard and brave character type. "He must have the strength [*Kraft*], and use it from time to time, to shatter and dissolve [*zerbrechen und aufzulösen*] something to enable him to live: this he achieves by dragging it to the bar of judgment, interrogating it meticulously and finally condemning it."[9] Here a dynasty's alleged divine sanction to rule is unmasked as a particularly cruel suppression of political dissent; there the reverence felt toward a long-held value is exposed as docility before authority – "one puts the knife to its roots, [. . .] one cruelly treads all pieties under foot."[10]

But for this service to life, as with each of the historiographical tendencies, there lies a danger within critical history. "It is always a dangerous process, dangerous namely for life itself: and men or ages which serve life in this manner of judging and annihilating a past are always dangerous and endangered men and ages."[11] Critical history should serve as a check against overconfidence in traditions, against the too-easy acceptance of stories about the past. But the genuine historian should not rest content with destruction. Their systematic annihilation of inherited traditions, taken to a too-extreme degree, engenders an unhealthy distrust of all inherited values, indeed, a distrust even of the possibility of value at all. Critical history is "always a dangerous attempt because it is so difficult to find a limit in denying the past."[12] In the contemporaneous *Encyclopedia of Classical Philology*, Nietzsche claims in words mirroring Ritschl's: "[c]ritique itself cannot be the goal, but only a means for the *complete understanding*. Insofar is critique only a phase of hermeneutic."[13] The critical historian is a destroyer, a deconstructor of traditions and of ossified systems of values. But in doing so, she can forget herself. For she is a product of the very traditions of values, customs, and beliefs she aims to reveal as fraudulent. For all her criticism, she ought still find some strong foundation in the past

[9] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 269. [10] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 270. [11] *Ibid.* [12] *Ibid.*
[13] *KGW* II/3, 375. On Nietzsche's borrowing this phrase from Denis Thouard, see Benne (2005), 80.

on which to build a present, lest she allows skepticism to degenerate into nihilism.

Unlike the critical type, antiquarian historians are 'revering souls.' Their need to develop and portray a holistic worldview is just the inverse of the critical urge. Theirs is an instinct toward artistic virtuosity, toward the production of a plastic portrait of the world. No aspect of the past has value in and of itself; value is only bestowed by the legislating activity of the historian.[14] Antony's affair with Cleopatra, in-itself, belongs to the past precisely as much as his yawning on a random morning in his youth. The former is incomparably more important, and thus more often remembered, due only to the historian's act of affixing it as a valuable moment within the narrative of Augustinian Rome. "The small, truncated, decaying and obsolete acquire their own dignity and inviolability through the fact that the preserving and revering soul of the antiquarian man has emigrated into them and made there a homely nest."[15] Antiquarian scholars write history with the intention of preserving it. But certainly not all of it; their selective choice of topics and figures is a form of giving value to particular aspects of the past, polishing once tarnished ideas, eras, and personalities according to their own principle of selection. Here we may place patriotic historians, genealogists of family-trees, and all manner of preservation societies – each hope to show the value of something long since past, a good era or way of life that may no longer persist in the present.

But the impulses of the antiquarians are not spared Nietzsche's venom either. For the antiquarian type, present-day life stands in poor comparison with what he has elected to represent to himself of the past, and his turning back to some perceived 'good-old days' carries the consequence of turning him away from the present. Frustrated by his inability to render the present at all palatable and incapable of creating new idols for the future, he devotes his efforts to frantically preserving. The past and dead become the *only* sources of value, while what is to come can ever only be of lesser worth. How can the speeches of today's politicians be compared to Cicero's? How can the bravery of our soldiers compare with that of the Spartans? His ideal of the classical reveals what, to Nietzsche, is a thoroughgoing "mummification of life."[16] It is no longer inspired by the fresh air of the present, much less the hope for the future. "For it knows only how to preserve life, not how to engender it; it always undervalues that which is becoming because it has no instinct for divining it – as does monumental history, for example."[17]

[14] See *FW* 301; *KSA* 3, 540. [15] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 265. [16] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 268.
[17] *Ibid.* See also *MaM* II 382; *KSA* 2, 382.

Just as the antiquarian scholar discovers in his past the scholarly, the noble, and the tranquil, and is thereby trapped in that past when all he sees around him is the worthlessness of the present, so too the 'monumental' historian artistically paints her own antiquity with a selective quality of judgment. For both, their selection of what to portray of the past effectively instils those events, people, and ideas with value. But what the monumental historian chooses to portray – what she considers *great* people, events, and deeds – reveals a rather different dynamic of drives and instincts. Instead of 'mummifying' life, the monumentalist invigorates it by acknowledging that something great has once happened and, more importantly, can once again return to the present. Her concentration on triumphal arches or memorials to the great and noble – in-itself nothing more than interesting ways to arrange stones – is the historiographical concomitant of a psychology that *elects* those elements as essential to life. And her election, too, is a formation and construction, emphasizing like Plutarch or Schiller the grand and ignoring the common, thereby creating "a chain of moments in the struggle of the human individual which unites mankind across the millennia like a range of human mountain peaks."[18] The monumentalist anticipates the possibility of further creating such idols and exemplars for the future, thereby externalizing a healthier psychological dynamic.

Despite this advantage for life, the monumental historian runs the risk of creating a falsely idyllic vision of the past. She concentrates on the noble and noteworthy at the expense of real life, in all its gritty and ignoble and illogical detail. "The past itself suffers harm: whole segments of it are forgotten, destroyed, and flow away in an uninterrupted colourless flood, and only individually exaggerated facts rise out of it like islands."[19] The monumentalist lack of objectivity creates too much and describes too little, thereby building a foundation for the present more on wishes than reality. "As long as the soul of historiography lies in the great stimuli that a man of power derives from it, as long as the past has to be described as worthy of imitation, as imitable and possible for a second time, it of course incurs the danger of becoming somewhat distorted, beautified, and coming close to free poetic invention."[20]

An improperly focused monumental historian runs a further danger beyond this lack of objectivity. In a fascinating inversion of the famous 'existential test' of the Eternal Recurrence – a doctrine that was said by

[18] *HL* 2; *KSA* 1, 259. Schiller seems at one time to have been a model for monumental history. See *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[117]; *KSA* 7, 684ff.
[19] *HL* 2; *KSA* 1, 262. [20] *Ibid.*

Nietzsche himself to have been 'discovered' only years later – the monumentalist can potentially be trapped in hoping that the future resemble the past, that great leaders like Elizabeth I and heroic deeds like raising the flag at Iwo Jima be repeated.

> Only if the earth were always to begin its theatrical performance once again after the fifth act, if it were certain that the same knot of motives [*Verknotung von Motiven*], the same deus ex machina, the same catastrophe returned in the same determined interval, could the powerful man desire monumental history in complete iconic *truthfulness* [Wahrhaftigkeit], that is, each fact in its precisely described characteristics and unity, and probably not before the time when astronomers have once again become astrologers.[21]

Note here how the monumentalist's lack of objectivity turns into dishonesty. The affirmation of the eternal return must concern one's life as it truly is and has been – "all in the same succession and sequence – even this spider and this moonlight between the trees and even this moment and I myself"[22] – not of a past that has been handpicked and selected because of its perceived value. The monumentalist wills the return of that 'Armada Speech' or of the bravery of those at Iwo Jima for their greatness, but in no way cares to represent to himself the horrific train of causes that necessitated such speeches or heroic deeds, ignoring the many thousands of senseless deaths that were necessary before such actions, insignificant in themselves, could be considered so valuable.

> It will always tone down the difference in motives and events, in order to set down the monumental *effect* [effectus] at the cost of the *cause* [causae], that is, the exemplary effect worthy of imitation. Thus, because monumental history turns away as much as possible from the cause, we can call it a collection of "effects in themselves" [*"Effecte an sich"*] with less exaggeration than calling it events which will have an effect on all ages.[23]

Although each of the three types of historian has its unique advantages and disadvantages for life, what emerges from Nietzsche's analysis are two common presuppositions. These points are not only new but contrary to the meta-history of *The Birth of Tragedy*.

First, in place of the dissolved subjectivity of the aesthetic interpreter of history, here in *The Uses and Disadvantages* the subjectivity of the observer is absolutely essential in the process of constructing a historical account. In direct contradiction to the Dionysian aesthete who apprehends the true "Idea" of tragedy through his closer unity with the world as Will, here, just

[21] *HL* 2; *KSA* 1, 261. [22] *FW* 341; *KSA* 3, 570. [23] *HL* 2; *KSA* 1, 261ff.

two years later, Nietzsche presumes the mind cannot re-present objective reality in-itself apart from the necessary facticities of its own workings. A subject's view of the world becomes a function of reality's interaction with not just the Kantian pure intuitions of space and time or the Schopenhauerian triad of space, time, and causality, but also of a host of dynamic psychological processes which inculcates a selectivity of awareness, a remembering and forgetting of empirical stimuli, exaggerations and distortions. In a note written mere months after the appearance of *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche writes, "Unconscious inferences actuate my thinking: it is a passing over from image to image: the last-achieved image serves as an impulse and motive. Unconscious thinking must take place outside of concepts: therefore in *Anschauungen*. But this is the way in which contemplative philosophers and artists infer. They do the same thing that everyone does regarding their personal psychological impulses, but carried over into an impersonal world."[24] Somewhat later, "Impulse is the pre-condition of all *Anschauungen*."[25] Notice the drastic change from his published position's claim about a "luminous hovering in purest bliss and in wide-eyed *Anschauen*, free of all pain" mere months before.[26] The physiognomic dynamic that underlies all conscious representation and judgment can no longer be temporarily suspended, as was necessary for both Schopenhauer's artist and for Nietzsche's ecstatic Dionysian reveler, but must be understood as the psychological well-spring from which individual historians' judgments flow.[27] The form of subjectivity Nietzsche presumes in *Uses and Disadvantages* is thus hardly a 'clear mirror of the object' but a dynamic of conscious and, more notably, unconscious drives, instincts, and affects.

Second, following from his revision of the subject, Nietzsche also reformulated his notion of judgment. Whereas in *The Birth of Tragedy*, the aesthetic apprehension was bound to the Schopenhauerian vision of the diremption of the subject–object dichotomy, in the books to follow Nietzsche recognized the essential connection between historical judgment – indeed all judgment – and the psychological dynamic that

[24] *NF* summer 1872–beginning 1873, 19[107]; *KSA* 7, 454.
[25] *NF* winter 1872–1873, 23[10]; *KSA* 7, 542.
[26] *GT* 4; *KSA* 1, 39. See Jensen (2012a); Crawford (1988), 170ff; Reuter (2004), 369ff; and Reuter's more global analysis of *Anschauung* in his (2009).
[27] Against Nietzsche's connection between the psychology of the historian and the judgments they make, consider the critique of Ernst Nagel: "It is an obvious blunder to suppose that only a fat cowherd can drive fat kine." E. Nagel (1959), 209. We will say more about the physiognomic aspects of Nietzsche's theory of historical judgment in the following two chapters.

constitutes subjectivity.[28] This prohibits precisely the representational realism about the past that characterized Nietzsche's early philological work and the hope for a subject-less objectivity in *The Birth of Tragedy*. "The history of his city becomes for him the history of himself; he reads its walls, its towered gate, its rules and regulations, its holidays, like an illuminated diary of his youth and in all this he finds again himself, his force, his industry, his joy, his judgment, his folly and vices."[29] "As a genius of construction [*Baugenie*]," Nietzsche thinks humankind "is to be greatly admired, but not on account of his drive for truth [*Triebes zur Wahrheit*], for pure knowledge of things [*reinen Erkennen der Dinge*]."[30] Far from being able to judge how the past 'really was,' now "man spins his web over the past and subdues it, thus he gives expression to his artistic drive – but not to his drive towards truth or justice."[31]

Although none of these three types of historian evinces an absolutely life-embracing psychological fundament, one can draw from *Nutzen und Nachteil* a portrait of what such an historian would look like. Far from the perfect fact-collector, Nietzsche's recommendation is that the true historian be constituted by a certain quality of greatness. "History belongs above all to the active and powerful man," Nietzsche tells us, like Schiller or Goethe, who views the past as a model for inspiration, not merely to imitate, but as an "incentive to do as others have done and do it better."[32] And again, "history is written by the experienced and superior man. He who has not experienced greater and more exalted things than others will not know how to interpret the great and exalted things of the past."[33] And again, "[N]ow it would be right to say that only he who constructs the future has a right to judge the past. If you look ahead and set yourself a great goal, you at the same time restrain that wanton analytical drive."[34] The historian evidently must be such a 'master,' who from his own salutary conglomeration of instincts can perceive what is worth knowing and preserving in the past.[35] Although Nietzsche is vague on the details, what he means in a single

[28] See Meyer (1998), 60–69. Meyer, I find, overestimates the similarities with Derrida's thought on this point, while underestimating its Schopenhauerian context.

[29] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 265. [30] *WL* 1; *KSA* 1, 882.

[31] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 290. Shapiro (1989), 26–30 is right to suggest the three types of historian highlight Nietzsche's preclusion of a 'single true meta-narrative'; but he goes too far in maintaining that the modes of historiography here are indistinguishable from dreams. The obvious difference is that dreams need not have any 'real' referent, whereas these three modes of interpretation obviously do, namely the real past. What they represent of that real past varies according to the psychology of their type, but Nietzsche is simply not questioning whether the past is real.

[32] *HL* 2; *KSA* 1, 258. [33] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 294. [34] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 294ff.

[35] See also Pöschl (1979), 141–155.

word – indeed in Nietzsche's own word – is that what marks the right interpreter is 'power.' "It is not justice that here sits to judge; it is still less clemency [*Gnade*] that here passes the judgment: but life alone, every dark, striving [*triebende*], unapologetically self-fulfilling power [*Macht*]."[36] Which historians judge from out of this power and which speak from weakness will be the subject of the following sections.

The historical sense

After *Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie*, Nietzsche never again mentions the triad of historical types – critical, antiquarian, monumental – and almost never again says anything positive about this book.[37] This of itself does not mean he rejected its core thesis, namely, that underneath the surface of historical world views and even particular historical judgments lay a complex dynamic of psychological factors, rendering the possibility of a subjectless interpretation of the past impossible.[38] When he does characterize the positive achievement of *Nutzen und Nachteil* in his brief introduction to it in *Ecce homo*, he highlights his recognition that the "'historical sense' of which this century is so proud [was] recognized for the first time as a sickness, as a typical sign of decay."[39]

The phrase 'historical sense' has an ambiguous meaning in Nietzsche's writing. Not only does Nietzsche define it in different ways at different times, even his attitude toward the general notion vacillates between laudation and vitriol. In *Nutzen und Nachteil* and its surrounding notebook entries, Nietzsche's use is almost exclusively negative, and, when used in

[36] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 269.

[37] For Nietzsche's attitude toward this work, see Brobjer (2004), 301–322. A later reformulation can found at *FW* 337; *KSA* 3, 564ff.

[38] Brobjer, I think, goes too far in his assessment that Nietzsche abandoned the work entirely. Most of the evidence he marshals is circumstantial or else concerns the *Untimely Meditations* and *Birth of Tragedy* generally. For examples, that Nietzsche calls the *Untimely Meditations* his 'Juvenilia' in a letter to Georg Brandes of February 19, 1888 (*Ibid.*, 309); that he was glad the back-cover of his 1888 *The Case of Wagner* omits the *Untimely Meditations* from its list of the author's works (*Ibid.*, 310); that in 1885 he opted not to buy back the extra copies of the *Untimely Meditations* from his original publisher Schmeitzner (*Ibid.*, 309); or that Nietzsche would try to dissuade an American admirer from reading his early work in 1882 (*Ibid.*, 307) – All of this goes to show that Nietzsche was rather embarrassed by *The Birth of Tragedy* and by the *Untimely Meditations* project generally, a project that was, of course, an unmitigated failure from a publishing standpoint. But it does not indicate which particular theses Nietzsche rejected from these works. That David Friedrich Strauss was a philistine, the meaning of genuine education, that teleological history is a sign of cultural decline, and that his contemporaries suffer from an overly scientistic attitude toward culture –none of these theses do I see Nietzsche anywhere reject.

[39] *EH* "*Untimely Meditations*," 1; *KSA* 6, 316.

quotation marks, is often interchangeable with 'historical sickness.'[40] After *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882), Nietzsche tends to use the phrase more affirmatively,[41] as we shall see in our sixth chapter.

But here in the early 1870s, Nietzsche composed six pieces that deal predominantly with the overabundance of 'historical sense' in his contemporary Germany: the course of lectures entitled *Encyclopedia of Classical Philology and Introduction to the Study of the Same* (delivered 1871–1875), the public lecture called *On the Future of our Educational Institutions* (delivered 1872), the first three parts of the uncompleted series *Untimely Meditations* – *David Friedrich Strauss, the Confessor and Author* (1873), *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* (1874), *Schopenhauer as Educator* (1874) – and a set of notes that were to have been the fifth contribution to that project, *Wir Philologen* (1874–1875). One would not exaggerate by saying that the theme of historical sense was more prevalent in Nietzsche's mind during the early 1870s than even that of tragedy. The common thread is essentially this: although the study of philology and history is both a necessary part of culture and an instrument for shaping students in the rigorous methods of intellectual investigation, it has been abused by its professional teachers and writers to the point where it stifles rather than strengthens, enervating instead of invigorating the artistic spirit of its young disciples. In his affirmative characterization of its potentiality, Nietzsche follows Ritschl and is consistent with his Basel colleagues Bachofen and Burckhardt. In his critical mode, which concerns us mainly here, he holds that contemporary education and culture have suffered from two distinct deleterious effects of the age's improper 'historical sense': scientism and teleology.

The first concerns the progressively democratic and naively utilitarian pedagogical methods of, above all, the 'scientific' philosophers of history.[42] As John Stuart Mill, one of its founders, states it, "It is my belief, indeed, that the general tendency is, and will continue to be, saving occasional and temporary exceptions, one of improvement; a tendency toward a better and

[40] See Brobjer (2004), 316–319; Sommer (1997), Chapters 1 and 2.

[41] Nietzsche criticizes the anglophone historians J. W. Draper and W. E. H. Lecky, for example, for their lack of historical sense at Nietzsche to Overbeck, March 24, 1887; *KSB* 8, 49. For an exception, see *FW* 337; *KSA* 3, 564.

[42] See, for a general statement of Nietzsche's objection to "Geschichte als reine Wissenschaft," *HL* 1; *KSA* 1, 257. A recent collection on Nietzsche's philosophy of science will hopefully continue to change the common opinion that Nietzsche was a straightforward antagonist of his contemporary science. See Heit *et al.* (2012), in which two essays are specifically related to scientific historiography: Jensen (2012b) and Schuringa (2012).

happier state."[43] Nietzsche is no fan of his contemporary public education, whose mantra he mocks: "As much knowledge and education as possible [*Möglichst viel Erkenntniß und Bildung*]; therefore the greatest possible supply and demand – hence as much happiness as possible: – that is the formula. In this case utility is made the object and goal of education, – utility in the sense of gain – the greatest possible pecuniary gain."[44] That everyone, even those not suited by nature to carry out the long, difficult work of a genuine education for the sake of higher culture, are compelled to spend their youths in the state-sponsored schools only inculcates a hatred for real education. "The 'greatest possible expansion of education' so enfeebles education that it can no longer confer privileges or inspire respect."[45] Not only that, expanding education to all and sundry involved watering down the methodological rigor once demanded of the intellectually gifted. When it comes specifically to the teaching of history, which the state is only too glad to support since it keeps both the young and the learned away from the more politically confrontational matters of the present, a simplistic concentration on linguistics and 'proofs' through evidence have come to replace the holistic command of a field and the penetrating insights that were once found among the great philologists and historians of past generations.[46]

In place of a basely scientistic insistence on objectivity and demonstrable 'facts,' Nietzsche seeks a healthy and robust psychological fundament capable of assessing the past from a noble perspective.[47] In his lectures on *Die Geschichte der grieschischen Literatur* (delivered in different parts between 1874–1876), Nietzsche discusses at length the character of most of the prominent Greek historians: Hekataeus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ktesias of Knidos, Theopompos of Chios, Ephoros of Kyme, Hegesias of Magnesia, Kallisthenes of Olinth, etc., and later historians like Strabo, Polybius, Dionysius of Halikarnassos, and Plutarch. Nietzsche praises the older Greek historians for having just the kind of healthy psychological

[43] Mill ([1843] 1874), 632ff. On Nietzsche's critique of 'progressive' historiography, see Sommer (2006), 421–435. Sommer's supposition that Eternal Recurrence may have been developed in part as a counter-image to teleological historiography is suggestive; however, Nietzsche had critiques of teleology in place well before his first articulation of that notion.

[44] *ZuB* I; *KSA* 1, 667. [45] *ZuB* I; *KSA* 1, 668.

[46] Cf. *M* 195; *KSA* 3, 168–70. See also *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[138]; *KSA* 7, 692.

[47] Babette Babich has done estimable work in relating Nietzsche's ideals of historiography to his reenvisioned ideal of science. See especially her (2009), 155–201. She has also been generous enough to share a paper with me that continues some of the same themes with reference to philology: "Nietzsche und die Antike Wissenschaften: '. . .alle wissenschaftlichen Methoden waren bereits da,'" which I intend to include in a forthcoming volume I am co-editing with Helmut Heit.

character in contrast to dry scholarship. "One errs especially if one thinks that a dry, scholarly, chronologically arranged presentation marks the oldest historians. [Hekataeus] didn't grow up in the library carrels; he understood the need to listen, to see, to question the most widely traveled people, and his entire life he practiced the art of narrating and listening to narration. That is really *ἱστορία*."[48] On the other hand, Nietzsche supposes that what we today consider scholarship was something absent entirely in Greece.[49] Only during the Roman Empire, he notes, did scholarly record-keeping emerge. And hardly to satisfy any drive for objectivity, archives and 'factual' proofs regarding past states of affairs were developed with the intention of protecting property rights and enforcing contractual obligations. Scholarly history was no pure science; quite the contrary, "[i]t was the pure birth of power and ruling-thinking [*Herrschaftsgedankens*]."[50]

Nietzsche's *Encyclopädie der klassischen Philologie* briefly summarizes the major developments of trans-European philology.[51] In its more interesting later chapters, it functions as a sort of handbook for becoming a genuine, healthy philologist. "*Wie wird der Philolog*?" Education is not purely a matter of technical training, not the drilling of a banal, anti-subjective, methodological Rankeanism that pervaded the schools. The genuine task of education is to form scholars according to the template of Wolf and the Greek historians like Thucydides, who "sees something great into and within all things and persons. [. . .] Thus, in him, 'the thinker of men,' that *culture of the most unprejudiced knowledge of the world* [jene Cultur der unbefangensten Weltkenntniss] comes to a final, effulgent efflorescence."[52] And to produce historiography of a value that rivals Thucydides', more rigorous drills in grammar will not suffice.

[48] *KGW* II/5, 229ff.

[49] Here Nietzsche seems to have changed his mind since claiming in *GT* that, "the Greeks themselves were already well down the road towards restamping their whole mythical, dream of youth [. . .] into a historical-pragmatic *history of youth*." *GT* 10; *KSA* 1, 74. The division in both places is between the storytellers with a sense for the deep truths of mythic history and professional fact-hoarding historians, though I am unclear as to why Nietzsche came to think that the transition took place at a later time. It is suggestive that B. G. Niebuhr's *Römische Geschichte* (1827–1828) may have been influential, as it then stood as the *locus classicus* of the historiographical theory of myth.

[50] *KGW* II/5, 258f, n. 70.

[51] For Nietzsche's reliance on Burckhardt for his *Encyclopedia*, see Campioni (1999), 359–369.

[52] *M* 168; *KSA* 3, 151. For an argument that Thucydides is a kind of ideal historian for Nietzsche, see Lustila and Mann (2011), 51–72. While they are certainly correct that Nietzsche often praises Thucydides, especially in comparison to static-metaphysicians like Plato, I think they draw two incorrect inferences. First, that Nietzsche remained throughout his career a typological realist in the manner of Thucydides; and second, that Thucydides' typology involved any epistemological commitment (which Nietzsche's does) beyond the level of historical generalizations.

Instead, "*Wir müssen den Trieb, die Sehnsucht erregen* [we must excite the drives, the longing]."[53] This is essential, Nietzsche thinks, since "[e]very vocation must correspond to a need, every need corresponds to a drive. For philologists, possibly, 1. Pedagogical tendency, 2. Joy in antiquity, 3. Desire for pure knowledge."[54] "More than anything, it's about good methods and a correct orientation."[55] The tool for awakening these noble drives, for honing such a 'correct orientation,' is, as Ritschl had once instructed, a long discipline in rigorous methods and a view toward implementing those methods in the service of culture rather than as ends in themselves. One must take those youths by nature gifted with curiosity, great intelligence, and insight into the hidden connections within traditions, and mold them in the forge of a disciplined method.[56] "We've mentioned how important the right method is from the beginning. University years should be spent bringing the student to a good and certain comfortability with them. One should practice on them day by day, like a medical student practices on his cadaver."[57] Even when attending lectures, the content is of lesser importance than an observation of the professor's activity, her process of thinking through problems, of analyzing sources and accepted traditions critically. "The main value of a lecture remains always the methodological lesson."[58]

However much Nietzsche considered rigorous discipline in careful philological methods an essential foreground to the formation of a healthy-minded historian (and despite how frustratingly vague his descriptions of them actually are), he believes that one of the most inimical tendencies in modern education is its treating them as ends-in-themselves, as the goal of education and by extension of culture. By contrast, "I demand that even the scholarly drive [*wissenscaftl.* (sic) *Trieb*] be ruled by that classical tendency" – by which Nietzsche means that correctly ordered psychological dynamic – "so that the scholarly drives are [considered] the *means*, not *the goal itself*, much less *the only goal*."[59] In contrast to the intrepid interpreters of the world, Nietzsche highlights the shortcomings of his contemporary workaday historians. With no sense for culture or the cultural importance of their field, the only goal of these 'scientific' historians and philologists is to 'get

[53] *KGW* II/3, 368. [54] *Ibid.*, 366. [55] *Ibid.*, 369.
[56] Cf. *NF* 1875, 7[7]; *KSA* 8, 126: "those who early in life show signs of talent and a sense for what is noble."
[57] *KGW* II/3, 388.
[58] *Ibid.* See also *KGW* II/3, 382: "Methodologically, textual criticism has the highest worth for the aspiring philologist." See *MaM* 1, 270; See also the sections *A* 13, 26, 47, 52, and 59.
[59] *KGW* II/3, 392.

the text right' – not to learn anything from it for the sake of their lives, but simply for the satisfaction of holding another 'fact' in their pocket.

> Others, again, pass their lives in counting the number of verses written by Greek and Roman poets, and are delighted with the proportions 7:13 = 14:26. Finally, one of them brings forward his solution to a question, such as the Homeric poems considered from the standpoint of prepositions, and thinks he has drawn the truth from the bottom of the well with ἀνά and κατά. All of them, however, with the most widely separated aims in view, dig and burrow in Greek soil with a restlessness and a blundering awkwardness that must surely be painful to a true friend of antiquity.[60]

Nietzsche is not exaggerating here. He who is said to consider the Homeric poems from the perspective of its prepositions is none other than Gottfried Hermann, who wrote on the Homeric hymns in 1806, whose dissertation was on the word *αὐτός* and who wrote four entire volumes on the particle *ἄν*. How Hermann measures up in Nietzsche's ideal of historiography is evident. "What does the teaching of Greek particles have to do with the meaning of life?"[61] As for the type that takes joy in discovering the hidden proportions of Greek and Roman verses, it was Karl Lachmann who counted among his greatest achievements the discovery that the total number of lines assigned to chorus and actors in tragedy was invariably divisible by seven.[62] Nietzsche labels them "pedantic micrologists."[63] Notice, however, that he does not quibble with any particular philological 'fact' here – he never disputes the numerical reductions or the applicability of *κατά*. It is more typically the spirit, drives, or intentions of these positivistic philologists that suffer his rancor: it comes down to their discipline's efficacy within educational institutions to shape the future of culture and society, to their discipline's value for life, the quality of its 'historical sense.'

Nietzsche says in the never-completed notes to his once-planned fifth *Untimely Meditation*, titled *Wir Philologen*, "Those who say, 'But certainly classical culture survives as an object of pure scholarship, even if all its educational aims are disavowed,' deserve this reply: 'Where is pure scholarship here? Achievements and qualities have to be assessed, and the assessor has to stand above what he assesses. So your first concern must be to surpass

[60] *ZuB* III; *KSA* 1, 702. [61] *NF* March 1875, 3[63]; *KSA* 8, 32.

[62] Nietzsche certainly knew this, commenting, "So profoundly and frequently oppressive is the *uncertainty* in *prediction* that it now and then becomes a morbid *passion for believing* at any price and a desire to be *certain*: e.g., as concerns Aristotle, or in discovering numerical necessities – almost a disease in Lachmann." *NF* beginning of 1875–spring 1876, 3[36]; *KSA* 8, 24.

[63] *HL* 2; *KSA* 1, 258.

antiquity. Until you do that, your scholarship isn't pure, but impure and limited.'"[64] Every type of scholarship must recognize its pedagogical dimension; what distinguishes them rests on a certain quality of character. These critical philologists tend to lack that grand and majestic taste required of the true philologist to create new, similarly grand idols to overcome, and are, Nietzsche thinks, thereby unable to assess the greatness of the Greek culture. Their destruction of the old antiquated worldviews by means of source criticism and meticulous textual analysis is an advantage for life; their *Nachteil* is their "wanton analytic drive" to reduce all philology to this destructive task.

"It's a sad history," Nietzsche laments in the notes to *Wir Philologen*. "I don't think any science is so poor in talented practitioners. It's the foundering of spirit, in which they make a hobby out of hair-splitting [*Wortklauberei*]."[65] "Classical philology is the herd [*Herd*] of the most superficial enlightenment: always used dishonestly, having gradually become entirely ineffective."[66] "[T]here should be an ethics police [*Polizei der Sitte*] for it – like there should be for bad pianists who play Beethoven."[67] Nietzsche's vitriol in this work was particularly unbridled. More than just a childish rant against his professional colleagues, here speaks a voice full of anguish, too, at the fact that his once noble field was decaying from the inside. This was not merely a temporary absence of genuine minds leading to a few years of substandard work. The ill-advised teaching methods practiced upon those already ill-suited minds left an indelible stain upon the psychology of the contemporary philologist, one sure to spread until the field eventually languished. The drives and instincts of the great majority of contemporary philologists were now incorrectly aligned such that they no longer were led to select and represent the 'right' aspects of antiquity. "At what a distance must one be from the Greeks to ascribe to them such a stupidly narrow autochthony as does [Karl] Otfried Muller [*sic*]! How Christian it is to assume, with Welcker, that the Greeks were originally monotheistic!"[68] "Bergk's history of literature: Not the merest spark of Greek fire or Greek sense."[69] The problem is not a lack of technical ability, nor certainly any lack of materials to study, but a psychological incongruity between the necessary fundament of the true historian of antiquity and that manifest in the

[64] *NF* beginning of 1875–spring 1876, 5[53]; *KSA* 8, 54ff.
[65] *NF* 1875, 7[4]; *KSA* 8, 122. See also *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[109]; *KSA* 8, 69.
[66] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[124]; *KSA* 8, 73.
[67] *NF* March 1875, 3[74]; *KSA* 8, 35.
[68] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[114]; *KSA* 8, 70.
[69] *NF* March 1875, 3[29]; *KSA* 8, 23.

typical 'scientistic' philologist today.[70] Because of it: "99 philologists out of 100 *shouldn't* be one."[71]

Hegel, Strauss, Hartmann

We said that the 'historical sense' imbues contemporary culture with two inimical tendencies.[72] The first, we have just seen, was its overly micrological, 'scientistic' scholarship which, with its basely pragmatic aim of creating future scholars, treats the objective knowledge of the past as an end in itself rather than as a preparatory step on the way to a revitalized culture. The second is the tendency to view the past teleologically, as a rational process wherein events follow one after the other in a preordained order leading toward some providential end and to view ourselves as inhabiting that providential end.[73]

This second inimical tendency of the 'historical sense' was highlighted in one of Nietzsche's first properly philosophical writings, his once planned dissertation on Kant's formulation of teleology.[74] Intended to

[70] See the rather comical chart of characteristics at *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[59]; *KSA* 8, 57.

[71] *NF* March 1875, 3[20]; *KSA* 8, 20. This should not give the impression that Nietzsche resisted teaching history and historiographical methods to students. On the contrary, a bit later in those same notes he would write, "*alle höhere Erziehung muss eine historische sein* [all higher education must be historical]." *NF* 1875, 7[6]; *KSA* 8, 125. The distinction to be drawn is that where, ideally, the gifted would be taught by gifted practitioners of the historical arts, all too often commonplace minds have been corrupted by commonplace teaching.

[72] This is a slightly different duo of problems from that discussed in Richardson (2008), 87–111. Although there is some overlap between our conclusions, Richardson is more concerned with the problems of time and the past than those of history and historiography properly.

[73] Among books that served as source material for his thoughts about teleology are Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewußten* (1869); Afrikan Spir, *Forschung nach der Gewissheit in der Erkenntnis der Wirklichkeit* (1869); Otto Liebmann's "Über subjective, objective und absolute Zeit" (1871–1872); Zöllner's *Über die Natur der Kometen: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theorie der Erkenntnis* (1872); and Strauss's *Der alter und der neue Glaube* (1972). Eugen Dühring was also an essential source, though Nietzsche is mostly hostile toward him. Nietzsche owned his *Der Werth des Lebens: Eine philosophische Betrachtung* (1865), *Natürliche Dialektik* (1865), *Kritische Geschichte der allgemeinen Prinzipien der Mechanik* (1873), *Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlichen Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung* (1875), and his *Kritische Geschichte der Nationalökonomie und des Sozialismus* (1875). Andreas Urs Sommer has shared with me a very fine paper, for which I am grateful, that shows how Nietzsche's reading of Kuno Fischer's interpretation of Spinoza significantly influenced his own anti-teleological thinking. Since the influence of Fischer's Spinoza began in the early-1880s, however, I would suggest it confirms and reformulates rather than inspires Nietzsche's criticism of teleology. For a representative passage from the mid-1880s nevertheless, see *NF* 1885, 36[15]; *KSA* 11, 556ff.

[74] His dissertation notes are gathered in archive notebook 62 from April–May 1868. See *KGW* I/4, 548–78. His old friend Heinrich Romundt would spend much of his career dealing with similar problems in Kant. Nietzsche would later rely on his *Grundlegung zur Reform der Philosophie. Vereinfachte und erweiterte Darstellung von Immanuel Kants Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Berlin, 1885).

be a critique of the *Kritik des Urtheilskraft*, Nietzsche set out to show that Kant's notion of social and political progress rested upon a conception of life as an organism whose manifold parts worked purposively rather than mechanically toward the goal of generating a more complete self out of itself. Nietzsche found this problematic on two levels. First, it presumed that organisms really are harmonious and unified entities such that their purposive activities instantiated nature's own ends. Nietzsche sides with Goethe in thinking that the unity of parts in an organism is a necessary mental construction, but a quality indemonstrable with respect to the thing in-itself.[75] "The concept of the whole is just our doing. Here lies the source of the representation of a goal [*Vorstellung des Zwecks*]. The concept of the whole lies not in things, but in us. These unities [*Einheiten*], which we call organisms, are really multiplicities [*Vielheiten*]. There are in reality no individuals, rather individuals and organisms are nothing but abstractions."[76] Second, Nietzsche takes Kant's organic purposiveness to be little more than an anthropomorphic analogy that reflects a certain value tendency. While Nietzsche doesn't address Kant's "Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht,"[77] here a similar criticism of progressive and optimistic values endemic in teleological historiography comes to the fore. "Teleology, like optimism, is an aesthetic product."[78]

This second inimical tendency of the 'historical sense' is a psychological tendency to view every development of history as a progress toward a particularly rational, well-ordered, or providential end, an optimism that the world as it stands today is in some way better than it ever has been and that there is, beyond the flux of events, some force or power or divine hand that we must trust to provide something even better tomorrow. Kant intimates this supersensible power even while delimiting the possibility of its cognition. But the full-blown expression of the supersensible teleological

[75] *NF* April–May 1868, 62[22]; *KGW* 1/4, 556.

[76] *NF* April–May 1868, 62[28]; *KGW* 1/4, 560.

[77] Emden's overarching aim to present Nietzsche's critique of historiography as inspired by political concerns leads him, in my opinion, to overestimate the extent to which the "Teleologie seit Kant" notes were "embedded in a wider political argument about the possibility of enlightenment and civil society." See Emden (2008) 66–74; here, 68. The political motivation for Kant is undoubtedly true; but Nietzsche's dissertation notes evince little interest in that aspect, beyond this one mention of 'optimism,' which itself is not overtly political. His critique here almost exclusively concerns the logic of Kant's teleology and stands independent of Kant's cosmopolitan aims. Emden is surely right, however, that Nietzsche's general worries about teleological historiography involve both cultural-political and logical elements.

[78] *NF* April–May 1868, 62[17]; *KGW* 1/4, 554. Nietzsche's attitude toward Kant's philosophy of history remains consistent throughout his career. See *NF* end 1886–spring 1887, 7[4]; *KSA* 12, 268. A brief, but incisive treatment of Nietzsche and Kant on history is Sommer (2005).

force would only come a generation later. The second face of the historical sense is, to use a single word, Hegelianism.[79]

> Germany has become the breeding-place of this historical optimism; Hegel is perhaps to blame for this. Nothing, however, is more responsible for the fatal influence of German culture. [. . .] a servile sentiment and a kneeling down before the actual fact – "a sense for the *Sitte*," they now call it, as if *that* had still to be propagated! He who does not understand how brutal and unintelligent history is will never understand the stimulus to make it intelligent.[80]

It must be admitted that Nietzsche names Hegel sparingly in his published corpus.[81] The other hero of teleological interpretation, the inverted Hegelian Karl Marx, is in fact never mentioned a single time anywhere in Nietzsche's published works or unpublished writing or even his correspondence.[82] Instead of these, Nietzsche's target is more often the subsequent generation of historiographical teleologists, David Friedrich Strauss and Eduard von Hartmann, on the former of whom Nietzsche wrote his first book after *The Birth of Tragedy* and to the latter of whom he dedicated a substantial portion of his second.[83]

Although David Friedrich Strauss was hardly well liked in Hegelian circles, he himself held a view of historical progress and a faith in the

[79] Nietzsche's critique of teleological historiography's logic and capacity to explain will be discussed in the next chapter. Since the present chapter is focused on historicity, I concentrate here only on Nietzsche's psychological diagnoses. I should also note that Spinoza figures importantly in Nietzsche's critique of teleology, though Nietzsche's attitude toward him is quite complicated. For a fine discussion, see Sommer (2012), 156–184.

