BIRTH OF AN ARTISTIC SOCRATES: THE MOTIVATIONS AND FORM OF NIETZSCHE'S CLASSICISM 1869-1872

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ABSTRACT

WILLIAM O. TAYLOR: Birth of an Artistic Socrates: The Motivations and Form of Nietzsche's Classicism 1869-1872
(Under the direction of Eric Downing)

Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) expresses a form of classicism as it argues that Greek tragedy is a singular and exemplary art form moderns need to emulate. This classicism becomes even clearer when his lectures "On the Future of Our Educational Institutions," delivered at the same time *The Birth of Tragedy* is published, are read alongside it. These lectures propose the creation of new schools to create artists through the study of the ancient Greeks. Nietzsche's classicism is often supposed to have developed during his school years. This study demonstrates that Nietzsche never shows any signs of classicism while a student and that the Greeks are little more than an academic subject for him during these years. It is not until he completes his education that Nietzsche abruptly announces his classicist project centered on the Greeks. As the sudden nature of this classicism has never been recognized before, the motivations for it have never been questioned. This study uncovers three motivations for Nietzsche's classicism: his love of music, his need for existential meaning, and his feeling of having no other career option than to be a professor of philology. This provides a new and more nuanced picture of Nietzsche's thinking on the value he proposes that the ancient Greeks have for modernity.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KGB: Colli, Georgio and Mazzino Montinari, eds. *Briefwechsel. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967-. Section is given in Roman numerals and volume in Arabic numerals followed by page number. Thus, section two, volume one, page 14 appears: KGB II/1, 14.

KGW: Colli, Georgio and Mazzino Montinari, eds. *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975-. Same format for citation as above. Thus, section two, volume one, page 14 appears: KGW II/1, 14.

KSA: Colli, Georgio and Mazzino Montinari,eds. *Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Einzelbänden*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999. Volume number is in Arabic numerals followed by page number. Thus volume one, page 14 appears: KSA 1, 14.

INTRODUCTION

Fourteen years after publishing *The Birth of Tragedy* in 1872, Friedrich Nietzsche describes it as a "questionable," "hardly accessible," and even an "*impossible*" book.[1] Among other reasons for calling it questionable, he finds it "mad with images and confused by them."[2] Indeed it presents a kaleidoscope of elements, layering concepts from German philosophers and composers on top of portraits of ancient Greek authors and their gods. This book claiming to achieve the philological task of explaining the origin of Greek tragedy has generally been read instead as a treatise on aesthetic theory. This confusion of image, mode, and purpose helps make *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music* (hereafter *Birth*) an intriguing and much-discussed work.[3]

One aspect of this impossible book's complexity that has received little attention as a *problem* before is its classicism. In it Nietzsche announces a classicist project reminiscent of Johan Joachim Winckelmann's call to imitate Greek sculpture in 1755 when he holds up Greek tragedy as the art form needed most by modernity. By "classicist" we refer here and throughout this study exclusively to holding up the ancient

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[1] This is found in his new preface written for it, "Attempt at Self-Criticism" ["*Versuch einer Selbstkritik*"]. KSA 1, 11, 13. "fragwürdigen" "schlecht zugänglichen" "*unmögliches*" (emphasis original)

[2] KSA 1, 14, "bilderwüthig und bilderwirrig"

[3] *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*. As recently as 2004, Lorella Bosco has asked "How is this book to be categorized?" [*Wie ist ein solches Buch einzuordnen?*] (321).

Greeks as singular and exemplary for the benefit of modern culture.[4] *Birth* has certainly been read before in relation to the tradition of German classicism stretching back to Winckelmann. In perhaps the most common reading, Nietzsche presents the classicist tradition in his Apollo, whom he opposes with a new, darker, and *anti*-classical vision of Greece in his figure of Dionysus.[5] This reading fails to recognize that Dionysus is as much a part of Nietzsche's classicism as Apollo is. Both figures are necessary elements in Nietzsche's idea of the nature of Greek tragedy, and if moderns want to emulate Greek art, Nietzsche is arguing, they must honor and include *both* aspects of Greek artistic creativity. Dionysus is not a rejection of the classicist project for Nietzsche as much as an elaboration of it.

It is widely recognized that *Birth* provides an argument about what is singular about Greek art, specifically tragedy, in order to support Wagner's modern *Musikdrama*. Nevertheless, this classicist gesture of pointing to a Greek ideal for the benefit of modernity presents a problem for our understanding of Nietzsche that has only begun to

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[4] The term "classicism" and its related forms are certainly problematic and contested. Christian Emden explores their complexity starting with three factors inherent to them outlined by Karl Christ and Suzanne Marchand: "a tendency toward aesthetic idealization, the demand for rigorous scholarship, and an ideological appropriation of antiquity." For this study we are keeping the three distinct requiring an artificial and rather limited use of "classicism" to refer only to the first factor, the aesthetic idealization of Greece. Classicism, as used here, is characterized by a mission to redeem modern culture by means of an idealized image of the Greeks. The second factor listed by Emden, rigorous scholarship, is made distinct and referred to throughout this study as "philology" and its related forms. Philology here refers only to the institutionalized attempt to understand the Greeks as accurately as possible through the historical-critical method, a pursuit that does not require idealization or aspirations for future culture. The third factor, the ideological appropriation of antiquity, expresses itself in both classicism and philology and is discussed as a nationalist tendency within each of them when referred to in this study. See Emden (2004), 372.

[5] By the 1960s R.J. Hollingdale can argue that it is well established that Apollo represents Winckelmann's Greece and that Nietzsche rejects this vision of the Greeks in favor of a vision of them "as a cruel, savage and warlike people." As late as 2004, Dirk t.D. Held is still arguing that Nietzsche's Dionysus is presented as an innovation in opposition to the classicism of his Winckelmannian Apollo. See Hollingdale (1965), 90 and Held (2004), 410-413, as well as Butler (1935), 310 and Kaufmann (1950), 105.

be addressed.[6] As this study demonstrates, the intense classicism that characterizes *Birth* is nowhere to be found in Nietzsche's thinking before 1869, despite the fact that he has been studying the Greeks since at least 1855. The fervor of the sudden and uncharacteristic classicism in *Birth* raises the question of the motivations behind it.

This study reveals those motivations by exploring in detail Nietzsche's relationship to classicism from his earliest schooldays up to the publication of *Birth* at the beginning of 1872. The January that *Birth* is published, Nietzsche begins delivering a series of five lectures, "On the Future of our Institutions of *Bildung*" (hereafter *Lectures on Bildung*).[7] Though they are characterized by the same fervent classicism as *Birth*, these lectures have never been explored as an extension of the sincere classicist project announced there. This two-part classicist project proposes, first, that Germans can support Wagner's *Musikdrama* by understanding the true character of Greek tragedy and, second, that they can ensure the cultivation of further artists to sustain the culture created by Wagner by returning philology to its classicist roots.[8] The first part is explained in *Birth*, the second in the *Lectures on Bildung*.

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[6] James I . Porter does clearly recognize the problematic nature of *Birth's* classicism in his *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future* (2000a). How this study goes beyond his findings is discussed below in the Literature Review.

[7] "*Ueber die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten.*" Throughout this study, *Bildung*, will generally not be translated. It is a word that in translation always loses relevant aspects of its semantic range. It means "education" as both a process one undergoes and as something that is acquired thereby. A literal translation of it can also indicate the form that something has and the process of formation (*Bilden*). *Bildung*, then, not only refers to the knowledge one has gained, but also the kind of person into which one has been formed and the process of formation one has undergone. Bildung can also be translated as "culture," referring to a collective state achieved by the process or the cultural acquisition gained by an individual. Thus, Nietzsche's discussion of Bildung is not only about education but also about the molding of individuals into beings capable of a true, artistic culture, and it locates itself within multiple discourses, pedagogical, economic, political, *and* artistic, important to his audience. For a good introduction to the meaning of *Bildung* in the nineteenth century, see Jeismann (1987), 1-21.

[8] On the specific use of "philology" and its related forms in this study, please see note 4 above.

These lectures argue that Germany needs to renew its institutions of *Bildung*, especially the *Gymnasium*, so that the study of the Greeks can produce modern artists capable of sustaining Wagner's imminent redemption of German culture.[9] Nineteenth century philology has, Nietzsche argues, moved too far away from the classicism which originally motivated it. He hopes to nurture future artists by means of a new philology, one with its classicism renewed. He does not want to do away with philology; he hopes to revive it. As we explore in detail in Chapters 1 and 2, Nietzsche is educated at the most elite *Gymnasium* in Germany and two of the leading universities, studying philology at paradigmatic models of the institutions he critiques in the *Lectures on Bildung*. His life has been spent at school, and these lectures provide a fuller view of this personal aspect of his classicism. This study acknowledges and explores, for the first time, the insight the *Lectures on Bildung* provide into the classicism of *Birth* and the very ambitious task Nietzsche envisions for himself within it. The *Lectures on Bildung* also make clear that *Birth* is not a farewell to philology but an attempt to salvage it in a new form.

To be clear, this study is *not* a reading of *Birth* or of the *Lectures on Bildung*. It is an examination of all of Nietzsche's writing on the Greeks up to 1872 revealing the motivations of Nietzsche's sudden turn to classicism in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung*. In the conclusion, *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* are considered briefly to further sketch the outline of the classicist project Nietzsche presents in them and to see how they themselves demonstrate the motivations behind the classicism they express.

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[9] A *Gymnasium*, another German term that is not translated throughout this study, is a secondary educational institution and is discussed in detail in Chapter 1 below. Its plural form *Gymnasien* is also used.

The rest of this introduction consists of four sections. In Section A, we explore why the classicism expressed in *Birth* should be questioned as problematic and then summarize our findings on what motivates this classicism. Section B then discusses the two precedents for Nietzsche's classicism, Winckelmann and Wilhelm von Humboldt. It is Humboldt who institutionalizes Winckelmann's classicism in the schools where nineteenth century German philology develops, providing the theoretical justification for much of the form they are still in when Nietzsche attends them. Section C reviews existing literature pertinent to this study, establishes what this study contributes to the various fields it touches, and offers an overview of the contents of this study. Finally, in Section D we establish a few more definitions that will help us maintain clarity.

A. NIETZSCHE'S CLASSICISM 1869-1872

A.1 Why This Classicism Requires Examination

At this point, the questions may arise, "But Nietzsche loves the Greeks, does he not? Does he not believe that they are an incomparable culture worthy of emulation?" Indeed, many of his biographers and commentators have assumed and asserted that Nietzsche develops a deep admiration for and connection to the Greeks during his years at the *Gymnasium* (1855-1864). In the writings of all of his years in school, we do see him diligently studying the Greeks, however, he never expresses any special affection for them. Still, Julian Young, a biographer of Nietzsche's consulted throughout this study, claims in his *Friedrich Nietzsche: A Philosophical Biography* (2010) that Nietzsche "loved the Greeks" since his time at the *Gymnasium* without adducing evidence from

Nietzsche's writings to support this claim.[10] Other studies more closely focused on his student years that comb over much of the same material analyzed here also assume Nietzsche develops a love and admiration for the Greeks during his school years.