[80] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[58], *KSA* 8, 57. Beiser (2005), 278ff epitomizes what I take to be two misconceptions on the part of much Hegel scholarship. First, Beiser reduces Nietzsche's critique of Hegelianism to the 'existential' concern about teleology, namely that it is inimical both to the individual will and to a flourishing culture. As a result, he ignores Nietzsche's epistemological criticisms of teleology, which will be made evident in the next chapter. Second, Beiser, like many contemporary Hegelians, seeks to emphasize the importance of the individual within the state. By doing so, they are in position to obviate Nietzsche's critique of statist collectivism. However, I would suggest that herein they also alienate the first few generations of Hegelians – many of whom, like Strauss, Bauer, and Hartmann, Nietzsche read carefully – who lauded Hegel for that very reason. If Nietzsche misunderstood Hegel on this point, in other words, then so did most of Hegel's own followers.

[81] Hegel is discussed much more often in Nietzsche's notebooks. Several quotations from his *Vorlesungen ueber die Philosophie der Geschichte* are examined in Nietzsche's notebook from the approximate time of *HL*'s composition. *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[72]; *KSA* 7, 660ff. It is curious, despite Nietzsche's clear consideration of Hegel here and his obvious concern about teleology in *HL*, that Nietzsche opted to focus on Hartmann and Strauss. For a thorough account of Nietzsche's relation to Hegel notwithstanding, see Djurić and Simon (1992); for insightful expositions of Nietzsche's critique of teleology, see also Gerhardt (1992), 29–47; Stegmaier (1997), 300–318; Ibañez-Noé (1997), 37–48; and Lipperheide (1999), 41–47.

[82] On Nietzsche's relationship with Marx, see Brobjer (2002), 298–313; and Caygill (2004), 195–209.

[83] Before these, Nietzsche had written a number of notes critical of the possibility of historical laws. See the reflections in his notebook from fall 1867–spring 1868; for but one example, "Historical laws don't

power of reason that clearly bore their stamp.[84] His effort to show the mythographic character of the New Testament's historiography of miracles, to show how the differences in historical interpretations of biblical stories rested on their author's level of rational awareness, was in equal measure decried by religious conservatives and lauded by the ranks of 'enlightened' progressivists. To Nietzsche's mind, however, the popularity of an author is rarely an indicator of quality. More often than not, popularity marks the author's appeal to what the common people consider culture, an affirmation of the everyday and the everyman. Little would excite the people more than a systematic defense of that which they already believe and value. And this, for Nietzsche, is precisely the appeal of Strauss, who thus embodies his derisive mantra: 'philistine.'[85] And what especially concerned Nietzsche was how Strauss's project was a justification of the present culture via an adaptation of the Hegelian teleological historiography. Strauss writes:

> Do not for a moment forget that you and all that you are aware of within and around you is no disconnected fragment [*zusammenhangloses Bruchstück*], no wild chaos of atoms and accidents, but that everything proceeds according to eternal laws [*ewigen Gesetzen*] out of the one primeval source of all life, all reason and all goodness – that is the acme [*Inbegriff*] of religion."[86]

For Strauss, with the smile of Dr. Pangloss, everything today is "for the best." Popular culture today is no accident, he promised, but a simultaneously rational and providential end that guarantees both the intellectual and moral rectitude of our contemporary values.[87] Against Strauss' philistine optimism, Nietzsche sarcastically pleads:

track onto the sphere of ethics. 'Progress' is no historical law at all, neither intellectual nor moral nor economic." *KGW* 1/4, 365. Reinhardt (1960), 298 attributes to Nietzsche's early work a bizarre sort of three-stage teleology, which is hardly defensible.

[84] Strauss had gone to study in Berlin with Hegel, but the latter died unexpectedly just after Strauss' arrival in 1831. The reigning Hegelians, especially Bruno Bauer, at the time sought to discredit Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet* (Tübingen, 1835–) in part for having misappropriated their master for the sake of publicity. Strauss responded with some concessions about the degree of his Hegelianism. Bauer continued his assault for decades notwithstanding. It was Bauer himself who encouraged Nietzsche's attack on Strauss nearly forty years later. Nietzsche recollects in *EH* that Bauer remained one of his "most attentive readers." *EH* "Untimely," 2; *KSA* 6, 317. For a comparison of Bauer and Nietzsche in the constellation of Hegelianism and Strauss, see Löwith (1964), 175ff, 303ff; Emden (2008), 50–53.

[85] Compared to Nietzsche's other writings, there has been a dearth of attention to the David Strauss essay. Among the few studies, see Pestalozzi (1988), 91–107; and Düsing (1988), 186–202. Both works stress Nietzsche's critique of Strauss from a cultural perspective, but neither pays much attention to Strauss' significance for Nietzsche's historiography.

[86] *DS* 7; *KSA* 1, 196.

[87] For a contemporary 'populist' argument of this sort, see Ankersmit (2001), 98.

> On the contrary, *Herr Magister*: an honest natural scientist believes that the world conforms unconditionally to laws, without however asserting anything as to the ethical or intellectual value of these laws: he would regard any such assertions as the extreme anthropomorphism of a reason unchecked by the bounds of the permitted [*einer nicht in den Schranken des Erlaubten sich haltenden Vernunft*].[88]

The epistemological viability of ascribing historical laws will be considered in the next chapter. For now, again, the concentration is on the psychological dynamic that would lead a historian to write the way he or she does. And because judgment is constituted by the affects, drives, instincts, and values of the historical judge, Nietzsche's critique of Strauss focuses on the roots of the tree, so to say, rather than Strauss's particular judgments. When it comes to teleological historiography, Nietzsche thinks there is some instinct to regard the present as the justification of historical events generally, a justification that behind every event there was a greater hand at work. We in the present day, with our values and our culture, are the fulfillment of the meaning of those events. And because of this, it is the task of historiography to show in what ways our present day is the necessary fulfillment of that long history. "[T]he sole proviso was that everything must remain as it was before, that nothing should at any price undermine the 'rational' ['*Vernünftigen*'] and the 'real' ['*Wirklichen*'], that is to say, the philistine."[89]

Those satisfied with the present culture, that which in Nietzsche's thought is so degenerate, are led by instinct to re-present their past as a continual process that justifies their kind of life.

> It was these same self-contented people who, with the same end in view of guaranteeing their own peace, took charge of history [*Geschichte*] and sought to transform every science which might be expected to disturb their complacency into an historical discipline, especially so in the case of philosophy and classical philology. Through historical awareness they saved themselves from enthusiasm – since history wasn't supposed to excite it any more.[90]

An even worse example of these self-contented people is the target of the latter chapters of *Nutzen und Nachteil*, Eduard von Hartmann. On the one hand adopting the Schopenhauerian conception of the unconscious

[88] *DS* 7; *KSA* 1, 197.
[89] *DS* 2; *KSA* 1, 170. An underrecognized influence on this point is Wilhelm Lang, "Besprechung von David Friedrich Strauß 'der alte und der neue Glaube,'" *Preußische Jahrbücher* 31[2] (1873), 211.
[90] *DS* 2; *KSA* 1, 169.

fundament of conscious action, and on the other hand embracing the Hegelian teleological view of history, Hartmann's global project is to reveal the "spiritual source" of the Unconscious in the purposiveness of nature.[91] Through the interaction of the divine hand within the unconscious of every individual and the natural material conditions and circumstances of a given epoch, history proceeds along its prescribed vector toward its prescribed ends. "What then is fate or providence [*Shicksal oder Vorsehung*] but the rule of the Unconscious, the historic instinct in the actions of mankind, as long as their conscious understanding is not mature enough to make the aims of history their own!"[92] All events, all progress, are thus prescribed in advance by the divine will, like a tacit playbook of life written in an individual's unconscious. And the individual's unconscious plan happily fits together with the evolution of history generally, as a sort of 'metaphysical unconscious.' For Hartmann, this explains both the mysterious culture-wide impulse that seemingly all at once causes the masses to migrate, go on crusades, or revolt against their leaders, and also the production of great pioneers or visionaries, who seem to "just appear at the right time and place to solve epochal problems."[93] As humankind over the spans of history recognizes to an increasingly conscious degree what those providential aims are, and discovers through its own powers of reflection how to accomplish them, its reliance on unconscious injunctions proportionately decreases. During its more rational era of development, humankind works consciously to accomplish what it was once only unconsciously driven to achieve. Thus, the age in which Hartmann found himself, because of its manifest dependence on conscious rational reflection over and above instinctual blind' willing, reveals itself to be the most complete articulation of the goals of the Divine Will.

> For the aims of the individual are always selfish, each one seeks only to further his own well-being, and if this conduces to the welfare of the whole, the merit is certainly not his [. . .] But the wonderful part of the matter is that even in the mind, which wills the bad but works the good, the results become, by combination of many selfish purposes, quite other than each

[91] Hartmann (1923) 1, 523. For Hartmann's relation to Nietzsche, see Jensen (2006), 41–61; J.-C. Wolf (2006); and Gardner (2010). The most important secondary source for Nietzsche's reading of Hartmann is Bahnsen (1872), which he borrowed from the University of Basel library twice, in February 1871 and April 1872. Nietzsche owned two other books by Bahnsen that informed his knowledge of historiography: *Beiträge zur Charakterologie* (1867) and *Der Widerspruch im Wissen und Wesen der Welt: Prinzip und Einzelbewährung der Realdialektik* (1882). His view of Hartmann was also influenced by Hans Vaihinger's *Hartmann, Dühring, und Lange* (1876).

[92] Hartmann (1923) 1, 343. [93] *Ibid.*, 329.

> individual had imagined, and that in the last resort they always conduce to the welfare of the whole, although the advantage is somewhat remote, and centuries of retrogression seem to contradict it.[94]

Just as for Hegel, all human activity for Hartmann works toward the fulfillment of the Absolute. The force of egoism and personal volition is dispelled for both as a mere means to justify ends humankind did not intend but cannot avoid. Whatever evils spring up despite the preponderance of conscious reflection and even those that arise because of it at the expense of unconscious instinct in this age are to be seen as necessary. As such, Hartmann admits that his is a thoroughly pessimistic view of human activity, one wherein the human being's only hope rests "in the final redemption from misery of volition and existence into the painlessness of non-being and non-willing."[95] And as the individual consciousness gains ever-more influence while unconscious motivations are further and further restrained, the task is to strip away the 'happy illusions' of free will and self-determination, leading unavoidably to despair in the conscious realization that the individual is nothing more than a cog in the *Weltprozess*: "man only has value, only has meaning, insofar as he is *a stone in a great building*."[96] The present, fully rational epoch is analogous to what is called 'ripe old-age,' a condition in which one's hopes and wishes are at last relinquished under the crushing yoke of an accepted futility before the demands of fate, the eventual recognition of the individual's powerlessness to will at all – a recognition that Nietzsche would characterize as, "*die volle Hingabe der Persönlichkeit an den Weltprozess* [the total sacrifice of individuality to the world-process]."[97]

Nietzsche thinks that by attributing a causal role in human affairs to some divine Metaphysical Unconscious which unfolds its ends throughout a historical process, Hartmann has not only effaced the influence of Schopenhauer, but has also reduced the individually objectified Will to nothing more than an arbitrary expression of the Metaphysical Unconscious. That is, the expression of individual Will does not actually affect history or culture in any period of world history, but merely expresses the unfolding of universal and already determined cultural, historical, philosophical, or even biological and environmental movements. The result of this, Nietzsche argues, is that for Hartmann there is nothing actual for the

[94] *Ibid.*, 323. [95] Nietzsche quotes this Hartmannian phrase at *HL* 9; *KSA* 1, 316.
[96] *FW* 356; *KSA* 3, 597.
[97] *HL* 9; *KSA* 1, 324. Nietzsche is quoting from Hartmann (1869), 638. Statements like this are why Janz plausibly thinks that Hartmann was one of the models for Nietzsche's characterization of the 'Last Man.' Janz (1978) 1, 563.

individual to press his Will upon, no goal that he can set for himself, in short, nothing left to do. Hence Nietzsche's critique:

> The time will come when one will prudently refrain from all constructions of the world-process or even of the history of humanity; a time when one will regard not the masses but individuals, who form a kind of bridge across the turbulent stream of becoming. These individuals do not carry forward any process but live ever-contemporaneously [*zeitlos-gleichzeitig*] with one another; thanks to history, which permits such a collaboration, they live as that 'Republic of Genius' of which Schopenhauer once spoke; one giant calls to another across the desert intervals of time and, undisturbed by the excited chattering dwarfs who creep about beneath them, the exalted spirit-dialogue [*Geistergespräch*] goes on. It is the task of history to be the mediator between them and thus to ever again inspire and lend the strength for the production of the great man. No, the goal of humanity [*das Ziel der Menschheit*] cannot lie in its end, but only in its highest exemplars [*Exemplaren*].[98]

Contrary to Hartmann, Nietzsche believes that history is to be told from the point of view of exemplars and not of the masses, that the greatness of antiquity is to be considered among the highest modes of civilization rather than as a merely curious preliminary step on the ladder of universal progress, that history is to be considered a bridge between exemplary individuals and not some goal-orientated process in whose outcome they play no meaningful role, and that whatever development can be ascribed to history is the result of the willful competition between individuals and not the unconscious will of God toward His divine ends.[99] On Nietzsche's view of history, the individual Will appears as a catalyst which through struggle with other competing Wills brings about the continuous alteration and fluctuation – but not always the betterment or advancement – of the forms of life. For Nietzsche the Will always seeks the increase of its own power, for Hartmann only its surrender to the Metaphysical Unconscious. As he says of Hartmann's conception of the Will, "Thus does it labor for the *extension of misery* [Verlängerung des Elends]: and indeed afterwards it understands that the entire Will is essential misery! Thus its advancement is either madness or else *evil* [Bosheit]."[100]

As he did with Strauss, Nietzsche searched for the 'historical sense' that leads Hartmann to these views, and believes he has located the roots of what

[98] *HL* 9; *KSA* 1, 317. [99] For a summary, see *HL* 9; *KSA* 1, 313.

[100] *NF* spring–summer 1883, 7[224]; *KSA* 10, 312. A later statement of Nietzsche's mirrors this attitude. "I hate this pessimism of sensibility. It itself is a sign of an impoverishment of life. I would not even allow such an emaciated monkey as von Hartmann to speak about 'philosophical pessimism.'" *NF* November 1887–March 1888, 11[61] (326); *KSA* 13, 30.

he calls the 'ironic self-awareness' of modernity in an unconscious remnant from the Christian belief in a purpose and *telos* in existence, an idea which leads man to wait upon the Last Judgment as the goal of life, "a religion which of all the hours of a man's life holds the last to be the most important."[101] Hartmann is a disciple of this religion, and with the feigned optimism of Hegelian historicity, which maintains that 'now' is as it should be and that (no matter how corrupt) all is 'now' the best that ever could be, Hartmann pronounces a 'cynical sentence' upon mankind. "Acerbic and profoundly serious reflection on the worthlessness of everything that has happened [*alles Geschehenen*], on a world ripe for the judge, is made volatile by the skeptical consciousness that it is at any rate good to know about everything that has happened [*alles Geschehene zu wissen*], because it is too late to do any better."[102] The danger of teleological historiography is cultural nihilism. "The Hartmannian goal is to lead humanity into *placidity* [Blasirtheit]: then, general suicide . . .! Then will the world capsize and sink further into the sea of nothingness."[103] In one of his final words on Hartmann, Nietzsche groups his theory of the Unconscious alongside Dühring's anti-Semitism as the two most invidious German poisons,[104] a sin against life itself – life, which is not the placid acceptance of a common fate but the struggle to fulfill one's own unique aims. "Is life not assessing, preferring, being unjust, being limited [*Begrenzt-sein*], wanting to be different?"[105]

In sum, Nietzsche has two distinct critiques of the 'historical sense.' On the one hand, scientific historians are overly consumed by the culturally meaningless 'objective' details of their study while failing to recognize its true importance as a preliminary step in the education of authentic individuals. Nineteenth-century teleologists, on the other, in interpreting the events of history as an aimed process whose goal turns out to be their own present age, either manifest a philistinism that justifies popular culture as rational and necessary or else fall into a nihilism which views individual willing as little more than a delusion. The 'historical sense' thus leads the modern man to pick his poison among stilted insignificance, philistinism, and nihilism.

These critiques give rise to sentiments of contemporary historians of historiography like Georg Iggers, who thinks Nietzsche "denied the

[101] *HL* 8; *KSA* 1, 304. I thank Christian Emden for pointing out to me the enlightening discussion of the intertwining of teleological history and Protestantism by Hölscher (1989).
[102] *HL* 8; *KSA* 1, 305. [103] *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[52]; *KSA* 7, 650.
[104] See *JGB* 204; *KSA* 11, 252; Cf. also *NF* April–June 1885, 34[207]; *KSA* 11, 492.
[105] See *JGB* 9, *KSA* 5, 22.

possibility as well as the utility of historical research and scholarly historiography;"[106] and Lionel Gossman, who claims that Nietzsche simply hated history and the historians who write it.[107] The great postmodern philosopher of history Hayden White claims, "Nietzsche hated history even more than he hated religion."[108] These are, obviously, quite wrong-headed portraits of Nietzsche's philosophy of history, for at least three reasons. First, as even Nietzsche's title makes clear, historiography can be advantageous or disadvantageous for life depending on how the historian employs it. If his discussions of the latter are more memorable, it is perhaps due more to their acerbity than to an absence of the former. Second, as we will see in Chapter 6, Nietzsche thinks historical sense – at least a healthy version of it – is absolutely essential to the sort of philosophical project he envisions. And third, for all his blustering against his forerunners and colleagues, Nietzsche looked with great respect on a number of historians whom he believed embodied a healthy psychological dynamic. To three of them we now turn.

Bachofen, Burckhardt, Overbeck

In 1869, the twenty-five-year-old Nietzsche delivered his inaugural address at the University of Basel, where he would work for the next decade with mixed success as a classical philologist.[109] His topic was one that had been discussed *ad nauseam* in the field over several decades, namely, the authorship of the two greatest works of classical literature, *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*. For the better part of 2,000 years, history had presumed that a single author had been the creator of both works, and that this author was named Homer. Nietzsche's ostensible task was to articulate something about the historical personality of this 'Homer.' The problem is, we know next to nothing about Homer that can be proven, determined, or demonstrated philologically. In fact, the very first scholar to have called himself a classical philologist, Friedrich August Wolf, made his reputation by challenging the unity of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and, beyond that, by denying any single person named Homer wrote either of them. Stylistically and

[106] Iggers (1997), 8. Cited in Brobjer (2007), 156.
[107] Gossman (2000), 434.
[108] H. White (1978), 32.
[109] For an informative recounting of Nietzsche's attitude toward the environment at Basel, see Emden (2008), 79–82, and in general Gossman (2000). While I do think Gossman overplays both Nietzsche's conservatism and his political fervor, his book contains a wealth of useful information about the historical context of Basel. On the context of Burckhardt and Bachofen in this section, I have consulted his book and also the fine treatment of Cesana (1998), 125–144.

syntactically, the two epics are simply not consistent with one another, or even internally consistent in terms of the composition of each work's composite parts. A philologist sees the inherent inconsistencies as one reason, among others, to think that there was more than one author of the works, and that they were perhaps written at different times. Wolf's thesis was that the authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was none other than the people of Greece, through a long, complicated, sometimes inconsistent, and largely anonymous rhapsodic tradition. The people, not anyone named Homer, 'wrote' those epics.

Nietzsche found this an intriguing philological position – from a psychological standpoint. In truth, there is as little positive evidence that the common people composed the books as there is of a single Homer. From a purely philological standpoint, there really is no 'solution' to the so-called 'Homeric Question.' The judgment to assign such a world-historical accomplishment to the common people reflects two non-philological presuppositions. The first is that groups are every bit as capable as great persons of creating truly great things. Nietzsche's psychological analysis of this presumption's general appeal in the academy is clear: "The masses have never experienced more flattering treatment than in thus having the laurel of genius set upon their empty heads. It was imagined that new shells were forming round a small kernel, so to speak, and that those pieces of popular poetry originated like avalanches, in the drift and flow of tradition."[110] The second presumption is that personalities are consistent. We instinctually want our historical personalities to be a unity, straightforward and easy to understand. We want to prove historically that this is what the person was, did, and that there is an understandable reason as to why they did what they did. But this is precisely what Nietzsche, in his inaugural address, thinks scientific historical research cannot demonstrate. "People now study biographical details, environment, acquaintances, contemporary events, and believe that by mixing all these ingredients together they will be able to manufacture the wished-for individuality. But they forget that the *punctum saliens*, the indefinable individual characteristics, can never be obtained from a compound of this nature."[111] The personality of Homer is not a historical argument, but what Nietzsche names an 'aesthetic judgment.' From out of the dynamic of psychological drives, instincts, and unconscious motivations, the historian engages in selecting and valuing, in highlighting, foregrounding, and orienting for a single perspective a single coherent portrait of personality. And this is precisely what is done with Homer.

[110] *KGW* II/1, 261. [111] *KGW* II/1, 262.

"Homer as the composer of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is not a historical tradition, but an *aesthetic judgment*."[112]

Although a neophyte in academic politics at the time of this address, Nietzsche, the 'untimely' 'wanderer' himself, had rather cleverly situated himself in the political, historical, and aesthetic leanings of his new time and place. For Basel, since the European upheavals of 1848, was a stronghold of anti-progressive, anti-egalitarian, anti-nationalistic political sentiment, a bastion of anti-scientistic fact-grubbing historiography, and an outspoken paladin of the aesthetic apprehension of culture as a formative step in human cultivation.[113] Basel was, in short, a neo-humanist challenge to the universities of Germany and a conservative entrenchment against its progressive 'barbarism.'[114] Those Nietzschean critiques of scientistic and teleological historiography we have already seen were in many ways anticipated by Basel's older generation: Bachofen and Burckhardt, and carried forth alongside Nietzsche by his close friend Franz Overbeck.

Johann Jacob Bachofen, who attended Nietzsche's inaugural lecture, was the elder statesman of the group, and was for some time along with his wife on quite friendly terms with Nietzsche.[115] And long before his junior colleague, Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1861) described the evolution of the civilized 'Winckelmannian' Greek culture as an 'Apollonian' phase coming out of an earlier and much darker 'Dionysian' phase.[116] The path by which the historian could reach such a conclusion was not travelled by picking apart elemental aspects of the past in the way of those critical philologists whom Nietzsche derided; for Bachofen, too, the historian must be constituted by a certain psychological dynamic, a properly aligned historical sense. Above all,

> [h]e must not let himself be ruled by the views of the nineteenth century, but must appropriate those of the Romans, and see with their eyes. [. . .] I reject

[112] *KGW* II/1, 263. [113] See Gossman (2000), 416.

[114] Contra Emden (2008), 81, where Nietzsche's profiting from the "unique intellectual atmosphere" at Basel is said to have been marked by three factors: a wealthy mercantile economy, a strict code of Protestant piety, and the neo-humanist ideal of *Bildung*. I agree with the third, but see little evidence that the first two would have been very attractive to Nietzsche.

[115] See Cesana (1994), 55–63. Though much older, Bachofen remained friendly with Nietzsche for most of the latter's time at Basel. Their falling out chiefly concerned Nietzsche's 'turn' in *Human all-too-Human*, and his increasingly vocal attacks on Christianity. See also the account of their relationship from the perspective of Bachofen's student, Bernoulli (1931).

[116] There are, however, important differences with Nietzsche's use of the terms. Foremost, there are four phases of the development of society for Bachofen: a nomadic and hedonistic 'Aphrodite' phase, a matriarchal phase in which the chthonic cults of Demeter flourished, a 'Dionysian' masculinization wherein violence is admixed into the orgiastic rites, and finally an 'Apollonian' phase that features civilized institutions and secular rites. See generally Bachofen (1861).

> so-called scientific criticism, which measures the life and deeds of a noble people, filled with the idea of God, by the decadent and corrupt views of a decadent and corrupt age . . . What would the Middle Ages of the German nation look like if their faith and their deeds were analyzed into dust by the modern spirit?[117]

And, like Nietzsche, Bachofen thought the Berlin and Leipzig schools of philology, and their 'historical-school' counterparts Mommsen and Niebuhr – those "wolves of the north"[118] – were to blame for the scientistic and anti-mythological tenor of modern historiography. This came into particularly clear focus during the heated debate between Mommsen and Bachofen on the foundations of Rome. For Bachofen, myth and religion, those power plays of the dark and irrational, were the genuine foundation of the empire. For Mommsen, Rome was a rational, objective unification of European tribes, a noble attempt at a curiously proto-Prussian globalization politics under the banner of a liberal constitutional monarchy.[119] This image Mommsen erected upon an utterly massive fundament of 'objective' evidence like archive records, official transcripts, and government transactions, which enabled him to produce an allegedly 'unbiased,' 'subject-free' representation of the past. But in doing so, he also cultivated a kind of ascetic ideal by trying to 'excise' the subjective element from their interpretations. Not only is this epistemologically impossible, as we will show in the next chapter, the 'objective ideal' of historiographical inquiry represents a symptom of psychological decay. Scientific historiography, for Nietzsche,

> inexorably interprets epochs, peoples, man, all with reference to this one goal, it allows no other construction [*Auslegung*], honors no other goal, and rejects, denies, affirms, confirms only with reference to *its* interpretation [*Interpretation*] (– and was there ever a more thought-out system of interpretation?) . . . all our modern *science* is witness to that – modern science which, as a genuine philosophy of reality [*Wirklichkeits-Philosophie*] obviously believes only in itself.[120]

Historical optimists such as Hartmann and Strauss, on the other hand, are little more than philistines. As Bachofen argues, "[t]hey propose to make antiquity intelligible by measuring it according to the popular ideas of our

[117] Bachofen (1943–1967) x, 107. Cited in translation by Gossman (2000), 154.
[118] Bachofen (1927), 94. The Baselers draft an overly scientific portrait of Mommsen, who himself believed "the writer of history belongs more to the artists than the race of scholars." Mommsen (1912), 11.
[119] See Mommsen (1843–1856); Gerlach and Bachofen (1851); Emden (2008), 83ff; and Gossman (1983).
[120] *GM* III, 23; *KSA* 5, 396. See also *GM* III, 26; *KSA* 5, 405ff.

present days. They only see themselves in the creations of the past."[121] The true historian for Bachofen and Nietzsche must look upon the past with the aim of fashioning himself into a noble image rather than furnishing for himself a comfortable career. The '*Brotgelerhte*,' a favorite term of Schopenhauer that is echoed first by Bachofen and later by Nietzsche, possesses the wrong spirit for making the proper use of the past.[122]

Jacob Burckhardt followed Bachofen's view of critical history as a necessary correction of romantic historiography and also as a potentially detrimental step in the development of an individual scholar and, eventually, in the development of culture. Burckhardt writes, in a way we have already seen Nietzsche echo, "Scholarship is exhausted by our contemporary historical and antiquarian literature; *we* by contrast advocate science as a means of cultivation and a source of joy throughout life."[123] The concern is not to report the past with an unattainable degree of objectivity, "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*," as Burckhardt's teacher and Nietzsche's fellow Schulpforta alumnus Leopold von Ranke demanded. Rather, "a single source happily chosen can," for Burckhardt, "do duty for a whole multitude of possible other sources, since he who is really determined to learn, that is, to become rich in spirit, can by a simple function of his mind, discern and feel the general in the particular."[124] In his desire to cultivate his sense for feeling the spirit of antiquity, Burckhardt reflected the influence of his other great teacher, who, as we saw, was the first to challenge the methods and aims of *Sprachphilologie*: the classicist August Boeckh. Nietzsche, the student of Ritschl, and representative of his master's attempt to bridge *Sprach-* and *Sachphilologie*, would become increasingly critical of the Hermannian school, as we have also seen, while working in proximity with Burckhardt.

Burckhardt was Bachofen's equal with respect to their shared pessimism about contemporary academic and political culture. But Burckhardt was more than a merely disgruntled observer of culture; he was, like the young Nietzsche, an anti-Hegelian disciple of Arthur Schopenhauer – so much so that his views "would never have been shaped without the philosophy of

[121] Bachofen (1943–1967) x, 508. Cited in translation in Gossman (2000), 157.

[122] While both contrasted a sickly modern culture with healthy ancient culture, Nietzsche's divergence from Bachofen concerned the latter's deep Christian convictions. "Truly serious historical inquiry," Bachofen wrote, "necessarily leads to the truth of Christian revelation." Bachofen (1943–1967) I, 364.

[123] Burckhardt (1930–1934) VIII, 8; see also Burckhardt (1975) V, 222. Nietzsche attended some of Burckhardt's lectures at Basel. They were subsequently published as Burckhardt's *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* (1878), which Nietzsche came to own. He also owned Burckhardt's *Der Cicerone*, 3 vols. (1869), and his *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1869).

[124] Burckhardt (1930–1934) VII, 15.

Schopenhauer"[125] – in two key ways. First, Burckhardt followed Schopenhauer's criticism of the mass-culture optimism of the German nationalist universities. While Burckhardt was less radical than Nietzsche,[126] especially concerning the value of sympathy,[127] they shared a general dislike of the leftist Hegelian vision of the state as protector and guarantor of culture, of the Marxist hope for egalitarian working conditions, and an endorsement of great individuals as the remedy for socialist cultural decay and of the value of conflict as a condition of cultural flourishing.[128] Nietzsche and Burckhardt both rejected the further spread of public education as a precursor to communism.[129] On the contrary, society should be ordered so that the great majority work for the advantage of a few great individuals who are by nature disposed to make genuine contributions to culture.[130] Such an individual must be, in Burckhardt's own words, a *freie Persönlichkeit*, a personality freed especially from service to any state or polity.[131] "*Singularity*, *Irreplaceability*. The great man is one without whom the world would seem to us incomplete, since only through him are certain great deeds possible in his age and surroundings, and without him are unthinkable."[132] Nietzsche's own elevation of the great man in his Basel years clearly ran counter to Schopenhauer's dissolution of the self in aesthetic and ethical ecstasy, as did his endorsement of aristocratic *Rangordnung* counter Wagner's liberal-anarchism. Burckhardt's influence was likely a key factor in both.[133]

The second debt to Schopenhauerian philosophy concerns the by-now-familiar notion of historical Ideas, which Burckhardt, too, incorporated into

[125] Ehrenberg (1946), 55. For the earliest and arguably still best account of the Nietzsche–Burckhardt–Schopenhauer trio on the forms of historical knowledge, see Cassirer (1906), Chapter 16.

[126] This has recently been a matter for some debate. The classical interpretation of Burckhardt as an anti-political neo-humanist *Altliberal* and Nietzsche as the radical aesthetizer of violence for the sake of culture was cultivated by A. Martin (1948), esp. 35–48; Kaegi (1947–1985); Ferguson (1948); Gossman (2000). Two recent works challenge that view by fashioning a Burckhardt who seems more politically motivated and a Nietzsche that seems less radical. See Flaig (2003), 7–39; and Sigurdson (2004), 198–219.

[127] Overbeck himself believed this was one of the main reasons for Burckhardt's persistent distance from Nietzsche. See Gossman (2000), 434.

[128] These and the following points are presented well in Ruehl (2003), 61–86; and his slightly reworked (2004), 79–97. For Burckhardt's influence on Nietzsche's conception of the agonistic character of the Greeks, see also Andler (1926), 96–102.

[129] See *NF* winter 1870–1871–autumn 1872, 8[57]; *KSA* 7, 243. See also Ruehl (2004), 89.

[130] See Löwith (1966), 31–4. [131] See Burckhardt (1997), 219–268. [132] Burckhardt (2000), 275.

[133] Contrary to Ruehl, whose thesis this is originally, I maintain that Nietzsche's interpretation of Greek culture, his education at Pforta, and his long admiration for Weimar Classicism already convinced him of this conservative aristocratism years before his acquaintance with Burckhardt. I agree wholly, though, that his proximity to Burckhardt sharpened these thoughts and was itself part of the reason for Nietzsche's relative acceptance in the hierarchy of the Basel old guard.

his development of historical typology.[134] Because, like Schopenhauer, Burckhardt believed that only the timeless and universal could attain to the level of truth, he explicitly sought to intuit that which was constant, universal, and typical from the welter of particular passing forms.[135] Burckhardt's masterly *Cultural History of Greece*, based on a series of lectures given during Nietzsche's tenure at Basel, aimed at presenting "*the history of Greek ways of thinking and intuiting* [griechischen Denkweise und Anschauungen], to strive for knowledge of the lively *powers* [Kräfte] of generation and corruption that were active in Greek life. Not narratively, but historically, and in the first place only insofar as their history constitutes a part of universal history have we observed the Greeks in their genuine environment."[136] That presentation cannot be achieved by scientific historiography, but by Anschauung.[137] And as such the true historian should not concern herself with the mindless repetition of every unearthable piece of data in emulation of those sciences for which the credibility of a theory depends upon the exhaustiveness of its evidence and uniformity of coherent results. "The singular," on the other hand, "the so-called event will only be mentioned as it bears witness to the general, not for its own sake."[138] To borrow a similar exhortation from Windelband, history should utilize those singulars only to present idiographic features of types. Similar to Windelband, too, for Burckhardt it is not the proper domain of history to prove or to demonstrate, much less to predict. Some facts simply are not worth knowing. Much more useful for its students would be a historiography that communicated an understanding or *Verstehen* about the general character of events and about the types of people who carried them out, or, in Windelband's words, history should only choose its objects in "relation to some high standard of value in life."[139] Typological history seeks to present personalities and tendencies that represent tangible models, some to display a healthy set of virtues and some to ward off certain unhealthy character traits. Like a judge in Hades, the historian "[h]ighlights those facts which can establish a genuine inner connection with our own spirit, and to

[134] Große (1997), Chapters 1 and 2 exhaustively outline Burckhardt's typology. See also Owen and Ridley (2000), 136–153; Richardson (1996), 63.

[135] The Schopenhauerian elements of Burckhardt's thinking did not go unnoticed by Wilamowitz, who with a similar vitriol declaimed, "This book does not exist for science." For the reception of Burckhardt's *The Cultural History of Greece*, see Gossman (2000), 307ff.

[136] Burckhardt (1930–34) VIII, 2. His emphasis.

[137] For a particularly explicit passage where Burckhardt endorses intuition in historiography, see his letter to Willibald Beyschlag of June 14, 1842. Buckhardt (1975), 1, 204.

[138] *Ibid.* [139] Windelband (1921), 205.

which we can relate in a real way either as a result of affinity or as a result of contrast and opposition. The rubbish is left aside."[140]

However true to the philosophy of Schopenhauer Burckhardt styled himself, his conception of the historian's ability to intuit common formal and typological patterns within the myriad variegations of historical personages was closer to Goethe's morphology than to Schopenhauer's *aesthetische Anschauung*.[141] For Goethe, the close observation of the biological development of organic objects, as much as the composition of the dramatic development of a literary character, allegedly reveals *Urphänomene*, the primary forms of the phenomenon which guide their inner development. In his dramatic works, Goethe sought to portray the *Steigerung* of typological characters like Werther, Tasso, or Goetz, whose development is not the alteration or transformation of character into something else but its 'intensification' over time. Burckhardt thought the historian's task ran parallel insofar as the careful study of historical documents would reveal common typological traits among great people, the course of whose development only intensified what was necessarily there from the start.[142] It was this Goethean quasi-phenomenological unfolding of an inner idea through a continuous focus on outward phenomenal qualities that Burckhardt considers the true work of the historian:

> in the end what is constant [*Konstante*] appears bigger and more important than the momentary, a quality appears greater and more instructive [*lehrreicher*] than a deed; since deeds are only singular expressions of its corresponding inner power which can bring itself forth new again. [. . .] But even if a reported deed didn't happen just *this way*, or even at all, the *Anschauung* embodies it as something that happened or expresses its happening in a determinate form of its worth through what is *typical* [Typische] of its representation; the entire Greek tradition abounds in works of this kind. The constant, which emerges from this typical representation, is perhaps the truest "real-content" [*"Realinhalt"*] of the ancient world, if not to say antiquity. Here we become familiar with the *eternal* Greeks; we become familiar with a form instead of some individuals facts.[143]

The reason typology is so preferable to critical historiography is that genuine truth, as the adequate expression of the inner unchanging nature of the world, lies beyond the transcendental conditions of intellection, namely,

[140] Burckhardt (1930–34) VIII, 6. [141] See Gay (1974), 178ff.
[142] The necessity of temporal change in the morphological apprehension of the *Urphaenomen* marks Goethe's, and for that matter Burckhardt's, distance from Schopenhauer's notion of supra-temporal Ideas.
[143] Burckhardt (1930–1934) VIII, 3ff.

space, time, and causality. Whether we can prove that such and such was the cause of event 'x,' whether we can accurately and precisely explicate when and where an event happened – these tasks pale in comparison to the value of an artful description that communicates the general and enduring spirit of the epochs and personalities under investigation. We saw already Nietzsche's attempt to construct an atemporal aesthetic view of 'the eternal essence of tragedy.' And in 1874s, *Schopenhauer als Erzieher*, as part of a critique of the 'historicizing' Hegelians, he endorses the Schopenhauer–Goethe–Burckhardt line explicitly:

> He who regards his life as no more than a point in the evolution of a race or of a state or of a science, and thus regards himself as belonging wholly to the history of becoming, has not understood the lesson set him by existence and will have to learn it over again. This eternal becoming is a lying puppet-play in beholding which man forgets himself, the actual distraction which disperses the individual to the four winds, the endless stupid game which the great child, time, plays before us and with us. That heroism of truthfulness [*Wahrhaftigkeit*] consists in one day ceasing to be the toy it plays with. In becoming [*Werden*] everything is hollow, deceptive, shallow and worthy of our contempt; the enigma which man is to resolve he can resolve only in being [*Sein*], in being just-so [*So*], and not otherwise, in the imperishable.[144]

Nietzsche and Burckhardt both believed, though Schopenhauer did not, that the proper study of history could reveal precisely that: typological traits within people, forms of personalities, and characteristics of epochs. As Burckhardt writes, "Our point of departure is the one and the only thing which lasts in history and is its only possible center: man, this suffering, striving and active being, as he is and was and will forever be."[145] And as Nietzsche echoes in his preface to his *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks*, composed during his years at Basel, "I am going to emphasize only that point of each of their systems which constitutes a piece of *Persönlichkeit* and hence belongs to that non-controvertible, non-discussable evidence which it is the task of history to preserve."[146] His assessment of the pre-Platonics is that they represent "pure types," which it is his task to explicate even if there is no positive evidence for typological portrayals of Parmenides

[144] *SE* 4; *KSA* 1, 374ff. [145] Burckhardt (1930–34) VIII, 3.

[146] *PTG* P; *KSA* 1, 801ff. In Volker Gerhardt's more individualistic picture, "The meaning of history is determined according to the 'goal of life.' Yet this goal is nothing determined universally. On the contrary, it is as diverse as individuals themselves." Gerhardt (1992), 41. I hold, on the contrary, that there are many more individuals than there are types for Nietzsche. If the word has any meaning, types themselves must be an aggregate of individuals who have sufficiently similar physiognomic drive-structures. See, for example, *M* 168; *KSA* 3, 150ff.

as a blood-sucking logical spider[147] or Heraclitus as the contemplative artist who stands "above and at the same time inside his work."[148] Of Socrates "it is enough to recognize in him a type of existence unheard of before him: the type of the *theoretical man*."[149] The post-Platonic philosophers represent mixed types, confused characters.[150] Throughout Nietzsche's later historiographical accounts one finds types like the 'democratic,' the 'priestly,' and the 'decadent.' And for both Burckhardt and Nietzsche at this time what was most worthy of being taken up by history was never the common or mundane types of people, but the type of the 'great man.'[151] For Burckhardt this mainly meant the leading figures of Renaissance Italy, while for Nietzsche, pre-Socratic Greeks appeared like giants calling to each other in the spirit of competition from atop high mountain peaks. Each thereby echoed Carlyle's dictum, "the history of the world . . . [i]s the biography of Great Men."[152]

Nietzsche considered Burckhardt one of his models of a 'healthy' historical judgment, both at Basel and throughout the rest of his sane life. "Where are the historians who can regard things without being led around by general nonsense [*Flausen*]? I know of only one, Burckhardt."[153] He believed Burckhardt was not only a friend, but someone who shared his general project. As late as the publication of *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche would write to his former colleague, "I know no one who shares with me as many presuppositions as you; it seems to me that you have had the same problems in view – that you are laboring with the same problems in a similar way, perhaps even more forcefully and deeply than I . . ."[154] Yet Nietzsche cuts a rather pathetic figure here. While Burckhardt was meticulously cordial and a model of patience throughout their years of association, well known is the arm's-length distance he simultaneously kept. Burckhardt's predominant fear was that Nietzsche never intended to sound out idols with a tuning fork, but to destroy them with a sledgehammer. Especially worrisome was that same letter's assumption that the two shared a conviction about the

[147] *PTG* 10; *KSA* 1, 844.
[148] *PTG* 7; *KSA* 1, 832. For a historical contextualization of Nietzsche's thinking about Heraclitus, see Jensen (2010), 55–62.
[149] *GT* 15; *KSA* 1, 98. [150] See, for examples, *PTG*, sections 2, 4, and 9.
[151] See Nietzsche to Gersdorff, November 7, 1870; *KSB* 3, 155. See also *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[52]; *KSA* 7, 649.
[152] Carlyle (1844), 17. Nietzsche would object pointedly to Carlyle's conception of the genius after his departure from Basel, repeatedly labeling him a 'scatterbrain'. See, for examples, *M* 298; *FW* 97; *JGB* 252.
[153] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[58]; *KSA* 8, 56. See also *GD* "Deutschen," 5; *KSA* 6, 107.
[154] Nietzsche to Burckhardt, September 22, 1886; *KSB* 7, 254.

social (as opposed to cultural) character of a project seeking the "*Vergrößerung* des Typus Mensch."[155] Clear is Burckhardt's discomfort, for example, following the publication of *Human all-too-Human*. "I have read and chewed through it [. . .] with new shock about the sheer abundance of your spirit. But it's well known that I've never been initiated in the temple of genuine thinking, but have amused myself throughout my life in the courts and halls of the Peribolus [*mich zeitlebens in Hof und Hallen des Peribolos ergoetzt*], where the picturesque in the widest sense of the word still reigns."[156] Burckhardt claims to lament that he couldn't come with Nietzsche on his path of spiritual development; in truth it is probably more accurate to say he didn't want to.[157]

Franz Overbeck, however, counts as one of the few who could remain friends with Nietzsche throughout his life. Arguably his companionship counts as the only one which endured in the face of genuine criticisms of Nietzsche's project.[158] Like his fellow Baslers, Overbeck thought historiography's purpose was to critique modern times by highlighting a select aspect of the past to hold up as a challenging counter-image and exhortation. As they each raged against different manifestations of the optimistic-progressive egalitarianism trumpeted by state-run cultural institutions, Overbeck focused on the increasingly institutionalized aspects of then-contemporary liberal theology. An atheist like Nietzsche, Overbeck also had sympathies with the culture-transforming power of early, pre-institutionalized Christian symbols and myths, and considered its transfiguration of Jewish beliefs the single most important cultural *Wende* in world history. In his *Ueber die Christlichkeit unserer heutigen Theologie* (1873), St. Paul's influence in synthesizing this Jewish revolutionary streak

[155] *Ibid*. Nietzsche's emphasis.

[156] Burckhardt to Nietzsche, April 5, 1879. Burckhardt (1975) VII, 25. A *Peribolos* is a walled enclosure within a Greek temple, whose function is akin to a cloister. The image is meant to contrast Burckhardt's historical 'piety' with Nietzsche's iconoclasm.

[157] There have been numerous biographical treatments of the relationship of Burckhardt and Nietzsche. Besides the sources already cited here and the standard biographical works on Nietzsche, see Salin (1948); Heller (1952), 51–69; Gilman (1987), 44–47; Large (2000), 3–23. Shortly before going to print, Emil Walter-Busch published a new treatment of the Nietzsche-Burckhardt relationship. See Walter-Busch (2012). Although I cannot do justice to it here, I will have the opportunity to publish a review of this work in a forthcoming volume of the *Nietzsche-Studien*.

[158] The standard biography of their relationship has long been Bernoulli (1908), on which I have relied here. See also Zweig (1919). For a more contemporary take, see Janz (1978), I, 358ff; Reibnitz (1994), 47–54. With reference to historiography and the genealogical method, see the excellent presentations of Sommer (1997, 2003). Nietzsche owned a number of Overbeck's writings about church history and historiography, including his *Ueber Entstehung der Recht einer rein historischen Betrachtung der Neutestamentlichen Schriften in der Theologie* (1871), *Ueber die Christlichkeit unserer heutigen Theologie. Streit- und Friedensschrift* (1873), and *Zur Geschichte des Kanons* (1880).

with established Roman customs, rites, and eventually laws is indicted as the first step toward what Christianity has degenerated into today: a mere spiritual rubber-stamp of modern liberal state-sponsored values and mores. And not only should Overbeck's view of Christianity ring similar to Nietzsche's admittedly more vitriolic and psychological critiques, the 'genealogical' manner of this development of contemporary Christian values should strike the reader of Overbeck as fundamentally similar to Nietzsche as well.[159] For in contradistinction to the teleologists, who see today's Christian institutions as a rational progression over, and as a clarification and more perfect expression of, what was nascent from the start, for Overbeck the history of the church follows no rational plan, but consists in a set of "palimpsestic overwritings of an original text that is no longer understood today."[160] Too many diverse cultural elements have been poured into modern Christian values for any hope for a coherent set of credos. The Church itself is a living, breathing organism with a vast and tortured history; even the attempt to codify its teachings into a single set of easy-to-remember slogans on the basis of what its 'true origins' were trivializes the tremendous historical development that gave rise to it. A genealogical historiography of the Christian value system will simultaneously expose the long history of those over-writings as a turbulent series of less-than-holy developments and suggest the paucity of today's values.[161]

Summarizing the Basel school's 'historical sense' in contradistinction to the 'scientific' school at Berlin, Overbeck writes, "Skepticism is the only proper attitude toward history because there is no certain knowledge."[162] The liberal reform the Berliners sought to build upon their historical 'demonstrations' must be viewed by equally skeptical eyes. This slogan is partly true for Nietzsche as well. But what marks Nietzsche as a philosopher of history and not just a cultural critic and no-saying skeptic about our knowledge of the past is precisely the two ways in which Overbeck's words are *only* true in part. First, as we have seen already and will continue to see in the next chapter, Nietzsche investigates philosophically and not just culturally why historiography is in the shoddy condition it is. That is, he tries to explicate not only the psychological but also the epistemological and logical

[159] See the helpful review of the relevant literature by Orsucci (2008), 413–432.

[160] The phrase is an especially apt description from Sommer (2003), 95.

[161] It should be noted, however, that Overbeck never went as far as Nietzsche in renouncing Christianity. He finds its contemporary institutionalization inimical, to be sure, but reserves hope that Christianity can continue to play a positive role in modern life. "Christianity tries to help us humans, and for that reason alone it deserves not to be despised by us, even if it does not in fact have the means to help us." Overbeck (1994–) IV, 212.

[162] Overbeck (1994–) IV, 402.

problems manifest in the historiography of his contemporaries. In this Nietzsche is clearly the greatest philosopher of history of the Basel school, though unarguably its least conventional historian. Second, Nietzsche attempts historical writings of his own that reflect those meta-historical convictions, two examples of which we will outline in Chapters 6 and 7. In this he is not a skeptic since he does maintain the truthfulness of his own historical judgments, even while denying the possibility of historical truth in the customary sense of a "correspondence with the real past." Accordingly, our next chapter will deal less with the history and context of Nietzsche's historiography and more with his meta-historical analyses of historical truth, objectivity, and explanation.

CHAPTER 5

Positivism and perspectivism

Nietzsche's critique of the nineteenth-century 'historical sense' and his worries about its consequences for culture dominate his writing about history and historians.[1] But there are also many passages that show how carefully Nietzsche thought about the epistemological and ontological issues within the philosophy of history. Whereas much of that cultural critique was common among his colleagues at Basel, his thoughts on these latter issues are more original and, in fact, bear more relevance for contemporary analytic philosophy of history. My effort in this chapter will be twofold. In the first three sections, I present Nietzsche's critique of the reigning meta-historical paradigm of his day – that of 'scientific' or 'positive' historiography – as it concerns the positivistic views of objectivity, description, and explanation. In the latter two sections, I offer a reconstruction of Nietzsche's own meta-historical paradigm as it concerns his original views of the possibility of representing historical objects and of the meaning of explanation.

Objectivity

Before presenting Nietzsche's critiques, let us first articulate exactly what 'scientific-history' meant.[2] In the nineteenth century the so called 'historical school' of Berlin aimed to stave off the influence of the teleological 'historicist' Hegelians and 'romantic' disciples of Herder. In the words of Wilhelm von Humboldt: "This search for final causes, even though it may be

[1] Among very many studies that focus almost exclusively on this aspect of Nietzsche's historiography, some of the more prominent are Schlechta (1958), 42–70; Reinhardt (1960), 296–309; Jähnig (1970), 223–236; Zuckert (1976), 55–82; Coe and Altman (2005–2006), 116–128.

[2] Nietzsche links history to science in the very first section of *Human all-too-Human*: "Historical philosophy, which can no longer be even conceived of as separate from the natural sciences." *MaM* 1, 1; *KSA* 2, 23. The context of the passage, however, makes clear that what Nietzsche means by science is not an epistemologically naive version of positivism (which we will sometimes designate as 'scientism'), but above all a naturalism which rejects beliefs in metaphysical 'essences' and 'powers,' as well as the employment of such anti-naturalist essences in explanatory schemas.

deduced from the essence of man and nature itself, distorts and falsifies every independent judgment."[3] B. G. Niebuhr, Theodor Mommsen, and above all Leopold von Ranke demanded that historiography emulate the models of natural science insofar as its interpretations were to be justified by objective and impartial evidence. To use Ranke's oft-parroted mantras, to write history objectively meant to "excise the subjective element," to present the past "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*."[4] Historiographical accounts should be "transparent windows on past states and events rather than colorful reconstructions of them."[5] Subjective intrusions that result in account selectivity, judgments about the morality of agents and their deeds, presumptions about human psychology, and the like not only diminish the scientific rigor of the field but inculcate dangerously value-laden and theory-laden judgments that ought to be below the historian's professional dignity.

Niebuhr, Ranke, and Mommsen criticized working historians for failing to write history objectively. And indeed, they had something to complain about. As astrology once passed for astronomy, what went under the name of historiography was often an assemblage of 'facts' about how things 'used to be' for the sake of peremptory endorsements of political or religious theses. Those 'facts' were gathered from various sources indiscriminately: here legends were passed down and embellished through generations, there folklore and superstition were accepted as credible witnesses. Friedrich Schiller, himself a professor of history at Jena, crafted his *Wilhelm Tell* with overt libertarian values, as an almost single-handed freedom-loving savior of the Swiss against the hated forces of statist tyranny. One could unfailingly distinguish the authors of European histories as being either Protestant or Catholic. Herder and Hegel, for their parts, were indicted for being more interested in making the past fit a particular scheme than in getting the details right. Eastern cultures, much less African, barely walk across the stage of history for Hegel since they evidently fail to recognize the necessity of rational freedom. In fact, in the generation of archival historians after Ranke – through figures like Overbeck's close friend Treitschke and Nietzsche's own teacher Heinrich von Sybel – historiography was intentionally and overtly marshaled for the sake of defending national liberalism,

[3] Humboldt ([1822] 1967), 63ff. Humboldt himself exerted considerable influence upon historical studies at the University of Berlin. However, he was never referred to directly by Nietzsche as possessing the failings of the 'Berlin school' of history.

[4] Ranke (1972), 57. There is presently a general sentiment among philosophers of history that Ranke never really meant subject-neutral objectivity in a strong sense. See Iggers (1962–1963, 1983). However correct Iggers may be, the traditional portrait of Ranke is the one with which Nietzsche would have been familiar and thus we shall continue to employ it here.

[5] Grafton (1999), 59. See also the famous formulation of Mandelbaum (1977), 146ff.

revealing prejudices, in turn an "anti-French stupidity, then anti-Jewish, then anti-Polish, then Christian-Romantic, then Wagnerian, then Teutonic, then Prussian (one sees here well enough these poor historians, this Sybel and Treitzchke [sic] and their fat bound heads)."[6] The historical school sought to overcome these value-intrusions by excising any teleological schema, and by researching only from 'objective' sources like state archives, with footnotes to prove that their results could be validated and that the experiment could be run again, so to speak, by anyone who cared to do so.[7] "Straightforward description," Humboldt insists, "is the very first and essential requirement of his calling and the highest thing that he can achieve. Looked at in this way, the historian seems only to be absorbing and repeating, not acting independently and creatively."[8]

It is an easy argument to show that reliance on 'objective' sources like state-run archives will rarely lead to 'objective' results, since few officials are unfailingly reliable.[9] The people who record official legal transactions are people just like everyone else, with their own biases and prejudices. For even the most stringently archive-reliant historians, those stalwarts of historiography's "noble neutrality,"[10] it is a case of "no bias, no book."[11] And Nietzsche realized this not simply as an unfortunate tendency of a few bad apples. "The foundation for the general esteem for antiquity is prejudices [*Vorurtheile*]."[12] "*Every consciousness consists in prejudices*. *His present* power rests on *those prejudices*, e.g., the high regard for *ratio*, as in Bentley and Hermann. Prejudices are, as Lichtenberg says, the artistic drives of men."[13] Because of this, "[t]he so-called objective writing of history [*Die objective genannte Geschichtsschreibung*] is nonsense: the objective historians are ruined or smug personalities [*vernichtete oder blasirte Persönlichkeiten*]."[14]

Paradoxically, the subjectivity of the historical positivists is so 'ruined' because they have spent their lives trying to excise the subjective element of interpretation from their historiography. Theirs is a faith in a real world outside themselves, and an ascetic attempt to remove themselves from the calculation of it.

[6] *JGB* 251; *KSA* 5, 192.
[7] In Ranke's words, "the foundations of the present writing, the origins of its subject matter are memoirs, diaries, letters, reports from embassies, and original narratives of eyewitnesses." Ranke ([1824] 1973), 136ff.
[8] Humboldt (1905) 1/4, 35. [9] Cf. Lorenz (2009), 393–403. [10] Sybel (1863), 343ff.
[11] An especially apt phrase of Michael Howard (1981), 1323. Cited in Ankersmit (2001), 100.
[12] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[45]; *KSA* 8, 52ff. [13] *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[87]; *KSA* 8, 63.
[14] *NF* summer–autumn 1873, 29[137]; *KSA* 7, 692.

> – Or did the whole of modern historiography take a more confident position regarding life and ideals? Its noblest claim nowadays is that it is a *mirror*, it rejects all teleology [*Teleologie*], it does not want to 'prove' [*'erweisen'*] anything any more; it scorns playing the judge, and shows good taste there, – it affirms as little as it denies, it asserts and 'describes' [*'beschreibt'*] . . . All this is ascetic to a high degree; but to an even higher degree it is *nihilistic*, make no mistake about it![15]

But like all variations of the ascetic ideal, the more they will to deny themselves in their activities, the more clearly is it revealed to what extent even that denial is the inextricable function of a tortuous psychological dynamic. "[T]he *compulsion* towards it, that unconditional will to truth [*unbedingte Wille zur Wahrheit*], is *faith in the ascetic ideal itself*, even if as an unconscious imperative."[16]

But Nietzsche's critique is more than mere finger-pointing at particularly biased historians. To the best of my knowledge, he was the first to argue that historians of necessity *must* fail to write history objectively due to the natures of experience and of subjectivity.[17] Sometime during his years at Basel, Nietzsche sensed the epistemic naivety of the belief that the historian re-presents the past as it really was in-itself as a detached or discontinuous reality apart from preexisting subjective frameworks of the historian. "It is only a superstition [*Aberglaube*] to say that the picture provided by the object to such people really shows the empirical essence of things. Or should it be that objects through their own activity copy, reprint, or photograph themselves on a pure passivity [*reinen Passivum*]!"[18]

Note how diametrically this opposes both his published philology's naive faith in representational realism as well as his aspiration to be able to gaze "*unmittelbar*" into the pure idea of tragedy itself in *The Birth of Tragedy*. His new critique of historiographical objectivity follows from his transformed view of thinking generally. The most fundamental aspect of that view, and that which marks an essential change from his earlier position, is that the act of thinking is always mediated, never immediate or self-grounding, and always follows as a result of more primal drives or urges that persist underneath the level of conscious thought. Just months after the *Birth*, he writes

[15] *GM* III, 26; *KSA* 5, 405ff. [16] *GM* III, 24; *KSA* 5, 400.

[17] William Dray is the most prominent contemporary philosopher of history to defend this view, though independently of Nietzsche. In general, see Dray (1980); see also Tucker (2009), 101.

[18] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 290. See also, *NF* fall 1867–spring 1868, 56[6]; *KGW* 1/4, 367: "The medium through which the historian looks is his own representations (and those of his time) and his sources." This note appears in a discussion of Ferdinand Baur. Nietzsche doesn't cite what he was reading, and I have been unable to determine whether this is Nietzsche's own thought at that time or a summary of Bauer. For a discussion, see Emden (2008), 50–53.

that thinking "is, in any case, something *artistic* [Künstlerisches], this generating of forms, by which it then happens in recollection [*Erinnerung*]: *it selects this form* [diese Form hebt sie heraus] and strengthens it thereby. Thinking is a selecting [*Herausheben*]."[19]

It is a curious fact that the factors which prevent the historian from writing with positivistic objectivity are precisely those that have been brought about by the process of history. We write, in a sense, from what we are, and what we are is a dynamic aggregate consequence of what we have been.[20] Thus, beyond the static rationalistic barrier erected by Kant, the rationalistic schema put into historical motion by Hegel and Marx, or the physiological conditions for the possibility of experience endorsed by Helmholtz and the early Neo-Kantians, Nietzsche advanced the view that no type of judgment can be free from the historically-instantiated dynamic of *psychological* drives, motivations, feelings, and intentions that actively constitute the authorial moves of the historian. We need not reduce the distortion to any particular one of these, and Nietzsche himself does not; instead, sometimes values, sometimes feelings, sometimes unconscious interpretive motivations will be tagged the interfering culprit, as a product of the particular history through which we are constituted as agents.[21] "Before a knowing [*ein Erkennen*] is possible, each of these drives [*Triebe*] must first have presented its one-sided view of the thing or event; underneath that occurs the fight among these one-sided views [*Einseitigkeiten*], and occasionally out of it a middle-ground, an appeasement [*Beruhigung*], a concession [*Rechtgeben*] to all three sides, a kind of justice and contract."[22] Historical representation is, as a species of thinking generally, not mere representation but an aggregate construction of *Gesamtbilden* derived from the historical conflict and historically temporary 'appeasement' of the psychological conditions that alone render the past a meaningful whole to the interpreter in the present.[23]

As Nietzsche writes in the *Gay Science*, "Your judgment [. . .] has a prehistory in your drives [*Trieben*], inclinations [*Neigungen*], disinclinations [*Abneigungen*], experiences [*Erfahrungen*], and non-experiences [*Nicht-Erfahrungen*]."[24] Besides what is listed here, he often enough talks about instincts [*Instinkte*], powers [*Mächte*], impulses [*Impulse*], stimulation

[19] *NF* summer 1872–beginning 1873, 19[78]; *KSA* 7, 445. The philosophical context of Nietzsche's epistemological turn has been well documented. Especially with respect to the above, see Helmholtz (1995), 76–95.
[20] See Richardson (2008), 91–96. [21] Contra Janaway (2007), 204. [22] *FW* 333; *KSA* 3, 558.
[23] Cf. *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 265: "The history of his city [. . .] becomes the history of himself."
[24] *FW* 335; *KSA* 3, 561.

[*Reiz*], passions, feelings, pathos, forces, affects, etc.[25] The precise differences and similarities among these, and how they function within Nietzsche's vision of epistemology, have been the subject of considerable debate. For our purposes we will typically refer to them summarily as drives, where drive means a relatively consistent tendency for one aspect of an organism to seek a particular end that defines it as a drive-for-something and an affect as a felt inclination for or aversion to what it has been driven to.[26]

Because the precise dynamic of drives is unique to every particular rational agent, the pervasiveness of these psychological intrusions renders the correspondential-realist criterion of objectivity impossible.[27] Experience is no clear mirror of the past, but a representation that springs from personal psychologically colored subjective factors. Therefore, like all judgment, historical judgment can never be free of the judge's personal perspective. "'*Objectivität des Historikers*' ist ein Unsinn," Nietzsche tells us, in the particular sense of having that by now familiar "*Interesseloses Anschauen*" on the real nature of the past.[28] Instead, what is allegedly "[*o*]*bjectiv Geschichte* is the quiet work of a dramaturge," a tangle of events whose actual plan is the function of their "*Kunsttrieb: nicht Wahrheitstrieb*."[29] The expression of these drives constitutes historical description. "The appropriation of *history* [Geschichte] under the direction of the impulses and drives [*der Reize und der Triebe*] – there is no 'objective history.'"[30] The judgments of historians – as with everyone else – cannot be objective in the sense of the positivist's subject-free disinterestedness but remain a product of their uniquely determined and fully 'interested' interpretive capacities.[31]

> Thus man spins his web over the past and subdues it, thus expresses his artistic drive [*Kunsttrieb*] – but not his truth-drive or justice-drive. Objectivity and justice [*Objectivität und Gerechtigkeit*] have nothing to do with one another. A historiography could be imagined which had in it not a drop of common empirical truth and yet could lay claim to the highest degree of that predicate objectivity.[32]

[25] Cf. Cox (1999), 126ff. See also van Tongeren (2003), 205–214.
[26] A similar definition is provided by Richardson (1996), 37. Thorough accounts can also be found in Brusotti (1997) and Reuter (2009). On the relation between subjectivity and thinking generally, see Clark (1998), 63–82.
[27] On this point, see especially Blondel (1990), 7–24.
[28] *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[96]; *KSA* 7, 673.
[29] *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[96]; *KSA* 7, 674. See also Müller-Lauter (1999), 193 n. 42.
[30] *NF* spring–summmer 1883, 7[268]; *KSA* 10, 323.
[31] What Nietzsche says about the judgment of philosophers would naturally hold for historians as well. See *JGB* 6; *KSA* 5, 20.
[32] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 290.

Nietzsche's critique of this Rankean-postivistic objectivity on the basis of a physiognomically-sensitive view of subjectivity has been echoed by a number of later thinkers. Indeed, it would be difficult today to find a philosopher of history who would doggedly maintain the subject-free view of objectivity. Thinkers like Popper, Nagel, and, more recently, Mary Fulbrook have come to the consensus that "nothing is simply given" in history.[33] Heidegger, too, in his elusive way, writes, "interpretation is grounded in *something we have in advance – in a fore-having*. As the appropriation of understanding, the interpretation operates in Being towards a totality of involvements which is already understood."[34] Or as Arthur Danto puts it, in a colorful inversion of Rankean objectity, "One does not go naked into the archives."[35] Nietzsche agrees. "Strictly speaking, there is no 'presuppositionless' science [*'voraussetzungslose' Wissenschaft*], the thought of such a thing is unthinkable, paralogical."[36] "Behind all logic . . . stand valuations [*Wertschätzungen*] or, stated more clearly, physiological requirements for the preservation of a particular type of life."[37]

To appreciate the originality of Nietzsche's position, however, it serves to compare it to the other great contemporary critic of 'subject-free' objectivity in historiography, the neo-Kantian Heinrich Rickert. In keeping with Kant's general contention that experience is nothing given as such, but an interaction between a sensuous manifold and mental mechanisms, Rickert maintained that any attempt to excise the subjective factor in historical judgment was impossible. What is added to the thing itself beyond the pure intuitions of space and time and the logical categories of the understanding is a dynamic of values which filters out, so to say, what is significant from the infinite welter of sensations. Logical concepts simplify and order reality, values distinguish the meaningful from the inessential. "The concrete meaning that is found in the real objects, as well as the historiographic principle of selection, lies not in the sphere of real being but in that of value, and it is from here that the connection between the individual value-related method and the meaningful material of historiography must be understood."[38]

Historians, for Rickert and for Nietzsche both, never report the past without the interference of values. What historians select from the near-infinite details of past occurrences is what interests them. And thus for both Rickert and Nietzsche subjective factors necessarily obfuscate those

[33] Fulbrook (2002), 25. For a discussion of these figures and a fine survey of views of historiographical objectivity, see Newall (2009).
[34] Heidegger (1962), 150. [35] Danto (1965), 101. [36] *GM* III, 24; *KSA* 5, 400.
[37] *JGB* 3; *KSA* 5, 17. [38] Rickert (1924), 70.

'transparent windows' of a subject-free sense of objectivity. But what would then prevent one from slipping into a purely personal, prejudiced, slanted, or biased reconstruction of the past?[39] In order to maintain the intersubjective compulsion of admittedly subjectivity-laden historical judgments, Rickert insists on the universal character of the subjective factors. Just as for Kant, the intersubjective compulsion of normative judgments rests on the universal character of pure practical reason; only since values constitute historical judgment, so must those values be universal if a historical judgment would compel assent intersubjectively. "The fact that cultural values are universal in this sense is what keeps concept formation in the historical sciences from being altogether arbitrary and thus constitutes the primary basis of its 'objectivity.' What is historically essential must be important not only for this or that particular historian, but for all."[40]

For Nietzsche, on the contrary, the values that various types of historians employ – what they desire the past to be either at a conscious or unconscious level – are often fundamentally different. In the nineteenth century historians were mostly divided between Catholic and Protestant, between progressive liberal egalitarian and conservative aristocratic, between those who thought the unification of Germany under Bismarck was the dawn of a new era of prosperity and those, like Nietzsche, who didn't. Even if there was some rough similarity in values, one could make the case that they only appeared so because the people writing histories were most often Western, Caucasian, upper-middle-class, university-educated, Christian males. The greatly expanded demographic of historians since the late twentieth century brought with it a corresponding widening of both possible topics and of the perspectives from which and to which those topics were addressed. If this has proven anything, it is that a universally shared set of values simply does not exist among historians, or among the people about whom historians write. Nietzsche is thus more in keeping with contemporary historiography than Rickert insofar as he recognizes at least a portion of the value-diversity that lies behind historiographical accounts. "What is history other than an unending struggle of different and countless interests for their existence?"[41] And although it is unlikely he knew it, Wilhelm Dilthey, brother of the young Nietzsche's philological associate Carl,[42]

[39] Leon Goldstein made popular what is today known as historiographical constructivism in a way that recapitulates both Nietzsche's and Rickert's general positions here. See Goldstein (1976), Chapters 1–3.

[40] Rickert (1962), 97. Both passages from Rickert are cited from the fine study of Bambach (2009), 482.

[41] *NF* fall 1867–spring 1868, 56[7]; *KGW* 1/4, 368.

[42] There is a further biographical connection between Dilthey and Nietzsche. The young Dilthey had been appointed chair in the philosophy department at Basel in 1866. He left that post for Kiel in 1868, thus missing Nietzsche's appointment by a matter of months.

thus stands in Nietzsche's debt when he wonders, "How are we to overcome the difficulty that everywhere weighs upon the human sciences of deriving universally valid propositions from inner experiences that are so personally limited, so indeterminate, so compacted and resistant to analysis?"[43] Indeed, Dilthey unknowingly followed Nietzsche in recognizing that the hermeneutics of history required a psychological understanding of the diverse forms of mental and active life as a perspectival framework in which the historian's judgments are presented.

But if Nietzsche rejects the positivistic subject-free ideal of objectivity and also the neo-Kantian universalist notion of objectivity, it would seem that he rejects objectivity altogether. This need not be the case logically since there are more than just these two alternatives. And we saw plainly in the last chapter that Nietzsche criticized some types of interpreters for their lack of objectivity and praised others precisely for their objectivity. Burckhardt, for example, won Nietzsche's approbation for not being biased by "stupid theories." This is a claim neither that Burckhardt was capable of a subject-free observation of the past nor that the values that lay behind or underneath his interpretation could claim universal acceptance. Given that Burckhardt himself endorsed an aesthetically selective mode of historical judgment and given that his own value judgments were hardly universally accepted, neither of these alternative definitions of objectivity would seem remotely plausible. The difference between the objectivity of Burckhardt's claims and that of both the critical philologists and the teleologists resides in the fact that, according to Nietzsche, his were not, in a word, 'stupid.'

What Nietzsche has in mind is, again, more serious than mere name-calling. For Nietzsche, I contend, objectivity means the intersubjective agreement about judgments from within a specific type. Such a definition sacrifices any universal or non-subjective character of objectivity, true. It instead opts for a relational notion wherein the distortive character of the affective component of judgments is neutralized among those judges who share a similar set of affects. This is the meaning of his famous pronouncement about objectivity in *The Genealogy of Morals*: "the more eyes, different eyes we learn to set upon the same object, the more complete will be our 'concept' of this thing, the more 'objective.'"[44]

Consider the example of an object seen through two media. Imagine that two agents, 'x' and 'y,' look at a cube. 'X' does so through the air,

[43] Dilthey (1914–1990) VI, 107. See also Ermath (1978); and Owensby (1994).
[44] *GM* III, 12; *KSA* 5, 365.

while 'y,' submerged in a tank, does so through water. Irrespective of what the other senses tell us the object must 'be' independent of how it appears visually, we ask 'x' and 'y' to describe how the edges of the object look. 'X' will say 'straight' of course, whereas 'y,' if honest, will answer 'wavy.' We say that 'y' is seeing things wrongly because his vision is distorted by the water, that there is a subjective interference that burdens 'y' but not 'x.' Of course this is naive, for in obvious point of fact the vision of 'x' is equally distorted by the medium of air through which she looks. The two reasons we typically offer in order to claim that only 'x' has an objective judgment are, first, that we as viewers far more typically look at objects through the air than through water. The water-perspective is unusual; we are not accustomed to it; we do not share in the presumption of that particular distortion. The second is that we believe we can confirm the correctness of 'x' by appeal to other senses, most notably touch. 'Y' is considered distorted because our sense of touch disconfirms her claim about wavy edges. But when it comes to the distortive affects of the mind that render judgments about history subjectivity-laden, we have no extra-mental capacity by which we can evaluate the traces of the past within evidence. There exists no account of the past that was not constructed by a mind, a human mind that for Nietzsche is constituted by its subjective affectivity. There is not an infinity of different ways of viewing the phenomenon in question, but a rough set of types who tend to judge in ways befitting their at least roughly typical subjective facticities. Like an atheist and a Christian each telling the other their political views are biased by their values, Nietzsche thinks judgments are considered biased by a type insofar as those judgments cut against what that type is already predisposed to accept, or else are considered objective only insofar as they accord a given type's predispositions about what sorts of judgments to accept. So while we should expect same types to agree on the 'objective correctness' of same-type interpretations, there is no logically justifiable way of verifying the objectivity of a judgment independently – no canonical 'sense of touch,' as it were – by which we can separate the subjectively distorted from the objective.

The objectivity of a judgment is thus not about some thing in the world, but a way of considering the psychological attitude that gives rise to it. We consider a judgment objective when we are accustomed to it; we anticipate its correctness because we share the basic presuppositions by which it was generated; we share those presuppositions because our type of life leads us unconsciously to hold them. The "more eyes" that become convinced to interpret a phenomenon in a single way – like the near-universal tendency

to see objects through the medium of air – the more "objective" will that way of seeing be considered.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the particular historical judgments of Hartmann and Strauss, or Sybel and Treitschke, or Mommsen, Bergk, and Welcker, or Jahn and Wilamowitz, are often not the focus of Nietzsche's attacks. They themselves represent various forms of degenerate types insofar as those judgments are a product of predispositions that cut counter to the predispositions of Nietzsche and those who – like Burckhardt, Bachofen, Ritschl, Overbeck, Rohde, etc. – he believes share his own "healthy" predispositions. They are the ones with clear vision, not because they exist as some magical exceptions to the character of human subjectivity; but because they, too, see through a medium whose distortion is canceled out by the like-type characteristic distortions of Nietzsche himself.[45] If this is how Nietzsche thinks of objectivity, then it is false to think that Nietzsche rejects the possibility and value of objectivity altogether. Nietzsche in fact endorses objectivity – despite his objections to the positivist and neo-Kantian definitions of it – as a standard of relational rather than absolute evaluation.

Description

The truth of a historical description, in the most commonsense meaning in Nietzsche's day and our own, is its accurate correspondence with the past as it really was. Yet even apart from the necessary prejudice that colors every account, Nietzsche thinks that our propositions generally and our historiographical propositions specifically are of such a character that they can never adequate to the way the past really was.[46] There are at least two dominant strands by which Nietzsche reaches this conclusion, and both concern the ontology of the past which the historian is to describe. First, because the actual occurrences of history are far too complex to ever be exhausted in writing, historiography will always abbreviate and summarize rather than re-present the events of the past. Second, because the actual structure and continuity of those events never actually existed in the empirically observable world, every descriptive story told about the past will distort the events

[45] Nietzsche never states this *per se*, though the attribution seems to fit with Nietzsche's usage. The historians he labels 'objective' are the same ones that he tends to think of as having a 'healthy' type of life. And I see no exception to this rule, no case where he criticizes the person of a historian while nevertheless naming their judgment 'objective.'

[46] With respect to true description generally, the argument was first put forth by Clark (1990a), 83. For similar views see Anderson (1996), 307–341; Green (2002), 29–32; Hussain (2004), 326–368.

in-themselves. One can find statements in Nietzsche's corpus that would seem to support both of these contentions.[47] For example, "all becoming conscious involves a great and thorough corruption [*Verderbniss*], falsification [*Fälschung*], superficialization [*Veroberflächlichung*], and generalization [*Generalisation*]."[48]

Let us examine the first argument, a claim about ontological overcomplexity which Nietzsche held since his reading of the post-Kantian naturalists, especially Hermann Ludwig von Helmholtz,[49] Friedrich Albert Lange,[50] Johann Zöllner,[51] Gustav Gerber,[52] and later the empirio-positivist Ernst Mach.[53] In the unfinished and unpublished "On Truth and Lies in an Extra-Moral Sense" (1873), Nietzsche's aim is to demonstrate that human language does not directly correspond to things as they are in themselves, and, further, to deny that human experience has access into the world as it stands outside our experience of it. *Anschauung*, though used differently from the Schopenhauerian-mystical employment in *The Birth of Tragedy*,[54] is again the key term. The production of what Nietzsche calls *Anschauungsmetaphern* or *anschaulich Metaphern* operates on two levels.[55] On the first, the act of translation is the operation by which the world's material effect on our sense organs comes to be construed as a coherent mental representation in accordance with our epistemic and psychological facticities – the Kantian categories on the one hand, and, on the other, the entire dynamic of pre-conceptual drives considered physiognomically.[56]

[47] Anderson (2005), 213 offers a relatively exhaustive list of passages in this respect.

[48] *FW* 354; *KSA* 3, 593. See also *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 290; and *NF* spring 1888, 14[122]; *KSA* 13, 301ff. For a discussion of the falsification of language specifically with reference to the character of becoming, see Dries (2008b), 121–128.

[49] See for example Helmholtz ([1867] 1962) III, 12ff.

[50] See Lange (1873–1875) II, 408–409, and 430–431. For Lange's influence on Nietzsche, see Salaquarda (1978), 236–260 and (1979), 133–160; Stack (1983); and Breazeale (1989), 91–103. For an enthusiastic early endorsement of Lange's position, see Nietzsche to Carl von Gersdorff, end of August, 1866; *KSB* 2, 160.