Curt Paul Janz in his *Friedrich Nietzsche Biographie* (1978) often comes closest to the assessments of this study as he slowly works through all of Nietzsche's writings since childhood and has proven to be by far his most careful and reliable biographer for this study. Even still he argues that Nietzsche has a "love for antiquity" and for the world of Greek authors and that he stands in an "immediate, living, even passionate relationship" to the Greeks.[11] He does provide evidence for this, specifically a biography Nietzsche writes upon leaving the *Gymnasium* and a paper he writes there on *Oedipus Rex*.[12] Both of these texts are examined below in Chapter 1, where it is made clear that, though Nietzsche develops a scholarly *interest* in the ancient Greeks he is required to study at school, he never demonstrates any emotional connection to or deep admiration for them. Janz is unable to provide further evidence of any passionate relationship Nietzsche might have to the Greeks and, in fact, argues that Nietzsche's graduating thesis written for his *Gymnasium* on Theognis, a Greek author, shows no special love for him.[13] This is the extent of the evidence Janz discusses to establish Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks. As is shown in this study, there is little material, if any, one could draw upon to argue for a personal need for the Greeks before 1869 or expressions of love for them before 1870.

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[10] Young (2010), 31.

[11] "Liebe zur Antike" "unmittelbaren, lebendigen, ja leidenschaftlichen Beziehung"

[12] Janz (1978), 121-122.

[13] Janz (1978), 122.

Michael S. Silk and Joseph P. Stern provide in *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (1981) a detailed study of Nietzsche's thoughts on the Greeks in *Birth*. They more carefully propose that Nietzsche develops "an inclination" for the Greeks during his years in the *Gymnasium*, citing a school paper on Hölderlin as evidence.[14] This paper is discussed in Chapter 1 as a work of plagiarism and, thus, an unreliable witness for any special relationship between Nietzsche and the Greeks. Had it not been exposed as plagiarism in an article written twenty years after Silk's and Stern's study, this Hölderlin essay would indeed have been the best piece of evidence indicating a special affection for the Greeks and a form of classicism during Nietzsche's time at the *Gymnasium*. Still, Silk and Stern are closest to the mark as Nietzsche does indeed write in the biography cited by Janz that he has developed an "inclination for classical studies" at the *Gymnasium*.[15] As we will see, this inclination is far less than an admiration for the Greeks holding them as singularly exemplary or in any way normative for Nietzsche's thinking.

Even James I. Porter's *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future* (2000), in many ways the most akin to this study as discussed in the literature review, despite its very careful and detailed examination of Nietzsche's study of the Greeks and his classicism, claims contra Janz that Theognis is "Nietzsche's earliest scholarly passion."[16] As mentioned, Nietzsche writes his thesis at the end of his course of study at the *Gymnasium* on Theognis.[17] As we see in our examination of this thesis in Chapter 1, there is no sign that Nietzsche has any passion for Theognis as Janz correctly argues and that, in fact,

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[14] Silk and Stern (1981), 22.

[15] Janz (1978), 121. "Neigung für klassische Studien"

[16] Porter (2000a), 33.

[17] He also returns to Theognis and reworks this thesis later at university.

Theognis as his topic is suggested to him by a teacher. It is simply the case that it is not until after his years at the *Gymnasium* and university that Nietzsche gives any indication that he has a particularly fervent appreciation for the Greeks that has any effect on his goals, behavior, or worldview or that he sees them as setting standards in any way for modernity.

Now there certainly is a very good reason for commentators and biographers to think that Nietzsche has a passion for the Greeks. *Birth* proclaims it loudly. His *Lectures on Bildung* go so far as to praise the Greeks as the "incarnate categorical imperative of all culture" and call ancient Greece "the land of longing" and the "only home of *Bildung*."[18] What has not been recognized before is that this is in fact a rather drastic shift from his thinking on the Greeks since his school years, and, without a close examination of his writings before 1869, it seems to appear out of nowhere.

It is also not at all farfetched to see Nietzsche's fervent classicism after his school years and assume that he develops a passionate love for the Greeks and a view of them as exemplary while at the *Gymnasium*, as he attends Schulpforta (1858-1864), which Lorella Bosco says can be seen "justifiably as a perfect example of a humanistic *Gymnasium*."[19] Janz describes the omnipresence of Greek antiquity at Schulpforta, and, as we see below in Chapter 1, Nietzsche is required to constantly engage the Greeks there.[20] That he becomes passionate about the Greeks at Schulpforta is an understandable assumption. It is simply one without supporting evidence. It is not until *after* Nietzsche

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[18] KSA 1, 741, 686. "leibhaften kategorischen Imperativ aller Kultur" "dem Lande der Sehnsucht" "einzigen Bildungsheimat"

[19] Bosco (2004), 297. ""mit Fug und Recht als Musterbeispiel eines humanistischen Gymnasiums"

[20] Janz (1978), 67-68.

finishes at both the *Gymnasium* and the university that we see him begin to speak of the Greeks as an eminent culture of normative importance for him and modernity. This newly expressed admiration and devotion is closely tied to his reasons for writing *Birth*, as is discussed in the next section. Thus, one of the findings of this study is that Nietzsche does *not* come to love the Greeks at school, a finding that makes the question of what motivates the classicism found in *Birth* all the more interesting.

What Nietzsche does get at school, both at the *Gymnasium* and at university, is an elite education in the tools and methods of philology. By the time Nietzsche receives his training, philology is quite specialized. Such specialization produces a keen awareness of the many differences between, say, the world of Heraclitus on the west coast of Asia Minor at the end of the sixth century BC and the world of Alexander in Macedonia in the mid-fourth century BC. In the ever more specific field of nineteenth century philology, a scholar is hard pressed to speak of a single, homogeneous ideal called "Greece" or "the Greeks" meaningfully in any professional capacity. Even though philologists of the later nineteenth century could sometimes revert to such simplifications, one should question this rhetorical move going against the training of the one making it. This is especially the case with Nietzsche as he is not only a thoroughly trained philologist but one who later presents himself, and is accepted by most of his readers, as precisely the kind of iconoclast who exposes such simplifications and cultural clichés for what they are as he philosophizes with an idol-shattering hammer.[21] When Nietzsche relies on these clichés so heavily in his own work despite his extensive education, one who hopes to understand him should ask why.

[21] See KSA 6, 57-58.

A.2 Motivations for this Classicism

As already noted, this study does not provide a reading of *Birth*. By examining Nietzsche's thoughts on the Greeks, whether written for school, in personal notes, or in letters, from the beginning of his education up until the publication of *Birth* and the presentation of the *Lectures on Bildung*, we establish the three motivations for Nietzsche's curious classicism. These motivations for Nietzsche's sudden classicism expressed between 1869 and 1872 have never been sought or demonstrated as such before.

The first is his passion for music, a passion always stronger and developed much earlier than any affection for the Greeks. In fact, music is always first for Nietzsche with his philological studies more of a dutiful afterthought. As we see in Chapters 1 and 3, it is not a focus on music that Wagner contributes to Nietzsche's interest in the Greeks, but Wagner's focus on the Greeks that he brings to Nietzsche's love of music.

The second motivation is Nietzsche's need for existential meaning after his religious faith collapses in his teenage years. This begins at Schulpforta, and, though it seems like an ideal time for him to turn to classicism for meaning, we see that he does not. In fact, he finds no real tools for coping with his existential crisis until he reads Schopenhauer at university. Then within a year, he realizes he also cannot believe in Schopenhauer as he reads Friedrich Albert Lange. Though it is generally acknowledged that Nietzsche reads Lange after reading Schopenhauer and that he does have some effect on Nietzsche's thinking, the scope of that effect and the fact that it in many ways eclipses the effect of Schopenhauer has rarely been discussed.[22] It is in Lange that Nietzsche

[22] Stack (1983) provides the very helpful, and only extended, study of Lange's effect on Nietzsche, though he does not address Lange's role in the creation of *Birth*, focusing instead in his influence on Nietzsche's

finds permission and a conceptual framework to creatively use concepts he does not believe, such as an idealized image of the Greeks, in order to artistically propose his own ideas in the search for existential meaning. Lange gives him permission to let go of epistemological and historical correctness in favor of a sincere attempt to make life worth living. It is after reading Lange, at the very end of his time in school, that we see the first signs of Nietzsche's classicism. Lange does not *motivate* Nietzsche's classicism, Nietzsche's existential crisis does. Yet Lange offers much of the solution to Nietzsche for coping with this existential crisis and makes Nietzsche's classicism and *Birth* itself possible in the process.

The third and final motivation stems from the facts of Nietzsche's career training and options. He finds himself in his mid-twenties locked into the only path, other than becoming a pastor, that he has ever been offered. Though he would always rather have been a musician, he never has any opportunity for formal training in music. He has received, however, an elite education in philology. It is in the study of the Greeks that Nietzsche is highly trained, and it is in teaching about the Greeks that he must hope to have a meaningful career. *Birth* is not, as mentioned above, an intentionally offensive farewell to philology but part of a classicist project genuinely attempting to salvage Nietzsche's career in institutional philology. This becomes much clearer when *Birth* is considered alongside *The Lectures on Bildung* as this study does for the first time. Nietzsche hopes that his Langean classicism can keep him on a career path that allows him to make use of his training and help to redeem German culture.

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later writings. Porter (2000b), though not as focused on Lange, also offers some valuable ideas on his effect on Nietzsche. This is all examined in Chapter 2.

These three motivations, Nietzsche's love of music, his existential crisis, and his commitment to his career path, are followed as they develop amidst Nietzsche's study of the Greeks throughout the three chapters of this study. As will be seen, the influence of Wagner considerably intensifies the way these three motivations coalesce into Nietzsche's classicism, but the development of all three motivations predates Wagner as does the way they drive Nietzsche towards a classicism that would otherwise be uncharacteristic of him. His classicist project starts to take shape and is already announced before he begins his fervent conversations about tragedy with Wagner as we will see in Chapter 3. His love of music makes Wagner's charisma even more irresistible and makes Nietzsche quite receptive to Wagner's ideas on tragedy that have such a profound influence on the form of the classicism expressed in *Birth*. Certainly without Wagner we would not have the same classicism found in *Birth* and most likely not that found in the *Lectures on Bildung*, but Nietzsche's classicism begins before he first visits Wagner at Tribschen to be drawn into Wagner's own classicist project.

B. TWO PRECEDENTS FOR NIETZSCHE'S CLASSICISM

To better flesh out what we mean by Nietzsche's "classicism," we need to consider the two models of classicism that guide the examination here of all of Nietzsche's written thoughts on the Greeks from the fifteen years before he begins work on *Birth* and the two years spent working on it.[23] As mentioned above, these two models are the classicism of Johan Joachim Winckelmann and Wilhelm von Humboldt

[23] As the first text with Greek subject matter written by Nietzsche is dated sometime between 1854 and the beginning of 1856, the years under consideration are ca. 1854-1869 plus the years in which *Birth* is worked out, 1870-1872.

B.1 Winckelmann

Winckelmann's classicism has received considerable attention already and is familiar to most students of the history of German literature.[24] For the purposes of this study, we need only focus on two sentences from his *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works of Painting and Sculpture* (1755, hereafter *Imitation of Greek Works*).[25]

Early on in *Imitation of Greek Works*, Winckelmann offers the key thought that deeply impacts the course of German culture and education, "The only way for us to become great, even, when possible, inimitable, is the imitation of the ancients, and what one has said about Homer, that he who learns to understand him learns to admire him, is also valid for the artworks of the ancients, especially of the Greeks."[26] This, as we have noted above, is the key move of what we are here calling classicism: holding up the Greeks as singular and exemplary for the benefit of modern culture. Though this notion is accepted by Germans contemporary to and coming after Winckelmann, it is not entirely straightforward.