[51] Cf. Zöllner (1872), 362.

[52] Cf. Gerber (1885) I, 260, and 326–327. On Nietzsche's relation to Gerber, see Meijers (1988), 369–390. For an overview of Nietzsche's reading and interpretation of the post-Kantian natural scientists, see Schlechta and Anders (1962), 60–167; Orsucci (1992), 167–219; and Emden (2005), 91–99. Helpful, too, are the fine collections of Djurić and Simon (1986); and of Brobjer and Moore (2004).

[53] See Mach (1886); and again for Mach's influence see Hussain (2004), 344–355.

[54] While Nietzsche describes this perceptual function in naturalistic terms that are a far cry from his published mysticism in *The Birth of Tragedy*, there is still a definite aesthetic coloration. See *NF* summer 1872–beginning 1873, 19[78]; *KSA* 7, 445; *NF* summer 1872–beginning 1873, 19[54]; *KSA* 7, 437: "The chemical transformations in inorganic nature are maybe even artistic processes, to name the 'imitative roles' which a power plays: but there is more! They themselves can play." Emden (2005), 88–123 is particularly acute on the aesthetic aspects of thinking.

[55] *WL* 1; *KSA* 1, 881–883. [56] *WL* 1; *KSA* 1, 881. See also Cox (1999), 67ff.

The transference from nerve stimulus to mental image takes place underneath conscious volition and yet remains tied to the psyche of the subject. On the second level, the mental image is imitated to form an articulated sound. When those sounds are formed into words, they are then subject to being judged 'true' or 'false' under the rules of established linguistic practices within the particular society in which they are generated. But as a sound cannot wholly and perfectly represent an image, since it is always filtered through that subjective facticity, we cannot assert any direct correspondence between that image and that sound other than a 'metaphorical' translation between the two domains.

While every idea in the mind is presented to it originally as a sensory experience, the act of experiencing and the process of transforming those experiences into mental images is too complex, for Nietzsche, to allow for any straightforward one-to-one correspondential description of the world as it actually does impact the senses.[57] The 'clever animals' forget that these words hold no correspondential relation with the world-itself, and perhaps that is necessarily so for the sake of designating the constituents of reality in a meaningful way that enables them to get on with the business of life.[58] Inconvenient truths are typically ignored when presented alongside convenient illusions.

Words themselves are intended to be referential; the objects of reference, however, cannot be adequately represented by the word insofar as they are too complex.[59] Nevertheless, structured linguistic utterances can be 'meaningful' in the sense that they garner assent as an appropriately arranged group of interpretable meanings. They tend to be considered 'objective,' according to our earlier definition, when they are presented in the company of sufficiently like-typed judges. Concepts and words are abbreviated designatory *symbols* that can be used in all sorts of useful ways, though they cannot be presumed to reflect the character of reality.[60] Nietzsche writes in 1880, "A thought, no less than a word, is only a symbol: one cannot speak of a congruity between the thought and the real. The real is some kind of drive-movement."[61] And in an 1885 note, he elaborates:

> A sentence such as "two things that are identical to a third are identical to each other" presupposes 1) things 2) identities: neither exist. But with this

[57] *NF* Winter 1872–1873, 23[13]; *KSA* 7, 543. [58] *WL* 1; KSA 1, 883. [59] *WL* 1; *KSA* 1, 879ff.

[60] Nietzsche thus stands particularly close to Mach's position on the symbolic 'economy' of mental representation. See Mach (1886), 1–24. I agree with Brobjer that Nietzsche's reading of Mach marks an important but overlooked connection with critical positivism. Cf. Brobjer (2008), 92ff.

[61] *NF* 1880, 6[253]; *KSA* 9, 263. Compare Helmholtz: "Our ideas of things *cannot* be anything but symbols, natural signs for things which we learn how to use in order to regulate our movements and actions." Helmholtz ([1867] 1962) III, 19.

> invented [*erfundenen*] rigid concept- and number-world man gains a means to grasp a huge quantity of facts with symbols [*Zeichen*] and imprint them in memory. This symbol-apparatus [*Zeichen-Apparat*] is his superiority precisely because it distances him as far as possible from the individual facts. The reduction of experiences to *symbols* [Zeichen], and the increasing quantity of things which can thereby be grasped, is his *highest power*. The mental is the ability to be master through symbols [*Zeichen*] of a huge quantity of facts. *This mental world, this symbol-world, is sheer 'appearance and deception'* ['Schein und Trug'], just as every 'thing of appearance' already is.[62]

Nietzsche's view has obvious historiographical ramifications. When a historian, say Winckelmann, attempts to articulate the character of Greek antiquity there arises the need for a certain leap since there exist no simple descriptive 'facts' that can once and for all yield to posterity the secret of 'the inner nature of Greek antiquity.' Instead of describing with perfect accuracy every individual experientially available aspect of ancient Greece, a description which genuinely would, were it possible, correspond to the true nature of the past, Winckelmann can only abbreviate and collate this incredibly diverse welter of experience. In place of a perfectly accurate description, he offers a meaningful symbol: '*griechischer Heiterkeit*.' His characterization is no accurate correspondential description, nor could it have been, but a two-step artistic construction: one from stimulus to image, the other from image to world view. For that matter, neither is Nietzsche's characterization of pre-Socratic Greek society as 'agonistic' or his claims in the *Genealogy* that the 'ascetic priests are (all) like this' or that 'Jewish morality is (all) like that' a correspondential record of his myriad experiences with the evidence. Indeed any historian's cache of technical terms – 'revolution,' 'migration,' 'working-class,' 'emperor' – are cases wherein a single word is to stand as an ideographic designation for a complex, diverse, and non-identical set of features. Caesar and Alexander are identified as 'emperors,' though it is a gross imprecision to believe that the term actually designates an identical set of qualities that both possessed. The designations provided by the historian are therefore symbols rather than correspondential references.[63] In a lengthy reflection on the lack of historical sense of traditional philosophers, Nietzsche writes precisely this.

[62] *NF* April–June 1885, 34[131]; *KSA* 11, 464. According to Brobjer, this passage is a summary of an argument by Drossbach (1884), who was an important source for Nietzsche's understanding of anti-realist causality. See Brobjer (2008), 227. For further discussion of Drossbach, see also Schmidt (1988), 465–477.

[63] There are two exemplary philosophical applications of Nietzsche's theory of symbols, whose interpretive disagreements are beyond our scope: Abel (1999, 2004), and Stegmaier (2008). With specific reference to historiographical judgment, see Simon (1995), 72–104.

> [T]hinking, with respect to the perception of a thing, circumscribes a row of symbols [*Zeichen*], which presents the memory to him and seeks for similarities; while the person with some similar symbols [*einem ähnlichen Zeichen*] sets down, holds, *grasps* [ergreifen] the thing as 'known': but he thereby even means he has *conceptualized* it [begreifen]. Grasping and holding [*Das Greifen und Fassen*], the appropriation comes to mean for him a knowing [*Erkennen*], a final knowing; for a long time, the words of human language seem not to be symbols but truths [*nicht Zeichen sondern Wahrheiten*] in reference to their designated things – and still do to people today.[64]

The second strand of argument Nietzsche employs to deny the correspondence of historical descriptions to the world involves the conceptual structures historians impose on the raw data they are trying to describe.

> [O]ne should use 'cause' and 'effect' only as pure *concepts* [Begriffe], which is to say, as conventional fictions for the purpose of description and communication, but *not* explanation [*Erklärung*]. For the 'in-itself' there is nothing at all like 'causal association,' 'necessity,' or 'psychological un-freedom,' since the 'effect' does *not* follow 'from the cause,' no 'law' rules over it.[65]

According to Nietzsche, the various explanatory structures historians utilize in the course of their accounts are nothing to be found in the world. They are mind-centered interpolations. Insofar as no 'because,' 'since,' 'as a result of,' 'generated,' 'led to,' 'prevented,' etc. have ever been found by an archeologist alongside the artifacts they dig up, those temporal links of which the writing of history is largely constituted cannot be considered 'in' history itself. Claims that historical events are the 'result' of some policy, that unpopularity 'caused' the downfall of the leader, that a speech 'inevitably led' to a mobilization of enemy troops, etc., all involve associations that cannot be found anywhere in the world other than in the mind of the historian. As Michael Oakeshott would later agree, "Historical events are themselves circumstantial convergencies of antecedent historical events; what they are is how they came to be woven."[66]

But here arises an immediate problem for any reader of Nietzsche. It is apparent that Nietzsche himself employs fully-structured historical accounts in all sorts of ways. How values like 'good' and 'evil' become instantiated over time, how we come to believe in free will, truth, metaphysical beings,

[64] *NF* June–July 1885, 38[14]; *KSA* 11, 614.
[65] *JGB* 21; *KSA* 5, 36. Malwida von Meysenbug claims to remember a conversation with Nietzsche in which he denied the possibility of causality outright. See Meysenbug (1922) II, 246. Cited in Small (2005), 119.
[66] Oakeshott (1999), 73.

how modern political institutions evolve – all of these and a good many others are immediately recognizable as historical structures that Nietzsche claims to have discovered in the past. And these myriad historical discoveries seem to plainly contradict his meta-historical demand that we recognize the intrinsically constructive nature of historical structures. Is Nietzsche hypocritical in describing what he claims are real states of affairs despite arguing that there can be no realist descriptions due to the 'over-complexity' and 'structural' objections? Or is he composing historical arguments while mindlessly ignoring the logical consequences of his own meta-history?

Explanation

The last of the three major concerns of 'scientific' historiography, alongside objectivity and description, was the development of a theory of explanation.[67] John Stuart Mill, exemplary in this respect, denied that there was any methodological distinction in the explanatory schemas between the natural sciences and those that, like history, study the mind and its manifestations in action.[68] Though due to their intricacy the latter are less exact, both aim at the prediction of future events and subsume particular events under general laws.

> But the uniformities of co-existence obtaining among phenomena which are effects of causes must (as we have so often observed) be corollaries from the laws of causation by which these phenomena are really determined. [. . .] The fundamental problem, therefore, of the social science, is to find the laws according to which any state of society produces the states which succeed it and take its place. This opens the great and vexed question of the progressiveness of man and society; an idea involved in every just conception of social phenomena as the subject of a science.[69]

As H.T. Buckle, author of the monumental *History of Civilization in England*, whom Nietzsche considered a key representative of scientific historiography,[70] once wrote, "I have long been convinced that the progress

[67] For a more thorough account of historiographical explanation, see Jensen (2008b), 401–410. An alternative account is Jähnig (1970), 223–236.

[68] Although little attention has been paid to Mill, he is one of the important sources for Nietzsche's critique of Comtean positivism in the early 1880s.

[69] Mill ([1843] 1874), 631.

[70] Nietzsche owned David Asher's translation of Buckle (1867). Nietzsche also construed Buckle's vision of a scientific historiography along the same cultural lines as he did the scientific historians we discussed in the previous chapter. "Buckle; the *plebeianism* of the modern spirit . . ." *GM* 1, 4; *KSA* 5, 262. But what interests us here are the epistemological facets of scientific history. And in this respect, he names Buckle his 'strongest antagonist.' Nietzsche to Köselitz, May 20, 1887; *KSB* 8, 79.

of every people is regulated by principles – or, as they are called, Laws – as regular as those which govern the physical world."[71] For Buckle, history consisted in the attempt to explain historical events by deduction under regular laws, not simply a chronicle of one fact after another. The status of those laws, however, was not easily characterized. Before him, Herder 'felt himself into' (*einfühlen*) the laws that move historical peoples and cultures by means of the empathy generated from the historian's reflections upon his own psychological development. Hegel saw the progressive unfolding of absolute Geist as the law ruling the unfolding of successive historical epochs. And Marx presented the past and future development of human society in terms of the laws of the evolution of class and economic structures. Apart from these theorists, practicing disciples of Auguste Comte's 1844 *Discours sur l'Esprit positif*[72] sought not to discover such grandiose laws as much as to assume and apply the laws generated by fields whose proper concern it was to discover them. Sociology, economics, and empirical psychology were viewed as having provided laws by which historians could explain the behaviors of historical agents and predict, at least to some degree, how other agents would behave given sufficiently similar conditions. "I shall bring factual proof," Comte wrote in conviction of the methodological identity of the sciences, "that there are just as definite laws for the development of the human race as there are for the fall of a stone."[73]

In this respect, historical explanation mimics the scientific insofar as it attempts to deduce and predict the occurrence of particular events from general laws.[74] And such confidence persisted beyond the nineteenth century. In the words of J. B. Bury, "though she may supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, [history] is a science, no less and no more."[75] From E. H. Carr we hear: "the study of history is a study of

[71] Semmel (1976), 373.

[72] Nietzsche's reading of Comte is likely indirect, filtered probably through Mill (1869–1875), 89–141. Nietzsche did own Comte (1880), but made no textual annotations. See Brobjer (2008), 245. See also Emden (2008), 247 n. 45.

[73] Cited in Lévy-Bruhl (1905), 270.

[74] I use 'scientific historiography' and 'positivist historiography' interchangeably throughout this chapter since both terms were used to designate philosophers of history from Buckle and Comte to Hempel who endeavored to explain by means of deduction under law. Nadeem Hussain has rightly attributed a more complex form of positivism to Nietzsche, focusing on the influence of Ernst Mach. See Hussain (2004), 344–355. While Hussain's contribution is essential for Nietzsche's understanding of positive natural science, the Machian version he outlines curiously does not much affect Nietzsche's attitude toward positivist historiography, which he refers to almost always negatively and exclusive of Mach.

[75] Bury (1903), 42.

causes."[76] Aviezer Tucker has recently advocated the coupling of historiography and scientific methodology insofar as both rely upon abductive inferences to the most probable explanations in terms of Bayesian probability theory.[77] Yet the most eloquent and influential expression of the scientific character of historical explanation was given by C. G. Hempel: "The explanation of the occurrence of an event of some specific kind E at a certain place and time consists, as it is usually expressed, in indicating the causes or determining facts of E."[78]

This plainly seems to be the way Nietzsche thinks about the explanatory theory assumed by scientific history. The scientific manifestations of the "historical sense" are found in accounts "which insist on strict psychological causality"[79] – which insist that there must be some psychological law under which any particular agent was acting such that we can explain his or her action. Of this scientific ideal of historical explanation Nietzsche has the materials to form two serious critiques. The first concerns his view of the singularity of historical events.

> No one who judges, 'in this case everyone would have to act like this' has yet taken five steps toward self-knowledge: For he would then know that there neither are nor can be identical actions – that every act that ever occurred was done in an altogether unique and unrepeatable way [*unwiederbringliche Art*], and so will it be with every future act – that these prescriptions of action [. . .] relate only to their rough exterior – that these prescriptions may reach an appearance of sameness, *but only just an appearance*.[80]

If Nietzsche holds that events in nature, including the sorts of activities that historians write about, are utterly particular, then attempts to articulate a law of the sort 'if conditions X and Y are present, then result Z will follow' are doomed to identify as 'X' or 'Y' conditions and 'Z' effects what is in reality ever non-identical. Such a hypothetical identifies merely similar conditions as being able to bring about a result that is itself merely similar to previous results that were themselves never identical to begin with. "The skeptic can always confute the existence of laws. He can say, there are no identical causes [*gleichen Ursachen*], therefore no identical effects [*gleichen Wirkungen*]. That is right."[81] If similar

[76] E. H. Carr (1987), 87. Cf. also Mandelbaum (1971), 11ff.
[77] Tucker (2004), 46–91; see also Newall (2009), 178.
[78] Hempel (1942), 36. Cf. Joynt and Rescher (1959), 383–387.
[79] *GT* 23; *KSA* 1, 145.
[80] *FW* 335; *KSA* 3, 562ff.
[81] *NF* autumn 1867–spring 1868, 5[56]; *KGW* 1/4, 367. See also *NF* spring 1888, 15[118]; *KSA* 13, 479: "What is real, what is true, is neither a single thing nor reducible to a single thing." See also, *NF* spring 1884, 25[309]; *KSA* 11, 91: "[Laws] were there, not for explaining, but for *hindering* more exact actions." Nietzsche's emphasis is italicized.

events are identified only by way of poetical rather than referential thinking – by synecdoche or metonymy, as he intimates there – then the historian cannot possibly hope to identify universal laws of change from which to deduce the particular actions of real historical agents.

The singularity of every person and event that has ever come to pass, if taken earnestly, prohibits the scientific historian's hope in ascribing laws of sociology, psychology, economics, and the like as a mechanism to satisfactorily explain the event in question. "Just as we understand characters only imprecisely, so do we also understand facts: we speak of identical characters [*gleichen Charakteren*], identical facts [*gleichen Facten*]: *neither exists*."[82] And again, "Overlooking the individual and real [*Individuellen und Wirklichen*] provides us the concept; by contrast nature knows no forms or concepts, and so knows no species, but only an X which is for us inaccessible and indefinable."[83] Historians who ignore the singularity problem, Nietzsche thinks, are merely sloppy.

> What inconsistency is there after all between the activities of man and the course of events? I am particularly struck by the fact that historians [. . .] cease to instruct as soon as they begin to generalize, betraying in their obscurity the sense of their weakness. In other disciplines, generalizations are the crucial factor since they contain the laws. But if such assertions as that cited are meant to be valid laws, then we could reply that the historian's work is wasted. For whatever truth is left in such statements, after subtracting that mysterious and irreducible residue we mentioned earlier, is obvious and even trivial since it is self-evident to anyone with the slightest range of experience.[84]

The second critique of the possibility of scientific historical explanation concerns the causal connection between intentions and actions. The history of human actions is held to be different from chronicles of wholly naturalistic mechanisms precisely insofar as the former are presumed to be the function of thought processes and the latter are not. A historian whose work Nietzsche knew well, Gustav Droysen, considered the explanation of human motivation the most important task history could engage.[85] Following him were the Baden neo-Kantians Windelband and Rickert, who posited the famous division between the *Naturwissenschaften* and *Kulturwissenschaften* in part for this very reason. From a different perspective but in the same spirit, R. G. Collingwood wrote, "For history, the object to be discovered is not the mere event, but the thought expressed

[82] *MaM* 11, *WS* 11; *KSA* 2, 546. [83] *WL* 1; *KSA* 1, 880. [84] *HL* 6, *KSA* 1, 291ff.

[85] Cf. Droysen (1893). I owe the recognition of Droysen's importance to an unpublished paper Jim Porter generously shared with me, entitled "Nietzsche's Radical Philology." That paper will appear in a forthcoming collection I am co-editing with Helmut Heit, and will offer a much more thorough exposition of Droysen's influence.

in it."[86] For most historians those thoughts are both regular and explicable. "The idea that people do things for a reason . . .," the historian Geoffrey Roberts writes, "that it is possible to construct an evidence-based account of why past actors acted as they did is, for most of us, plain common sense."[87] Combining this new requirement of a motivational psychology with our previous definition of scientific history, we might now say that explanations of historical events must draw upon whatever laws or trends may reasonably be assumed to govern the 'inner' or 'motivational' side of human activity.[88]

Nietzsche's view of the connection between willing and acting is notoriously recondite, and possibly inconsistent.[89] At a minimum, he tends to suggest that a conscious, deliberative will is not necessary for an agent to act in all sorts of usual ways. "We could think, feel, will, and remember, and we could also 'act' in every sense of that word, and yet none of all this would have to 'enter our consciousness' ['*in's Bewusstsein zu treten*']."[90] When one tries to pin Nietzsche down on the details, however, two positions emerge. On a less radical view, Nietzsche holds that motivational acts of willing bring about actions, but that these motivations are unconscious and generally opaque. He writes, "Unconscious *inferences* actuate my thinking: it is a passing over from *image* to *image*: the last-achieved image serves as an impulse and motive [*Reiz und Motiv*]."[91] And later: "Willing seems to me, above all, something *complicated*."[92] The very fact that consciousness can be said to 'falsify' our representations of the world – a thesis we will treat in the next section – means that consciousness plays some sort of active role and is not, thus, merely another name for a brain function.[93] Under a more radical view, however, he seems to hold that actions manifest themselves without prior influence of willed motivations. What we typically attribute to a causal

[86] Due to the 'inner' component of human actions, which for him are freely determined, Collingwood held that history can never approach the scientific criteria of deductive laws. Collingwood (1946), 282–302. Nietzsche would have agreed with the general contention that the construction of behavioral laws as explanatory mechanisms in history was impossible, but would have rejected Collingwood's ascription of self-determination and freedom to historical agents, as I make clear in Chapter 7.

[87] Roberts (1996), 222.

[88] Nietzsche precedes Popper's (1957) better-known critique of the possibility of historical laws, and goes further in locating the force of historiographical explanation in psychology rather than logic.

[89] Among recent views that state a similar problematic, see Katsafanas (2005), 1–31; Welshon (1998), 39–48; Acampora (2006), 314–333; Pippin (2004), 47–63; and Golomb (1999), 1–19.

[90] *FW* 354; *KSA* 3, 590. See also *FW* 127; *KSA* 3, 482ff.

[91] *NF* summer 1872–beginning 1873, 19[107]; *KSA* 7, 454.

[92] *JGB* 19; *KSA* 5, 32. See also *EH* "klug," 9; *KSA* 6, 294.

[93] See Abel (2001), 1–45; Katsafanas (2005), 23–25; and Constâncio (2011), 1–8.

interaction between some conscious deliberation and an act of will is nothing more than an epiphenomenal association.[94]

> The will moves nothing, and thus it does not explain anything any more – it merely accompanies processes [*Vorgänge*], but it doesn't have to be present. . . . Not to mention the 'I'! That has become a fairy-tale, a fiction, a play on words: it has stopped thinking, feeling, and willing altogether! . . . What follows from this? There just aren't any mental causes [*Es giebt gar keine geistigen Ursachen*]![95]

Whether Nietzsche is an epiphenomenalist or else holds the causal-but-inscrutable view of motivation, the normative common denominator between both views, sufficient for our purpose, is that historiographical explanations of events should not proceed by means of a too-easy attribution of the presumed motivations of its relevant agents. Historians like Droysen or Collingwood who maintain that the intellectual or 'thought' side of deliberative action contains the necessary condition for explaining events by deduction under law presume both that there is a 'thought' side to every meaningful human action and that those thoughts can be deciphered by rudimentary psychological laws. If Nietzsche holds the epiphenomenalist position, then motivational explanations are both superfluous and misleading. The less radical 'inscrutability' position, however, does no less damage. For if the transparency of the particular is necessary to order it under the appropriate general law – that this action really was done out of this particular psychological motivation 'p' and that actions done out of 'p' result in consequences 'q' – then the failure to reliably ascribe the motivation for the activities to their historical agents renders scientific historical explanations of those events similarly unreliable. Since scientific explanations of historical events require that the agent's actions have a discernible 'inner' or 'thought-side' component, even Nietzsche's less radical position on the opacity of mental states poses a serious threat to the viability of that same sort of explanation. Historical explanations of events thus resolve into "opinions about supposed actions and their supposed motives, which in turn give rise to further opinions and actions."[96]

While some philosophers of history critique such 'motivational explanations' by showing how at least many choices are not genuinely free – a mass migration as the result of a volcano eruption, for example[97] – Nietzsche's

[94] The position of Deleuze (1983), 39–40; and Leiter (2001), 291, and his more comprehensively argued (2002), 87–92.

[95] *GD* "Irrthümer," 3; *KSA* 6, 91. See also *A* 14; *KSA* 6, 180f; *NF* end 1876–summer 1877, 23[49]; *KSA* 8, 422.

[96] *M*, 307; *KSA* 3, 224ff.

[97] Against Collingwood, see Dray (1993), 20–23.

much stronger position holds that no character-constituting choices can be demonstratively identified as the result of a freely determining rational will.

> *Nobody* is responsible for existing at all, or for the state or circumstances or environment they are in. The fatality of human existence cannot be extricated from the fatality of everything that was and will be. People are *not* the products of some special design, will, or purpose . . . *We* have invented the concept of 'purpose': there *are no* purposes in reality . . . A person is necessary, a person is a piece of fate, a person belongs to the whole, a person only *is* in the context of the whole.[98]

Yet it would be a mistake to think the scientific historian is defeated by these two objections. Few, if any, professional historians today would concede that their explanations assume an identity of past events such that some manner of universal law could be adduced. They admit a general similarity between emperors or political revolutions, and do so implicitly by using those general terms; but they hardly fall into any 'seduction of grammar.' Moreover, few historians would assert *ex cathedra* that the motivation they identify behind a particular action is the only one possible. Granted that historians sometimes engage in armchair psychological diagnoses, theirs are hardly worse off than the explanations found in the writings of sociologists or economists.[99] The way out, for most philosophers of history since Popper, is simply to admit that laws of history may not exist – and if they do, we may be too obtuse to apprehend them. But trends certainly do exist and can be confirmed by rudimentary observation. It is a matter of probability – as Hume or Bayes might say – and not of proof that historical agents act in ways roughly similar to the ways we do today. Thus, whether or not there are any universal psychological laws of motivation that could in principle explain how human beings act under a given set circumstances, statistics can tell us enough about how humans in fact do tend to act to allow historiography itself to be considered a scientific field.

Just here, where a commonsense historian would fall back upon weaker notions of generalities and trends, is where Nietzsche's critique of scientific historiography is most condemnatory. For if explanation is to compel assent logically by means of deducing particulars from universals, and if we substitute trends as an impoverished version of laws because of either the singularity or opacity problems, then why should we hope that trends compel assent as well? Under Hempel's model, we have only successfully explained event 'q' by having identified the 'p' that stood as

[98] *GD* "Irrthümer," 8; *KSA* 6, 96. [99] Cf. Bloch (1953), 56ff.

its sufficient condition, whether 'p' be a set of purely material considerations or else a presumptive 'thought-side' motivation. However, if 'p' could only occur once then we no longer have 'p' exactly, just a number of variables which, while they bear a family resemblance to 'p,' are really not 'p.' The absolute singularity of events in history, including the unique emotions that may motivate unique historical agents, precludes the possibility of appealing to the same logical compulsion presumed in the explanations of positive science.

If Nietzsche is correct, then our acceptance of a historical explanation is not and cannot be compelled by a logical deduction between the law and the *explanandum*. But it is at the same time entirely obvious that we in fact do accept certain historical explanations and reject others. The question becomes: why are we convinced by certain historical explanations but remain unconvinced by others? This question, and the ones remaining from the previous sections, is what Nietzsche's own affirmative contribution to historiography attempts to answer.

Anti-realist representation

As there was with historical description, there seems to be a *prima facie* weakness in Nietzsche's rejection of historical motivational explanations, one internal to his own historiographical accounts. For it is everywhere evident that Nietzsche himself attributes all sorts of motivations to the agents whose actions and influences on contemporary life he endeavors to explain. "[St.] Paul *wants* to confound the 'wisdom of the world,'"[100] Hartmann's goal is to lead the world into placidity,[101] and Wagner wanted nothing other than to express Schopenhauer in music.[102] Nietzsche often enough speaks as if groups and institutions have willed-motivations too – what do those 'English psychologists' want actually?[103] In fact, Nietzsche even speaks of ideas as having direct causal efficacy on historical events. "The beginning of the slaves' revolt in morality occurs when *ressentiment* itself turns creative and gives birth to values . . ."[104] It thus seems that on the one hand Nietzsche denies that the world, including the historical world, is populated by freely willed agents whose motivations are discernible and whose actions are thereby explainable, but on the other is perfectly content to base major aspects of his philosophy on the force of his explanations as to why historical agents acted as they did.

[100] *A* 47; *KSA* 6, 226. [101] *NF* summer–fall 1873, 29[52]; *KSA* 7, 650. [102] *DFW* 4; *KSA* 6, 20.
[103] *GM* 1, 1; *KSA* 5, 257. [104] *GM* 1, 10; *KSA* 5, 270.

Were Nietzsche a realist about the representation of historical objects in his mature work, as he was in his youthful historiography, then his explanations about how historical agents operated would be incoherent within the framework of his theory of agency. He could not consistently say – as he did with his philological explanations of the texts of Ermanarich, Theognis, and Diogenes – "this is the motivation by which 'x' brought about action, influence, or event 'y,'" while maintaining that those motivations are either (his stronger position) non-existent or else (his weaker one) inscrutable. The same goes for origins. He cannot with consistency say "this is the origin 'x' that caused action, institution, value, or event 'y' to be as it was" – as he did with his account of the origin of tragic culture – while maintaining that "the origin of the emergence [*Ursache der Entstehung*] of a thing and its ultimate usefulness, its practical application and incorporation into a system of ends [*System von Zwecken*], are toto coelo separate."[105] Had he maintained an ontological realism and a representational realism, his mature historiography would be singularly ridiculous. And his numerous critiques of values and culture, a substantial portion of which are framed as historical arguments, would be similarly so.

In order to avoid the error, he would need to surrender one of the horns of the following dilemma. Either historians, including Nietzsche himself, really represent a real past when they explicate accounts that rely upon a free deliberative will as a causal principle, and thus those free deliberative wills exist and are explicable; or, what motivates historical agents to act as they do is genuinely inscrutable, and thus historical accounts, while they may be meaningful in a certain way, fail to represent the real past as it really was. I maintain that Nietzsche rejects the first horn and accepts the second, under the proviso that he thinks the meaningfulness of an historical claim consists in more than its referentiality. That is, I argue Nietzsche is an ontological realist but an anti-realist about historical representation.[106]

Of course Nietzsche never calls himself an anti-realist anywhere in his writing. The term is admittedly anachronistic. But let us see if this contemporary position does adequately characterize what Nietzsche intended. By definition, an anti-realist holds that historiographical accounts do not represent the real past as it was, but are at least partly a construction within the mind of the present-day historian. A realist, on the other hand, maintains that the historian's account really is a genuine re-presentation of that past as

[105] *GM* II, 12; *KSA* 5, 313.

[106] Rex Welshon argues a similar thesis about Nietzsche's epistemology generally, though does not attribute it specifically to historical judgment. Welshon (2004), 123.

it actually existed.[107] To an anti-realist like Michael Dummett, realism is inherently faulty because the only adequate way to adjudicate whether an account does re-present the past would be to verify its claims independently of the evidence relied upon for its construction. Since the past itself, independent of those traces in evidence, does not exist today in order that one could even in principle verify that the evidence at hand really evidences what it is claimed to, it seems that the realist cannot adequately verify his own truth conditions.[108]

Because there are logically distinguishable versions of both realism and anti-realism, one can be both a realist in a certain sense and an anti-realist in a different sense simultaneously. The two varieties of realists are ontological realists and representational realists.[109] A commonsense ontological realist believes that there was a past, one filled with agents and events. The documents, statues, and archeological sites we see before us really have persisted from the past into the present. To reject commonsense ontological realism would be to accept Russell's famous thought-experiment that the world "sprang into being five minutes ago, exactly as it then was, with a population that 'remembered' a wholly unreal past."[110] I see nothing at all in Nietzsche's writing to suggest he thinks reality is, so to say, brand-new. In fact, a rejection of commonsense ontological realism would render his many claims about the historical development of values bizarrely incoherent. Nietzsche speaks often enough of the influences of ideas, values, and institutions upon people, of power relationships between religions, cultures, institutions, of types like the 'priest,' the 'scholar,' the 'slave,' etc., none of which would make much sense if he denied each of their existences.

But while Nietzsche may be a tacit commonsense ontological realist, he is not a representational realist, that is, one who holds that a historiographical representation is true if and only if it corresponds to the past as it really was.

[107] The most thorough articulation and defense of historical anti-realism is Goldstein (1976). For whatever commonality, Goldstein no doubt came to his position independent of Nietzsche.

[108] See Dummett (1978), 333–350 and 358–374. See also Pataut (2009), 190–192; Wright (1992), 33–70.

[109] The division is drawn from Murphey (2009), 181–189.

[110] Russell (1921), 19. A variation of ontological anti-realism was made popular by Bas von Frassen, according to whom non-perceptible objects cannot be considered actually real. See van Fraassen (1980), 23–40; see also Murphey (2009), 186ff. Were van Frassen correct, most historical work would have to be considered quite worthless as a description of the real, insofar as it treats of empires, revolutions, class conflicts, cultural norms, the influence of ideas, etc., none of which are, of course, empirically perceptible objects. Evidence of those things is often enough perceptible – in the sense that a photograph, a newspaper article, or an artifact are all perfectly perceptible – but those imperceptibles of which that perceptible evidence is a recorded trace would have to be considered as merely unreal. I see no evidence that Nietzsche holds an ontological anti-realism of this sort.

In Maurice Mandelbaum's well-known illustration of historiographical realism, "'Caesar crossed the Rubicon,' is true if the relation which it expresses did in fact hold of the objects with which it is concerned, if the action which it states was done was actually done."[111] Just as Mandelbaum has it, Nietzsche's philological articles were to be considered true insofar as they adequately expressed who Ermanarich was, what Theognis and Diogenes really wrote. His account of tragedy was to be considered true insofar as it expressed the real Idea of the tragic inner character of the world. But since the mature Nietzsche denies the correspondential verifiability between an historiographical explanation and the way the past really was independent of judgments that in some sense misrepresent reality, we have more evidence that there is a marked and meaningful transition from his earlier to his later philosophy of history.[112]

Although a commonsense ontological realist is certainly no ontological anti-realist, this does not entail he is necessarily a representational realist. One can maintain a belief in the reality of the past and also deny that the historian's account of it re-presents the past as it really was. An ontological realist can still be a representational anti-realist, i.e., one who denies a correspondence between the account and that to which the account allegedly adequates.[113] This is the position I ascribe to Nietzsche. And if I am

[111] Mandelbaum (1967), 186. See also Murphey (2009), 182.

[112] The role of philology in Nietzsche's mature work is particularly difficult to affix. At times he is fond of reminding his readers of his philological training, and recommends the practice of philology as an art of reading slowly. See *JGB* 22; *KSA* 5, 37. And at times, he praises philology as a means of distinguishing texts and interpretations. "I understand the word 'philology' here in a very general sense: being able to decipher [*ablesen*] facts without falsifying them through interpretation." *NF* spring 1888, 14[60]; *KSA* 13, 246. Useful discussions are Longo (1987); Porter (2000a, esp. Chapter 3, and 2000b, esp. Chapters 8 and 11); Benne (2005) generally; and Born (2010), 225–228. Special attention should be paid to Blondel (1991), Chapter 7. Unlike many commentators, I think the differences between Nietzsche's early and later historiographies are more important than their similarities. Here, for example, a major difference between his early philology and this renewed form is the shift of its object of concentration away from the written word and a concentration on the forms of embodied subjectivity within both its producers and its audience. See sections like *FW* Vorrede, 2; *M* 119; *JGB* 3; *JGB* 16. I make this case thoroughly in Jensen (2013a).

[113] The anti-realism I ascribe differs from the variety of moral anti-realism made popular by Brian Leiter. See his (2004). For him, the anti-realist aspect of Nietzsche's moral claims involves the representation of things as good or bad, high or low, all the while denying that those values actually persist in the world. While I think this makes roughly good sense of present-tense moral judgments, the nature of the past requires special consideration. Representational anti-realism in historiography involves judgment of things, people, and events presumed to really exist in the world, only without sufficient verifiability conditions available to know whether those judgments about them are true of that real past outside the judge. Thus, I hold that Nietzsche is an ontological realist about the past in a way he is not about moral values, though in both cases he is a representational anti-realist. Cf. Coker (2002), 5–28 and the comments of Cox (2002), 29–34. I thank Christoph Cox for generously sharing his paper with me.

right, then he was the first to hold what has become a popular view in contemporary philosophy of history. For today's most well-known proponent, Frank Ankersmit, our propositional models "do *not* refer to things in or aspects of the past."[114] "For the 'historical landscape' is not *given* to the historian; he has to *construct* it ... The structure of the narration is a structure *lent* to or *pressed* on the past and not the reflection of a kindred structure objectively present in the past itself."[115] I will say more about the influence of this position below.

Admittedly, my characterization of Nietzsche's historiography is anachronistic. It does, however, both help to make clear Nietzsche's meta-history and to distinguish it from rival positions and also presents at least a logically viable account of how Nietzsche can on the one hand criticize positivistic notions of description and explanation as depending upon an epistemologically naive concept of human judgment and agency, and yet at the same time offer historical descriptions and explanations that he believes are nevertheless meaningful. What I must show now is that Nietzsche actually holds such a position.

Besides those passages already examined and apart from the commonsense appeal of not writing about history in a way that overtly contradicts what he says are the limits of writing about history, there are two other clear pieces of evidence that Nietzsche holds a representational anti-realism with respect to historical judgment.[116]

First from *Beyond Good and Evil*: "*We* are the ones who invented causation, succession, for-each-other, relativity, compulsion, numbers, law, freedom, grounds, purpose; and if we project and inscribe this symbol-world [*Zeichen-Welt*] onto things as an 'in-itself,' then we deal with things as we always have, namely *mythologically*."[117] Most of these terms are historiographical stock in trade: causation, succession, purpose, etc. And once again these descriptive and explanatory devices are said to be symbolic rather than referential, rendering any account which employs them meaningful in a way other than its adequation with any ontologically real past. The passage following this one elucidates how these projections can be the sort of "bad tricks of interpretation" that "an old philologist like" Nietzsche "cannot help maliciously putting his finger on." These symbolic projections are not to be found in the world – "not a matter of fact, not a 'text' but

[114] Ankersmit (1983), 100. [115] *Ibid.*, 86.

[116] That Nietzsche holds representational anti-realism generally, see *MaM* 1, 11; *KSA* 2, 30ff. Notice that the statement about the unreality of mathematics runs particularly close to the grounds on which Dummett bases his anti-realism.

[117] *JGB* 21; *KSA* 5, 36.

instead only a naive humanitarian correction and distortion."[118] Said otherwise, Nietzsche thinks the most essential representations in historiography do not represent anything real at all, though they are essential for making what genuinely is real in the past meaningful for agents like us.