Peter Szondi in his *Poetics and Philosophy of History* (1974) focuses on the first sentence of *Imitation of Greek Works* to illustrate the complexity inherent in Winckelmann's poetics.[27] He sees this sentence illustrating the borderline between two forms of poetics: that of the Enlightenment preceding Winckelmann, and that of the time of Goethe following him. The sentence reads, "Good taste, which is spreading more and

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[24] For full monographs on Wincklemann, see Dummer (2007), Potts (1994), Kraefft (1988), Uhlig (1988), and Spengler (1970).

[25] *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*

[26] Winckelmann (1969) 2. "Der einzige Weg für uns, groß, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten, und was jemand von Homer gesagt, daß derjenige ihn bewundern lernt, der ihn wohl verstehen gelernt, gilt auch von den Kunstwerken der Alten, sonderlich der Griechen."

[27] *Poetik und Geschichtsphilosophie*

more in the world, first began to form under the Greek sky."[28] Szondi sees the first concept, "good taste," as looking back to Enlightenment poetics, which he characterizes as following rules derived from an absolute standard set by the ancients in order to produce beauty in art correctly. The last concept in the sentence, "Greek sky," Szondi takes as looking forward to the poetics of Goethe and his contemporaries, a search for beauty made less straight-forward by an awareness of historical contingency though still focused on the Greeks. This reveals two conflicting tendencies in Winckelmann that are not easily reconciled: that the Greeks are an ideal standard to be imitated by others and that they are a specific historical instance made possible by historical circumstances and, thus, not to be replicated.[29] It is the first tendency that points back to Enlightenment poetics while the second points forward to the historical sense that will sweep German thinking every bit as much as admiration for the Greeks will. Though Winckelmann lets this problematic classicism loose into the world, as Szondi argues, he himself does not see the paradox.[30]

This new kind of poetics, a German classicism, will always recognize the historic specificity not only of any ancient people but of the culture of the present moment in modernity. Thus Szondi argues that, though the Greeks are seen as the highpoint of history and are always at the center of aesthetic concerns, those following Winckelmann seek out multiple forms of beauty in addition to the Greeks. These other forms of beauty, though understood by means of the Greeks, are each found to be unique. Szondi cites the

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[28] Winckelmann (1969), 1. "Der gute Geschmack, welcher sich mehr und mehr durch die Welt ausbreitet, hat sich angefangen zuerst unter dem griechischen Himmel zu bilden."

[29] Szondi (1974), 22-23.

[30] Szondi (1974), 28-29. Alex Potts provides an in depth study in *Flesh and the Ideal* (1994) of the tension between the idealizing and the historicizing poles in Winckelmann.

example of Herder's thoughts on Shakespeare, in which Herder argues that Shakespeare's poetry grows naturally out of his national and historical circumstances, just as Greek tragedy does, thus benefitting from what makes Greek art great while having its own particular beauty.[31] In this example of a German poetics after Winckelmann, we see the Greeks playing a central role in determining how art is to be created but in a way that makes room for modern national and historical specificity. The Greeks provide, Herder hopes, a model for how art can be made in the present in a way that grows out of the specificity of the present rather than a set of norms to be rigidly followed.

It is precisely this double tendency towards idealism and historical specificity inherent already in Winckelmann that makes Nietzsche's classicism all the more problematic. The historical-critical tools and methods of professional philology rapidly develop during the course of the nineteenth century to the point that simplified claims about "the Greeks" and a unified standard they ostensibly set become extremely difficult to make for one steeped in the historical specificity of any single artist or author of antiquity. Yet, once Nietzsche is trained in these methods, he begins to ferociously attack specialization and the attention to detail of professional philology, arguing instead that philology should be providing comprehensive images of antiquity free from factual minutiae. This runs directly counter to all of his years of education.

B.2 Humboldt

This brings us to Nietzsche's experiences as a student of philology. He is trained for many years in schools shaped by the Prussian educational reforms directed by

[31] Szondi (1974), 17-19.

Wilhelm von Humboldt. As the creator of the University of Berlin around 1810, which becomes the model for all research universities, and as the central figure in the reform of Prussian *Gymnasien* at the same time, Humboldt is a key theoretician of education in nineteenth century Germany, including the study of antiquity. Humboldt's notion of the value of the Greeks for *Bildung* is affected by Winckelmann and by the many others who have been influenced by him, such as his friends Goethe and Schiller. As we see in Chapter 3 and in our Conclusion, Nietzsche is in some ways sympathetic to Humboldt's theories about the role of the Greeks in education and in other ways is at odds with him. Nietzsche's own theories on *Bildung* are made clearer and can be better contextualized in a comparison with Humboldt's theories.

Before we are able to see precisely what value Humboldt believes the Greeks have for *Bildung*, we first need to sketch out some of his more general ideas on *Bildung*. Humboldt sees *Bildung* as a means to achieve what he thinks is the central task for any individual, to fully develop one's humanity. For Humboldt, "humanity" is the neohumanist ideal of an individual intellectually, morally and aesthetically developed as fully as possible independent of pragmatic and utilitarian concerns. In addition to developing all of one's abilities, one who realizes one's humanity also understands what Humboldt believes is the organic unity of thought and of the world.[32] This concept of the unity of thought is influenced by Johann Gottlieb Fichte's and Friedrich W. J. Schelling's idealist belief that all phenomena are the expression of one single idea.[33]

[32]Spranger (1960), 14.

[33]Spranger (1960), 201-202.

To help individuals become both independent learners and fully-developed individuals, Humboldt proposes a "formal," as opposed to a "material" education. Rather than filling minds with an encyclopedic array of facts or material, what had been one of the pedagogic aims of the enlightenment, formal *Bildung* should instead awaken all of the forces and faculties needed for insight within the individual.[34] Humboldt also prefers formal education before any kind of specialized or vocational education. As his ideal for human existence is the full development of one's abilities, any education that neglects certain elements in favor of others is deficient. Though he feels specialized schools have their place, it is after one has undergone a general, formal *Bildung* that Humboldt wants anyone to pursue any career-specific education.[35] *Bildung*, for Humboldt, is first and foremost to produce individuals that can think and function independently as fully developed humans.

The institutions envisioned by Humboldt are to provide precisely this formal education. This begins in elementary schools where pupils became accustomed to formal education through acquiring and developing skills in basic tools of learning like rudimentary language and math instruction.[36] This formal education continues at the *Gymnasien*, where pupils are to learn the basic skills needed to conduct independent research. Where the university would be characterized by the freedom of the pupil, the emphasis of the *Gymnasium* is discipline.[37] The university is then the place where the students who have had all of their forces and faculties awakened and developed by the

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[34]Spranger (1960), 134-135, 246, and Sweet (1978), 214.

[35]Spranger (1960), 144, and Sweet (1978), 43-44, 48.

[36]Spranger (1960), 138.

[37]Sweet (1978), 45-46, 67.

formal education of the elementary and secondary schools make contributions to the body of knowledge. The lectures there are to be unimportant, and the more unstructured the activity at the university the better. Humboldt sees the primary value of classes at the university as a source of stimulation for teachers who benefit from such interaction, though he is mindful of those who, like himself, work best without any teaching at all.[38] As in Humboldt's vision of the state, the school system is successful if it makes people independent of it.[39] The university, characterized by this academic freedom, is the final institution in the production of independent, fully developed individuals capable of independently contributing to human knowledge.

Though Humboldt feels that formal education does not require any specific material to stimulate the development of individuals and their capacities, he does have specific ideas about the curriculum for the *Gymnasien*. These humanistic institutions are known for their focus on the study of ancient languages, as we see in detail when we discuss the *Gymnasien* Nietzsche attends. For Humboldt, the study of ancient languages serves a formal rather than a material purpose. One is to come to an understanding of the structure of language itself and to eventually be able to learn foreign languages independently.[40]

Beyond its usefulness in developing an understanding of language's structure and of how to learn other languages, the study of language also reveals for Humboldt much about thought and the world. Language is for Humboldt a structured whole analogous to the human mind, but language has the advantage of being perceivable while mind is not.

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[38] Sweet (1978), 67-69.

[39] Spranger (1960), 138-139.

[40] Spranger (1960), 140, 167-168 and Sweet (1978), 46.

Humboldt sees the two structures correlating to such an extent that language becomes a symbol of the human mind as well as of the world itself.[41] He believes that it is language that makes it possible for the notion of an external world to even exist for humans, inasmuch as he thinks language creates and shapes one's picture of the external world, and each individual's worldview is as unique as their expression in language.[42] A national language, the totality of individual languages and the worldviews they embody, reflects a national worldview, and it is in language study, Humboldt believes, that one is best able to grasp national character.[43]

Thus, Humboldt gives language a privileged position in his curriculum. Nevertheless, though his intended curriculum for *Gymnasien* requires all pupils to begin the study of both Greek and Latin, they are allowed to drop one of them already in their second year.[44] He really does intend for this study to serve formal rather than material purposes, and he prioritizes the ancient languages of Greece and Rome because he feels that their distance from the languages and worldviews of modernity provides richer material for the development of each individual's humanity. They strike pupils, he believes, with their strangeness and make them aware of the form of language and the structure of thought as well as the particularity of their worldviews[45]

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[41] Spranger (1960), 51-52.

[42] Menze (1975), 40-41. He held the view that language embodied each individual worldview into his final years, as evidenced in the introduction to his treatise *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java*. See also Borchmeyer (1994), 313.

[43] Menze (1975), 44, and Sweet (1978), 29-30.

[44] Looking at the example of Schulpforta in Chapter 2, we will see how an actual curriculum developed and was implemented there in the wake of Humboldt's reforms.

[45] Sweet (1978), 45-46.

If language study is only to serve formal education, and ancient languages are preferred simply because of the distance between their structures and those of modern languages, why does Humboldt follow his contemporaries in giving the Greeks such an elevated position in his thinking on *Bildung*? For Humboldt, the study of the Greeks serves two formal purposes: to give the above-mentioned richness of stimuli to moderns because of their distance from them and to present to modern pupils individuals and a nation that achieved the most complete development of their own humanity. That is, following Winckelmann, Humboldt believes the Greeks are singular and exemplary. He believes that the Greeks develop their humanity more than any other people and best achieve the ideal of a national humanity.[46] As Humboldt thinks that the correlation between mind and language is best experienced in language study, he believes that studying the Greeks allows access to the worldview and manner of thinking of this most highly developed people.[47]

Unlike Winckelmann, Humboldt has no desires for anyone to imitate the Greeks in the production of any material artifacts. Rather, the Greeks are exemplary in their humanity. They are to be looked to for formal *Bildung* to help moderns most fully develop their own humanity.[48] Nevertheless, what we are here calling Humboldt's classicism, his notion that the Greeks are the best object of study for moderns, is deeply impacted in the institutions it shapes by the tension inherent in Winckelmann's classicism. The Greeks may be the ideal object of study, but within the institutions of Humboldt's reforms, they are immediately studied *historically*. As we will see, the more

[46] Spranger (1960), 49-50, 61-64, and Sweet (1978), 14.

[47] Spranger (1960), 51-52, and Sweet (1978), 29.

[48] Menze (1975), 37-38.

intensely Germans in the wake of Humboldt's reforms seek to study the Greeks, the more specific and specialized their study becomes. It is in the schools of Humboldt's reforms that the historical tendency inherent in Winckelmann grows strongest to threaten the idealist tendency as the emphasis shifts from a formal to a material *Bildung*.