Scholars have argued that a passage like this presents a fictionalist[119] or falsificationist[120] epistemology. I do not label Nietzsche's meta-history as falsificationist, on the one hand, because for Nietzsche there is no means by which to adjudicate whether judgments do or do not falsify the way the world is independent of the framework of meaning of he who judges it. To know one is falsifying the world by means of a judgment entails knowing what that world is actually like in-itself apart from our subjective intrusions upon it, something which Nietzsche denies. "It is true, there could be a metaphysical world; the absolute possibility of it can hardly be resisted. But we observe all things through the human head and cannot cut off this head."[121] I do not consider the passage to be fictionalist, on the other hand, because the judgments follow as an unconscious function of the subject's physiognomic facticities rather than a deliberate choice about how to narrate the content of experience generally, or of history specifically. The distinction will become clearer in the next two chapters.

But the key for us now, and why I hold this passage is evidence of a representational anti-realist position, is that Nietzsche emphasizes the communicative virtue of terms like these. We *should* use these terms every bit as much as we should use math, logic, or the welter of scientific concepts, albeit under the awareness that they function only as particularly meaningful symbols referring to something we cannot know outside of what we can possibly represent.[122] Descriptive representations cannot be presumed to reflect the real, and as such cannot be relied upon to explain events in a real world apart from those representations. Nevertheless they are both very typical and useful ways of referring to it that reveal – not the world as it was – but the way that historians have been driven to represent it. If a

[118] This and the preceding at *JGB* 22; *KSA* 5, 37.

[119] See, for examples, Hussain (2007), 157–191; and Reginster (2006), 85–102. May (1999) and Williams (2000) attribute to Nietzsche a more postmodern version of fictionalism at least with reference to morality. For a discussion, see Owen (2007), 139–144.

[120] See, for examples, Clark (1990a), 21–25; Anderson (2005). Compare the alternative formulation of Dries (2008a), 10ff.

[121] *HH* 1, 9; *KSA* 2, 29.

[122] See also *GD* "Vernunft," 5; *KSA* 6, 77. Such was, incidentally, also the position of Lange, which Nietzsche enthusiastically endorsed to his friend Carl von Gersdorff. See Nietzsche to Carl von Gersdorff, end August, 1866; *KSB* 2, 160. In his letter, Nietzsche quotes the key passage from Lange (1866), 493. See also Stack (1983), 10.

description is false, then it should be corrected; if it is a fiction then it should not be relied upon. An anti-realist representation, however, is a necessary expression of a certain perspective and is informative about how that type views the world. "In history, one comes to know *better* the *moving* forces, not our 'lovely' ideas!"[123]

A second passage that evidences my view of representational anti-realism with specific reference to historical judgments is from *Daybreak*:

> *What has happened! Yeah, what has happened has been made!* [Facta! Ja Facta ficta!][124] A historiographer [*Geschichtsschreiber*] has to do, not with what actually happened, but only with events supposed to have happened: for only the latter have *been efficacious*. [. . .] His theme, so-called world history, consists in opinion about supposed actions and their supposed motives, which in turn give rise to further opinions and actions, the reality of which, however, is at once vaporized again and only as vapor [*Dampf*] is efficacious, – a continual generation and pregnancy of phantoms over the impenetrable mist of unfathomable reality. All historians [*Historiker*] speak of things which have never existed except in representation [*Vorstellung*].[125]

Three aspects of this passage support my reading. First, Nietzsche plainly rejects representational realism. Historical accounts do not re-present 'what actually happened,' only what is 'supposed to have happened'; historical accounts do not attend what the actions and motivations really were, but only what various historical minds 'suppose' they were; the representation has no reference to any reality beyond itself. Second, despite his rejection of representational realism, there is also a commonsense ontological realism presumed here. If reality is said to be 'unfathomable,' then it must exist external to us; temporally prior but real suppositions are said to produce temporally later but real effects; the real historians themselves are said to have built up their interpretations over time; their real activity is said to have been a 'continual generation,' a real dynamic change characterized as a 'pregnancy.' Each of these statements only makes sense if there is a real past in which these events took place. Third, and most interestingly, by framing his critique of historians in terms of an historical argument – this is, after all, an account of what historians 'have done' – Nietzsche himself is passing a historical judgment; in the same passage he claims that historical judgments fail to represent that past as it really was. And if the very passage where he most clearly rejects representational realism maintains the meaningfulness

[123] *NF* spring 1880–spring 1881, 10[D88]; *KSA* 9, 434.
[124] The more intuitive translation –"Facts! Yes, facts are fictions!" – does not pay adequate attention to Nietzsche's obvious play on the Latin passive perfect participles.
[125] *M* 307; *KSA* 3, 224ff.

of its own historical judgment, then that meaningfulness cannot be a function of its correspondence to an extra-mental state of reality. His critique of how historians have historically failed to represent reality must itself be an anti-realist historical judgment: a judgment about the past that does not aim to present a past state of affairs as it really was but is nevertheless meaningful in a certain way to a certain audience. The question that now arises is precisely how a representationally anti-realist judgment can be meaningful even if its correspondential truth value is inscrutable.

Perspectival explanation

We are left with unfortunately little direct evidence to decipher how Nietzsche could maintain the meaningfulness of his anti-realist historiographical accounts while simultaneously offering a devastating critique of their capacity to represent a real past beyond the passages we've already analyzed. My strategy for the rest of this book is to first explicate precisely what Nietzsche's theory was in this section and then in Chapters 6 and 7 to show how his most famous later historiographical works – *Die Genealogie der Moral* and *Ecce homo* – exemplify this theory. If I am successful, I will show how both those works convey the meaning Nietzsche wishes without having their efficacy depend upon their correspondence with a real past. This meta-historical framework I label 'perspectival explanation.'[126]

"Presuming that our world of desires [*Begierden*] and passions [*Leidenschaften*] is the only thing 'given' to us as real, that we cannot go up or down to any 'reality' other than the reality of our drives [*Triebe*] – since thinking is only a relation of these drives to one another."[127] The world, our only reality, is nothing more or less than the sum of perspectives on it, which is to say the sum of the dynamic conglomeration of physiologically centered drives.[128] "[T]he 'world' is only a word for the collective

[126] The literature on Nietzsche's theory of perspectivism is massive. Among the more comprehensive contextualized interpretations, see Schrift (1990) and Figal (2000).

[127] *JGB* 36; *KSA* 5, 54. See also *FW* 374; *KSA* 3, 626.

[128] This is the meaning, I suggest, of Nietzsche's enigmatic claim that "*the perspectival* . . . is the fundamental condition of all life." *JGB* Vorrede; *KSA* 5, 12. See also *NF* spring 1888, 14 [184]; *KSA* 13, 370ff: "The apparent world, i.e., a world that is viewed according to values, ordered, and selected according to values . . . The perspectival therefore provides the character of 'what can appear'! As if a world would be left over if one did away with the perspectival! . . . Every center of force adopts a *perspective toward* the entire *remainder*, i.e., its own particular *valuation*, its mode of action, and mode of resistance. The 'apparent world' ['*scheinbare Welt*'] reduces itself to its specific action on the world." See also *NF* spring 1880–spring 1881, 10[100]; *KSA* 9, 438: "a thing is a sum of excitations within us: *however, since we are nothing fixed, a thing is also not a fixed sum*."

play [*Gesammtspiel*] of these actions."[129] Given this understanding of reality, perspectivism is the doctrine "according to which every center of force – and not only the human being – construes the whole rest of the world from itself, i.e., measures, touches, forms, according to its own force."[130] Now, if these drive-based perspectives constitute both the way in which the world is seen and the only way that it can be seen by a particular agent 'x,'[131] – "bound according to the logic of its consciousness-perspectivism"[132] – then the perspective 'P' indicates what the world means for agent 'x.' Thus let P(x) express the sphere of meaning for the world in which 'x' resides at any given moment. Everything that is the case for 'x' is represented by 'P,' though this by no means makes any claim about what is the case independent of P(x).[133] We must identify particular behaviors of agent 'x' simultaneously in two ways, then: first, in the way 'x' herself identifies her actions through P(x); and, second, how we – as agent 'y' – identify how 'x's' account of P(x) appears through P(y), thus P(P[x])y. This is no more complicated than the proposition, "it sounds like Jane saw something," when we acknowledge that 'it sounds' can only mean 'it sounds to me as if' and that 'Jane saw something' means 'Jane reports her mental states as if,' both under their respective perspectives. The proposition is a truth-value bearing naturalistically verifiable claim about Jane's experience and my experience of Jane's experience. But it is no statement about the truth of the world independent of those two perspectives. The proposition acknowledges that my experience is derived from the framework of meaning in which I operate, P(y), and that to make an intersubjective claim about the experience of another requires the admission of both the perspectival character of her original claim, P(x), and the perspectival character of my interpretation of P(x), thus P(P[x])y.

Precisely the same strategy is necessary for a perspectival explanation of an historical event or agency. Whether it actually is the case that Caesar crossed the Rubicon because of pride, greed, avarice, or bloodlust cannot be adjudicated by appeal to representational realist strategies due to Nietzsche's rejection of traditional motivational explanations. Moreover, it is a question that has no meaning outside of the perspective in which it is understood and therefore not possible to answer apart from the perspective of the one trying to explain the event. While each ascription is a naturalist claim, it is

[129] *NF* spring 1888, 14[184]; *KSA* 13, 371.
[130] *NF* spring 1888, 14[186]; *KSA* 13, 373. For passages where Nietzsche articulates the limits of meaningfulness as a function of perspective, see, for examples, *JGB* 2, 6, and 14.
[131] Cf. *MaM* 1, 9; *KSA* 2, 29. See also *JGB* 11 and 14.
[132] *NF* spring 1888, 14[186]; *KSA* 13, 373.
[133] See also *NF* April–June 1885, 34[134]; *KSA* 11, 465.

nonetheless an interpolation on the historian's part – a grafting upon the bare chronicle of events an explanatory story. What is meant by each of these explanatory terms independent of any possible subjective agency is an absurd question, for Nietzsche, as absurd as asking about reality in-itself were we to 'cut off the head.' Events and their traces within evidence mean what they mean only because of the interpretive activity of a particular perspective and therefore can only serve as an explanation for an agent who shares at least minimally in the framework of that perspective, that is, of that 'type' with which the historian shares his framework of meaningfulness. If the historian represents Caesar's actions as the result of, say, bloodlust, then let us call that P(h). Presuming the historian did not pull that hypothesis out of thin air, let us say that he was referencing some source from late antiquity P(s) that had been drawn from the now lost diary of one of his lieutenants, P(l), as well as the written words of Caesar himself about the same incident P(c). We thus denote this historian's explanation of Caesar's actions as P((P(P[l])[s] · P[c]))(h). The perspectival explanation of the historian is meaningful to him on the basis of evidence from two embedded perspectival sources, the one from the late-antique source and from Caesar, the former of which is further embedded in the perspective of the lieutenant.

Yet this explanation proves nothing whatsoever about the actual motives that may have led Caesar to cross the Rubicon. Even should one ignore the obvious selectivity involved in affixing a single necessary cause for such an over-determined event, the term "bloodlust," considered independently of (h), (s), (l), and (c), fails to explain why the actual events occurred as they did; it fails to correspond to the 'real facts' of history since it will, as discussed above, run into the singularity and opacity objections. It nevertheless illustrates something crucial about both the historian whose explanation it was P(h), Caesar P(c), the account of late antiquity P(s), the lieutenant P(l), and in fact any readers that accept the explanation as valid. Their acceptance indicates that there is at least one shared element in their world of meaning – in this case the way what is named 'bloodlust' contributes to aggressive actions – such that the explanation can dissolve to their satisfaction and to the satisfaction of any agents whose Ps overlap in that respect what was formerly unknown (Caesar's action) into what is believed to be known (the effects of bloodlust).[134]

[134] In this respect my attribution of anti-realist representationalism to Nietzsche is close to the popular contemporary account of Frank Ankersmit. "[H]istorical theorists who . . . will explain to us how historical narrative and historical reality are or should be related to each other are like philistines who try to explain artistic merit in terms of photographic precision. In both cases the merits of relevance and importance are sacrificed to those of precision and accuracy." Ankersmit (2001), 82. Yet if I am

This, Nietzsche himself declares, is what a historical explanation *really* does. "*Historical* explanation is a reduction to a succession that we are *accustomed to* [*ein uns* gewohntes *Aufeinander*]: through analogy."[135] To a positivist, such a perspectival explanation would demonstrate precisely nothing about the real world since for them one cannot claim to 'know' that which can never be demonstrated. But this affect of an explanation is nevertheless just what Nietzsche labels 'knowing' in his peculiar sense: "The known [*Das Bekannte*]: i.e., what we are accustomed to [*das woran wir gewöhnt sind*], so that we no longer wonder about it, the everyday, any kind of rule to which we are habituated, all and everything in which we know [*wissen*] ourselves to be at home."[136] In place of the compulsion of logic, Nietzsche claims that in fact a certain satisfaction is attained when we order a phenomenon previously unfamiliar to us under what we feel is familiar. The result of this feeling, rather than of some proof, is what we tend to label 'knowing.' "[T]he first representation [*Vorstellung*] that can explain the unfamiliar in familiar terms [*das Unbekannte als bekannt erklärt*] feels good enough to be 'taken as true.' Proof of *pleasure* ('strength') as the criterion of truth."[137] This is especially true of history, for "[h]istory wants *to overcome the strange* [das Befremden überwinden]," rather than demonstrate a single absolute interpretation, turning every unfamiliar phenomenon into an "*Alt-Bekannt*."[138] The pleasure we feel by having explained away the unfamiliar is the physiognomic award for an increase of power. "Here the sudden feeling of power that an idea arouses in its originator is everywhere accounted proof of its value: – and since one knows no way of honoring an idea other than by calling it 'true' – How else could it be so effective?"[139] An anti-realist representation is convincing, then, because such an intra-perspectival familiarity with an explanation satisfies our desire for familiarity with a previously unknown phenomenon.

The occurrence of revolutions, for example, is explained by reference to the repression of the lower classes – as if there is a simple and general phenomenon called the 'lower classes,' as if that simple and universal

right about Nietzsche, then his version has an advantage over Ankersmit's in two key respects. First, Ankersmit holds a naive view of subjectivity that fails to account for the physiognomic factors within account construction and adjudication. Second, Ankersmit's view is burdened by a seemingly willy-nilly choice among whatever historical interpretations strike their aesthetic fancies or agree with their political views. Historians themselves seem far more entrenched in their perspectives, as Nietzsche maintains, than such arbitrary choices would suggest. The appeal of an historical account concerns more than one's political leanings.

[135] *NF* April–June 1885, 34[55]; *KSA* 11, 438. [136] *FW* 355; *KSA* 3, 594.
[137] *GD* "Irrthümer," 5; *KSA* 6, 93. [138] *NF* fall 1878, 32[21]; *KSA* 8, 563.
[139] *NF* spring 1888, 14[57]; *KSA* 13, 245. See also *FW* 355; *KSA* 3, 594. For a useful discussion of interpretation adjudication, see Larmore (2004), 172ff.

phenomenon always has transparent motivation called 'repression,' which the trained historian can somehow decipher and apply to the universal phenomenon 'revolution.' The singularity of historical cases and the opacity of mental states would each preclude the possibility of an adequate explanation under this sort of Hempelian positivist rubric. Under Nietzsche's perspectival model, however, such an explanation would satisfy the inquirer were he or she empathetically familiar with that proximate and abbreviated symbol 'repression' and thereafter feel well pleased that the situation is sufficiently understood. That feeling of conviction in no way magically makes true the explanation of events from which that feeling arose in the correspondential sense.[140] Then again, the correspondential adequacy of an interpretation is not the issue for an anti-realist perspectival explanation; the question is simply no longer whether the explanation reflects the character of reality or correctly orders a particular instance under a universal law, but whether and how widely it strikes others who share in that perspectival world as convincing.[141] Nietzsche has effectively changed explaining 'why' into 'explaining for whom.'

Explanation is thus not a proof by logical deduction, but a psychological expression of what the drives that constitute the subjectivity of a particular historian are already disposed to accept.[142] Nietzsche writes in the *Götzen-Dämmerung*:

> That something already *known* [Bekanntes], experienced, written into memory, is selected as the cause is the first consequence of this requirement. The new, the unexperienced [*Unerlebte*], the strange, will be precluded as the cause. So we are not looking for just any type of explanation of the cause, we

[140] Cf. Anderson (2005), 186–187, 191–192. Anderson discredits this sense of familiarity on evidence from passages like *JGB* 39; *KSA* 5, 56: "Nobody is very likely to consider a doctrine true merely because it makes people happy or virtuous . . . Happiness and virtue are no arguments." The context of this passage is the religious feeling of conviction wherein the pleasant feeling associated with holding a certain faith is allegedly supposed to guarantee the truth, in the correspondential sense, of that view. Nietzsche certainly does deny this version of realism. But this is a non-issue for the anti-realism I attribute to Nietzsche, since the truth of the representation is in no way tied to its correspondence to some independent world. What Nietzsche is more concerned with is the psychology of the conviction a person has when the unfamiliar is made familiar. And in that respect, familiarity – being accustomed to a judgment – works psychologically to convince, if not to prove. I discuss this further in my last chapter.

[141] Cf. van Tongeren (2000), 141.

[142] In this, my interpretation of the justification of a perspectival explanation is similar to that of Leiter's as concerns genealogy generally. Nietzsche is not trying to logically demonstrate a dogmatic truth, but to appeal, "to those who share Nietzsche's evaluative taste, those for whom no justification would be required: those who are simply 'made for it,' 'whose ears are related to ours,' who are 'predisposed and predestined' for Nietzsche's insights." Leiter (2002), 150. For a critique of Leiter's position see Owen (2007), 132–134.

> are looking for a chosen, preferred type of explanation, one that will most quickly and reliably displace the feeling of unfamiliarity and novelty, the feeling that we are dealing with something we have never encountered before – the *most accustomed* explanation [gewöhnlichsten *Erklärungen*]. Consequence: a certain type of causal attribution becomes increasingly prevalent, concentrates itself into a system, and finally emerges as *dominant*, i.e., it simply precludes *other* causes and explanations. The banker thinks immediately of his "business," the Christian of "sin," the girl of her love.[143]

Irrespective of the inherent logical problems, most people, or at least the people convinced by the majority of historical explanations, presume the validity of deducing particular historical events from general laws. Most people believe Lee surrendered honorably at Appomattox courthouse because that is how honorable generals generally act when faced with exhausted troops and insurmountable odds of victory. However, what was genuinely in his mind that caused him to sign the surrender is nevertheless forever indemonstrable. The historian, like everyone else, seeks these preferred causes according to his or her perspective and the audience who judges the cogency of the explanation seeks similar causes regardless of whether such causes demonstrate anything about the actual state of things. Rather than excising the subject for the sake of some supposedly unbiased demonstration, perspectival explanation relies precisely on the fact that historical judgment is constituted by given forms of subjectivity, by affects that distort the character of reality in a particular way. But because the various types of historians share at least some common framework of distortion, their subjective distortions themselves allow them to come to a psychological agreement about the case in question, even if never a universal dictum that all must agree upon. Given our earlier definition, such explanations would be labeled 'objective' within their typological framework of judgment.

If Nietzsche's theory sounds strange, it will perhaps do to show that a less rhetorical version was proposed by a major philosopher of history of the twentieth century, W. H. Walsh. He, too, denied that Hempelian deduction could demonstrate what it set out to do because of the inherent particularity of historical events and agents. And, alongside Collingwood and Oakeshott, he too denied that historiography should even be in the business of trying to mimic the natural sciences. History is not a predictive science, but a 'colligation' of explanatory terms intended to render known what had previously been unknown.

[143] *GD* "Irrthümer," 5; *KSA* 6, 93.

> What we want from historians is [. . .] an account which brings out their connections and bearing one on another. And when historians are in a position to give such an account it may be said that they have succeeded in 'making sense of' or 'understanding' their material. [. . .] To explain is to render intelligible; it is to find meaning and point in material initially not seen to have meaning and point.[144]

Walsh had sufficient psychological sophistication to realize that people are convinced by all sorts of claims they cannot demonstrate, and that the measure of acceptance is more typically the extent to which an explanation fits within their existing worldview. As for trying to 'prove' by way of deduction, writes Walsh, "argument is futile" – "perspective theory would accept the existence of irreducibly different points of view among historians."[145] Although Walsh was indifferent to the physiognomic constituencies of judgment,[146] both he and Nietzsche consider explanation in terms of its psychological interrelation with the perspective of the particular reader to whom it is addressed.

In contrast to interpreters like Iggers and Gossman who claim that Nietzsche just 'hated' history, then, I have shown here that Nietzsche does have serious epistemological and ontological critiques of then-popular forms of historiography that stand alongside his better-known complaints about its cultural consequences, critiques that in some respects anticipate twentieth-century philosophy of history. More than that, I have tried to show here that Nietzsche also had an affirmative theory about what historiography can in fact be. But if I am right about attributing to Nietzsche both a representational anti-realist theory of historical judgment and a perspectival theory of explanation, then a new problem arises. What would differentiate these anti-realist perspectival explanations from mere stories? Mere rhetorical fictions? "*Die Geschichte*," Nietzsche himself says, "*ist eine Vermeintlichkeit* [supposition] – *nichts mehr*."[147] If we are under no logical compulsion to accept the validity of historical arguments and are only convinced because of some psychologically predisposed suppositions, then isn't their value merely relative to the agents who happen to share in a particularly well-predisposed type? Is Nietzsche, in other words, an historical relativist?

[144] Walsh (1959), 299. [145] Walsh (1951), 109. [146] See also Walsh (1942), 128–143.
[147] *NF* spring 1880–spring 1881, 10[E93]; *KSA* 9, 435.

CHAPTER 6

Genealogy as history

In an 1887 letter to his friend Franz Overbeck, Nietzsche confesses a central fear for his philosophy of history. "At last my mistrust now turns to the question whether history is actually possible? What, then, does one want to ascertain [*feststellen*]? Something which, in a moment of happening, does not itself 'stand fast' [*'feststand'*]?"[1] This mistrust illustrates a core problem for Nietzsche's entire philosophical project. For since Nietzsche formulates a significant – it would not be an exaggeration to say the *predominant* – number of his arguments about truth, culture, religion, values, psychology, etc., in historical terms, that is, in claims about how things 'used to be' and how they have in some way become what they now are, the very cogency of his philosophy depends upon his account of the past – his ability to 'set still' that which does not 'stand fast.' And if his claims about 'the slave revolt in morality,' 'the twilight of aristocratic values,' 'the birth of tragedy,' 'the instantiation of ascetic ideals,' 'how he became what he is,' and so forth cannot be considered viable explanations of the phenomena in question, then Nietzsche may be a genius teller of stories, but no philosopher.

This dependency concerns not only the rhetorical devices that Nietzsche happened to employ – as if he could have written a non-historically framed philosophy. Historiography is essential to Nietzsche's philosophy because its very subject matter concerns a reality that is historical through and through. In fact, Nietzsche considers it a major failing of the great philosophers that they ignore the intrinsically historical character of that very reality whose task it is theirs to explicate. "A lack of historical sense," Nietzsche emphasizes in the opening sections of *Human all-too-Human*, "is the root mistake [*Erbfehler*] of all philosophers."[2] This is precisely because "everything has come to be; there are *no eternal facts*: just as there are no absolute truths. From now on, therefore, *historical philosophizing* [historische Philosophiren] will be necessary, and along

[1] Nietzsche to Overbeck, February 23, 1887; *KSB* 8, 28.
[2] *MaM* 1, 2; *KSA* 2, 24. For a discussion of this and the following quotations, see Brobjer (2007), 159.

with it the virtue of modesty."[3] "[P]hilosophy [. . .] means for us only the widest extension of the concept 'history.'"[4] "What separates us from Kant, as well as from Plato and Leibniz: we believe in becoming alone, even in intellectual matters; we are *historical* through and through; [. . .] revived is the way of thinking of *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles*."[5] By contrast, "the morality of philosophers from Socrates onward is a sort of Don Quixotery," a "self-misunderstanding," which evinces "a complete lack of historical sense"[6] by virtue of its attempt to judge "sub specie aeterni."[7] It goes without saying that Nietzsche's own 'historical sense,' his own "extension of the concept 'history,'" will be very different from that inimical *historisches Sinn* for which he ridiculed his scientistic contemporaries in the mid-1870s.[8] Nietzsche requires a new model, one different in fundamental epistemological and ontological ways from traditional methods of describing and explaining the past.

Nietzsche characterizes his own philosophical project as just such an attempt to make becoming 'stand still.' He is trying to conceptualize history in a meaningful way while at the same time acknowledging the past is "unconceptualized chaos."[9] Certainly not by ignoring reality's historical character, nor by believing his concepts, words, and propositions successfully *do* arrest reality as it really was independent of his construction; Nietzsche's unique accomplishment in the philosophy of history was to simultaneously recognize the developmental character of reality and that his own account of it represents a symbolic way of description, a way that admits the anti-realist, perspectival, and historical character of his historiography.[10] "Philosophy, the way I alone regard it, as the most general form of history [*Historie*], as an attempt to

[3] *MaM* 1, 2; *KSA* 2, 25. [4] *NF* June–July 1885, 38[14]; *KSA* 11, 613.
[5] *NF* April–June 1885, 34[73]; *KSA* 11, 442.
[6] *NF* end 1886–spring 1887, 7[20]; *KSA* 12, 302ff. *KSA* 12, 303 cites this passage as "Ende 1836–Frühjahr 1887," which is an obvious misprint.
[7] *GD* "Venunft," 1; *KSA* 6, 74.
[8] Lou Salome is reported to have made the interesting remark that "The historical instinct consists not so much in arranging facts as in enlarging them correctly." Cited in Pfeiffer (1970), 203. Although non-confirmable, if true this sentiment at least goes some way toward explaining his attitude shift toward the phrase 'historical sense' away from his earlier disdain of the fact-grubbing scientific historians, which we outlined in Chapter 4.
[9] The phrase is an apt description from Bernard Williams (2002), 244ff, who, however, considers Nietzsche's historiographical project fundamentally incoherent. See especially Williams (2000), 157. See also Conway (1994), 318–333. My own refutation of Williams depends upon the cogency of my ascription of representational anti-realism, which will continue to become clear in the next two chapters.
[10] In this way, I try to avoid the typically Derridian strategy of showing an author to be working with a 'philosopheme' that that same author has already undermined. Nietzsche is not writing history while undermining the possibility of writing history, but writing histories in a way consistent with his epistemology and ontology.

somehow *describe and abbreviate in symbols* [Zeichen] the Heraclitean becoming."[11]

The character of reality is, for Nietzsche, a constant process, a continual flux of forms and shapes, the meaning of which shifts and transmogrifies along with the conceptual symbols of those interpreters who try to encapsulate it. Our values, as a part of reality, will be no different. They will be no Platonic forms existing immutably beyond space and time, awaiting the philosopher capable of apprehending them beyond the flux of appearances. They will be no Schopenhauerian ideas, no timeless objects of speculation.[12] For Nietzsche, the flux of appearances is our reality, our only reality, and as such our task as philosophers cannot be to make reality really 'stand fast,' but to abbreviate it as if it did, to approximate reality in concepts and words, to interpret reality symbolically in ways that are meaningful for beings that are psycho-physiognomically arranged in the approximate ways our types are. In the *Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche must represent values like 'good' and 'evil' symbolically, while recognizing that in reality both are historically contingent interpretations and not timeless facts. "History can only be conceptualized through concepts [*durch Begriffe begriffen werden*]; the concepts, however, must be created by historical people."[13] Genealogy, as Nietzsche conceives it, is a historically contingent anti-realist representation set within and constructed to convince a specific and determinate type of perspective.

Genealogy as representational anti-realism

Nietzsche's central presupposition in the 1887 *Genealogie* is that the values we hold today to be universal, timeless, and inviolable are really a culturally specific, temporary, and contingent manifestation of a tortuously long development. To this end, Nietzsche's entire purpose hangs upon an historical description. Nietzsche seeks to describe "morality as it really existed and was really lived," "the real *history of morality*," "the really-confirmable [*das Wirklich-Feststellbare*], the really-as-it-had-been-there

[11] *NF* June–July 1885, 36[27]; *KSA* 11, 562. My emphasis. My interpretation brings Nietzsche particularly close to Mach's position on the symbolic 'economy' of mental representation. See Mach (1886), 1–24.

[12] Indeed Nietzsche stresses his opposition to the subject-free *Anschauung* model of apprehension, which we saw was for a time his own. See *GM* III, 6; *KSA* 5, 347ff. Rée, too, considered his own position as intrinsically anti-Schopenhauerian insofar as values must be considered in terms of their historical development. Schopenhauer's doctrine of compassion, for example, "can make us aware of how wrong it is to make the non-egoistic sentiment by itself the object of speculation, without attention to the history of its origin." Rée (2003), 92.

[13] *NF* April–June 1885, 34[22]; *KSA* 11, 428. The statement is an approving summary of Hippolyte Taine.

[*das Wirklich-Dagewesene*]."[14] Nietzsche criticizes other historical accounts of morality precisely with respect to their inability to consider this 'true' history of morals. Beyond the naivety of supra-historical metaphysicians like Plato, Kant, and Schopenhauer, he "sincerely hopes" that those who do study the history of morality –'those English Psychologists,' for example – have learned to "sacrifice desirability to truth, every truth, even a plain, bitter, ugly, foul, unchristian, immoral truth [. . .] Because there are such truths."[15] The work is more than a disinterested chronicle of 'historical facts'; it is ostensibly a polemic intended to make readers think critically about their long-held values by offering up a rival set capable of displacing them. But the prescriptive force of the book depends intrinsically on Nietzsche's historical description – precisely what his meta-history renders problematic at best and impossible at worst.

Nearly all commentators on the *Genealogie* recognize the problem of affixing the veracity of Nietzsche's claims, and offer a variety of strategies for mitigating it. I take the view that Nietzsche thinks his description is true, in a specific historiographical sense.[16] For were his exhortation to truthfulness nothing more than an 'irritating' rhetorical device,[17] then in what way could his '*Streitschrift*' possibly succeed against those readers who do take seriously the truth of their own counter-values? Were none of his historical explanations intended to be true, if Nietzsche was no more than "parasitically inhabit[ing] the dominant interpretation,"[18] then why should we esteem his description of the historical transfiguration of 'good' and 'evil,' the slave revolt in morality, the various heritages of modern punishment, and the development of the meaning of ascetic ideals with any more seriousness than we do the historical accuracy of his description of the character Zarathustra?[19] Had he wished to construct a philosophically meaningful but fictive narrative whose content was never meant to express the "real history of morality," the composition of his *Also sprach Zarathustra* proves to

[14] *GM* Vorrede, 7; *KSA* 5, 254. The *Anti-Christ*, too, insists that it is "die echte Geschichte des Christenthums." *A* 39; *KSA* 6, 211.

[15] *GM* 1, 1; *KSA* 5, 258. For an impressive sampling of passages where the truth or falsity of a judgment is the justification for accepting or rejecting it, see Anderson (2005), 213.

[16] Most notably, this position is defended by Leiter (2002), 180–181. David Owen also defends the 'truthfulness' of genealogy, but tends to mean honesty. See Owen (2007), 134–144.

[17] See, for example, Stegmaier (1994), 66. "What Nietzsche wants in the end, despite his irritating use of the phrase the 'real *history of morality*,' is not genealogy [conceived] as history, but genealogy as critique, as a *critique* of moral value."

[18] Conway (1994), 324ff.

[19] For a reading of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as narrative construction, see Westerdale (2006), 47–69; and Shapiro (1989), 39–70. An informative examination of the connection between Nietzsche's epistemology and narrative style is Pichler (2010), esp. 191–204.

us both that he was able to do so and, for whatever reason, chose *not* to do so in his *Genealogie der Moral*. Apart from an unconvincing strategy, we might also question why – were this all just a narrative fiction – Nietzsche would have bothered with such meticulous historical research.[20]

Nietzsche, I contend, is not just constructing fictive narratives but offering a representational anti-realist description of his historical subject matter pursuant to a perspectival explanation orchestrated to convince certain types of readers. Let us see whether the argumentative structure of *GM* bears out this contention.

Structurally, Nietzsche seeks, "*which origins* [welchen Ursprung] our terms good and evil actually have."[21] These cannot be origins in the sense of an alpha-point mechanical cause given what we saw earlier about his critique of scientific explanations – some single cue ball whose impact sets the whole table of moral history in motion. He wants to know "under what conditions [*Bedingungen*] did man invent the value judgments good and evil? *And what value do they have themselves?*"[22] We "need to know about the conditions and circumstances under which these values grew up, developed and changed."[23] Accordingly, Nietzsche seeks to articulate the set of natural

[20] Besides Burckhardt and Bachofen's cultural studies, some of Nietzsche's sources on European cultural history include J. W. Draper, *Geschichte der geistigen Entwickelung Europas* (1871); E. B. Tylor's *Die Anfänge der Cultur* (1873); W. Mannhardt's *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (1875); J. Lubbock's *Die Entstehung der Civilisation und der Urzustand des Menschengeschlechtes* (1875); and J. Janssen's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (1879). It is worth mentioning that F. A. H. v. Hellwald's *Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung bis zur Gegenwart* (1876–1877), and to a lesser extent his *Die Erde und ihre Völker* (1877–1878), were key influences on the formation of Nietzsche's character of Zarathustra. See D'Iorio (1993), 395–397. Perhaps the most important source for Nietzsche's reading of cultural history, however, was W. E. H. Lecky, whose *Geschichte des Ursprungs und Einflusses der Aufkärung in Europa* (1873), *Sittengeschichte Europas von Augustus bis auf Karl den Grossen* (1879), and *Entstehungsgeschichte und Charakteristik des Methodismus* (1880) were especially important for Nietzsche's formulation of how 'types' emerge and descend within history. See Brusotti (2001), 422–434. Among the other sources consulted specifically during the preparation of the *Genealogie der Moral* are Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (1841); A. Fick, *Ursache und Wirkung: ein Versuch* (1867); J. S. Mill, *Auguste Comte und der Positivismus* ([1865] 1874); W. Bagehot, *Der Ursprung der Nationen* (1874); L. Jacolliot, *Les Législateurs religieux: Manou-Moïse-Mahomet* (1876); Jacob Wackernagel, *Über den Ursprung des Brahmanismus* (1877); H. Spencer, *Die Tatsachen der Ethik* (1879); Alfred Espinas, *Die thierischen Gesellschaften* (1879); Eugen Dreher, *Der Darwinismus und seine Consequenzen in wissenschaftlicher und socialer Beziehung* (1882); J. Lippert, *Christenthum, Volksglaube, und Volksbrauch* (1882); and L. Jacoby, *Die Idee der Entwickelung: Eine sozial-philosophische Darstellung* (1886–1887). For more on Nietzsche's reading and context see Brobjer (2008) and Jensen (2013b).

[21] *GM* Vorrede, 3; *KSA* 5, 249.

[22] *GM* Vorrede, 3; *KSA* 5, 249ff.

[23] *GM* Vorrede, 6; *KSA* 5, 253. The search for naturalistic causes is particularly close to Hippolyte Taine, to whom Nietzsche referred with the familiar 'Henri' and of whose writings Nietzsche possessed several volumes. See, for example, the introduction to Taine (1863). For an indication of Nietzsche's laudatory attitude toward Taine, whom he would often group with Bauer and Burckhardt as his only

conditions of that process by which values develop, sometimes long and slow as in the case of the development of the meaning of punishment or the development of the ascetic ideal from its early religious roots to its new manifestation in modern science, sometimes abrupt as in Paul's historical falsification of the meaning of Christ.[24] Those conditions will typically be naturalistic in the sense that they are at least theoretically approachable in terms consistent with natural science and will avoid talk of divine interventions, providential ends, and metaphysical *dei ex machinis*.

It would be difficult to deny, unless one maintains that each of the above quotations is ironic[25] or rhetorical,[26] that Nietzsche intends to provide, above all, a naturalistic account that explicates the causes as to how contemporary values developed out of an older period of time. He criticizes historical interpreters who trace the development of ascetic ideals to the wrong causes, but offers his own set of the right ones. "Allow me to present how things actually were [*den Thatbestand*] in contrast to this: *the ascetic ideals spring from the protective and healing instincts of a degenerating life*, which uses every means to maintain itself and struggles for existence."[27] Of the historical development of *ressentiment*, he again maintains the validity of a characteristically causal account. "Here alone, in my opinion, is found the real physiological causation [*wirkliche physiologische Ursächlichkeit*] of ressentiment, revenge and their derivatives, in a yearning, then, to *anaesthetize pain through affects*."[28] "At this point, I can no longer avoid giving a preliminary expression to my own hypothesis on the origin [*Ursprung*] of 'bad conscience.'"[29] But what kind of causes are these? Surely not 'scientific causes' intended to provide for once and all the single deduction by which the origin of morality will be for all time proven – as if Nietzsche could point out some general law of the development of meaning such that the particular instances of the meaning of good or evil could somehow be deduced. Nor can it be some metaphysical entity which brings about events in the manner of teleological historiography – as if Nietzsche could assign God, the Metaphysical Unconscious, or *Geist* the duty of pushing forward

three worthy readers, see Nietzsche to Reinhart von Seydlitz, shortly before October 26, 1886; *KSB* 7, 270. Rohde's critique of Taine may have in fact contributed to Nietzsche's increasingly icy attitude toward Rhode in the late 1880s. See Nietzsche to Rohde, May 19, 1887; *KSB* 8, 76ff.

[24] *AC* 42; *KSA* 6, 216; see also *GM* II, 17; *KSA* 5, 324.

[25] For a study of Nietzsche's alleged irony throughout the *Genealogy*, see Guay (2011), 26–49.

[26] Habermas believes that Nietzsche, "instead of truth claims, retains only the rhetorical claim of the aesthetic fragment." Habermas (1982), 22. For a discussion of Habermas in relation to Nietzsche's historiography, see Shapiro (1989), 5–11.

[27] *GM* III, 13; *KSA* 5, 366. One of these counter interpretations was likely Rée's. See for example Rée (2003), 164ff.

[28] *GM* III, 15; *KSA* 5, 374.

[29] *GM* II, 16; *KSA* 5, 321.

the development of the aescetic ideal. Nietzsche's use of causal language is in fact more in keeping with twentieth-century thinking than with the scientific positivism of his own century, in two ways.