One more aspect of Humboldt's thinking requires explanation for the sake of this study. As is seen in our study, Nietzsche's classicist project is for the good of Germany and of German culture, characterized by an explicitly nationalist tone. Since it is clear that Humboldt's understanding of *Bildung* mainly serves individuals in their development, the question arises: what if any benefits does Humboldt envision for Germany in his educational reforms? His main societal aspiration is to remove impediments to all men (and he is only explicitly concerned with men) of all classes to achieve his vision of the *Bildung* of one's full humanity. As an educational reformer, he categorically opposes the idea of different forms of education for people from different classes.[49] He wants to release individuals of lower classes from the subjectivity they experience in late feudalism so that they can be self-legislating and responsible for themselves. Though at the time of his educational reforms, Humboldt does not seek to give everyone access to participation in the political process, in his later years, he wants to help provide more opportunities for such participation and even proposes a bicameral system with a house of commons. At the time of the reforms, he is focused mainly on protecting the autonomy of individuals from society.[50]

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[49] Sweet (1978), 48.

[50] Borchmeyer (1994), 307-310.

We will examine how Nietzsche's own ideas on educational reform continue Humboldt's ideas and the radical ways in which he departs from them. We also see how the institutionalization of the tension inherent in Winckelmann's classicism between the timeless ideal and the historically specific of the Greeks expresses itself in Nietzsche's own problematic views on the value of the Greeks for modernity.

C. LITERATURE REVIEW, VALUE & OVERVIEW OF THIS STUDY

C.1 Literature Review

Four books are especially relevant to this study and beneficial complements to it. Silk and Stern's *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (1981) is the first extensive study to look at *Birth* as a product of two discourses. Silk, a philologist, and Stern, a Germanist, provide a detailed understanding of how *Birth* is a part of the German literary and philosophical traditions as well as a product of philological scholarship. Among other things, they offer a view of how Nietzsche's theory of tragedy relates to earlier theories of major German thinkers, they examine the relationship of Nietzsche's claims about the Greeks to the views of other scholars, and they offer a detailed summary and analysis of the book's argument and style.[51] *Nietzsche on Tragedy* goes a very long way in sorting out and making sense of the image-mad argument of *Birth*. Though *Nietzsche on Tragedy* does offer biographical background on Nietzsche before the publication of *Birth*, focusing topically on issues like Schopenhauer, Greece, and music, it does not offer a detailed discussion of the development of Nietzsche's thoughts on the Greeks by closely

[51] Though this study assumes readers familiar with *Birth*, for those who may not be, the summary on pages 62-89 of *Nietzsche on Tragedy* is highly recommended.

analyzing his writings from 1854-1872.[52] It also does not focus on the tension between Nietzsche's philological training and his holding the Greeks up as a classicist ideal as a problem. The tension between the institutionalization of the study of antiquity as philology, which leads to ever more specific specialization, and a simplified cultural ideal of "the Greeks" is discussed, but the question of why Nietzsche would resort to idealist oversimplifications in *Birth* is not examined in depth.[53]

Porter's *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future* (2000a) offers a very detailed look at Nietzsche's writings on the Greeks from his university years, though not from his years at the *Gymnasium*. Readers are often referred to his findings on these texts where extended discussion here would only provide duplication. Porter also clearly differentiates Nietzsche's classicist tendencies from his more philological perspectives and explores the tension between them, explicitly recognizing their paradoxical and problematic coexistence. Porter clearly sees a problem in Nietzsche's classicism in the texts of his university and early professional years leading up to *Birth*, and though his study does not focus directly on *Birth*, he offers penetrating insight into just how problematic the classicism expressed in it is. He does not, however, give any attention to the motivations and development leading up to this classicism.

The way Porter explores the tension between Nietzsche's classicism and philological training and the explanation he offers for it generally treats "Nietzsche" as a body of texts rather than as an emotional, volitional human. As Peter Levine discusses in his *Nietzsche and the Modern Crisis of the Humanities* (1995), French postmodern

[52] See Silk and Stern (1981), 15-17.

[53] See Silk and Stern (1981), 13-14.

philosophers of the 1960s avoided "ascribing *any* intentions to Nietzsche, but suggested instead that his texts had a highly unusual quality of constantly subverting themselves in order to gesture in a direction beyond sense."[54] Porter is very much in this tradition when he describes Nietzsche's writings as luring readers into positive readings that only end up presenting the reader with an example of his or her own misunderstanding.[55] For Porter, Nietzsche's philology is able "to elicit and then to embarrass the inconsistency" of the postures of classicism and philology, leaving us able to say, at most, that the coexistence of these tendencies is a juxtaposition of performative poses forcing us to realize the paradoxes in our own modern thinking. These writings, then, are "fashioned as a trap, luring readers performatively and demonstratively" into the problems of modern thinking and culture.[56] Without a doubt, Porter is correct. Nietzsche's oscillation between stances is bewildering, and anyone who tries to formulate a positive understanding of just what Nietzsche is trying to do must confront the limitation of their own thinking at every turn.

If one does not attempt to understand what Nietzsche *wants* to accomplish, however, we are left with texts without a flesh and blood author. In our study, we do assume a human Nietzsche with insecurities, aspirations and even *intentions*, to see if we can find consistently revealed motivations for the paradoxical complexity of his attitudes towards the Greeks. In this attempt to describe the hopes of a real person, Nietzsche's "sincerity" is often spoken of in this study. To be clear, by sincerity we mean only that Nietzsche has real aspirations that he hopes his ideas will help him achieve and that he has real investment in the actualization of those aspirations. Sincerity in Nietzsche's

[54] Levine (1995), 132.

[55] Porter (2000a), 31.

[56] Porter (2000a), 28-31.

case, especially after he reads Lange, does *not* indicate a commitment on his part to the truth value of a proposition or to an assertion of epistemic correctness but only to a deeply felt need for his ideas to have real effects in a real world. It is with this intention of exploring a Nietzsche with sincere aspirations that this study and its findings diverge sharply from Porter's, and it is this intention that uncovers the three motivations for Nietzsche's classicism presented here.

Porter's expressed main thesis, that assumptions that *Birth* represents a rupture between Nietzsche's earlier and later thinking are incorrect and that his early and later thinking are equally problematic while showing a greater consistency than previously assumed, is partially accepted here as correct. Porter's argument that Nietzsche's thinking is equally problematic both before and after *Birth* is not challenged. Neither is his assertion that *Birth* "does not mark a break in Nietzsche's thinking, whether away from his philological understanding of antiquity or toward a gradual emancipation from metaphysics."[57] However, this study *does* argue that the classicism Nietzsche displays in *Birth* is a new development, certainly compared to his years at the *Gymnasium* and even compared to his years as a university student.

In the same year he publishes *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*, Porter also publishes a book focused directly on *Birth* called *The Invention of Dionysus: An Essay on The Birth of Tragedy* (2000b). It continues to support the thesis that *Birth* does not indicate a rupture in Nietzsche's thinking and focuses on the metaphysical claims of *Birth*. Exploring these as postures, masks and experiments, Porter reveals at length and with subtle care how problematic and contradictory Nietzsche's metaphysical thinking is.

[57] Porter (2000a), 1-2.

He does not focus here, as he does in *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*, on the tension between Nietzsche's classicism and historicism. The present study does not investigate the metaphysical claims of *Birth*, only the motivations behind its classicism. Porter's findings in *The Invention of Dionysus* are considered here when helpful.

Janz's *Friedrich Nietzsche: Biographie* (1978), like the work of Silk and Stern and of Porter, is an essential complement to this study. Janz offers, as no other does, a careful reading of much of the material Nietzsche writes on the Greeks beginning in his school days and continuing on to his mental collapse, offering thoughtful analysis and sketching out a well-reasoned picture of Nietzsche's development.[58] It is certainly still the best biography available on Nietzsche for those who want to understand his thinking and life experience. Janz does not, however, focus on the development of Nietzsche's thinking on the Greeks, providing a more well-rounded discussion while also reducing what he has to offer on that question. He also does not explore the classicism of *Birth* or of the *Lectures on Bildung*, nor does he question the motivations for it.

Finally, Barbara von Reibnitz's *Ein Kommentar zu Friedrich Nietzsche: "Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik"* (1992) relates, much like Silk and Stern, the claims Nietzsche makes about the Greeks in the first fifteen books of *Birth* to other philological scholarship, offers a brief overview of his years of education, and also offers some explanation of his relationship to prior German authors. This is done in the format of a commentary that, similar to *Nietzsche on Tragedy*, proves an invaluable guide in

[58]Hermann Josef Schmidt (1991-1994) does indeed offer an extremely ponderous and extended discussion of all of Nietzsche's writings from his days at *Gymnasium*. Unfortunately, as he is so focused on establishing a psychoanalytic argument that Nietzsche's thinking is to be traced back to the death of his father weighed down by prolonged polemical defense against hypothetical counterarguments, he does not produce a study of these texts that illuminates the development of Nietzsche's classicist or historical thinking on the Greeks. Janz's study is much more to the point, objective and useful for this study.

illuminating the complex and confusing concepts of *Birth*. Her primary objective is to demonstrate the value that *Birth*, especially its theory of tragedy, has for current philological studies. She does not investigate *Birth* as part of a classicist project.

After this group of four books, another group of four has a direct, even if less so, relationship to this study. Timo Hoyer's *Nietzsche und die Pädagogik*: *Werk, Biographie und Rezeption* (2002) offers the most detailed and comprehensive account of the development of Nietzsche's thinking on pedagogy available. Like Janz, Hoyer offers a balanced and thorough account of the development of Nietzsche's thought without focusing on Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks. He offers invaluable data on Nietzsche's educational experience. He certainly does not miss the pedagogical implication in *Birth*, let alone in the *Lectures on Bildung*, but he does not view these texts as announcing a classicist project and subsequently passes over the complications of Nietzsche's classicism and its motivations.

The other three titles are also diachronic studies. Carl Pletsch's *Young Nietzsche: Becoming a Genius* (1991) is the first and most detailed discussion of Nietzsche's years in school offered in English, though it is not nearly as detailed as Janz's study on which it relies while also offering details not found in Janz. It does not offer careful analysis of all of Nietzsche's writings on the Greeks from these years and, like Janz and Hoyer, is not focused on Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks and, thus, does not explore his classicism or its motivations. Hubert Cancik's *Nietzsches Antike* (1995), does, like Porter, Silk and Stern, and Reibnitz, focus directly on Nietzsche's developing thoughts on the Greeks. Though brief, he covers the years of Nietzsche's education in the first twenty pages, Cancik provides some provocative ideas on Nietzsche's developing thoughts on

the Greeks that are considered throughout this study. Julian Young's *Friedrich Nietzsche*: *A Philosophical Biography* (2010) also covers Nietzsche's school years in a more cursory manner that is not focused on his relationship with the Greeks, though he, like others, does offer some thoughts on the subject that will be considered. As an expert on Schopenhauer, Young is especially helpful with Nietzsche's relationship to Schopenhauer and with Wagner. Neither Cancik nor Young focus on *Birth* as a problematic classicist project in order to investigate its motivations.