First, Nietzsche's convention is consistent with the counterfactual theory of explanation put forward most notably by David Lewis.[30] "We think of a cause as something that makes a difference, and the difference it makes must be a difference from what would have happened without it."[31] Were the cause alleged by the historian not the case, the event to be explained would not have happened as it did. This is quintessentially an anti-realist mode of representation since its construal of 'what might otherwise have been' is obviously just the opposite of an attempt to re-present 'what had actually been.' It is a mind-centered contrary-to-fact conditional about what ought to be considered responsible for a genuinely real event. And Nietzsche's accounts make substantial use of such anti-realist etiological explanations. That the 'slave revolt' in morality was brought about by the gradual encroaching of Judeo-Christian power aims upon those of the Greco-Romans fits this sort of thinking.[32] Without such a 'world-historical event,' without the 'victory' of the Jews, the older value system might well have remained dominant. This is hardly just some story, but an appeal to a rather credible contrary-to-fact conditional. The rise of the Judeo-Christian morals is what 'makes the difference' from what would have happened otherwise, i.e., the continuation of a more characteristically Roman set of mores or else their defeat at the hands of an even less 'tamed' expression of power from Rome's various northern and western neighbors. And what 'makes a difference' is itself a relational valuation that depends upon the perspective of the author and audience of the statement. There is no way to test the truth conditions of this type of explanation logically or empirically since one cannot compare what did happen 'as a result' of the slave revolt with a reality in which Judeo-Christian beliefs failed to become dominant in Europe. Indeed, 'responsibility' itself is in a strict sense nothing real in the world but, again, an ascription of causal relation for the sake of certain perspectives in a way that increases their familiarity with the situation.

[30] That Nietzsche considered counterfactuals important since his Basel years, see *NF* spring–summer 1875, 5[58]; *KSA* 8, 56: "The question 'What would have been the consequence if so and so had not happened?' is almost unanimously thrust aside, and yet it is the cardinal question."

[31] Lewis (1986), 161.

[32] "It was the Jews who, rejecting the aristocratic value equation (good = noble = powerful = beautiful = happy = blessed) ventured, with awe-inspiring consistency, to bring about a reversal and held it in the teeth of their unfathomable hatred." *GM* 1, 7; *KSA* 5, 267.

The explanation Nietzsche offers cannot, as such, be considered viable as a realist account. Were it, we would have to consider the Jewish people as a physical, ontological cause for the development of morality, which would be to say that Nietzsche genuinely believes that every Jewish person, all of them, consciously and with 'unfathomable hatred' chose to reject an existent and apparently quite obvious 'aristocratic value equation.' This simply cannot be what he is claiming.[33] But as an anti-realist account – which brings Nietzsche close to more reasonable counterfactual causal explanations like 'were it not for the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States would not have entered the Second World War,' – it serves to highlight which cause the historian values as the most significant factor in the causal process and hopes to convince like-minded readers of the same by increasing their familiarity with the situation under investigation. An anti-realist counterfactual explanation does not treat cause mechanistically – as if things like 'Slave Revolts' or 'the attack on Pearl Harbor' could be mechanistically efficacious – but nonetheless meaningfully explains a historical event in a way that contributes to our 'knowledge,' in the sense of increased familiarity for certain perspectives, of the event in question. A counterfactual explanation of this sort is neither a mere story among other stories nor a representation of the past as it really was, but nevertheless a genuine historiographical argument whose measure of acceptance rests upon the extent to which other like-minded perspectives also place the responsibility of historical change on that same cause.

The second way that Nietzsche's use of anti-realist etiology aligns with twentieth-century philosophy of history concerns the ontological status of this alleged cause.[34] We've already shown that, for Nietzsche, reality is

[33] Contra Geuss (1994), 275–292. Geuss holds that the critical force of the genealogy resides in being able to provide a historically more accurate account of Judeo-Christian values than they can themselves. Nietzsche's account is a realist one, Geuss implies, but one whose veracity will uncover the historically faulty beliefs held by his opponents. My interpretation varies widely, and holds closer to Leiter's with respect to his contention that the only people who would be convinced by the *Genealogie* are those who are perspectivally predisposed to accept Nietzsche's value anyway. See Leiter (2002), 176.

[34] Nietzsche first encountered how an anti-realist formulation of causality would affect historical writing in Drossbach (1884), which he read shortly before the composition of the *Genealogie*. See Brobjer (2008), 177. Drossbach criticized realist ascriptions of causality insofar as they rely on outdated visions of objects and events, insofar as they "suppose that the world of appearances, together with its causal chain of appearances, has a real existence; but it's nothing more than our representation, and consists only in our subjectivity, dependent on our representation." Drossbach (1884), 52. Because material objects are objects only insofar as they are represented in space and time, their alleged affect upon other objects within historical events must, too, be considered representations. Thus, any ascriptions of change, progress, or becoming, must acknowledge its representational and symbolic character. "Any such directedness is merely apparent, nothing real – and this assumption never allows us to grasp the instantiation of a representation itself." Drossbach (1884), 48.

dynamic and because of that our designations of 'things' or 'events,' however necessary for navigating our world, must be considered a symbolic use of designations within an anti-realist framework of representation. And if this is so, then the 'causal fulcrum' by which a persistent substantial entity is to bring about a change can, too, only be considered a convenient and convincing symbolic representation. It was Maurice Mandelbaum who, in his own well-known critique of traditional historiographical theories of causation, noted the same phenomenon. "The popular notion of causality, as it was usually interpreted, demanded that all events be regarded as derivative from ultimate substantial entities. When the ultimate substantial nature of matter began to disappear under the bombardments of physical research, the popular notion of causality was seriously undermined."[35] The explanatory theory he offered in place of the traditional notion claims that when we assign causes we are really just connecting two related events or things – admittedly representationally abstracted events and things – in a way that is meaningful to the historian and to the audience for whom they write.[36] That connection is not really 'in' the events or things in a realist way, but in the mind of the historian; and as such can be meaningful in however many ways that increase our familiarity with the phenomenon in question. Nietzsche did the same generations earlier.

The descriptions Nietzsche offers in the *Genealogy* serve psychologically to communicate knowledge in the manner we outlined in the previous chapter: as perspectival explanations. For while those conditions are not general laws under which particular historical events could be deduced or predicted, they are idiographic designations that increase our sense of familiarity with the formerly unfamiliar phenomena because we readers – in the event we agree with Nietzsche – share in the proximally same perspectival sphere of meaning. For example, we may not apprehend where the notion 'good' comes from; but we understand the feeling of inadequacy combined with a desire for sour-grape style revenge over those who have physically bested us sufficiently well such that the proffered perspectival explanation of the origin of good genuinely does increase our familiarity with the notion. The origin of 'bad conscience' seems *prima facie* mysterious as well; but by couching his perspectival explanation of it in the sufficiently familiar phenomenon of cruelty combined with our inclination to believe that civilized man is less violent in an outward manner, we are prepared to acknowledge that 'bad conscience' is caused by a certain need

[35] Mandelbaum (1967), 218. [36] *Ibid.*, 223–422.

for cruelty turned inward – a *Verinnerlichung der Grausamkeit* – through a long process of civilized taming of the animal man.[37]

Emergence and descendence

By acknowledging that the conviction-force of an ascription of responsibility and of causal efficacy relies upon the subjectivities of the historian and their audience rather than upon a detached world of substantial entities, Nietzsche's genealogical account of the 'causes' of the history of morals entails an important consequence for morality generally, and herd morality in particular. For:

> [m]orality in Europe today is herd animal morality – in other words, as we understand it, merely *one* type of human morality beside which, before which, and after which many other types, above all higher moralities, are, or ought to be, possible. But this morality resists such a 'possibility,' such an 'ought,' with all its power: it says stubbornly and inexorably, 'I am morality itself and nothing besides is morality!'[38]

Conventional moralities, Nietzsche supposes, are built on the premise that they are the one single interpretation of how things were – that because the past 'really was like this,' then acting in such a way is really good and not acting in such a way is really evil. The premise is an obvious abuse of the genetic fallacy. Yet more inimical is that the herd belief in the reality of their representation has become absolute. The diversity of perspectives has gradually been whittled down to the point where entire masses of people bow assent to a single univocal judgment about the past. Whether the assumption of what the US Founding Fathers really intended when writing the Constitution or what Jesus really said on Mount Eremos, the normative force of any system of values depends on a representational realist vision of history. Each form of morality holds its standard of value as the correct one, indeed as the only one possible, precisely because its account of the past is *the* way things were.

Michel Foucault is credited as the first to grasp the significance of Nietzsche's undermining of the traditional realist notion of historical causation for moral arguments.[39] And Foucault also bears the clearest mark of influence of any philosopher in his own 'Nietzschean'

[37] *GM* II, 16; *KSA* 5, 321ff. [38] *JGB*, 202; *KSA* 5, 124.

[39] See Foucault (1977). For two recent treatments of Foucault's reception of Nietzsche, see Mahon (1992) and Saar (2007). An informative account about Nietzsche's notions of origin and causation is Sommer (2003).

attempts to do away with historiography of the 'arche' and embrace one of the 'archive.' One can argue that all of Foucault's writings attempt to displace the representation of real origins for the sake of examining several archival "systems that establish statements as events and things."[40] While some of the quotations of Nietzsche above show that Foucault was rather heavy-handed in reducing the variety of Nietzsche's causes to 'Herkunft' and 'Entstehung,' his characterization highlights the important deconstructive force of Nietzsche's historiography.

The traditional historiographical notion of cause presumes a single sufficient condition that explains why something became what it did. Where Judeo-Christian moral rules are believed to have a divine source, one expects the immutability of their status today. Where the scientific ideal of subject-free objectivity is believed to have come from a pure and innocent desire for truth, that ideal carries an almost sacred value as well. But where, as Nietzsche hopes to show, the allegedly single origin of those values is stripped away and revealed to be a collection of various all-too-human and self-interested reinterpretations, our faith in such hypostasized values falls away psychologically.[41] Nietzsche's conception of 'descent' highlights this accidental character of what is typically considered essential in the development of a phenomenon. In the more usual denotation of genealogy as a family-tree or pedigree, the thing or person is assigned a particular esteem on the basis of what past has 'gone into them.'[42] Horses and dogs are valued on the basis of their bloodlines, as often enough are people. Institutions and even values themselves are valued at least in part for the history that has 'gone into them' as well. Genealogical historiography, by contrast, works to efface the coins, dissolve ossified systems of value. It "disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself."[43]

Apart from esteeming the origin, the other side of more typical historical norm-idealization concerns the value of the instantiated thing – as if the value of a thing today justifies the long history of its development. If an economy thrives today, then the generations-old policies of its stewards must have been wise. If Christianized countries enjoy a relatively decent way of life today, then all the violence of crusades and colonization and

[40] Foucault (1972), 128. See also Flynn (1994), 28ff.
[41] Cf. Emden (2008), 235; Conway (1994), 328. [42] See Geuss (1994), 275ff; Stegmaier (1994), 63.
[43] Bouchard (1977), 146ff. Note this is the very opposite of Habermas' insupportable claim that for Nietzsche, "That which is *more originary* is considered more venerable, respectable, natural and pure. *Ancestry and origin* serve simultaneously as the criteria of rank in the social as well as in the logical sense." Habermas (1982), 27.

inquisitions must have been worth it. Whereas 'descent' challenges the value of the present on the basis of its past, Nietzsche's concept of 'emergence' resists justifying the past on the basis of the present. Events are not some end point or goal of a thought-out process. Emergent phenomena are ephemeral, capable of arising only through conflict and confrontation, but never justify some cause from which they are believed to result.[44] History is a sort of struggle of forces, where what emerges does so by virtue of a momentarily stronger power of expression over its counter. The masters and slaves of the *Genealogie* never experience a Hegelian *Aufhebung*.[45] The belief in the glory of the 'last day,' for which Nietzsche ridiculed Hartmann and Strauss and through them Hegel and Marx, never comes about if antithetical emergents never reach their final synthesis.

Punishment, for a particularly good example of emergence, stands as a single word to name a diverse manifold of phenomena whose various attributed meanings emerge within an artificially ossified structure – an attempt to ascertain (*feststellen*) something which does not stand fast (*feststehen*).

> [T]he general history of punishment up to now, the history of its use for a variety of purposes, finally crystallizes in a kind of unity which is difficult to dissolve back into its elements, difficult to analyze and, what one must stress, is absolutely *undefinable*. (Today it is impossible to say precisely *why* people are actually punished: all concepts in which an entire process is semiotically concentrated defy definition; the definable is only that which has no history.)[46]

Here Nietzsche's portrayal again suggests the preferability of anti-realism. For punishment is no real subsistent thing to which we can realistically ascribe predicates and then insert into some real causal relationship. It is handled as a useful symbolic designation whose meaning itself contains a complicated history of over-writings and reinterpretations, to the point that whatever reality there was earlier on has been obfuscated by the increasing emergence of new interpreting forces. As a historian after his own conception of historiography, Nietzsche's task is precisely the opposite of finding

[44] Cf. Smart (1985), 47–53.

[45] As Deleuze did well to point out, insofar as emergent qualia continually struggle, and are continually in conflict with other potentially dominating emergent qualia, they never in fact resolve themselves into some kind of 'higher' form of recognition that could in principle sanctify its origin. See generally Deleuze (1983).

[46] *GM* II, 13; *KSA* 5, 317. Further, "Constant transitions forbid us from speaking about 'individuals' [. . .] just as little about cause and effect [. . .] a world that becomes could not, in a strict sense, be 'comprehended' or 'known.'" *NF* June–July 1885, 36[23]; *KSA* 11, 561.

some real isolated phenomenon called punishment; it is instead "to at least supply a representation [*Vorstellung*] of how uncertain, retroactive and accidental the 'meaning' of punishment is, and how one and the same procedure can be used, interpreted, and adapted for fundamentally different projects."[47] By revealing punishment as an emergent interpretation rather than as a substantial essence, Nietzsche discomfits the confidence with which we ascribe a noble purpose to institutionalized rituals of punishment, when we seek to punish in the name of God, country, justice, human rights, the law, the state, common decency, or whatever other ground we employ to justify the institutionalized harming of another.

> [T]he cause of the emergence [*Ursache der Entstehung*] of a thing and its ultimate usefulness, its practical application and incorporation into a system of ends, are toto coelo separate; that anything in existence, having somehow come about [*Zu-Stande-Gekommenes*], is continually interpreted anew, requisitioned anew, transformed and redirected to a new purpose by a greater power; that everything that occurs in the organic world consists of *overpowering*, *dominating*, and, in their turn, overpowering and dominating consist of new interpretation, adjustment, in the process of which their former 'meaning' and 'purpose' must necessarily be obscured or completely obliterated.[48]

Anti-realist historiography, as Nietzsche here conceives it, is particularly suited to overturning beliefs. Notice how he has progressed beyond his notion of critical history in *Nutzen und Nachteil*, where particular beliefs or values were undermined by revealing a discrepancy in the real traditions on which they were really built. He has progressed even further beyond the critical realism of his philological articles, where the authorship of particular written texts was undermined when compared with more trustworthy evidence. Genealogy is not just a useful hammer alongside an assortment of others tools of critique. It is a global contention about the possibility of relying on traditions as justifications generally. "*The historical refutation* [historische Widerlegung] *as the decisive one*. – Once it was sought to prove that there was no God – now it is shown how the belief that a God existed could have *emerged* [entstehen], and by what means the belief gained authority and importance: in this way the counterproof that there is no God becomes unnecessary and superfluous."[49] Subjecting God, or for that matter any other hypostasized belief, cultural norm, moral value, or typical practice, to a historical critique in terms of showing how such things come to be believed in the first place *itself* does the

[47] *GM* II, 13; *KSA* 5, 317. [48] *GM* II, 12; *KSA* 5, 314. [49] *M* 95; *KSA* 3, 86.

refutational work – in the sense of dissuading conviction – that was previously believed to be the work of logic.[50]

The 'English' genealogists

The meaningfulness of a perspectival explanation not only presupposes a horizon in which it is circumscribed, but also a rival perspectival interpretation against which it can compete. Were there no allowance for rival points of view, the perspectival would devolve into the same sort of absolutistic thinking genealogy it intended to resist. Perhaps the most important counter-interpretation to Nietzsche's own power-based view of the development of morality is Darwinian evolution, as it was applied on the one hand by the 'English genealogists' like Mill and Spencer and on the other by Nietzsche's one-time confidant Paul Rée.[51] Nietzsche's genealogical critique serves two undermining functions: first, as a psychological critique of their particular theses about historical development; second, as a critique of their general mode of historical judgment.

To the first point, even though Nietzsche shares with the Darwinians a general historical naturalism and the belief that values are historically derivative social constructions,[52] he finds that a number of their theses are untenable.[53] Where Darwinians see moral progress over time, Nietzsche sees at best no progress and at worst deterioration.[54] Where – especially for Spencer – the competition among organisms not only reveals which are more fit but actually brings about more fit organisms over history, for Nietzsche conflict guarantees no progress, only the further exertion of power in different dynamics.[55] The origin of the concept 'good' is sought by the Darwinians among the recipients of good deeds, while Nietzsche understood the passive recipients of deeds as passive, too, in the process of

[50] Cf. Emden (2008), 272.

[51] Small reports that Nietzsche probably only read one work of Darwin's: "Biographical Sketch of an Infant." Small (2005), 88 n. 37. Nietzsche drew much of his knowledge of Darwin from Rée's *Psychologische Beobachtungen* (1875), *Der Urspring der moralischen Empfindungen* (1877), and his *Entstehung des Gewissen* (1885); and we know Nietzsche read Spencer's *Einleitung in das Studium der Sociologie* (1875), and his *Die Tatsachen der Ethik* (1879). A fuller account of Darwin, Rée, and the 'English' school of morality can be found in Richardson (2004), Small (2005), Sommer (2010), and Johnson (2010). On Nietzsche's understanding of Spencer and Mill, see especially Fornari (2006). I consulted these sources throughout this section.

[52] See *NF* spring 1880–spring 1882, 10[D88]; *KSA* 9, 433ff.

[53] Contra Dennett (1995), 65: "Aside from Nietzsche's characteristic huffing and puffing about some power subduing and becoming master, this is pure Darwin."

[54] Darwin (1996), 395. Cited in Johnson (2010), 123.

[55] "[A] succession of more or less profound, more or less mutually independent processes of subjugation exacted on the thing." *GM* II, 12; *KSA* 5, 314. See also Johnson (2010), 134; Born (2010), 46.

designating values.[56] For Darwin, animals that work in groups while reinforcing cooperation and compassion are better suited for survival than individualistic societies. For Nietzsche, what really helps a species evolve (and not just preserve itself) is the elevation of individuals who work against the existing herd, even if those great individuals sacrifice themselves.[57] Darwin thinks that the earliest laws and customs were made with a mind toward equality and protecting the weak. Nietzsche, following Walter Bagehot, thought that laws were essentially constructed to compel obedience among the herd.[58] For Darwin, the fittest survive, whereas for Nietzsche even the very fittest are susceptible to being overcome by a larger number of the less fit.[59] For Darwin, the will to survive and to propagate the species motivates human behavior, where for Nietzsche survival and propagation are derivative from the more essential Will-to-Power.

Darwinian interpretations cannot be considered false because their judgments fail to correspond to a past world external to them. With a familiar move, Nietzsche now investigates the drive-constituted view of life, the perspective on life, which led these Darwinian historians to hold these particular theses and their audiences to accept them. Nietzsche locates it thusly:

> I highlight this major point of historical method, all the more since it runs counter to precisely that prevailing instinct and fashion which would much rather come to terms with absolute randomness [*absoluten Zufälligkeit*], and even the mechanistic senselessness of all events, than the theory that a *power-will* is acted out in all that happens. The democratic idiosyncrasy of being against everything that dominates and wants to dominate, the modern *misarchism* (to coin a bad word for a bad thing) has gradually shaped and dressed itself up as intellectual, most intellectual [. . .]. But this is to misunderstand the essence of life, its *will to power*, we overlook the prime importance which the spontaneous, aggressive, expansive, reinterpreting, redirecting, and formative powers have, which 'adaptation' follows only when they have had their effect; in the organism itself, the dominant role of these highest functionaries, in whom the life-will is active and manifests itself, is denied.[60]

[56] See *GM* 1, 2; *KSA* 5, 258ff. [57] See, among other sections, *FW* 1 and 4; *GM* 1, 1.

[58] See Bagehot (1965–1986) VIII, 31. Nietzsche's reading of Bagehot (1874) was particularly helpful in his divergence from Darwinism. Cf. Small (2005), 128.

[59] A good example is *A* 51; *KSA* 6, 231ff: "It was *not* (as is commonly believed) the corruption of antiquity itself, of the *nobles* of antiquity that made Christianity possible [. . .] The great numbers gained control; the democratism of the Christian instinct had *won* [. . .] it appealed to all the types that had been disinherited by life, it had its allies everywhere." The "principle lie of history" is even claimed to be the Darwinian connection between success of a people and their morality at *NF* fall 1887, 9[157]; *KSA* 12, 428.

[60] *GM* II, 12; *KSA* 5, 315ff.

The Darwinians, for all their historicizing, fail to recognize that their own democratic moral values are themselves the product of a long historical process.[61] Psychologically, they are inclined to start from their own 'misarchic' standpoint as an absolute, and unconsciously look backwards to history only to find the success of precisely those traits they are predisposed to seek. Darwin himself is particularly guilty of this ahistorical historiography when he seeks the origin of 'moral' feelings – by which he tends to mean cooperation, sympathy, care for the young, and altruism: all the comfortable bourgeois democratic values in which he was raised – and is all-too-happy to discover that 'moral' animals like chimpanzees and apes already exhibit these traits. But one could, driven by a different psychology, provide a very different interpretation of 'moral animals' if one presumed that self-sufficiency, fitness for conflict, or cunning were similarly 'timeless' and 'universal' values.[62] Darwin, driven unconsciously to value equality, sees cooperation and sympathy as fundamental human goods. Nietzsche, aware of his own interpretive impulses, speaks of competition, overcoming, and strength of will.

Why should we believe Nietzsche's version of history over Darwin's? Darwin, more so than his followers Spencer or Rée, really was a fine historian in the traditional sense of one who collects mountains of data to support his theses and tests his hypotheses against the widest possible diversity of examples. And part of the reason Darwin himself resisted pontificating on morality overmuch was the relative paucity of reliable and objective evidence. Most of Nietzsche's counter-claims are assertions or declarations with little hope of convincing those who require the usual kinds of historical evidence. Where are the texts, where are the archeological artifacts that prove anything about the great European slave revolt or development of ascetic ideals? Nietzsche's evidence, if it can be called that, consists in a few scattered etymologies that can at best illustrate but neither explain nor demonstrate his interpretation. In the rather sarcastic words of Daniel Dennett, himself no stranger to evolutionary thinking, "Nietzsche's Just-So Stories are terrific [. . .]. They are a mixture of brilliant and crazy, sublime and ignoble, devastatingly acute history and untrammeled fantasy."[63]

But what Dennett fails to see – and this constitutes that second, more caustic undermining of traditional historiography like Darwin's – is that Nietzsche's focus also has in view the possibility of their mode of

[61] That this was a common trend in historiography, cf. *NF* fall 1885–fall 1886, 2[188]; *KSA* 12, 160.
[62] See Hoy (1986), 29. [63] Dennett (1995), 464.

historiography itself. As we continue to see, Nietzsche's mature philosophy of history simultaneously undermines a single absolute subject-free interpretation of historical events and opens up the possibility, indeed the necessity, of having rival interpretations compete for acceptance by appealing to perspectival spheres of meaning.[64] Historiography, as an expression of the Will-to-Power insofar as it manipulates, contests, critiques, reestablishes, reportrays, and remolds the meaning of the 'givens' of the past, will always reject the vacuum of a single absolute interpretation and seek rivals – as does Nietzsche's *Streitschrift* with the Darwinians – against which it can assert its influence.[65] Its appeal rests neither in its logical demonstrations nor its quantity of empirical evidence, but, in keeping with the principles of perspectival explanation, provides a symbolic representation that is meaningful and even convincing to many, but not all, perspectives on that same event.[66] It is therefore not merely that particular theses of the Darwinian interpretation are susceptible to doubt due to their insalubrious perspective; it's that their practice of history is intrinsically untenable: it represents an ascetic ideal of objectivity, timelessness, and selflessness that sought the one absolute way of interpreting the 'facts' of the past – a hypocritical historiography that denies the evolutionary character of his own theory of evolution.

And the very presence of evolutionary theory as a reinterpretation of existing interpretations of 'the facts' by itself suggests the inherent preferability of Nietzsche's own belief that proper historiography is an expression of Will-to-Power. For "somebody with an opposite intention and mode of interpretation," like Spencer or Rée,

> could come along and be able to read from the same nature, and with reference to the same set of appearances [. . .] – an interpreter would show the exceptionless and unconditional nature of all 'will to power' so vividly and graphically that almost every word, and even the word 'tyranny,' would ultimately seem unusable . . . Certainly, this is only an interpretation too – and you will be eager enough to point this out? – well, all the better.[67]

[64] See Johnson (2010), 112–114. While I agree with Johnson on this point, my next section will refute his (and others') claim that Nietzsche's interpretation is just one reading among many and that there is no inherent measure of preferability among interpretations. See Johnson (2010), 135; cf. also Born (2010), 208.

[65] The connection Nietzsche envisioned between historiographical interpretations of morality and the Will-to-Power is indicated in an outline to his so-called 'Lenzer Heide' fragment: *NF* summer 1886–fall 1887, 5[70]; *KSA* 12, 210ff. On Will-to-Power within historical interpretation, see Lipperheide (1999), 143; Saar (2007), 107–130.

[66] In David Owen's words, genealogy is a "perspicuous representation oriented around the axis of our real need." Owen (2007), 143.

[67] *JGB* 22; *KSA* 5, 37.

Far from trying to eliminate counter-interpretations that result from competing power-wills, Nietzsche's genealogy – a *Streitschrift* after all – actually requires them to reveal the preferability of his account of historiography as an expression of power aims. Even to those perspectives on the past for which Nietzsche holds no sympathy he can only acknowledge that what counts for "meaning of the herd should rule in the herd – just that it not overreach itself."[68] Accordingly, not only does the *Genealogie* claim that historical phenomena have developed out of a historical conflict of power wills that vie to interpret and overwrite those necessary counter interpretations over time, but the text exemplifies in practice the fact that every historical account of morals, and, indeed all historiography itself, engages in the very same act. Consistent with his claim that morality is a dynamic of competing interpretations situated within typological perspectives, Nietzsche offers a dynamic power-based historiography aware of its meta-historical status as an anti-realist representation and perspectival explanation that stems from his own perspective and hopes to find acceptance within similarly typed readers. The Darwinians, despite their fundamental contention about the evolutionary character of all reality, write about values as if they were an absolute, unchanging, non-evolutionary set of goods. Nietzsche's genealogy, as Alexander Nehamas notes, is "history correctly practiced,"[69] a historiography that denies absolute interpretations of history, and that best reflects and embraces the character of historiographical interpretation and indeed of life as a dynamic of competing wills to power.

Genealogy and the Will-to-Power

We have shown so far that there are two levels on which Nietzsche's critique operates, namely, as a specific critique of particular interpretations on the grounds that they explain their phenomena from an unconducive psychological perspective and as a more global critique of even the possibility of grafting a static and absolute interpretation onto those phenomena within historical discourse.[70] The former go some way in showing how modern interpretations of phenomena – whether Judeo-Christian or Darwinian – are susceptible to a critique of the underlying psychology that constitutes individual historical judgments, the latter in showing how all static and

[68] *NF* end 1886–spring 1887, 7[6]; *KSA* 12, 280.
[69] See Nehamas (1985), 246, n. 1. See also Geuss (1994), 278ff.
[70] Robert Guay names this trend 'Cautious Humean' – a 'leading us away from defective beliefs' without a generative force capable of producing new values. See Guay (2000), 354. See also Danto (1965), 157.

essentialist interpretations – and, indeed, the institutionalized expressions of power that justify their existence on the basis of such interpretations[71] – fail to account for the inextricably historical character of reality.[72] We reasoners are compelled to represent reality as permanent, despite the fact that we have uncovered the anti-realist character of those representations. This, incidentally, again illustrates the radical transition of Nietzsche's genealogical project away from his earlier historiographical forms.[73]

Once we accept that Nietzsche's characterization of historical reality is an anti-realist representation, we can permit without contradiction his utilization of causal accounts on the one hand and on the other his claim that cause is really nothing more than a mind-centered rubric. We can permit, that is, how he uses generalizations like 'the Jews did x' or 'the priests did y' while at the same time claiming "[n]o one who judges, 'in this case everyone would have to act like this'" apprehends the truth of the past as it really was.[74] Contrary to MacIntyre, Nietzsche's genealogy is no "self-engendering paradox" that requires a "persistent and substantial" vision of the past for the possibility of deconstructing it.[75] Nietzsche uses such designations symbolically, as he says, as "prescriptions of action [. . .] that relate only to their rough exterior," since they are manifestly effective at making us feel more familiar with the topic under investigation.[76]

What makes Nietzsche's *Genealogie* more than just a critique of rival views is its constitutive function.[77] Nietzsche is aware of his role as an anti-realist historiographer in the text, and his historiography's efficacy in creating values in a way the 'English' psychologists did not. For if "only something which has no history can be defined" and reality itself is a thoroughgoing historical process, then any account he provides cannot be a definition, but an interpretation. "One must first interpret this state of affairs [*Thatbestand*]: in itself it remains silent [*dumm*] for all eternity, just like every 'Thing in itself.'"[78] Those interpretations are not invented willy-nilly but, as we saw in the previous chapter, follow functionally from the mental and psychological constitution of the interpreter, i.e., their

[71] As Emden puts it, "[K]nowledge about the history and transformation of cultural institutions and their underlying set of values prevents absolutist political claims." Emden (2008), 268.
[72] See *GD* "Vernunft," 5; *KSA* 6, 77.
[73] Contrary to Benne (2005), 101; Porter (2000a), 4; and Babich (2005), 62. For my arguments against their methodological assimilation of Nietzsche's published philology and his later genealogy, see Jensen (2013a).
[74] *FW* 335, *KSA* 3, 562. [75] MacIntyre (1990), 50–55. [76] *FW* 335, *KSA* 3, 563.
[77] Contra Stegmaier, who contends the *Genealogie* is not history at all, but simply critique. Stegmaier (1994), 66.
[78] *GM* III, 7; *KSA* 5, 350.

perspective.[79] Types of interpreters are individuated by roughly similar dynamics of psycho-physiognomies, and therefore both issue and comprehend judgments in type-relative standard ways. But the common characteristic of the drives and instincts that propel an agent to interpret the world as they do is ultimately, Nietzsche thinks, Will-to-Power.[80]

> But every purpose and use is just a *sign* [Anzeichen] that a will to power has become master over something less powerful, and has impressed upon it its own sense of a function; and the whole history of a 'thing,' an organ, a tradition can to this extent be a continuous symbol-chain [*Zeichen-Kette*] of new interpretations and adaptations, whose causes [*Ursachen*] need not be connected even amongst themselves, but rather follow and replace one another just accidentally.[81]

Like the chiming of a clock at midday, each moment brings with it a new layer of sound, creating new harmonies even while effacing the possibility of discerning the reverberations of the original bell.[82] Our static definitions for indefinable historical realities like 'things,' 'organs,' or 'traditions,' too, are not merely convenient fictions, but symbolic designations that over time necessarily compete with one another, harmonize with, or displace one another, as expressions of the power aims of a specific type of interpreter over and against an entire history of other interpreters, to the point that that original phenomenon, what it actually meant in-itself, has become indiscernible. "*The Will-to-Power interprets*: in the structure of an organ it's a question of interpretation; it sets limits, defines degrees, differences of power [*Machtverschiedenheiten*] . . . In truth, *interpretation is itself a means to become master of something. The organic process presupposes continuing interpretation*."[83] The historical interpreter herself manifests her will to power in interpreting the past in the typical way she does. The interpretation proceeds functionally from her will to render phenomena understandable, control them, utilize them, and ultimately have hers triumph over and

[79] The freedom to change these conditions was rejected by Nietzsche even as early as *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks* (1873). *PTG* 7, *KSA* 1, 831. See also *MaM* 1, 106; *KSA* 2, 103. Robin Small makes a convincing argument that much of Nietzsche's formulation of freedom derives from Rée. See, for example, Rée (2003), 105ff; Small (2005), 92–107.

[80] Here I do not enter the longstanding debate about the ontological status of the Will-to-Power, since it is not directly relevant to its role as an explanatory characteristic of interpretive schemas in the *Genealogy of Morals*. For an informative discussion of the relation between Will-to-Power and genealogical interpretation, see Strong (2006), 93–97; Janaway (2007), 150, 152ff; Saar (2008), 453–469; and Born (2010), 202–252. Of the many scholarly renditions of Will-to-Power, mine follows most closely the one of Abel (1984) and (1985), 35–89; and Gerhardt (1996).

[81] *GM* 11, 12; *KSA* 5, 314. See also, *JGB* 203; *KSA* 5, 126.

[82] *GM* Vorrede, 1; *KSA* 5, 247.

[83] *NF* fall 1885–fall 1886, 2[148]; *KSA* 12, 139ff. The word 'Interpretiren' is emboldened in the *KSA*.

replace competing interpretations of the same phenomena.[84] Many interpretative spheres of meaning will be shared among many types of interpreters, for example, that words like 'king' or 'revolution' are signs with at least proximally agreed-upon meanings, that political affairs have more impact upon more people than do purely personal affairs, or that naturalistic causes are better explanatory mechanisms than those employing 'divine hands.' But the differences in interpretation among historical interpreters are more interesting in that they better reveal the circumferences of the historians' perspectives, the timbre of their power-wills. Whether combatants are seen as freedom fighters or terrorists, whether a change in circumstances represents progress or decline, each interpretation reveals something about the power interests of the interpreter. Those spheres of meaning in which perspectival explanations garner acceptance or rejection now exude the single common element: the Will-to-Power. "Our drives," though multifaceted in their particular aims to interpret the past in certain ways, "are reducible to the will to power."[85]

Accordingly, the moral theme is represented symbolically as a sort of Will-to-Power in each of the three essays of the *Genealogie*. In the first essay both the nobles and base are portrayed as striving to exercise their strengths in order to procure a feeling of power over the other party. They esteem as 'good' that which increases the power of someone in their or a similar condition of life. Hence those victorious in competition, the rich, the powerful, conquerors in battle are interpreted as favored by the gods. The lowly, unable to compete in these respects, change the historical rules of valuation in order that their typical characteristics like humility, obedience, patience, charity and tolerance are considered good. In the second essay, punishment is unmasked as a continually transmogrifying will to express one's power in a dominant way over something which resists. Directed outwardly, this will becomes interpersonal torture; directed inward, this will to power leads to the development of self-conscience and nausea, various forms of self-torture. And in the third essay, asceticism is viewed as a self-contradictory "unsatiated instinct and power-will that would like to become lord not over something living but rather over life itself."[86] The ascetic ideal is, in one of its guises, the dangerous seduction of believing one's interpretation is the only one possible, objective in the positivist sense, final, once and for all.

[84] See Born (2010), 41.
[85] *NF* August–September 1885, 40[61]; *KSA* 11, 661. In Wolfgang Müller-Lauter's words, "Every proposition has as much justification as it has power." Müller-Lauter (1974), 48. See also Abel (1984), 142.
[86] *GM* III, 11; *KSA* 5, 363.

To avoid the absolutism of the ascetic ideal, by analogy, the historiographical interpreter must understand his interpretations to be a perspectival expression circumscribed by his power drives rather than a representation that adequately corresponds to the world outside him exactly as it really was. The anti-ascetic genealogical historian must, that is, be a representational anti-realist, able to talk about and represent a state of affairs in an admittedly symbolic way without demanding that the meaning of his static symbols depend upon its correspondence with the constant flux of reality. He does not hope that his interpretation should stand for all time or as the only possible one, but that it wins acceptance among perspectives whose typological power aims at least minimally and at least momentarily overlap.

Perspectival value and historiographical relativism

Nietzsche's opposition to the universality and objectivity of ascetic scientific historiography found a sympathetic audience among postmodern philosophers and historians.[87] Said briefly, postmodern historiography counsels the disintegration of absolute interpretations and inculcates disobedience toward inherited cultural norms. The similarity to Nietzsche's historiography is apparent. Like Nietzsche, the postmodernists deny the cogency of ascribing 'laws' to history and of hoping for a subject-free 'objective' description of events. Like Nietzsche, they see scientific historiography's attempt to present things of the past as they really were and the teleologists' attempt to adduce the necessary progressive course of history as masks of various human, all-too-human projects.[88] And like Nietzsche – in fact, directly following Nietzsche – they reject any 'one-size-fits-all' universalist story about the past in deference to "perspectival" or "standpoint" accounts. Nietzsche is very much the precursor to Jean-François Lyotard's definition of postmodernism as "incredulity" toward the single, absolute, all-defining, all-encompassing "meta-narrative."[89] Irrespective of the indelible influence, I think it a mistake to attribute the entire postmodern view of historiography to Nietzsche himself. The most important difference is that, while Nietzsche denies the absolute status of both historiographical descriptions

[87] I will provide more detail about that influence in the epilogue.
[88] For a fine outline of the evidence between what he calls the falsificationist 'deniers' and the truth-supporting 'common-sensers,' see Anderson (2005), 185ff. For a treatment of relativism and perspectivism specifically in historiography, see especially Born (2010), 236–253.
[89] See Lyotard (1984), xxiv. For an analysis of Lyotard's relationship to Nietzsche, see Dews (1988), 164–176.

and explanations, he is not a relativist about the value of competing interpretations of historical events.