A group of five books more generally related to this study all focus on Nietzsche's ideas on the Greeks. The first collection of its kind in English, *Studies in Nietzsche and the Classical Tradition* (1976), edited by James C. O'Flaherty, Timothy F. Sellner, and Robert M. Helm offers a number of essays on aspects of Nietzsche's thinking on antiquity. Despite some essays with promising titles, none of them focus on Nietzsche's classicism as a problem in tension with his historicist training and profession.[59]

Similarly, most of *Nietzsche and Antiquity: His Reaction and Response to the Classical Tradition* (2004) edited by Paul Bishop is a collection focused on many of the other aspects of Nietzsche's thoughts on the Greeks. A few essays, however, do have some direct bearing on this study. James Porter provides an essay on "Nietzsche, Homer, and the Classical Tradition" that explores Nietzsche's Homer as a classicist construct in tension with the historicist methods that study the Homeric texts. It explores how "Homer can, for Nietzsche, represent different and sometimes conflicting aspects of the

[59] Kurt Weinberg's "The Impact of Ancient Greece and of French Classicism on Nietzsche's Concept of Tragedy," and Karl Schlechta's "The German 'Classicist' Goethe as Reflected in Nietzsche's Works" both deal with entirely different issues.

transmission and even of the very conception of classical antiquity," in a way similar to his discussion of various philological topics in *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*.[60] We examine Porter's views on Nietzsche and Homer more in Chapter 3.

Also in this collection, Christian Emden's "The Invention of Antiquity: Nietzsche on Classicism, Classicality, and the Classical Tradition" is closely related to this study. As observed in footnote 4 above, it explores the problem of modern attempts to appropriate antiquity for political ends, whether as an aesthetic ideal or as a scholarly subject, but it does not focus on the tension between these two approaches. Emden is focused primarily on how nineteenth century German notions of the "classical" can harbor Eurocentric ideologies and how Nietzsche resists and ultimately rejects this. He does not view *Birth* as a classicist project, arguing instead that that Nietzsche actually uses classicist clichés at *other* times to "conceal his more vivid image of archaic Greece as it appears in *The Birth of Tragedy*."[61]

The other three books in this group on Nietzsche's ideas on the Greeks in general are all monographs written by single authors. Christian Benne's *Nietzsche und die historisch-kritische Philologie* (2005) provides important information used here in the discussion of the history of professional philology. Like Porter, Benne is pushing against arguments that *Birth* represents a rupture in Nietzsche's thinking. He does this by showing how deeply engrained the methods of historical-critical philology are in Nietzsche's thinking and how they affect the writings of his middle and later periods while neglecting *Birth* and questions of Nietzsche's classicism. Enrico Müller's *Die*

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[60] Porter (2004), 20.

[61] Emden (2004), 379.

Griechen im Denken Nietzsches (also from 2005) focuses on the relationship of Nietzsche's thinking on Greek philosophy to his own philosophical thinking. He provides important information for this study on Nietzsche's relationship to Jakob Burckhardt that is considered in Chapter 3. Lorella Bosco's *"Das furchtbar-schöne Gorgonenhaupt des Klassischen": Deutsche Antikebilder (1755-1875)* (2004) is a diachronic study of German forms of Philhellenism from Winckelmann to Nietzsche. Bosco does not problematize the tension between philology and classicism in Nietzsche. Though she asks, as noted in a footnote above, how *Birth* is to be categorized, she then goes on to discuss the history of the philological attempts to answer the question of the origin of tragedy and never addresses the problem of classicism as it is framed for this study, apparently answering that *Birth* should be categorized as a philological text. Like every other study besides Janz's and Pletsch's discussing Nietzsche's school years, Bosco's ten page summary is quite brief.

Another group of three books dealing with either Nietzsche's views on the Greeks or with his profession as a philologist deserve mention. Levine's *Nietzsche and the Modern Crisis of the Humanities*, already mentioned, seeks to use Nietzsche to defend the humanities from more reactionary proponents of western culture like Leo Strauss on one end and deconstructionists like Derrida at the other. Levine addresses the classicist tendencies in Nietzsche, including in *Birth*, but assumes that their purpose is to appeal to the masses unable to understand his deeper meaning.[62] Though the findings of this dissertation contradict this idea of a purely cynical classicism in Nietzsche, Levine does argue that Nietzsche's bewildering metaphysics in *Birth*, combining creativity with

[62] See Levine (1995), xviii.

scholarship is "sincere" in the sense that this study uses that term: it is done with hopes of realizing real aspirations. Unlike this dissertation, Levine does not offer a detailed account of how Nietzsche arrives at this sincere creativity in a form of classicism.

Two more collections round out this group of three: "*Centauren Geburten": Wissenschaft, Kunst und Philosophie beim jungen Nietzsche* edited by Tilman Borsche, Frederico Gerratana, and Aldo Venturelli (1994), and *Out of Arcadia: Classics and Politics in Germany in the Age of Burckhardt, Nietzsche and Wilamowitz* edited by Ingo Gildenhard and Martin Ruehl (2003). The first is focused on the same period of Nietzsche's life as this study, featuring essays on Nietzsche's philological studies and other topics. Though none of them problematize Nietzsche's classicism in *Birth*, they do offer occasional help in understanding Nietzsche's thinking on philology in relation to his classicism, and those insights are included throughout this study. The other book does not offer any thoughts on *Birth* as a problematically classicist text, but does offer useful thoughts on Burckhardt's thinking and his influence on Nietzsche that are considered in Chapter 3.

A final group of four books deserves mentions. These all discuss the history of Schulpforta and/or examine Nietzsche's experience there: Fritz Heyer's *Aus der Geschichte der Landesschule zur Pforte* (1943), Gerhard Arnhardt's *Schulpforta: Eine Schule im Zeichen der humanistischen Bildungstradition* (1988), Hans Heumann's *Schulpforta: Tradition und Wandel einer Eliteschule* (1994), and Reiner Bohley's *Die Christlichkeit einer Schule: Schulpforta zur Schulzeit Nietzsches* (2007). Much of their work is simply summarized here, along with information from Hoyer and Janz, to explain

the history of Schulpforta and help us understand Nietzsche's experience there in enough detail.

This is done for two reasons. The first is that Nietzsche's own classicist project of creating new schools for the study of Greeks to improve German culture centers around the *Gymnasium* and its methods. In order to understand his propositions, it is important to understand his own experience at one of Germany's most elite *Gymnasien* and to understand the history that formed that institution. The other reason is that, beyond Pletsch's brief discussion and the even more abreviated summaries in sources like Young, there is no detailed account of Nietzsche's experience at Schulpforta or of its history available in English. This is offered in Chapter 1.[63]

C.2 Value of this Study

Clearly, the present study should prove valuable to students of Nietzsche trying to untangle the complexity of *Birth*. It offers clarity for discussions on Nietzsche's thinking on the Greeks in general, certainly in the period leading up to *Birth*, though it also establishes an understanding of his relationship to the Greeks that illuminates his thoughts on them for the rest of his writing career. This is important as Nietzsche never stops thinking or writing about the Greeks, and his relationship to them never loses its complexity. For Nietzsche scholars, this study also provides an understanding of his driving motivations and concerns in his younger years and especially of the way they combine to influence his thoughts and produce *Birth*.

[63] As Christopher Stray has offered a fascinating look at the development of the study of antiquity at English schools in roughly the same period in his *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960* (1998), it seems beneficial to have a detailed account in English of the same study at a top German school.

For students of German literature and culture more generally, a case study is offered here of a later expression of German classicism and its particular motivations. The role played by sixty years of professional philology since Humboldt's reforms in shaping that classicism receives new clarity in this case study, providing insight into the relationship between professional philology and the continuing ideal of "the Greeks" in nineteenth century German cultural discourse. For those concerned with issues of pedagogy and the history of educational institutions, a detailed description of a mid-nineteenth century education in ancient literature at leading schools – the foremost Prussian *Gymnasium*, one of the Prussian universities created by Humboldt's reforms (Bonn), and one of Germany's oldest universities (Leipzig) – and the way it affects its recipient is offered.

C.3 Overview of the Study

Chapter 1 examines Nietzsche's experience at Schulpforta (in addition to a few other secondary and primary schools), provides a detailed history of Schulpforta and its curriculum, and offers a close analysis of the texts Nietzsche writes there related to the Greeks, whether schoolwork, letters, or personal notes, in search of his developing attitudes towards the value they may have for moderns. What is revealed, interestingly enough, is that Nietzsche develops no love for the Greeks at all in this period, his primary passion being music, though he does develop an academic interest in them bolstered by a gift for philological research strong enough to lead him to choose philology as one of his fields of study when he moves on to the university. During this period, we also see

Nietzsche's loss of faith and the potential it has to affect his thinking on the value of the Greeks.

Chapter 2 first provides a brief history of the development of professional philology at German universities. Then it follows Nietzsche through his university years, still examining his writings to establish when he begins to value the Greeks for the sake of modernity. We also observe Nietzsche's discovery of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Lange as it relates to the development of his thoughts on the value of the Greeks. Here we find that, though Nietzsche is almost entirely finished with his education, it is through reading Lange that he finally comes to see some value in the study of the Greeks and begins to show signs of a nascent classicism. We also see that, though Lange does not *motivate* Nietzsche's classicism, he makes it possible. At the same time we see how Nietzsche's critique of professional philology and its historical methods develops, even though he has so far shown so much promise as a philologist and been rewarded for it.

Chapter 3 begins with Nietzsche's first meeting with Wagner in Leipzig and his move to Basel to begin his career as a professor of philology shortly thereafter. His writings are further examined to chart the development of his classicism as it crystallizes very rapidly and begins to express itself publicly. Here we see how the forces of his love of music, his need for existential meaning, and his need to make the most of his career path are critical in the formation of this classicism under the charismatic influence of Wagner. In addition to examining how Wagner influences Nietzsche's ideas on the Greeks and the accelerated development of his classicism, Jakob Burckhardt's decisive

influence on Nietzsche's views of the Greeks and their value for modernity is also examined.

The Conclusion offers a look at *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* to make clear the classicist project announced by them consisting of Nietzsche's support of Wagner's rebirth of tragedy and Nietzsche's hope to create a new kind of school that produces more artists like Wagner through the study of the Greeks. As the purpose of this study is to explore the motivations that lead to Nietzsche's classicism in these texts, we also examine them briefly to see how they express Nietzsche's love of music, his need for existential meaning, and his need for meaning in a career he does not feel he can leave.

D. DEFINITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

As already noted in footnote 4 above, two of the most important terms in this study are used in a way more limited than they are in general or indeed in the discourses related to this study in order to maintain some clarity. Thus, "classical," "classicist," and other related forms are always used to refer to thinking holding the Greeks as a singular and exemplary ideal to be imitated or studied for the benefit of modernity. "Philology," "philological" and related forms are only used to refer to the professional study of Greek and Roman texts and to the education and tools needed to conduct that study. The term "classical philology," though entirely legitimate, is avoided in this study to avoid any confusion except for a couple of instances where Nietzsche uses it. Admittedly, according to the definitions held to here, what is being examined is precisely the motivations for Nietzsche's "classical philology."

As also already noted, some German terms are used untranslated in this study. *Musikdrama* is transparent enough to readers of English to obviate the need for translation, while *Bildung* defies translation to the extent that it is better to keep the original German term (the provisional definition for *Bildung* offered for this study is found above in footnote 7). Forms related to it, like *bilden* – to carry out the process of *Bildung*, are also used untranslated as are the adjectival forms derived from its participles such as *gebildet* – having gone through the process of *Bildung* and *bildend* – currently carrying out the process of *Bildung*. Similarly, *Wissenschaft* is not translated. Its usual translation of "science" too easily risks limiting an English speaker's conception to the natural sciences, whereas a *Wissenschaft* could be any field of study, including philology. This term will also be used in its adjectival form, *wissenschaftlich*. Finally, as noted already, *Gymnasium* and its plural form *Gymnasien* are not translated as there is no proper equivalent. For those unfamiliar with what a *Gymnasium* is, the discussion in Chapter 1 of Schulpforta's history and of Nietzsche's experience there should provide a decent understanding. Any other terms used untranslated are explained as they first occur throughout the study.

All translations from German, Latin and Greek are by the author of this study unless otherwise indicated. Nietzsche's spelling and grammar errors, especially in his younger years, are not corrected in the German in the footnotes but are presented as he made them.

1.0.0 NIETZSCHE'S ELEMENTARY & SECONDARY *BILDUNG* (1849-1858)

To later assess Nietzsche's classicist hopes for *Bildung* at the *Gymnasium* in our conclusion, we now lay out the relevant aspects of the curricula and history of the elementary and secondary schools he attended. We also examine the ways he relates to antiquity, especially the Greeks, and keep watch for signs of classicism in his thinking. In the end, this chapter will show that Nietzsche does not develop any love for Greece or give it any special place in his thinking in this period beyond what is required for his schoolwork. To be clear, it is not that Nietzsche dislikes the Greeks, it is simply that he shows no special devotion to them, especially compared to his real passion, music. This chapter will also follow this love for music, one of the three motivations for his later classicism, in relation to his studies. We see the collapse of his religious faith which will send him on an urgent search for existential meaning, another of the three motivations for his classicism. Finally, we see how his *Bildung*, especially at Schulpforta, places him on a career path that will give the Greeks special meaning for him, special enough to motivate the classicism expressed in *Birth* and the *Lectures*.

This chapter consists of five sections covering: 1) Nietzsche at the schools he attends before entering Schulpforta, 2) the history of Schulpforta, 3) Nietzsche in the first four years at Schulpforta, 4) his last two years at Schulpforta, and 5) his experience in *Germania*, a society he forms with his friends. The primary focus of all of these sections, with the exception of the section on the history of Schulpforta, is to list and examine all

of the places in Nietzsche's unpublished works, including letters, schoolwork, essays for *Germania*, private notes, and other private writings, where we see him discussing or creatively using the ancient Greeks. Though we will not see him developing a love for the Greeks in this period, we do see him developing thoughts on them that puts him on the track to his later classicism.

1.1.0 SCHOOLS ATTENDED BEFORE SCHULPFORTA

Before attending Schulpforta Nietzsche receives education at home and at a few elementary schools followed by the *Domgymnasium* at Naumburg for a few years.[1] His experience at these schools is studied in this section.

1.1.1 Elementary Education (1849-1855)

Nietzsche's education begins at home, where he is taught the basics of reading and writing German.[2] At the age of five, he is further educated in these basics and in religious instruction at the village school in Röcken for a year (fall 1849 to spring 1850) and then at the public *Knabenbürgerschule* in Naumburg for a few more years (spring 1850 to spring 1853).[3] His Grandmother Nietzsche is the deciding force behind his initial enrollment at the public school in Naumburg, as she believes the upper class (which is for her the *Bildungsbürgertum* to which she belongs) should mix with the lower classes in

[1] The "*Domgymnasium*" is a *Gymnasium* developed out of a cathedral school.

[2] Janz (1978), 50.

[3] Hoyer (2002), 112-121. The *Knabenbürgerschule* is a vocational school for boys not intended to go on to university study.

the school-years before going to the *Gymnasium*.[4] It is not until he studies at an institute established specifically to prepare pupils for study at a *Gymnasium* that Nietzsche first begins to study classical languages. This institute has just been established in 1851 by Carl Moritz Weber, who has finished his training as a pastor and is awaiting a position. An eight-year old Nietzsche begins studying there in the spring of 1853. In a recollection written when Nietzsche is thirteen, he states that he first begins to receive instruction in Latin *and* Greek at the institute, but in report cards retained for his four semesters there, only Latin (alongside German and French) shows up as being offered.[5] No reflections from Nietzsche on the study of antiquity are mentioned in his writings or drawings from the time, which are almost entirely concerned with games of military strategy. The playtime of Nietzsche and his friends at this time is focused on recreating aspects of the Crimean War.[6] Candidate Weber focuses mostly on religious instruction.[7]

1.1.2 History of the *Domgymnasium* at Naumburg

In the spring of 1855 Nietzsche along with his two friends Wilhelm Pinder and Gustav Krug transfer from the institute into the Quinta, the first year of study, at the *Domgymnasium* in Naumburg, where he stays for the next three years. Originally, the *Naumburger Domschule* is founded in 1030 along with the diocese. In 1528 Philipp

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[4] Pletsch (1991), 33 and Young (2010), 13. The *Bildungsbürgertum* consists of the middle class created by the educational systems of the nineteenth century. The *Gymnasium* especially allowed one access to bureaucratic government positions, clerical posts (such as most men in Nietzsche's family have traditionally held), positions in the military, and other careers now opened by education to many who previously would have had no access to them. See Kraul (1988), 45-49 and Cancik (1995), 6.

[5] Hoyer (2002), 122-125.

[6] Janz (1978), 54, and Pletsch (1991), 43.

[7] see Hoyer (2002), 122 and Janz (1978), 52-53.

Melanchthon, a leading reformer at the university at Wittenberg alongside Luther, lays out a set of school regulations meant to serve Protestants, as opposed to simply continuing the Catholic forms of education dominant up until the Reformation. These are adopted at the *Domgymnasium* in Naumburg at the same time that a protestant preacher and protestant teachers, all selected by Melanchthon and from Wittenberg, come to transform the *Domschule* into a Protestant Latin school.[8] Melanchthon makes eloquence modeled on Cicero and taught through the medieval trivium (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) the main goal of pre-university education, meant to prepare pupils for university study. He also requires that the reading of ancient authors and philosophers focus on depth rather than breadth, following the principle of "multum, non multa."[9]

Though the study of Latin has long been the core of European education, Melanchthon proposes replacing much of the scholastic and other Christian literature with pagan Roman authors. Similarly, he separates the study of Plato from the study of the New Testament.[10] Greek is now to be taught.[11] Though it indicates a new direction for European education, this new emphasis on Greek is still quite light compared to the demand for pupils to become eloquently fluent in Latin, proficiency required for scholarly opportunities at any university in Europe. Thus, at the Latin schools, including the *Domgymnasium* at Naumburg and Schulpforta, the school Nietzsche attends next, all instruction is in Latin, as are prayers, songs, sermons, readings to the pupils at mealtimes,

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[8] Meusel (1991), 14. On the role of Melanchthon's reforms within the broader Reformation, see Bosco (2004), 31.

[9] Arnhardt (1988), 18-21.

[10] Arnhardt (1988), 60.

[11] Arnhardt (1988), 19-20.

and all conversation.[12] The earliest surviving curriculum for the *Domgymnasium* is from 1667 and shows that only the ancient languages, along with theology, logic and rhetoric, are taught.[13]

In 1685 the student body has grown to the point where it becomes necessary to hire new faculty and to change the school from the three-class model established by Melanchthon to the five-class model it retains until Nietzsche begins there.[14] In the second half of the eighteenth century, enrollments are very low, as many students either go to nearby Schulpforta or to the secular school in Naumburg. In 1808, the *Domgymnasium* absorbs the secular school, which is then replaced with a *Bürgerschule* that soon evolves into a *Realgymnasium*.[15] In 1816, the *Domgymnasium* becomes Prussian and a part of Prussia's sweeping reforms begun by Humboldt. The church continually loses control of the school until, by Nietzsche's time there (1855-1858), the secularization is mostly complete and the school conforms to the Prussian state curriculum of 1837 for *Gymnasien* and its revision of 1856. [16]

In the Quinta, Nietzsche has 31 hours of instruction per week, 10 of which are in Latin as the state curriculum prescribes. In the Quarta, at the age of 11 Nietzsche finally begins his study of Greek, receiving 6 hours a week. In the Tertia, he again has these same language requirements.[17] As is prescribed by the Prussian curriculum, Nietzsche

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[12] Heyer (1943), 34.

[13] Meusel (1991), 16.

[14] Meusel (1991), 14.

[15] Two forms of vocational schools.

[16] Meusel (1991), 15-17; Hoyer (2002), 126-127.

[17] Hoyer (2002), 127-128.

writes many essays in German. The quality of an essay is to be the crowning proof of the quality of education gained by the student at a Prussian *Gymnasium*. These essays require the description of objects (e.g., "Observations on a Fruit Tree"), engagement with moral questions (e.g., "On the Feeling of Sympathy"), the description of literary characters (e.g., Minna von Barnhelm), but no essays on personal experience are assigned.[18] Nietzsche's attitudes towards essay writing will later play a role in his thoughts on educational reform.

Nietzsche is only an average student, consistently standing just above his friend Krug in the annual ranking and below his higher-achieving friend Pinder. Nevertheless, Nietzsche works hard, often until midnight, only to get up at 5 am to continue working. His grades for "Diligence" *Fleiss* are consistently above average, as they have been at Candidate Weber's institute. As Thomas Brobjer points out, the education offered at the *Domgymnasium* does not differ much at all from what Nietzsche would soon receive at Schulpforta. The requirements listed above (and those for other subjects) are almost identical at both schools, with Schulpforta giving a little more time to Latin. Most of the teachers at the *Domgymnasium* also have doctoral degrees like those at Schulpforta.[19]

Much more material from Nietzsche exists, and more work has been done, on his time at Schulpforta than on his years at the *Domgymnasium*. As Brobjer suggests in trying to explain this disparity in the amount of evidence, at the *Domgymnasium* Nietzsche is with his two best friends every day and lives with his family at home. The one hour a week at most of contact he has with them once he moves to Schulpforta makes

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[18] Hoyer (2002), 128-129. "Betrachtung eines Obstbaums" "Ueber das Gefühl des Mitleids"

[19] Brobjer (1999), 302, 306-309.

letter writing much more important, producing a large body recording Nietzsche's thoughts and feelings that is not necessary during his years at the *Domgymnasium*.[20] Similarly, we have far fewer prose compositions representing his schoolwork while there.[21] Still, it is clear that Nietzsche while in Naumburg spends three years with a curriculum almost identical to that which he will continue to follow at Schulpforta and is already being exposed to the literature and worlds of ancient Greece and Rome.

1.1.3 Nietzsche at the *Domgymnasium* (1855-1858)

In Nietzsche's writings from his time at the *Domgymnasium*, the first to include themes from antiquity is likely a play dated as written sometime between 1854 and the beginning of 1856.[22] We enter the dialog *in medias res*, though possibly not intentionally as the beginning seems to be missing, with Jupiter conversing with Apollo about making a specific mortal a demi-god. The hospitality of the man named Serenius is tested when Jupiter shows up at his house as a beggar and Serenius fulfills his obligations as a host. When Jupiter tells the other gods, Vesta celebrates her prediction of this man being rewarded coming true. Serenius is invited by nymphs to jump into the sea, which he fears doing but finally finds the courage to do. We then see his father, mother and sister at his grave mourning his death when he appears to them, now a demi-god, and invites them to follow him. They arrive where the gods are as Jupiter welcomes them in his kingdom to which Sirenius responds, "Joy I have, for even my father is with me." Juno invites him to drink from the River Lethe in order to remember (!) what he did as a

[20] Brobjer (1999), 304.