To illustrate, consider the postmodern adoption of Nietzsche by the most famous contemporary historical theorist, Hayden White. In his now-classic *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973), White claims Nietzsche denied that there can be a single historical account that perfectly corresponds to events as they had actually been since all historical judgments falsify the genuine nature of that which they allegedly represent. "To [. . .] these essentially constrictive conceptions of truth, Nietzsche opposed his own conception of the *relativity* of every vision of the real."[90] White begins his argument with a critique of the by-now-familiar positivist theory of explanation and description. Explanations cannot be a matter of deduction-under-covering-law, but stand as narratives that bring together various descriptions in meaningful ways. "For it is by figuration that the historian virtually constitutes the subject of the discourse; his explanation is little more than a formalized projection of qualities assigned to the subject in his original figuration of it."[91] Whether one is a Marxist or a Christian and sees the historical processes as beholden to those patterns, whether one sees 'tragedy' or 'comedy' as the most edifying story to tell, for White, is a matter of choice. All judgments are theory-laden, but whichever theory overlays the judgment is up to the judge; and because of that, the value of every judgment is relative to the judge.[92] In a note from 1878, Nietzsche seems to confirm precisely this value relativism: "My way of reporting historical material is actually that I tell about my own *experiences* [Erlebnisse] with regard to past times and men. Nothing systematic [*Zusammenhängendes*]: a single thing has emerged for me, nothing more."[93]

But Nietzsche's perspectivism runs much deeper than the level of ideological worldviews or even linguistic conveniences. The explanatory structures placed upon the world, whether scientific or religious, naturalistic or teleological, are not, for Nietzsche, a simple matter of choice – a "little black dress" among "all the costumes of history"[94] – but the result of vastly complicated physiognomic and psychological developments over history which result in more or less coagulated 'perspectives.' White's philosophy shows no awareness of this physiognomic substructure. For him, convictions are choices. For Nietzsche, "[o]ur most sacred convictions, unchangeable in regard to our supreme values, are judgments [*Urtheile*] of our

[90] H. White (1973), 332. [91] H. White (1975), 54. [92] See also Ankersmit (2009), 206.
[93] *NF* summer 1878, 30[60]; *KSA* 8, 532. [94] The especially apt image is Shapiro's (2003), 124–126.

muscles."[95] Beliefs about the past are not simply informed by the psycho-physiognomic substrate, in the sense that a bias or prejudice would inform and color the judgment that we, as judges, ultimately decided to make. Beliefs reflect externalizations of particular historically inculcated affects of that substrate, which of themselves not only color but constitute judgment.[96] There is no deliberative 'self,' for Nietzsche, which remains independent of those judgments. Because of this, there can be no decision about how the historian 'would like' to characterize history, any more than the eye can choose the rate at which it 'would like' to process images. In both cases, "the perspectival therefore renders the character of 'what can appear' ['*Scheinbarkeit*']!"[97]

Pushing back an interpretive choice to the level of a psychological substrate that determines judgments at a subconscious level would indicate that historical judgment is not arbitrary. But it would not prove, a postmodern interpreter like White might argue further, that the value of the judgment issued is any less relative to the perspective of the historian. And since we are left with a subjective interpretation even at this level, the value of an interpretation is still relative to that subject. Though a more considerate portrayal of Nietzsche's position, this, too, is wrong-headed. Were interpretations evaluated solely with respect to their correspondence with a detached past 'reality,' this would present a problem. But, for Nietzsche, even if judgments about the past may not aspire to correspondential truth, and therefore may not be evaluated according to traditional standards like empirical evidence or multiple witnesses, this hardly entails that there are no criteria by which to adjudicate them.[98] And Nietzsche is both clear and consistent about which interpretations are 'better' than others. He writes, "The falseness of a judgment is for us not necessarily an objection to a judgment; in this respect our new language may sound strangest. The question is to what extent it is life-preserving, species-preserving, perhaps even species-cultivating."[99] He repeats, "The *strength* of conceptions does not, therefore, depend upon their degree of truth, but on their [. . .] character as conditions of life."[100]

[95] *NF* spring 1888, 15[118]; *KSA* 13, 480.

[96] A similar position is presented in Janaway (2007), 47. I am of the impression, however, that Janaway exaggerates the extent to which the drives are socially conditioned. No doubt many are; but many, for examples, the compulsion of logic, the drives which abbreviate and symbolize our experience, or the drive for truth, seem to be either innate or at least ingrained at a pre-social level over vast spans of history. Cf. *JGB* 20; *KSA* 5, 34. See also Anderson (1999), 47–59; Green (2002), 161ff; Baumgartner (2005), 69–77; Dries (2008a), 10ff.

[97] *NF* spring 1888, 14[184]; *KSA* 13, 371.

[98] Several recent papers have demonstrated this point thoroughly. Among them see Gemes (1992), 47–65; Leiter (1994), 334–357; Poellner (2001), 85–117.

[99] *JGB*, 4; *KSA* 5, 18.

[100] Cf. *FW* 110; *KSA* 3, 469.

Nietzsche, as scholars have argued, has a quasi-pragmatic theory of true description.[101] This is not to say he accepts the pragmatists' own criteria of truth as usefulness or worldly success; on the contrary, Nietzsche finds the utilitarian aspects of truth quite distasteful. Interpretations of history are judged in terms of their conduciveness to 'health,' whether an interpretation is life-enhancing or life-enervating to the individual, culture, and ultimately species in which it arose. "We need [history] for the sake of life and of action, not so as to turn comfortably away from life and action, let alone for the purpose of extenuating the self-seeking life and the base and cowardly action. Only insofar as history serves life, do we serve it."[102] Our fourth chapter was devoted to Nietzsche's critiques of some interpreters and praises of others with respect to whether they were 'strong' in this sense, which of course would not be possible if history was, in the words of postmodern meta-historian Keith Jenkins, just "one more 'expression' in a world of postmodern expressions."[103] Contrast this to Nietzsche: "And so let my proposition be understood and pondered: *history can be borne only by strong personalities, weak ones are utterly extinguished by it.*"[104] The *Sach*-and *Sprach*-philological, the critical, antiquarian, and monumental, the teleological, the positivistic, the Judeo-Christian, the Darwinian – none of these interpretations of historical events were considered false either because they fail to correspond to a past in-itself, which is impossible, or else because they involve subjective factors, which all interpretations do anyway. Such interpretations are more typically labeled 'hostile to life' by Nietzsche because they involve strategies that cannot propel the power-interests of the interpreters who issued them and indeed fail to recognize that historiography itself is an expression of power. So while the value of an interpretation is delimited by the perspective-overlap of the interpreter and audience, the reality of these perspectives' power-aims is neither something chosen nor equivocal.

Nietzsche's own genealogical method, as we have shown throughout this chapter, is just such an attempt to write historiography honestly insofar as it acknowledges its interpretive rather than absolute status, recognizes that subjective power aims rather than a selfless objectivity lie behind its own interpretations, and that its compelling force involves no logical demonstration but an appeal to the perspectival spheres of meaning of its audience. Nietzsche believes his historiography is preferential insofar as it aims neither

[101] See Gemes (1992), 56; Danto (1965), 72, 79–80, 130; Rorty (1982), 205. For a pragmatic view of adjudication combined with an analysis of historical judgment, see Katrin Meyer (1998), 126–128.
[102] *HL* Vorwort; *KSA* 1, 245. [103] Jenkins (1995), 9. [104] *HL* 5; *KSA* 1, 283.

at absolute truth nor at simply telling one story among many, but as expressing life as will to power. In fact, for Nietzsche, to believe that one's own perspective, the result of one's own determinate conglomeration of physiognomically embattled drives, is no better than any other's, as the postmodern holds, is to deny life – "to *castrate* the intellect."[105] Imagining one's interpretation to be on par with others amounts to the will to negate life, "the principle of disintegration and decay"; life itself is an "imposition [*Aufzwängung*] of your own form."[106]

Nietzsche is thus quite far removed from the interpretive value-relativism Hayden White and other postmodern interpreters ascribe to him, despite their shared view about the historian's structure-imposing activity and impossibility of a single correct account of the past. Nietzsche's *Genealogie* simply does not "represent a repudiation of the efforts both to explain history and to emplot it as a drama with any general meaning."[107] It is not simply one narrative among others.[108] It is structurally an anti-realist representation of the past as it appears in symbols through his perspective and an attempt to convince other like-typed perspectives of its truth by means of making familiar previously unfamiliar phenomena.

[105] *GM* III, 12; *KSA* 5, 365. See also Richardson (1996), 23ff.
[106] *JGB* 259; *KSA* 5, 207.
[107] H. White (1973), 373.
[108] My general conclusion here stands close to that of Shapiro (1989), 12. I also interpret Nietzsche's claims as a middle-ground between dogmatism and anti-logocentrism, though I suspect he leans more closely to the latter pole than I do. However insightful I find Shapiro's reading, I think his arguments are problematic. First, it is ambiguous what Shapiro means by 'narrative,' 'narration,' or 'narratology.' Sometimes these refer minimally to an 'account,' when that is taken to mean any propositional content about a topic. In this loose sense, everything Nietzsche says can be considered a narration, which renders the concept uninformative. In contemporary historiography narration is more typically considered the antithesis of explanation, as a story among other stories that has no special claim to either increasing our knowledge or inherent preferability. See, for example, H. White (1978), 82. In this technical sense, I have argued that Nietzsche is not a narrativist historian since representational anti-realists do not simply 'invent' their accounts; they presume there is a real past, but do not presume that the representation corresponds to it. Second, contrary to Shapiro, not all of Nietzsche's forms of historiographical representation are identical. Nietzsche himself was careful to label his various kinds of writings: '*Betrachtung*,' '*Genealogie*,' etc. Third, Shapiro consistently resists a developmental account of Nietzsche's thought, since that in some way 'privileges' the authorial voice. But if our own reconstruction of Nietzsche's philosophy of history has proven anything, it is how substantially his views changed over time. Fourth, because he rejects the development of Nietzsche's thought, Shapiro feels entitled to concentrate almost exclusively on *Also sprach Zarathustra*, *Der Antichrist*, and *Ecce homo*, while downplaying Nietzsche's less literary accounts and ignoring his philology. But concentrating on the three most literary works while maintaining a thesis about their author's narrativity skews the evidence in his favor.

CHAPTER 7

Autobiography as history

Nietzsche seems to have enjoyed writing his autobiography. One gets the sense that his life rather surprises him from time to time, as if the same twelve bells that echo in the ears of the genealogist also make him ask of himself, "'Through what have we actually just lived?' further, 'who actually *are* we?'"[1] There is a problem, a meta-historical problem to be specific, in the writing of one's life that concerns the possibility of explaining or even describing the object under investigation. And Nietzsche recognized this from the start. On the very first page of his collected "Jugendschriften," in a sketch of himself titled "Aus meinem Leben," he writes, "Indeed, I am not yet grown, hardly have the years of childhood and boyhood behind me, and yet so much has already slipped from my memory [*Gedächtniß*] and the little that I know about them I have probably retained only by means of tradition. The sequence of years rushes past my gaze like a confusing dream. Therefore it is impossible for me to establish the facts of the first ten years of my life."[2] Even over a span of fourteen lived years the young Nietzsche recognizes the unreliability of memory to produce an accurate and objective picture of the past. Of course, Nietzsche records faithfully the town of his birth, the profession of his father, and the name of his aunt. But these alone do not an autobiography make. We rely as much on tradition – what other people tell us about ourselves – as upon our memory to get a more genuine sense of our own whens, wheres, and hows. But how do those other people remember our lives better than we do, if after all they too rely upon the tokens of their memory and their traditions to recall how we were?

An autobiography is not the reproduction of mnemonic tokens any more than the history of Rome is a collection of its coins. In both cases, we are presented symbols whose meaningfulness depends upon the perspective of

[1] *GM* Vorrede, 1; *KSA* 5, 247.

[2] *BAW* 1, 1. The problem of whether memory is uncovering or constructing his past is intimated in several autobiographical sketches. See, for instance, the 1861 "Mein Lebenslauf"; *BAW* 1, 279.

the interpreter. Passive observation, absent the interpretive activity of a particular perspective, has never produced a history of any object, whether inside or outside our skin. This very problem of telling not only an accurate, but also a *meaningful* story of oneself was sensed by Nietzsche throughout his life. In another autobiographical sketch, this time at the ripe old age of nineteen, he asks,

> How do we outline a picture of the life and character of a person whom we have come to know? In general, just as we outline a region we once saw. We must visualize its physiognomic particularities [*physiognomisch Eigenthümliche*]: the nature and form of its mountains, its fauna and flora, the blue of its sky; all this, as a whole, determines the impression. [. . .] However, what just stands out at first sight, the mass of mountains, the form of the rocky terrain, does not provide in-itself the physiognomic character of a region. Something similar happens when we want to survey a human life and appreciate it properly. Fortuitous events, gifts of fortune, the changeful appearances of destiny, which arise from interconnected circumstances, should not guide us at this point, since they likewise stand out at first sight like the mountain tops. Precisely those little experiences and internal processes, which we think have been overlooked, in their totality [*Gesamtheit*] depict the individual character most clearly, they grow organically out of human nature, while those that are inorganic only seem to be connected to them.[3]

At the time of writing, Nietzsche stood deeply in the debt of the early Romantics. One might imagine Nietzsche fancying himself a disciple of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, wherein the portrait of the man is revealed only by an artistic blend of these everyday details in such a way that communicates an indelible impression of one's 'inner nature' – a morphology intended to reveal the enduring essence behind innumerable events and changes. To quote Goethe, "We should try in vain to describe a man's character, but let his acts be collected," especially his act of reinterpreting himself, "and an idea of the character will be presented to us."[4]

By October 1888, though, just as he "buried his forty-fourth year," Nietzsche's meta-history had undergone profound changes. The post-genealogical thinker understood that to speak of ideal innermost natures and enduring personalities was to speak as a romantic metaphysician, and to ignore both the fundamental character of life as the expression of conflicting wills to power and the nature of the historian's activity as abbreviating in

[3] Found in his 1863 "Kann der Neidische je wahrhaft glücklich sein?" *BAW* 2, 269–272, here 269. For another observation of the philosophical problems involved in autobiography, see *MaM* 1, 274; *KSA* 2, 226.
[4] Goethe (1970), xxxvii.

meaningful signs that never-ending flow of becoming. Nietzsche had severed his meta-history from the influence of Schopenhauer, of Goethe, and of Burckhardt and Bachofen, and accordingly no longer sought timeless essences – whether by means of *Anschauung* or morphological typology – behind the transitory phenomena of life.[5]

Yet to reject the faith in underlying and eternal things and essentialist values was to recognize the intrinsically transitory, historical character of all phenomena, including the one we turn to now: the self. And herein lies the problem:

> Immediate observation [*unmittelbare Selbstbeobachtung*] is not nearly sufficient for us to know ourselves: we require history [*Geschichte*] since the past flows inside us in a hundred waves; we ourselves are, indeed, nothing but that which at every moment we sense of this continued flowing [*Fortströmen*]. It may even be said that here too, when we desire to descend into the river of what seems to be our own most intimate and personal being, there applies the dictum of Heraclitus: we cannot step into the same river twice.[6]

The historical character of the world and of the self within it renders at least conventional knowledge of both of them impossible. The external world and the internal world are both a continual flowing that resists arrest by static concepts and words. We have seen in the previous chapter how Nietzsche mitigates this problem with respect to moral values by means of a representational anti-realist mode of historiography which admits it cannot describe once and for all the true state of affairs as they really stood outside the historian, but nevertheless tries to present in meaningful symbols the expression of an individual historian's power-aims, with the aim of affixing, making-known, and eventually convincing certain perspectives of their interpretation of the past. The same strategy is invoked, I contend, in Nietzsche's self-history. Whereas an epistemologically naive autobiographer might consider her account a perfectly objective exposition of a discrete and static object by a discrete and static subject, Nietzsche's thoroughly historical philosophy of history cannot. In its place, Nietzsche employs his mature historiographical method in *Ecce homo* to provide an anti-realist representation of himself which serves as a perspectival explanation of how he "became who he is."

[5] A more thorough examination of typoogical history and the transition to the genealogical method is the subject of a forthcoming paper to be published by Walter de Gruyter Press in an anthology edited by Axel Pichler and Marcus Born.

[6] *MaM* II/1, 223; *KSA* 2, 477. See also *NF* end 1876–summer 1877, 23[48]; *KSA* 8, 421.

Construction and narration

Whatever *Ecce homo* is, it is not a representational realist autobiographical chronicle intended to communicate factual information that corresponds to the reality of the author's life. Scholars have long noted the almost bizarrely hyperbolic character of many of Nietzsche's claims.[7] "I have to go back half a year to catch myself with a book in my hand."[8] On the contrary, there is good evidence that Nietzsche actually read several books during the period of time in question.[9] "I do not know what other people's experience of Wagner has been: over our skies not a single cloud appeared."[10] Wagner and Nietzsche quarreled bitterly before their notorious falling-out. "I am a Polish nobleman, *pur sang*, without a single drop of bad blood, or at least not German blood."[11] "Julius Caesar could be my father . . . As I am writing this, the postman is bringing me a head of Dionysus."[12] "I am by far the most fearsome human there ever was."[13]

Yet though an admittedly idiosyncratic account, certainly it is not accurate to say, following Kaufmann, that "*Ecce homo* show[s] so strange a lack of inhibition and contains such extraordinary claims . . . that knowing of his later insanity, one cannot help finding here the first signs of it."[14] *Ecce homo* is too complex, too carefully composed to be the work of an unhinged mind. More realistically, the contention has been made by Ridley and Norman that Nietzsche is, "opportunistically [reinterpreting his] past in a way that makes it seem providential."[15] This fictional opportunism is said to be instrumental for Nietzsche's stated effort of 'loving one's fate,' a form of cathartic therapy[16] or apologetic confessional[17] by which Nietzsche reveals himself, like Caravaggio's rendition of Christ in the painting by the same name, a downcast but dignified all-too-human idol. Through selecting, exaggerating, underplaying, and manipulating the raw data of the past, Nietzsche was allegedly trying to forge for himself a palatable self-image for the sake of fate-affirmation.[18] Along this interpretation, the principle that guides Nietzsche's explanatory history to select those incidents and events that contribute to a 'healthy' self-image is the entirely subjective desire to affirm his particular fate – apparently when that means choosing only those colorations of events that one is already happy to affirm. The work counts, on this reading, as a narrative fiction, one whose worth as art

[7] See, for example, Large (2007), xx. [8] *EH* "klug," 3; *KSA* 6, 284. [9] Cf. Brobjer (2008), 7.
[10] *EH* "klug," 5; *KSA* 6, 288. [11] *EH* "weise," 3; *KSA* 6, 268. [12] *EH* "weise," 3; *KSA* 6, 269.
[13] *EH* "Schicksal," 2; *KSA* 6, 366. [14] Kaufmann (1950), 66. [15] Ridley and Norman (2005), xx.
[16] Dietzsche (2000), 473–482; compare Coe and Altmann (2005–2006), 116–128.
[17] R. White (1991), 291–303; Pletsch (1987), 405–434. [18] Cf. Conway (1993), 55–78; Kofman (1992).

or literature or even therapy may be substantial but which would hold no more value as an historical document than do the works of Tolkien or Tolstoy.[19] Even sympathetic scholars like Hollingdale have claimed as much. "If, under the guidance of the literature on the subject, you approach it as 'Nietzsche's autobiography' you will get very little out of it and probably won't even finish it, short though it is. As autobiography it is a plain failure."[20]

If a historical narrative is defined as an account that includes more than the pure facts – "a species of the genus Story"[21] – then Nietzsche's *Ecce homo* is without question a narrative. Then again, most anything from world histories to diary entries would be considered narratives too. Apart from embellishments, omissions, and emphases of certain details, even the causal relations they employ to link one moment to the next – whatever moves us from 'first x and later y' to 'x led to y' – are, as we showed in Chapter 5, interpolations on the part of the historian and therefore indicative of narration.[22] Postmodern philosophies of history maintain a more specific definition of narrative, however, which presumes "that contemporary phenomena have a potentially infinite number of causally relevant, highly contingent, antecedent events. It is impossible to know them all. The job of the [. . .] historian is to tell a coherent causal story about how a puzzlingly contemporary phenomenon, a trace, was produced."[23] These stories are neither deductions nor explanations since they aim only at informing from a particular point of view, never at definitive proof. Narrative history is, for Keith Jenkins, nothing more than "a self-referential, problematic expression of 'interests,' an ideologically-interpretive discourse without any 'real' access to the past as such; unable to engage in any dialogue with 'reality.' In fact, 'history' now appears to be just one more 'expression' in a world of post-modern expressions: which of course is what it is."[24]

It is certainly true that narrative can illuminate many things and clearly has a powerful performative impact on its audience. Fiction can and commonly enough does involve explanations, as much as history can and commonly does involve narrative elements.[25] What is at stake in thinking

[19] A view taken, for example, by Tunstall (1983–1984), 105–111; Böning (2001), 309–342; and Langer (2005).
[20] Hollingdale (1979), 7. [21] Gallie (1964), 66.
[22] For Morton White, the imposition of causal relations is indeed what distinguishes narrative from chronicle. See his (1965), Chapter 6. Danto (2007) also maintains this view of narrative for historiography generally, though not with specific reference to Nietzsche.
[23] Cleland (2011), 53. For similarly postmodern accounts of narrative, see in general the introduction to H. White (1973); his (1975), 48–67; and his (1980), 5–27; and, in general, Mink (1987).
[24] Jenkins (1995), 9. [25] See Danto (2007), 233–239.

Nietzsche's *Ecce homo* presents a narrative in the strict postmodern sense is the demotion of a meaningful historiographical account of an ontologically real past to the level of a mere story – just one more expression in a world of expressions. I do not think this is justified. Most obviously, because it seems to me Nietzsche must think the subject of his book – himself – is real in a way different than Dickens has David Copperfield think of himself. And about that real subject Nietzsche is not just offering any old explanation, but, as we saw in our response to postmodern historiography generally in the previous section, what he considers the best explanation of the real phenomenon under examination given the circumference of his and his audience's perspectives. Nietzsche is quite clear that he believes his story is more compelling than any other, practically screaming in the very first paragraph of the book, "*Listen to me! Since I am the one who I am* [Denn Ich bin der und der]*! Above all, do not mistake me for anyone else!*"[26] Beyond this, however, *Ecce homo* resists characterization as a postmodern narrative for at least four reasons.

First, it would really be rather absurd to think Nietzsche *could* offer an "infinite number" of reasons for how he became who he is. No doubt different explanations would highlight different parts of his life than others, would stress different periods or influences as the 'most formative,' as in fact has been the case with the numerous biographies of Nietzsche written since his death. But while there are perhaps an infinite number of ways that story *could* be told in terms of its composition, each one of them would have to rely upon a forever fixed and non-infinite number of events that occurred in Nietzsche's life in the process of giving their reasons why he became who he is. The influence of his mother and sister, for example, can be foregrounded or covered over to any degree, but that these two women were Franziska and Elisabeth and no one else means there is not an infinite number of stories to tell. In this sense, Nietzsche's historiography is indeed constrained by the real world in a way fiction is not.[27]

[26] *EH* "Vorwort," 1; *KSA* 6, 257.

[27] Although Nietzsche's historiography is constrained by the real world, this does not mitigate my attribution of representational anti-realism. The static designations 'Franziska' and 'Elizabeth' cannot refer correspondentially to supra-historical substances. They are instead symbolic abbreviations meant to stand for two historically dynamic phenomena that change from one moment to the next, two real confluences of emergent qualities and activities that change and transmogrify over time. Those denotations carry a welter of connotations, the tenor of which has, in both cases, been reinterpreted rather drastically over time. Thus the meaning carried by those symbols and how they can be used within historiographical explanations must reckon the perspectival frameworks of both Nietzsche as autobiographer and of ourselves as readers even as all parties reinterpret and overwrite them.

Second, to judge whether Nietzsche is composing more than idealized fiction, one need only consider what Nietzsche says about *Amor Fati*. "To accept yourself as a fate [*Fatum*], not to want to be 'different' – in situations like this, that is the *great reason* [grosse Vernunft] itself."[28] The *Bejahung* of Nietzsche's life is central to the work as a whole. To effectively love his own fate and not some made-up ideal of it simply requires that this autobiographical account be earnest. Were it not, then what else should one label the affirmation of the fictive other than 'delusional'? Indeed the ability to present a genuine account of oneself actually receives special mention as one of the virtues of which Nietzsche is proudest. In too many places we read that Nietzsche is trying to be honest, trying to avoid the historical teleological idealism that has plagued the "*hidden* history of the philosophers"[29] to believe his own account is intended to be mere fictive revisionism. "One has robbed reality with respect to its worth, sense, and truthfulness [*Wahrhaftigkeit*] to the extent that one *made up* an ideal world."[30]

Third, the historical context of his composition makes clear that Nietzsche is not just telling any old story, but earnestly trying to introduce himself to his readers. *Ecce homo* was likely never to have been published as a stand-alone work of philosophy. It was intended as the preface or "Vorspiel" to his never-completed project, *Umwerthung aller Werthe*, and as such was composed with an eye toward stimulating the interest of potential readers in the author of the work.[31] This would account, to some extent, for its exaggerated self-approbations, at the same time mitigating the hypothesis that *Ecce homo* was intended to be pure fiction.

Fourth, had Nietzsche wanted to compose a fictive narrative, he certainly could have done so. *Zarathustra* ranks as one of the finest such narratives in German. Its value consists in the philosophical insight it conveys through its narration – but an insight that is certainly not tied to explaining anything about the real historical person of Zoroaster.[32] Though narratively brilliant in its own right, *Ecce homo* also explains the character of a real historical person in a way that *Zarathustra* neither can nor intends to.[33]

[28] *EH* "weise," 6; *KSA* 6, 273. Cf. *EH* "Schicksal," 3; *KSA* 6, 367; *EH* "klug," 1; *KSA* 6, 278ff.

[29] *EH* "Vorwort," 3; *KSA* 6, 259.

[30] *EH* "Vorwort," 2; *KSA* 6, 258. For a criticism of realism in Nietzsche's late work, see Stegmaier (1992), 300–318.

[31] See Nietzsche to Brandes, November 20, 1888; *KSB* 8, 482. Two recent studies also argue convincingly for this thesis: Winteler (2009), 229–245; and Brobjer (2011), 244–255.

[32] For the most insightful philosophical account of *Z*, especially with reference to the philosophical ramifications of Nietzsche's theory of becoming, see Loeb (2010). I thank Loeb for sharing with me a forthcoming paper on *EH* in which he presents an insightful connection among memory, eternal recurrence, and amor fati.

[33] A well-known test demonstrates the difference between autobiographical and fictive accounts. Whether Nietzsche has a mole on his left knee is true or false independent of whether Nietzsche

Again, I contend that *Ecce homo*, filled with however complex a narrative, is nevertheless not a postmodern narrative simply. It is a historical explanation, one intended to describe who Nietzsche is and explain how Nietzsche became what he is in a way consistent with his ideal of proper historiography. It remains to be shown how the text does so.

Motivational explanations

Nietzsche's subtitle tells us that the task of *Ecce homo* is not to explain what he *is* exactly, but how he has *become* what he is. And, to be more precise, the German third-person neuter pronoun – "Wie man wird, was man ist" – suggests that the book will offer a general lesson about becoming and about explaining that becoming in writing. Traditional positivist-minded historians, who are narrativists only in the wide sense of the word, would at this point seek to provide an explanation of the phenomenon in question in the manner of deduction-under-law that we examined in our fifth chapter. And Nietzsche does at least intimate such an explanation in the section "Warum ich so klug bin?" That explanation utilizes general causes under which Nietzsche's particular development is offered as a sort of tacit deduction.

> If you look at it this way, even life's *mistakes* have their own meaning and value, the occasional side roads and wrong turns, the delays, the 'modesties,' the seriousness wasted on tasks that lie beyond *the* task. [. . .] – – In the meantime, the organizing, governing 'idea' keeps growing deep inside – *it* starts commanding [*sie beginnt zu befehlen*], *it* slowly leads *back* from out of the side roads and wrong turns, *it* gets the *individual* qualities and virtues ready, since at some point these will prove indispensable as means to the whole.[34]

Here we seem to be presented some general laws of development. There is a general governing 'idea' that orders change in an organism. The accessory conditions, these occasional side roads and modesties that channel the governing idea consist presumably in the naturalistic circumstances he mentions a bit later, factors including his "nutrition, location and climate, and means of recuperation."[35] Nietzsche claims that these accessory conditions were necessary to make him 'become who he is,' to channel his "surface consciousness" into all of the activities that constitute his past:

ever says so in his autobiography. The question is meaningful independent of the autobiography. Whether Zarathustra has a mole on his left knee, however, depends entirely on whether Nietzsche chose to describe him as such. The question is meaningless outside the fictive narration.

[34] *EH* "klug," 9; *KSA* 6, 293ff. Emphasis on the word "it" is my own addition.

[35] *EH* "klug," 8; *KSA* 6, 291. Cf. Domino (2002), 51–62.

> an incredible multiplicity that is nonetheless the converse of chaos – this was the precondition, the lengthy, secret work and artistry of my instinct. Its *higher protection* manifested itself so strongly that I had absolutely no idea [*in keinem Falle auch nur geahnt habe*] what was growing inside me, – and then one day all my capabilities suddenly *leapt out*, ripened to full bloom.[36]

Yet Nietzsche's explanatory framework is bizarrely insufficient to explain how he became what he is. An identical diet, exercise habit, or climate can hardly be considered sufficient conditions for developing a "ruling idea" approximately similar to the one Nietzsche had, hardly suitable as nomothetic propositions by which to deduce the reasons Nietzsche 'became who he is.'

That Nietzsche had 'no idea' what was about to 'leap out' of itself suggests the inadequacy of positivist visions of historical explanation. In that more traditional framework, one expects some combination of natural external conditions functioning only as necessary conditions – born at such a time, in such a place, to such parents – under the direction of the sufficient condition of that person's motivated decisions. Yet an account of Nietzsche ever 'willing himself' to become what he is is conspicuously absent here. Notice the disconnect between the 'I' and the 'it' that is growing inside him. Nietzsche stresses the unintentional, unmotivated quality of his character decisions. This is not an accidental omission. "To 'will' something, to 'strive' after something, to have a 'goal,' a 'wish' in view – I know nothing of this from experience."[37] Because for Nietzsche the notion of a single, freely determining deliberative will is at least problematic, for reasons we examined previously, he *could not* with consistency utilize a model of historical explanation that presupposed a "motive will" as the generative cause of historical change.

> Today we don't believe a single word of all this. The 'inner world' is full of illusions and will-o'-the-wisps [*Trugbilder und Irrlichter*]: the will is one of them. The will doesn't move anything any more, and so it does not explain anything any more either – it just accompanies processes [*Vorgänge*], but it can be missing too. [. . .] And how about the 'I'! That has become a fable, a fiction, a play on words: it has stopped thinking, feeling, and willing altogether! . . . What follows from this? There are no mental causes whatsoever [*gar keine geistigen Ursachen*]! All the purported empirical evidence for this goes to the devil! *That's* what follows! – And we really screwed up this 'empirical evidence' – we used it to *create* the world as a cause-world, will-world, and mind-world.[38]

An unreflective habit of seeking a cause for a certain sensation and subsequently furnishing 'a whole little novel' about some hidden mental event sufficient to bring about the action leads the traditional autobiographer to

[36] *EH* "klug," 9; *KSA* 6, 294. [37] *EH* "klug," 9; *KSA* 6, 294ff. [38] *GD* "Irrthümer," 3; *KSA* 6, 90ff.

interpret what happens in a life as 'willed,' as the consequence of the action of a substantial thing called the will or the self. "We want there to be a *reason* why we find ourselves *so and so*."[39] Realist autobiographers perform this bit of self-delusion, too, as nearly everyone prefers the comfort of explanation to the "dangerous, anxiety-provoking, upsetting" state of the "unfamiliar."[40] While interpretations of this sort get us no closer to the 'true essence' of the object under investigation, this does not mean there is not a good reason for its pervasiveness. There are deep-rooted psychological reasons why nearly all people's perspectives prejudice them to interpret a single self-controlled motive principle rather than a flux of drives as the fulcrum of action.[41]

> *Error of false causation*. – In every age, people have believed that they knew what a cause [*Ursache*] is: but how did we get this knowledge, or, more precisely, how did we get this belief that we have knowledge? From the realm of the famous 'inner facts' ["*inneren Thatsachen*"], none of which has ever proven factual. We believed that our acts of will were causally efficacious [*ursächlich*]; we thought that here, at least, we had *caught causality in the act*. Nobody doubted that consciousness was the place to look for all the antecedentia of an act, its causes, and that you would be able to find these causes there as well – as 'motives': otherwise the action could hardly be considered free, and nobody could really be held responsible for it.[42]

Because a great multitude of perspectives rests content with such motivational explanations, and only very rarely seeks, say, a physiognomic ground for agency, reference to a 'self' or 'will' evidently renders familiar the previously unfamiliar, and therefore counts, from their perspectives, as having satisfied the drive to knowledge.

Herein one sees clearly the difference between Nietzsche's anti-realist perspectival explanation and a realist explanation utilizing motivational causes. When R. G. Collingwood, on behalf of the realists, argued that the 'thought side' presents the sufficient condition for a historiographical explanation, he tended to mean deliberate practical decisions – most basically 'why' agents did what they did alongside the conditions needed to carry out that action.[43] For him, we only understand the actions of Caesar when we have explicated the motivations that led him to his deeds.

[39] *GD* "Irrthümer," 4; *KSA* 6, 92; see also *GM* 1, 13; *KSA* 5, 279. [40] *GD* "Irrthümer," 5; *KSA* 6, 93.
[41] Cf. *HL* 1; *KSA* 1, 248ff. [42] *GD* "Irrthümer," 3; *KSA* 6, 90.
[43] To avoid potential confusion, Collingwood is typically considered an idealist insofar as he concentrates on the subjective or 'ideal' side of human activity rather than its external expressions. However, in my juxtaposition of realism and anti-realism, Collingwood would clearly count for the former insofar as he believes his descriptions of the mental life of agents corresponds to what is actually the case.

Descriptions of his external conditions – the size of his army, the monies at his disposal, etc. – are interesting enough, but leave us without the crucial understanding of Caesar's inner motivations, which can be ferreted out by way of commonsense psychology. For the younger Nietzsche, too, the attempt to explain historical events according to the motivations of their agents was at least half the battle of philology. For the more mature Nietzsche, however, this entire project is little more than superstition.

> Every thoughtless person believes that the will alone is effective [*Wirkende*]; that willing is something simple, simply given, non-derivative, intelligible-in-itself. He is convinced that when he does something, e.g. strikes something, it is *he* who is striking, and that he did the striking because he *wanted* to strike. [. . .] The will is to him a magically efficacious power: the belief in the will as the cause of effects is the belief in magically working forces.[44]

Since no appeal to the self's free rational selection of the activities and habits that typically constitute the 'I' of an autobiography is viable, it follows that autobiography ought not involve an explanation-under-law whose sufficient condition is a free and deliberative causal principle. Reference to what an agent claims to have wished, wanted, desired, or intended may serve as a convincing explanation to some, but in no way can prove or demonstrate why the event – in the case of autobiography: the becoming of a 'person' – took place as it did.

> There are no mental causes whatsoever! [. . .] All things that happen [*Geschehen*] are considered deeds [*Thun*], all deeds considered the consequence of a will, the world became a multitude of agents [*Thätern*], an agent (a 'subject') pushed its way under all events. People project their three inner 'facts' out of themselves and onto the world – the facts they believed in most fervently: the will, the mind, and the I.[45]

For those readers who look for a demonstrative motivational explanation for how Nietzsche became who he is, *Ecce homo* will indeed be a 'plain failure.' Yet such a standard Nietzsche himself already rejected. He thinks that the positivistic framework went nowhere toward proving anything about the object of their deductions. And he denied the possibility of employing 'the will, the mind, and the I' as a causal mechanism within explanations of agency. Because of that, *Ecce homo* varies so wildly from traditional autobiography – hardly because its author is either psychologically afflicted or else intentionally writing fiction – in order to explain himself in a way consistent with his own philosophy of history.

[44] *FW* 127; *KSA* 3, 482. [45] *GD* "Irrthümer," 3; *KSA* 6, 91.

Description and introspection

Just as Nietzsche undermined the causal role of the 'I' in traditional autobiographical explanations, his *Ecce homo* challenged the ubiquitous assumption about its possible description through introspection. "Becoming what one is presupposes that one doesn't have even the slightest sense [*dass man nicht im Entferntesten ahnt*] *what* one is."[46] Why should this be? Since Socrates, knowing thyself has been among the preeminent philosophical projects, and philosophers of history have believed no differently. The epistemic privilege of introspection has been the very fulcrum whereby late-nineteenth and mid-twentieth-century philosophers distinguished science and history in terms of the methodological distinction between *Erklären* and *Verstehen*, between explaining and understanding. For the Baden neo-Kantians and later for the British meta-historians Collingwood and Oakeshott, the appeal of historical *Verstehen* rested on the premise that we have a privileged access into precisely one kind of object in the universe: minds, which operate within historical processes and socio-historical contexts. In contrast to the positivists, and in keeping with Nietzsche, they both denied that we could establish behavioral laws by which to explain particular human actions. Yet by analogy with our own experiences, apprehended immediately through introspection, we do come to a more vivid and complete 'sympathetic' understanding of the unity of life and culture, of how agents bring about actions. The objects of the natural sciences, on the other hand, must remain forever external to the scientists who explain them.[47] Though evident in historiographical *Verstehen* generally, autobiography would be the most exemplary case of the reliability of self-knowledge since here not even analogy to other minds was required. As Crispin Wright puts it: "Selves have the best evidence about themselves."[48]

We've seen throughout that Nietzsche's historical philosophy had been developed in large part through critical engagement with his *Erzieher*, Schopenhauer. From the awkward adaptation of his theory of aesthetic intuition in *The Birth of Tragedy* to the harsh rejection of it in the course of positing his own perspectival theory in the *Genealogy*, it seems here too, in his last word on himself, that Nietzsche remains engaged with Schopenhauer's thought. Like a good Kantian, Schopenhauer regarded time and space as transcendental conditions of experience rather than

[46] *EH* "klug," 9; *KSA* 6, 293. [47] Dilthey (2006) 1, 36ff.
[48] Wright (1998), 14. Compare T. Nagel (1986), 32–37.

subsistent external entities.[49] All phenomena, insofar as they are experienced, bear those subjective temporal and spatial features – except one: the source of the intuitions of space, time, and causality is not itself cognized in the same manner as those external objects which result from that source's activity. It would not be correct to say that we 'know' this source, since knowledge always requires the mediation of the transcendental conditions of experience. But for Schopenhauer we need not posit a merely transcendental unity of self, since outside the principle of sufficient reason we can attain an immediate and non-experiential apprehension – an *unmittelbare Selbstbeobachtung* – of the affective side of our inner nature. While our bodies are conceptualized and understood in a phenomenal way, no different from every other body in the universe, we have a privileged and immediate 'secret path' into the 'noumenal' side of the 'I.' And what we apprehend is not the Christian soul or the Cartesian *res cogitans*, but a willing, desiring, striving, avoiding, detesting, fearing – in short, a continuous fluctuation of feelings of compulsion and aversion. Of this we are both immediately sure and absolutely aware: that the essence of our selves, that which underlies that menagerie of affects, is the Will.