[21] Brobjer (1999), 309.

[22] This dating indicates that perhaps the play is actually written before he gets to the *Domgymnasium*.

mortal and puts a necklace on him as other gods give him gifts. Finally he is sung a song of greeting by the nymphs.[23]

This curious earliest surviving record of Nietzsche's engagement with antiquity shows him using freely motifs from classical and Biblical texts, and possibly even from Goethe. Nietzsche did read Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Naumburg, though it is not clear how early nor what the exact date of this play fragment is. The Latin names of the gods and the motif of reward for hospitality indicates familiarity with the story of Philemon and Baucis from Book VIII of the *Metamorphoses*. The nymphs calling Sirenius to what seems to be his death appears to be influenced by Odysseus' encounter with the Sirens (who also might appear in the hero's name). However, Nietzsche, the preacher's son, seems to have also been influenced by the tomb scenes in the Gospels and possibly the story of Lot and the angels in Sodom and Gomorrah (though this hospitality story better aligns with Ovid's). In Vesta's claim that she predicted that this mortal would pass the test, we may see an allusion to a lost beginning of the play which may have included a heavenly court scene like Goethe's Prolog in Heaven from *Faust*, with its influences from the Book of Job.

For a young boy who loves military games and whose creative writing often centers around a protagonist's bravery (as we will see), this curious blend of classical and Biblical motifs in which one praised at the end is able to bring eternal life to his entire family, reuniting them in heaven, and is especially pleased that his father is with him may betray the longing of a young Protestant boy for a father who has passed away and the wish to become the family savior through courage. At any rate it is clear that Nietzsche

[23] KGW I/1, 105-108. "Freude habe ich denn auch mein Vater ist bei mir."

is using this play to understand the classical literature he is encountering through the religious training meant to help him understand the virtues needed by a young man. It is safe to say that, at this very early point, one of the values Nietzsche sees in the engagement with antiquity is to better understand the duties already placed on him by his Christian faith and Prussian citizenship.

Another composition uses a motif Nietzsche would continue to return to throughout his career, a wanderer. This wanderer is greeted and told, "Wanderer, when you wander in Greece/ You will come upon Thermopylae," echoing a line from Schiller's "The Walk" (1795), a poem exploring the development of civilization and humanity's relationship to nature.[24] Nietzsche may be familiar already with this poem, though his own does not use the same meter nor does he explore the same issues. The voice greeting the wanderer is that of a Persian who has gone over to the Greeks, and he invites the wanderer into his hut to learn about the courage of the Spartans who fought at Thermopylae. He exhorts his guest, "Weep wanderer for the brave heroes/ Weep also that you were not there."[25] The theme of bravery is encountered here as in the earlier play and is the essential characteristic of these Greeks. The Greeks are gone and the fact that the wanderer was not there when the Greeks were is to be mourned as much as their deaths. Interestingly, through the first person Persian, Nietzsche distances himself from the wanderer encountering antiquity as a stranger. He is more informed and closer to the original events, while still not a Greek himself.

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[24] "Wandrer, wenn du in Griechenland wanderst/ Wirst du begegnen den Thermopylen." The line in "The Walk" ["*Der Spaziergang*"] that is likely echoed here is: "Wanderer, kommst du nach Sparta, verkündige dorten, du habest/ Uns hier liegen gesehn, wie das Gesetz es befahl."

[25] KGW I/1, 125-126. "Weine Wandrer um die tapferen Helden/ Weine auch daß du nicht bist dabei gewesen"

This is followed by another poem featuring a wanderer, this time described in the third person. This wanderer is a contemporary of Frenchmen and Prussians encountering the ruins of eastern Mediterranean civilizations and told of their punishment by God. In digging out marble sculptures and other remains, the wanderer meditates on the transitory nature of happiness and cries out "How transient is happiness/ This I have now seen./ Eternally one finds it in heaven," and falls into his own pit he has dug.[26] Here the young Nietzsche again imagines the encounter with antiquity as the travels of a wanderer, from whose perspective he does not write, with the irretrievability of the past made stronger than before and with the tragedy of loss and degeneration only able to take comfort from the concept of heavenly eternity.

A poem entitled "Cecrops" begins in the first person, but switches to a third person description of how Cecrops founds the citadel of Athens after traveling from Egypt and encountering resistance from the god of the sea.[27] Two different poems describe the courage needed by a hero (unnamed in the first, Perseus in the second) to rescue Andromeda from a monster.[28] Another poem, "Leonidas und Telakeus" returns to Thermopylae to celebrate the courage of the Spartans.[29] Homer's hero, Achilles, is treated as a youth in a poem told "of ancient events" by one who once heard the events from Chiron.[30] Though the gods almost all have Latin names here, as they have in all of Nietzsche's compositions so far, the first Greek name for a god, Hermes, does somehow

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[26] KGW I/1, 127-129. "Wie vergänglich ist das Glük/ Das hab ich nun angeschaut./ Ewig mans im Himmel findet"

[27] KGW I/1, 134-135.

[28] KGW I/1, 130-131, 136-139.

[29] KGW I/1, 139-142.

[30] "von alten Geschehnen"

finds its way in.[31] "Olympos" is the beginning of a first-person account of a wanderer who comes to what was "once the abode of the gods" where even still "divine beings/ stroll around here."[32] Like the name of the mountain in the title, the god Helios is spelled in its Greek form. Peneus is the only Latin form. No other gods are named.[33]

In the writings dated to his last year at the *Domgymnasium*, we find compositions set during the Trojan war. These still feature mostly Latin names for the gods, but they are a more direct engagement with the stories in the forms in which Nietzsche would encounter them at school. There are no frame stories mediating access to the past, nor are there wanderers. We see scenes imagined that would either fit in around Homer's account or re-imaginings of scenes in Homer. A striking composition of this nature is the last conversation of Hector and Andromache. It clearly has the original scene from Book VI of the *Iliad* in view, while still allowing for Nietzsche's own creativity. One significant alteration is that Hector's final words to Andromache are a command to encourage the Trojans should he fall, followed by: "For if the genius lowers his torch/ So we shall see each other above again eternally."[34] Again we see Nietzsche's concern with the ideal of heroic courage, and we have another heavenly reunion, a hope not found in Homer's original scene.

Additionally, we have the idea of the divinity with the downturned torch representing death, an idea nowhere to be found in Homer, but central to Lessing's argument in his 1769 essay "How the Ancients Depicted Death," which argues that the

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[31] KGW I/1, 160-161.

[32] "einst der Wohnsitz der Götter" "göttliche Wesen/ Wandeln hie umher"

[33] KGW I/1, 181-182.

[34] KGW I/1, 261-262. "Denn senkt der Genius die Fackel nieder/ So sehen droben wir uns ewig wieder."

ancients have a much more beautiful image for death (this divinity with crossed legs and down-turned torch) than the Christian image of a skeleton.[35] This image is further canonized for German classicism in Schiller's "The Gods of Greece" (1788), and would even reappear after Nietzsche's death as the red-headed stranger, crossing his legs and leaning on a stick, at the cemetery chapel in Mann's *Death in Venice*.[36] Perhaps Nietzsche has encountered Lessing's essay at this point. It is clear that he has at least been taught about this image central to it.

From this period we also see him working with the story of Jason and Medea, focused mostly on Medea and following Ovid quite closely as he had followed Homer in the scene described above. In a small prose passage in his notes, Nietzsche compares Medea to "Kriemhild of the Song of the Nibelungens" to Medea's advantage.[37] Kriemhild is ruled by "a German coarseness," which finally reduces her to an animal, while Medea "always follows the circle of ideas of the Greeks."[38] Further into his reflections, however, Nietzsche admits that all people are "coarse and violent" in their beginnings, reducing the distance between Medea and Kriemhild he sets out to establish.[39] The wild nature, separation of individual families, low views of religion and humanity, and the raw [*rohe*] nutrition of the ancient Greeks led them to acts of violence and to preserve and repeat their stories of adventure and danger. The observation that

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[35] "Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet"

[36] "Die Götter Griechenlands" *Der Tod in Venedig*

[37] "Chrimhilde des Nibelungenliedes"

[38] "eine deutsche Rohheit" "immer den Ideenkreise der Griechen sich anschließt"

[39] "roh und gewaltsam"

prominent among these were the stories of the Argonauts brings Nietzsche's text to an end.[40]

Despite the lack of letters, we do have at the end of this period Nietzsche's brief, first autobiography from which we can glean some of his thoughts on the value of an education in the classics. In it, he says nothing of the ancient Greeks or Romans and says nothing about the value of studying them, only the fact that was learning Greek and Latin with Candidate Weber.[41] He does, however, discuss a couple of ideas that will be important in the *Lectures*. One of those is the quality of his own poetic expression. At the age of thirteen, Nietzsche is looking back and able to divide his poetically productive years into three phases, the third of which has only recently begun. He characterizes the work of his first period as clumsy, rough, and heavy in its use of language, the second as much too ornate while lacking ideas. In his third period, he hopes to strike the perfect middle path.[42] A few pages later, he explains that for a poem to be complete, it must be as simple as possible, but with "true poetry" still upon every word. A poem lacking thought and weighed down by "phrases and images" is like "a red-cheeked apple" containing a worm.[43] He goes on to emphasize the importance of thought over style. Working towards this simple and powerful style, Nietzsche has been composing a poem a night for a few weeks, focusing on linguistic simplicity. Poems in the extinct East Germanic language, Gothic, rather than Greek poems, are his models.[44]

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[40] KGW I/1, 255-256, see also 246-248, 262-264.

[41] KGW I/2, 289.

[42] KGW I/1, 291, 295.

[43]"wahre Poësie" "Phrasen und Bildern" "einen rothwangigen Apfel"

[44] KGW I/1, 307.

This little biography says nothing of how school or any other institution helps in developing this personal style. Nietzsche only mentions the process of imitation, noting that, in his first phase, he had no "models," then changing the topic to visiting painting exhibitions discusses how children tend to imitate what they like, and then he notes that it is hard to imitate a poet or writer one does not enjoy. Realizing he has only mentioned the names of his friends, Pinder and Krug, he changes the subject to an introduction of these friends and does not return to the subject of imitation for developing style nor does he indicate what value he may see in it.[45]

Though nothing explicit about conscious ideas Nietzsche may hold about the value of the study of the Greeks is expressed in these texts from his three years at the *Domgymnasium*, a few patterns worth tracking are apparent. First, especially earlier in this period, Nietzsche approaches antiquity through his Protestant religious worldview. Second, in this approach, he seems preoccupied with the virtue of courage, which is not surprising when one leafs through all of the unpublished documents printed in the *Complete Critical Edition* and sees that all of his attention, before any of it turns to antiquity, is occupied with war, soldiers and his own war games.[46] Third, his approach to the Greeks at this point is generally colored by his more robust study of the Romans and their literature in Latin. Ovid's impression in these texts is deeper than Homer's, and Latin names are almost always preferred. Still, in a text like his final encounter of Hector and Andromache, we do begin to see a more immediate engagement with the Greeks. Fourth, his approach to the Greeks maintains a distance from them through their absence

[45] KGW I/2, 291-292. "Vorbilder"

[46] *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*

in his earliest compositions and the fact that others there give secondhand information about the Greeks. Fifth, we see moments of Nietzsche's approach to the Greeks mediated by German Classicism in his possible use of *Faust* in his very first composition on antiquity (the play about Sirenius), with his echoing of a line from Schiller's "The Walk," and with his very clear interjection of the image for death Lessing argued was typical of the Greeks. Sixth, Nietzsche is using what he is encountering in ancient Greece to evaluate German traditions. What is most interesting in this is that, though he at first displays the expected prejudice in favor of the Greeks in his comparison of Medea and Kriemhild, he ends up seeing a raw, wild nature as prevalent in the Greeks as in the medieval Germans or in any other people. This honesty about what he sees as a violent, wild drive in the Greeks will, of course, later become one of his most widely known observations about the Greeks.