That Nietzsche shared with Schopenhauer the rejection of the Cartesian version of the self and self-knowledge is well known.[50] The two would also share the contention that introspection grants us a naturalistic vision of affects rather than of thoughts. There was, nevertheless, an essential difference. For Schopenhauer these affects manifest themselves to our apprehension in a temporally individuated fashion. But because the very temporal succession by which they are individuated is nothing more than the transcendental condition of inner sense, they must only be a mediated experience of what is really the essence of ourselves. Therefore the Will, the essence of ourselves and ultimately of the world must be atemporal through and through.

Nietzsche's critique of self-knowledge takes a unique track here. One of the main reasons he denies the self-evidence of mental states concerns their intrinsically historical character. For in direct opposition to Schopenhauer, Nietzsche thinks that the self is no timeless eternal substratum that could even in principle be understood through description, much less through an *unmittelbare Selbstbeobachtung*, but that it is a dynamic continuous with the rest of nature – a part of that endless stream of becoming.[51] We ourselves are

[49] The following summarizes Schopenhauer's "Vom Primat des Willens im Selbstbewußtseyn." *WWV* 1, §19; II/1, 234–285.
[50] See, for example, *JGB* 16; *KSA* 5, 30.
[51] Cf. Nietzsche's "revulsion" at the possibility of self-knowledge at *JGB*, 281; *KSA* 5, 230.

nothing but that *Fortströmen*.[52] To separate expressed affects from the self is like distinguishing lightning from the flash.[53] One unreflectively presumes that there is an ontological difference between the subject and the action or event, and that the subject thereby must cause the event to occur. Just as it is an unwarranted leap to think there must be a subsistent thing named 'wave' that flows or a 'lightning' that lightens, so Nietzsche denies the assumption that a persistent self must underlie agency.

Beyond this denial, both similes carry a seldom-noticed historiographical implication. Like the flow of the river or the flash of lightning, the subjective expressions of affects are ephemeral; they come into being and pass away, emerge and descend as an event within an historical process. Just as we see only the afterimage of the actual flash due to the physiognomy of our eyes and brain, so too is what we introspect of our affects only an historical afterimage interpreted necessarily through the physiognomy of our drives. Self-observation is nothing immediate, but a continuous process that, if anything, precludes the possibility of locating a subsistent object underneath the continually accumulating interpretations. And just as what we for convenience designate a 'thing' – a wave or lightning – does not actually persist, so too is our designation of the self only an abbreviation or symbol for what is actually experienced in that moment and then covered over by ever-new experiences. This is why an *unmittelbare Selbstbeobachtung* is not nearly sufficient for us to 'know ourselves.' This is why "we require *Geschichte*."

The becoming of one's self – its history – is thus the only avenue by which to approach the character of the self, even as its historical character prohibits representational realism about it. The self is as little permanent as any other expression.[54] If the self's becoming-itself within the flow of its history resists the realist's hope that static designations and discrete concepts can adequately describe it as an object, then any autobiographers who retain

[52] *MaM* II/1, 223; *KSA* 2, 477. Notebook reflections from 1882 on a translation of Emerson's *Versuche* (1858) reflect an important influence on Nietzsche's thinking about the self as a historical project that is only represented historically. See *NF* beginning 1882, 17[1–4]; *KSA* 9, 666; especially the first entry: "In every activity is the abbreviated history of all becoming. ego." Much has been written on Emerson's influence on Nietzsche. For a brief summary, see Brobjer (2008), 22–25.

[53] *GM* 1, 13; *KSA* 5, 279. See also *NF* November 1887–March 1888, 11[113]; *KSA* 13, 53ff. One of the sources of this aphorism is Lichtenberg (1968), *Sudelbücher*, K76. See Loukidelis (2005), 303.

[54] Ernst Mach holds a very similar position on the possibility of realist representation of the self, and also notes Lichtenberg as a forerunner. See Mach (1886), sect. 12. See also Bornedal (2010), 508–515. Ironically, in his book's fourth edition (1902), Mach had expanded and revised section 12 to include a swipe at Nietzsche on the grounds that, with his *Übermensch*, he promulgated an exemplarily unsophisticated version of an ideally hypostasized ego. This misunderstanding of Nietzsche was relatively common in the early decades of the twentieth century.

that hope "*deceive* themselves about their own state: they had to fictitiously attribute to themselves impersonality and duration without change; they had to misconstrue the nature of the knower, deny the force of drives [*Gewalt der Triebe*] in knowledge, and generally conceive reason as a completely free, self-originated activity."[55] Nietzsche recognizes that the constitutive drives of subjectivity within the autobiographer, those that circumscribe the predispositions that color his judgment, function over time like the harmonics of a ringing bell. And just as the genealogist "in whose ear the clock has just struck the twelve strokes of midday, suddenly wakes up to ask himself, 'What hour just struck actually?,'" autobiographers too are left to "rub our ears and ask in astonishment and complete embarrassment, 'Through what have we actually just lived?' further, 'who actually are we?'"[56] The drives of the historian are a product of history, "the outcome of [. . .] earlier aberrations, passions, and errors,"[57] a product that is in fact interpreted as constituted by the historical acts of his own interpretive historiography.[58] This historiographical act is, like every other act within history, a particularly meaningful symbolic designation that results from that conflict of drives within a perspective.[59] "Thus does the body go through history, a becoming and a struggling."[60] And so does the character-dynamic of the historian who thus acts. We represent ourselves to ourselves as if we were some free and rational alpha-point that willfully interprets as they wish. But a properly genealogical uncovering of the self reveals no such point any more than it could reveal the single real essence of good or evil, just a continuously shifting agonistic competition of drives that seeks to overwrite previously fixed interpretations. Insofar as we believe *we* are the ones who are interpreting ourselves here, we look upon the river of history from within a raft we believed fixed and steady while the rest of the landscape rushes by. We consider ourselves, perhaps must consider ourselves just like the 'objects' and 'events' that we write about: as fixed and stable things. But given that reality is historical through and through, there are none. Nothing stands fast.

Nietzsche's views thus pose an identical problem to the two parties of an autobiography. First, the *object* of the study is itself nothing atemporal, but,

[55] *FW* 110; *KSA* 3, 470. Admittedly, the direct reference here is the pre-Socratic philosophers who began to believe in enduring substrata. But the claim is equally applicable to historians, whom Nietzsche regards as blindly perpetuating this same belief.
[56] *GM* Vorrede, 1; *KSA*, 5, 247.
[57] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 270. For a useful discussion, see Müller-Lauter (1999), 26ff.
[58] Cf. *NF* end 1876–summer 1877, 23[178]; *KSA* 8, 468. [59] See Cox (1997), 269–291.
[60] *Z* I, "Tugend," 1; *KSA* 4, 98.

like all things and events, thoroughly historical, as vast and as complicated a process of interpretations and over-writings as that of the meaning of good and evil, punishment, or ascetic ideals.[61] Traditional linguistic designations will fail to adequately describe it insofar as the things described are historical and particular while the words used to describe those things are static and general. "*We are none of us* that which we appear to be in accordance with the states for which alone we have consciousness and words [. . .]; those cruder outbursts of which alone we are aware make us *misunderstand* ourselves."[62] Second, the *author* of the study is himself no atemporal unified subject, no transparent alpha point free from the drives and impulses that constitute the interpretive act. Quite the contrary, that act of writing history exposes how deeply the subject is fractured into convoluted and sometimes mutually adverse drives. "Strange! I am controlled at every moment by the thought that my history [*Geschichte*] isn't just a personal one, that I do something for many if I live thus, and shape myself thus, and designate myself thus: it's always as if I am a multiplicity."[63] All self-aware auto-genealogists[64] are therefore caught in a sort of double-blind of history: events and those who write about them are *both* in a perpetual state of becoming, which renders the description and explanation of a discrete object by a discrete subject impossible in a realist way.[65]

An anti-realist, however, holds that the world and our representation of it may well be disjointed. He retains his static symbols since "man condemned to see everywhere a state of becoming [*ein Werden*]," i.e., a rigorous representational realist, "would no longer believe in his own being [*sein eigenes Sein*], would no longer believe in himself, would see everything flowing asunder in moving points and would lose himself in this river of becoming [*Strome des Werdens*]."[66] And just this disconnect between what Nietzsche thinks the world is and how it must be described, we argued in our previous chapter, was what necessitated his anti-realist perspectival descriptions in the *Genealogy of Morals*. The case here in *Ecce homo* is a more profound application of Nietzsche's meta-history. For whereas the 'text' of values, punishment, and ascetic ideals has entirely disappeared under the historical process of interpretation, here what is interpreted is in fact the interpreter. The subject and the object, which must both be considered historically, is Nietzsche.

[61] *GM* II, 12; *KSA* 5, 313ff. See my discussion below. [62] *M* 115; *KSA* 3, 107ff.
[63] *NF* end 1880, 7[105]; *KSA* 9, 339. [64] I borrow this term from Stegmaier (1992), 168.
[65] See *MaM* 1, 491; *KSA* 2, 318ff. See also *FW* 335; *KSA* 3, 560.
[66] *HL* 1; *KSA* 1, 250. See also Nehamas (1994), 269–283; Born (2010), 41–47.

Memory and the Will-to-Power

From his very earliest writings Nietzsche was fascinated by both the power and the problems of memory. It is the only faculty by which we can come to a meaningful portrait of ourselves and yet it is manifestly unreliable. Nietzsche's view of memory is a particular application of the general problem we outlined above concerning the opacity and pervasive becoming of subjective states within acts of introspection. But the shortcomings of introspection will be exacerbated by the distance that passes between an introspective state and the memory of that state. If immediate consciousness of pain is a problematic indicator of the mental state, then how much less reliable as an indicator of reality is my recollection that "losing my father at a young age felt like 'x'" or "Christmas morning meant 'y' when I was five"?

Memory also presents a new problem for Nietzsche's attempts at self-description. In *Beyond Good and Evil* he writes, "'I did that,' says memory. 'I couldn't have done that,' says my pride, and stands its ground. Finally, memory gives in."[67] Some drive-based mental states like the feelings of pride, regret, guilt, vanity, and nostalgia are intrinsically backward-looking. They bring to mind certain facets of our pasts in accordance with what they require to fulfill their individuated power aims. A drive to pride will call forth particularly self-actuating episodes, while a drive toward regret will make our consciousness attend to a tragic event for whose outcome we were particularly blameworthy. Two historiographical consequences must be understood to follow. First the writing of an autobiography from introspection is hardly a positivistically conceived objective report of what actually did happen, hardly a clear mirror of the past as it affected one's self. It is instead the expression of a particular dynamic conglomeration of momentarily dominant wills-to-power that we symbolize with the word 'memory.' Second, the object of a historiographical study is understood as meaningful insofar and only insofar as it finds expression within the wills-to-power-constituted perspectives of particular audiences. Those memories require a typologically sympathetic intersubjective framework to be confirmed as 'objective' insofar as they cohere with other memories of the allegedly same set of events, with – as Nietzsche himself claimed in his earliest writings – 'traditions.' The genealogically reflective autobiographer thus recognizes that her judgment is no clear mirror of the self, but an act of interpretive representation formed within her own perspective and intended to find an audience whose perspectives lead them to 'suppose' what has

[67] *JGB* 68; *KSA* 5, 86. Compare Margreiter (2002), 140–154.

already happened. Her mimetic expression will not count as 'true' in the sense that it corresponds to the world as it really is, but will be meaningful within a given perspective insofar as it accords with that perspective's multiplicity of drives and affects whose common character is their Will-to-Power: "the *primordial fact* of all history [Ur-Faktum *aller Geschichte*]."[68] The autobiographer considers herself and thereby her judgment as constituted by a multiplicity of drives and affects whose common character is their Will-to-Power and also interprets herself as a temporal dynamic of descents and emergences which become manifest or fade away through a process of competing drives and affects whose common character is their Will-to-Power.[69] The character of the various particular descents and emergences is Will-to-Power and the interpretation of them as such by the historian is itself an expression of Will-to-Power.

Again the problem of relativism emerges. Memory-based accounts like 'standpoint history' or the so-called 'new-cultural history' have become a dominant trend in postmodern historiography over the past thirty years. Consistent with their denial of a single universal interpretation of events, they epitomize memory as any mode of historiography that gives a voice to the 'other,' the repressed and suppressed elements of the human past. In doing so they work consciously against the demands for institutionally sanctioned evidence since, they believe, such evidence only further entrenches existing power inequities. In the view of many traditional historians, however, memory studies also threaten the methodological rigor of the field due to their disregard of verifiability conditions. Perhaps the positivist ideals of description, objectivity, and explanation could never be realized; but their meticulousness, their demand for evidence, and their efforts to attain intersubjective interpretive agreement should not be abandoned because of that. With their reliance on private memories which cannot be confirmed objectively or intersubjectively, cultural historians have, according to Frank Ankersmit, 'de-disciplinized the discipline.'[70]

Is Nietzsche similarly guilty? After all, if Nietzsche is right that not just his but all memories are barred from conventional historiographical objectivity because of a thoroughgoing psychological distortion due to their character as power-drives, then it follows that diaries, letters, and supposedly disinterested testimonies about a person's developmental history each bear the same flaw.[71] All forms of testimony would themselves be as psychologically distorted as the autobiographer's judgments about their

[68] *JGB* 259; *KSA* 5, 208. [69] Cf. *NF* summer 1886–spring 1887, 6[26]; *KSA* 12, 244.
[70] See Ankersmit (2001), 151–154. [71] Cf. Danto (2007), 33. See also E. Nagel (1959), 204.

own life, making every account of the past that relies upon the memory of observed events as inherently unreliable as the first-order memory. Thus, because all knowing is only a perspectival knowing, any knowledge derived from memories would have to be considered subjective expressions of a power-will rather than an objective description of the self.

This position, however, need not embroil Nietzsche in the kind of historiographical relativism embraced by postmodern 'standpoint' historiography. In the previous chapter's examination of the historiography of moral values we showed how the relativist objection to Nietzsche's *Genealogy* does not take sufficient consideration of the anti-realist character of his perspectival explanations. Here it is the same. Even without an external referential measure against which to adjudicate the veracity of his autobiographical account, Nietzsche does hold that his autobiography is inherently convincing. As we saw, the conditions for communicating an anti-realist perspectival explanation in a meaningful way involves the coordination of its expression with other minimally similar perspectives so that it is presumed objective in Nietzsche's sense and therefore stands as convincing to those perspectives. If *Ecce homo* is just such an anti-realist perspectival explanation of himself, then we should accordingly expect Nietzsche to make two claims. First, that his autobiography is the expression of drives rather than an attempt to present a positivistically objective account of himself. Second, that his autobiography's superiority rests in the fact that it is the product of *healthy* drives as opposed to degenerate ones, and that this entails an intrinsic preferability of his perspective account over potential rivals. He begins his work by doing both:

> On these consummate days, when everything is ripe and the grapes are not the only things that are turning brown, I have just seen my life bathed in sunshine: I looked backwards, I looked out, I have never seen so many things that were so good, all at the same time. It is not for nothing that I buried my forty-fourth year today, I had *the right* to bury it – what was alive in it is saved, is immortal [. . .] *How could I not be grateful to my whole life?* And thus [*so*], I will tell myself the story of my life.[72]

I read his German '*so*' conclusively rather than sequentially; he can tell his history *only because* he can gratefully affirm it. What gives Nietzsche the "right" to tell his history is not that he is more 'fact-grubbing' than anyone else, but that his own psychological constitution is so aligned as to be in the state of health necessary to judge and then express the character of his own

[72] *EH* "Inhalt"; *KSA* 6, 263.

life.[73] This is entirely in keeping with the way he evaluates judgment generally. "The *strength* of conceptions does not, therefore, depend upon their degree of truth, but on their [. . .] character as conditions of life [*Lebensbedingung*]."[74] Here, through the perspective of his 'great health,' he satisfies the criterion of being a judge worthy of the judgments he makes. The story Nietzsche tells about himself follows necessarily and inextricably from his own set of psychological distortions, just as it does from every historian's. Nietzsche thinks his are 'better,' for lack of a more suitable word, insofar as they proceed from a healthy set of distortions. "When I measure myself by what I *can* do [. . .] I have better claims to the word great than any other mortal. [. . .] My privilege is to have the highest taste for the symbols [*Zeichen*] for the more healthy instincts."[75] Adjudication is not a matter of subjective preference or taste, but a consistent measure of an interpretation against the objective criterion of health. Insofar as Nietzsche has a 'healthy' interpretation of his own life, one for which he can be eternally grateful and affirm its recurrence for all eternity, he believes his is an inherently preferable account.

If this is an adequate formulation of Nietzsche's ideal of historical objectivity, then the misunderstanding about *Ecce homo* we outlined earlier in the chapter can be ameliorated. Those scholars who dismiss Nietzsche's self-description as mere postmodern narration do so on the grounds that Nietzsche falsified the history of himself in order to love his fate. This left Nietzsche with a historical description that was not 'true' in the correspondential sense, but with a fictive narrative whose value was merely literary. That evaluation, again, presumed a meta-historical framework that Nietzsche himself rejected: assumptions that objectivity means 'subject-free' and that true description entails adequate correspondence with the world. Because Nietzsche takes 'health' as an objective measure to distinguish competing interpretations of the same event – an objective measure "without a drop of empirical truth" – he stands the previous complaint of descriptive relativism on its head. If what we have said is correct, then *amor fati* was not taken as a *result* of his autobiography at all, but the necessary condition of the 'higher' objectivity needed to write it in the first place. That is, if historical perspectives can only be judged as to whether they follow from a 'healthy' perspective, then Nietzsche's own *amor fati* is precisely the necessary condition upon which he can express a healthy, 'yes-saying' autobiography. "I created my philosophy" – and, I contend, not only his

[73] *EH* "Inhalt"; *KSA* 6, 263. [74] *FW* 110; *KSA* 3, 469. [75] *EH* "klug," 10; *KSA* 6, 296.

philosophy but his autobiography as well – "from out of my will to health, to *life*."[76]

Of course health is a highly problematic notion for Nietzsche, one that resists easy definition partly because of its historical character. Just as there are no absolutes when it comes to good and evil because they are relational values tied to the kinds of life in which they are expressed in a particular historical moment, so too is health a dynamically multi-valuational symbol. "For there is no health as such, and all attempts to define it this way have failed miserably."[77] If we recall that "only things with no history can be defined," then we have an intimation as to why this is so. Health is a value and values have histories; their meanings are affixed over time through a series of over-writings and counter-interpretations each of which is the expression of a will within a given perspective. "Deciding what health is even for your *body*" accordingly requires recognition of the historical conditions in which it grows, accordingly "depends on your goal, your horizon, your powers, your impulses, your mistakes and above all on the ideals and phantasms of your soul. Thus there are innumerable healths of the body [*Gesundheiten des Leibes*]."[78]

Convincing and proving

It is hopefully clear by now that *Ecce homo* is no mere story among other stories, and certainly not the scrawlings of a psychologically afflicted author. As *Genealogie* was history practiced according to his own meta-historical standards, so too is his *Ecce homo* consistent with views about the character of the self and about how we symbolize it by means of history. Because motivations are at best highly problematic explanations of an agent's development, Nietzsche foregoes more usual strategies of explaining how he became what he was. Because the self is not a static object, Nietzsche cannot describe himself as a static object in the way of traditional autobiography. Because memory is no mirror of the past, Nietzsche can only interpret himself selectively and subjectively along the lines his memory-drives lead him to. But in denying traditional frameworks of explanation, the self as substance, and the transparency of introspection and memory, Nietzsche

[76] *EH* "weise," 2; *KSA* 6, 267. See also the accompanying letter to his publisher, C. G. Naumann. Nietzsche was able to compose *EH* so quickly because, "I was happily inspired these past few weeks by an unbelievable sense of well-being that has been unique in my life." Nietzsche to Naumann, November 6, 1888; *KSB* 8, 463ff.

[77] *FW* 120; *KSA* 3, 477. [78] *FW* 120; *KSA* 3, 477.

opens up a space for a new conception of how autobiography can be a meaningful expression of one's own self.

The character of reality is a constant process, a continual flux of forms and shapes, the meaning of which shifts and transmogrifies along with the conceptual symbols of those interpreters who try to encapsulate it. Selves, as a part of this reality, will be no different. Like lightning or the rolling waves of a river, the self manifests itself in its characteristic activity: constantly reinterpreting and adjusting meanings, in deciding, valuing, blaming, appraising, assessing, honoring, justifying, condemning, etc. Indeed in the autobiographical activity itself, the self of Nietzsche 'becomes what it is.' Writing himself is the flashing. Reinterpreting himself, adjusting the meanings of the symbols of his past due to perpetually newly formed drive dynamics, is the constant washing of waves. There is no substantial self – no thing named lightning, no thing named wave – beyond this series of acts. And we readers get a sense for what the character of Nietzsche is by means of our own retrospective reinterpretations of the after-image of his intrinsically subjective historiographical activity. Just as we make sense of what lightning 'is' by means of observing only the after-effect of its activity through our own perspectives, so too do we become familiar with Nietzsche by and only by observing the after-effect of his interpretive activity, the produced text of *Ecce homo*. Not in the description of himself as a thing, but in his describing; not in the explanation as a thing, but in his explaining; not in the interpretation, but in his interpreting – there is no 'homo' to behold independent of its activities. "[E]s giebt kein solches Substrat; es giebt kein 'Sein' hinter dem Thun, Wirken, Werden; 'der Thäter' ist zum Thun bloss hinzugedichtet, – das Thun ist Alles [There is no such substrate; there is no 'being' behind the doing, affecting, becoming; 'the doer' is simply a poetic addition to the deed]."[79] *Ecce homo*, whose main activity produces an after-image which we perceive through our own perspectival framework of meaning, *is* Nietzsche's auto-historicizing. "L'effet," Nietzsche claims, "c'est moi."[80]

Ecce homo is therefore neither a preview of insanity nor a basely opportunistic revisionism, nor a parody, nor an ironical performance, but alongside the *Genealogie* a practical example of what its author believed to be the limitations and possibilities of historical inquiry. Nietzsche's explanatory account of his own life includes hyperboles, exaggerations, and even fabrications. The 'causes' he references to allegedly explain how he became who he is are by and large unconvincing to positivists who seek behavioral trends

[79] *GM*, I 13; *KSA* 5, 279. [80] *JGB* 19; *KSA* 5, 33.

to explain character development, to those who wish to find the motivation or 'thought side' of every historical change, and to teleologists who see chosen moments of time as bringing about some greater purpose. But proving an explanation strictly by means of a deduction of a particular under a universal, while quite convincing to most people, is not the only means to generate conviction, even were it logically possible. An explanation can also convince by appealing to a particular audience – as we saw in the fifth chapter – by rendering familiar what was previously unfamiliar to a given perspective. Perspectival explanations cannot prove or demonstrate in the sense of logical deduction; they make known, reveal, bring home, and illuminate the relevant characteristics to subjects whose perspectives have been inculcated just-so over history that such an exposition convinces them of now possessing a solution to what had once been a mystery.

> Is there even an opposition between lies and convictions? – The whole world believes that there is; but what doesn't the whole world believe! – Every conviction has its history [*Geschichte*], its pre-formations, its probings and missteps: it *becomes* a conviction after *not* being one for a long time, after *barely* being one for even longer. How? Could lies, too, be among these embryonic-forms of convictions?[81]

But whom, exactly, does *Ecce homo* hope to convince? While vague on the specifics, Nietzsche often enough speaks to some unnamed loyal reader, to "anyone who knows how to breathe the air of my writings."[82] Nietzsche stresses repeatedly that his account here and elsewhere is only for those perspectives whose determinate scope of meaning is predisposed to accept the sort of deterministic naturalism that Nietzsche's autobiography offers. "Always supposing that there are ears – that there are people capable and worthy of the same pathos, that there are people you *may* communicate with."[83] Nietzsche's account is indeed intended to explain the development of his life, but is not intended as the only possible one or as one that corresponds to a world detached from the subjectivity of its author or audience. What he is trying to accomplish in his autobiography is precisely what he says: "To *communicate* a state, an inner tension of pathos in symbols [*Zeichen*]."[84] We readers may not have riddled out the ultimate springs of Nietzsche's development, and if Nietzsche is right about subjectivity and historiography generally, we cannot. But our acceptance or rejection of this particular perspective's explanation says something about

[81] *AC* 55; *KSA* 6, 237. [82] *EH* "Vorwort," 3; *KSA* 6, 258.
[83] *EH* "Bücher," 4; *KSA* 6, 304. Cf. also *NF* April–June 1885, 34 [134]; *KSA* 11, 465.
[84] *EH* "Bücher," 4; *KSA* 6, 304.

our own perspectival spheres, namely that we are psychologically inclined to regard such expressions as informative, as making familiar what was previously unfamiliar. The success or failure of *Ecce homo* as an autobiography depends upon Nietzsche, to be sure, but also upon his audience. "Things like this only reach the most select; it is a privilege without equal to be able to listen to them; nobody is just free to have ears for Zarathustra."[85]

For these reasons, I think the postmodern narrativist reading of Nietzsche's autobiography is misguided. *Ecce homo* simply does not "represent a repudiation of the efforts both to explain history and to emplot it as a drama with any general meaning."[86] And it does not offer just one more story alongside an 'infinite number' of other ones. While Nietzsche denies the possibility of a single authoritative conception of the past, including his own past, this does not entail the ascription of truth relativism. And while Nietzsche does hold the view that historical explanation involves a creative imposition of form, including the form of his own self, this by no means entails the postmodern ascription of interpretive value relativity either. Nietzsche does believe that historical accounts are dependent upon both the subjects who write them and those who accept or reject them, does believe that these dependencies shift and change as history itself shifts and changes, and does believe, finally, that the success of these accounts is nevertheless consistently measured against the criterion of 'health.' The postmodern vision of narrative therefore does adopt some of its foundations from a genuinely Nietzschean philosophy of history, but overlooks aspects that Nietzsche himself considered essential.

[85] *Ibid.* [86] H. White (1973), 373.

Epilogue: Nietzsche's influence on the philosophy of history

Even though Hegel is virtually synonymous with nineteenth-century philosophy of history, precious few serious historians or philosophers of history since Popper's famous *The Poverty of Historicism* (1957) have held there to be some grand metaphysical scheme that divides history into progressive epochs and aims at some ideal end.[1] Even though Nietzsche has been comparatively ignored, his philosophy of history finds much more resonance on both sides of the general twentieth-century philosophical rift between continental and analytic meta-historians. Thinkers of the former tradition like Heidegger, Jaspers, Löwith, Deleuze, and Derrida tended to focus on historicity: the meaning of our human experience within a temporal horizon. Analytical thinkers like Mandelbaum, Walsh, Beard, Hempel, Dray, and Danto tended to examine epistemological problems: the nature of explanation, judgment, evidence, and the possibility of laws and objectivity. Nietzsche had a more direct and obvious influence on the continental philosophers; though among the analytics, too, there are distinct commonalities. I will be able to draw only cursory similarities to these traditions here in the hope of generating interest for future research.

Among phenomenologist and existentialist continental philosophers, most notably Heidegger, the uniquely human way of being entails the recognition of our temporality.[2] We must understand our existential condition as oriented in our birth and propelled toward our future possibilities, which fall under the inescapable common horizon of our death. Heidegger, like Jan Patočka[3] and later Paul Ricoeur,[4] thought that the proper study of history would involve articulating the meaning of beings in terms of their horizonal historicity. By demarking the specifically human

[1] Exceptions are Arnold Toynbee and Francis Fukuyama, though the degree to which they are considered serious historiographers is debatable.

[2] See Heidegger (2003). See also his unpublished (1998). For an examination of the latter, see Caputo (1998), 519–546. See also D. Carr (1986), 100–121.

[3] See generally Patočka (1996). [4] See Ricoeur (1984–1988); and his (2000).

condition as one bound to recognize its historicity, they each share Nietzsche's 1874 characterization of the human animal as the one unable to forget his past; being human for each philosopher meant being forever tied to a continual process of becoming.[5] A flourishing life, for each, involves a certain orientation to or horizon within that becoming.

The continental historical movement known as the 'Annales School' has seemingly little in common with any philosophical movement. In conscious rejection of teleological historiography, especially the Marxist variety, historians like Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, and Fernand Braudel avoided class-politics in favor of statistical analyses and the rather unreflective attempt to return to the kinds of proofs and demonstrations made famous a century before by Buckle, Mill, and Comte. Though likely oblivious to Nietzsche's critiques on that score, there is a rough parallel in the Annales' focus on *histoire totale*. Rather than trying to present an absolutist, de-subjectivized account of the past, they thought historiography should be more concerned with *mentalité*, or the perspectival structures that witnesses impressed upon events in their societies. Although an idea first propagated by Vico, they and Nietzsche, too, acknowledge that event-descriptions follow functionally from agents in their particular historical situatedness.[6]

Among later postmodern continental thinkers such as Barthes, Foucault, de Man, Lacoue-Labarthe, Lyotard, Derrida, and Rorty,[7] the anthropological focus increasingly shifts to an epistemological one. The view of history as a mirror of the real events of a real objective past is ridiculed as an outdated conservative ideal. Historiography has not historically been used to discover truth, and indeed cannot be, but has consisted in a set of authoritative narratives constructed to ossify existing biases and power structures. Historiography, like both philosophy and literature, is revealed to be indistinguishable from power-based fictions. Both of these bear an indelibly Nietzschean stamp.[8] And consistent with their interpretation of Nietzsche's genealogical project, they, too, see the West in a moment of cultural crisis. Historiography's task is thus no longer to simply record facts, they hold, but to unmask the so-called 'objective' systems of values by deconstructing or revealing as mythic the ideological foundations on which

[5] See, for example, *HL*, 1, *KSA* 1, 248ff.
[6] The first expression can be found in Bloch (1924); though it was only formalized a generation later by Duby and Mandrou (1958).
[7] See Barthes (1981), 3–20; Foucault (1970); Derrida (1978); and Lyotard (1984).
[8] An account of Nietzsche's narrative forms of philosophy from a postmodern perspective is de Man (1979). For critiques, see Clark (1990b) and Staten (1990).

they were built. After those grand-narratives have been exposed, historiography's myth-making capacities are to be refocused to allow previously underrepresented groups to construct the story from their own perspectives.[9] In this way, too, one notices a rather freely interpreted application of Nietzsche's claim, already mentioned, that "the more eyes, different eyes we learn to set upon the same object, the more complete will be our 'concept' of this thing, the more 'objective.'"[10]

Analytic philosophers of history of the first half of the twentieth century took their point of departure from Buckle's and Comte's attempts to construct nomothetic laws by which historiography, like science, might deduce the behaviors of agents or the outcomes of events. The most important twentieth-century analytic philosopher to take up their banner was undoubtedly Carl Gustav Hempel, whose covering law model remains the clearest formulation of nomothetic historiographical explanation.[11] W. H. Walsh put forth an alternative view of explanation known as colligation, which aims to uncover the conceptual bonds that hold related historical phenomena together in a sort of contextual pattern, "a whole of which they are all parts and in which they belong together in a specially intimate way."[12] But Walsh was drawing more on William Whewell's alternative to positivism[13] than on Nietzsche's. Maurice Mandelbaum[14] and William H. Dray[15] criticized Hempel in terms of the applicability of covering laws to the actual cases working historians endeavored to explain. Karl Popper[16] and Isaiah Berlin[17] set out from the position that what Hempel called laws were nothing more than trends, which both lack the explanatory force necessary for positivist deductions and simply are not, in comparison to what is unique and particular in the past, the real focus of historians anyway. While each is consistent with Nietzsche's claim that, "there neither are nor can be actions that are all the same; that every act ever performed was done in an altogether unique and unrepeatable way, and that this will be equally true of every future act,"[18] both Popper and Berlin came to their positions independent of him.

The same is almost certainly true of a group of twentieth-century anti-positivists as well: Benedetto Croce, R. G. Collingwood, Theodor Lessing, and Hans-Georg Gadamer. Though for quite different reasons, each found the positivist ideal of objectivity untenable within their more subject-sensitive

[9] For a sampling of readings from these authors, see Jenkins (1997). [10] *GM* III, 12; *KSA* 5, 365.
[11] See Hempel (1942). [12] Walsh (1951), 23. [13] See Whewall (1967).
[14] Mandelbaum (1967); and his (1961), 229–242. [15] See Dray (1980). [16] Popper (1957), 6–8.
[17] Berlin (1959), 320–328. [18] *FW* 355; *KSA* 3, 593ff.

philosophies of mind. Historiography should not strive to examine facts in a detached and disinterested manner. It "cannot be made to square with theories according to which the object of knowledge is abstract and changeless,"[19] claims Collingwood. Indeed history "must vibrate in the mind of the historian,"[20] must be a reflection of the hopes, values, and norms by which we understand ourselves as the authors of it. We need the mirror of history to understand ourselves; at the same time we must acknowledge that in that same mirror we can ever only see our own image. In Croce's words, "All history is contemporary history."[21] And in Lessing's, history is a "*Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* [giving meaning to the meaningless]" according to an historian's contemporary concerns.[22] Gadamer focused on how an interpreter's historicity precludes the possibility of reaching an 'objective' timeless interpretation of texts and indeed of the world itself. Historiography correctly practiced, for Gadamer, is a sort of fusion of historically situated horizons: not an exposition of what an author intended to write, but an acknowledgment of the intertwining of the original authorial aims with our own contemporary interests. Roughly this same conclusion was reached by Nietzsche in 1874, though again the lines of influence cannot be demonstrated sufficiently. "The history of his city becomes for him the history of himself; he reads its walls, its towered gate, its rules and regulations, its holidays, like an illuminated diary of his youth and in all this he finds again himself, his force, his industry, his joy, his judgment, his folly and vices."[23] Key for both is the way present-day subjective interests impact the apprehension of past phenomena.

Contemporary philosophy of history is dominated by the figures of Hayden White, Frank Ankersmit, and Keith Jenkins. The inaugurator of the 'linguistic turn' in postmodern historiography – not to be confused with the same phrase in earlier analytic philosophy – White draws attention to the form of historical writing, revealing the various modes of 'emplotment' by which historiographers constructed their accounts. Presuming that they had equal access to the relevant evidence and that both met standards of professional responsibility, if Michelet and Tocqueville tell vastly different stories about the French revolution, then this reflects the fact that they had differing aesthetic or evaluative perspectives that led to a 'romantic,' 'tragic,' 'satirical,' or 'comical' narrative. Events themselves have

[19] Collingwood (1946), 234. [20] Croce (1966), 497ff. See more generally, Croce (1941).
[21] Croce (1960), 11–15. For systematic defenses of historical relativism on this score, see also Teggart (1918), esp. 208ff and Lessing (1927), section 15.
[22] A phrase coined in the title of Lessing (1927). For an intriguing comparison of Lessing and Nietzsche, see Born (2009).
[23] *HL* 3; *KSA* 1, 265.

neither meaning nor order; both are imposed upon the past rather than discovered in it. In this sense, for White and the linguistic postmodernists, the historical text is a literary artifact, and should be evaluated in terms of its communicative efficacy.[24] Frank Ankersmit is equally anti-realist in allocating the source of historical order to colligatory narrations rather than an inherent quality in the events themselves. "The structure of the narration is a structure *lent* to or *pressed* on the past and not the reflection of a kindred structure objectively present in the past itself."[25] In this respect, both White and Ankersmit owe something of a debt to Nietzsche's skepticism about representational realism. "It is only a superstition to say that the picture given to such a man by the object really shows the truth of things. Unless it be that objects are expected in such moments to paint or photograph themselves by their own activity on a pure *passivum*!"[26] But, as I argued in Chapters 6 and 7, the similarities between Nietzsche and postmodern historiography cannot be taken as an identity.

Though there are family resemblances, contemporary postmodern historiographies have broken out into more specialized sub-disciplines. So-called constructionists like Eric Hobsbawm and John Tosh aim at the attainment of a real past, while acknowledging that contextual categories contemporary to the individual historian largely (but not wholly) constitute historiographical discourse. Deconstructionists like Greg Dening, Robert Rosenstone, and Dipesh Chakrabarty deny the constructionist belief that a real past has *any* impact on historiographical reconstructions. What historians present is only a literary narrative that reflects their current aims, biases, and power interests. Self-proclaimed 'endists' like Jean Baudrillard, Jean-François Lyotard, and Jenkins deny that traditional historiography should even be practiced as typically construed, that is to say, as passing off congealed power structures as if they were objective and inviolable truths.[27] But, like many of the twentieth-century philosophers of history whom we have mentioned in our brief overview, these contemporary and near-contemporary thinkers came to their positions largely independent of Nietzsche.

Reflecting on the differences between twentieth-century philosophy of history and its forefather the nineteenth, Frank Ankersmit locates the difference in two of the latter's universal assumptions. Nineteenth-century philosophy of history, he claims, is summarily obsessed with either "objective representation" or else trying to see the past as governed by "supra-individual

[24] H. White (1978), 81–100. [25] Ankersmit (1983), 86. [26] *HL* 6; *KSA* 1, 290.
[27] For a discussion see Jenkins (2003), 9–32.

forces."[28] To whatever extent my present work can alter the legacy of Nietzsche's importance for philosophy of history, I hope at the very least to have made clear that by his critiques of the nineteenth century Nietzsche anticipated many of the most fundamental meta-historical positions of both traditions in the twentieth century. Clear I hope it is, too, that Nietzsche's representational anti-realism and perspectival theory of explanation offer potentially rich insights into the enduring problems of the past today.

[28] Ankersmit (2001), 151.

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