1.2.0 HISTORY OF SCHULPFORTA

Nietzsche begins study at Schulpforta, Germany's most important and prestigious *Gymnasium*, located just a few miles from Naumburg in September 1858. He will spend more years at this school than at any other before or after. Before we look at Nietzsche's transfer to the school and how his thoughts on the value of the Greeks develops there, we will first look at the history of Schulpforta. Since we have more information on its history and structure and much more data revealing Nietzsche's developing thought during his six years there, the history of the mission and curriculum of Schulpforta will be explored in more depth. This will help us better understand the specific proposals he

offers for *Gymnasien* in the *Lectures* by giving us a clear picture of his most significant experience at a *Gymnasium*.

1.2.1 First Two Centuries (1543-1773)

Schulpforta is founded as a secular school by Prince-elector Moritz in 1543 on the grounds of a former Cistercian monastery, more than five hundred years after the *Domgymnasium* in Naumburg is founded.[47] Though the humanism that shapes education at Schulpforta seeks to, in large part, replace Catholic scholasticism with the study of pagan antiquity, Schulpforta continues to maintain much of its monastic character through the centuries.[48] Like the *Domgymnasium*, Schulpforta's curriculum and mission follows Melanchthon's 1528 school regulations which focus on developing Ciceronian eloquence in Latin and a study of the trivium to prepare students for university study. These regulations also expand Schulpforta's curriculum into the study of the Greek language and into pagan literature in both Greek and Latin.[49] As at the *Domgymnasium*, all instruction, prayers, songs, sermons, and conversation are in Latin.[50]

Schulpforta's original curriculum of 1543 based on Melanchthon's regulations splits the pupil body into 2 classes. The Prima (the advanced class) is to study Latin for twenty hours each week, with fifteen hours of reading, consisting primarily of Cicero, and five hours of grammar. The Prima is also to study five hours of Greek a week and five hours of music and arithmetic. The Sekunda is to study twenty-five hours of Latin,

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[47] See Arnhardt (1988), 20-21 and Heyer (1943), 12.

[48] See Arnhardt (1988), 18-19 and Bohley (2007), 52.

[49] Arnhardt (1988), 60.

[50] Heyer (1943), 34.

divided into ten hours of reading, again, focusing on Cicero, and fifteen hours of grammar. They have no Greek, but do have five hours of music and arithmetic.[51]

Three years later, in 1546, the school's structure changes a little. There are now three classes: the Prima, Sekunda, and Tertia. Religious instruction on Sundays is also added, with the requirement of thirty weekly hours otherwise remaining the same. Six days a week pupils have class from 6 am to 9 am and then from 12 pm to 3 pm. Latin is reduced for the Prima by an hour and Greek is reduced by two, which makes room for three hours of dialectic. The five hours of art and mathematics became pure math. For the Sekunda, Latin is reduced by three hours, and two hours of rhetoric and dialectic are added. One hour of Greek is added. The Tertia has twenty-five hours a week of Latin, divided into fifteen hours of grammar and ten hours of reading, just as it was for the Sekunda in the 1543 curriculum. The Sekunda and Tertia spend their final five hours a week singing (mostly hymns).[52] Thus, the weekly hours are apportioned as follows:

	Latin	Greek	Math	Music	Rhetoric/ Dialectic
Prima	19	3	5	-	3
Sekunda	22	1	-	5	2
Tertia	25	-	-	5	-

The focus of education at Schulpforta as a Latin school preparatory to university study is made clear in the recognition of just how many hours are dedicated to Latin in all three classes. Still, in line with the humanist goals of the school, Greek expands its share of hours between 1543 and 1546. By the late 1570s, this curriculum set in 1546 is still followed. Exams are not a part of the regulations of 1546, but what come to be known as

[51] Arnhardt (1988), 26.

[52] Arnhardt (1988), 27-28.

"Study Days," a practice alive and well in Nietzsche's time at Schulpforta, are.[53] Each Wednesday, pupils do not have to attend any instruction and focus instead on written assignments. This rhythm of formal instruction and private study ties the humanist school to its earlier monastic life, as do the monks' cells in which the boys live in pairs.[54] It is also established that not only teachers, but older pupils teach the younger boys.[55]

The mission and curriculum of Schulpforta remains essentially the same for the next two centuries. The regulations of 1580 keep the pupil body divided into three classes with an additional hour of Greek being given to the Prima and Sekunda. The most important change is the introduction (at least into the written regulations) of quarterly examinations. These are to assess the content the pupils are learning and the personal development of each pupil in their maturation and religious spirituality. As a pupil spends six years at Schulpforta, they are meant to undergo these examinations twenty-four times.[56]

The regulations of 1594 keep Latin in the center of the curriculum, making the use of German, even in free-time, taboo.[57] During the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the school experiences stagnation and decline as battles rage throughout the region, but the same curriculum is taught, to everyone's best ability.[58] The curriculum also remains the same from the 1650s until the late 1670s, when two hours more of mathematics per class

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[53] "Studientage"

[54] Arnhardt (1988), 59-60.

[55] Bohley (2007), 60.

[56] Bohley (2007), 60-61.

[57] Arnhardt (1988), 36-37.

[58] Arnhardt (1988), 41.

are added.[59] In 1682 the pupil body is divided into five classes: the Prima, the Upper Sekunda, the Middle Sekunda, the Lower Sekunda, and the Tertia, and a larger number than ever before of *Extraneer* (pupils who live with teachers instead of in the dormitory cells) are allowed in.[60] Otherwise, Schulpforta remains in structure and curriculum basically unchanged as a humanist Latin school in a monastic setting until late in the eighteenth century.[61]

1.2.2 Late Eighteenth Century (1773-1801)

In 1773, Johann August Ernesti, a professor at Leipzig and a Schulpforta alumnus known as "der deutsche Cicero" draws up a new set of regulations.[62] These regulations are guided by the new ideals of the Greeks and their ability to help moderns develop their full "humanity." From the perspective of neo-humanism, striving to imitate Ciceronian eloquence through memorization exercises no longer provides sufficient education. Both Latin and Greek are to be studied with three intentions in mind: to be able to understand and interpret them, to enhance insight and taste in writing and speaking – not only in Latin but in living languages, and "to learn from them everything necessary and useful."[63]

In these proposed regulations of 1773, Latin still receives the most weekly hours, though they are now to be reduced to twelve to fifteen hours for all five classes. Greek's

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[59] Arnhardt (1988), 45-46

[60] Bohley (2007), 44.

[61] Arnhardt (1988), 46 and Heyer (1943), 86.

[62] Bohley (2007), 49 and Heyer (1943), 88.

[63] Arnhardt (1988), 49-51 and Bohley (2007), 63. "allerley nöthige und nützliche Sachen daraus zu lernen"

share of the weekly hours is to grow. In the Tertia, there are to be seven hours of Greek, with four hours in all levels of the Sekunda and in the Prima.[64] In the Prima and Sekunda, grammar is to be much less important than it has been for two centuries. Pupils are now for the first time to develop their receptivity for content and gain general comprehension and also produce general interpretations of entire texts. In the regulations, Ernesti distinguishes between grammatically exact reading and cursory reading for content.[65] The content of ancient texts is now seen to be as important as the form. Also, though since its humanist roots the school already prefers the reading of the ancients to that of the church fathers, in the reform of 1773, outside of the New Testament itself, all reading is now only to be of the pagan ancients.[66]

The study of German literature and language is for the first time recognized in the regulations as an actual discipline, though it is given no weekly hours in the schedule.[67] Universal history is now to receive two weekly hours in the Prima, math is to be taught in German, and the exams, now to be held only twice a year, are to test math alongside Latin and Greek.[68] Also, it is specified that teachers should give the older and brighter pupils independent readings in Latin or Greek and then meet with those pupils once a month to discuss the passages and help them with any questions they may have, reinforcing the tradition of independent study at Schulpforta.[69]

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[64] Arnhardt (1988), 50-51.

[65] Arnhardt (1988), 52.

[66] Bohley (2007), 56.

[67] Arnhardt (1988), 51, 53 and Bohley (2007), 63.

[68] Arnhardt (1988), 54-55 and Bohley (2007), 63-64.

[69] Heyer (1943), 88-89.

In school regulations from 1796, it is proposed that, in order to really penetrate into the spirit of the ancient languages, antiquity needs to be studied as a whole including: its manner of thinking, artwork, geography and other aspects. In 1797 the president of the Upper Consistory dictates that all prayers and hymns should be in German, leaving only the *Gloria* in Latin.[70] Even with all of the proposed changes of 1773 and 1796, the actual schedule of 1801 shows that these reforms are only adopted very slowly, if at all. German, geography and history still have no weekly hours, and Greek is only given three hours a week for four of the classes.[71]

1.2.3 Early Nineteenth Century (1802-1815)

Carl David Ilgen becomes rector of Schulpforta in 1802 and remains there until 1831. He has been professor of oriental languages at the university at Jena from 1794-1801. He develops a strong neo-humanist perspective on education as he interacts with, among others, Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, Herder, Schelling, F. Schlegel, and the Humboldt brothers.[72] He has, in fact, had Wilhelm v. Humboldt living with him as his house guest from 1794-1799.[73] Humboldt and Ilgen remain in contact, and Humboldt participates directly in Ilgen's reform efforts at Schulpforta, encouraging Ilgen to allow the pupils freedom of choice in their objects of study to develop as many of their abilities as fully as possible.[74] In 1816, Ilgen is made Royal Consistory Councilor in the Provincial

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[70] Heyer (1943), 99-100.

[71] Arnhardt (1988), 79.

[72] Heumann (1994), 99 and Arnhardt (1988), 80.

[73] Heyer (1943), 102.

[74] Arnhardt (1988), 72, 89.

Consistory of Magdeburg, giving him considerable administrative power beyond that held by any previous rector at Schulpforta.[75]

In June 1807, the 1796 regulations are sent to Ilgen, and by the spring of 1808, he produces a thorough assessment of them which results in the new regulations introduced at Schulpforta at a school festival on the first of November later that year.[76] On Ilgen's suggestion, the five classes are to be named Selekta, Prima, Sekunda, Tertia and Quarta.[77] German is now not only recognized as a discipline, but is categorized as a learned language alongside Latin and Greek and is supposed to get two weekly hours for each class. Each class is now to receive four or five weekly hours of Greek. More Greek authors are included and the New Testament is slated to be cut entirely from the readings. Two weekly hours of Hebrew are to be obligatory for the Selekta, Prima and Sekunda.[78]

In a major curricular shift, eleven weekly hours of history are now planned, with the first detailed lesson plan ever that includes universal history, history of antiquity and even an hour of Saxonion history. The Sekunda and Prima are to receive three hours of world history, and the Selekta and Prima are to have art history and literary history. The study of history is to conclude in the Selekta with an optional, encyclopedic course on all existing areas of scholarship.[79] Philosophy is also to receive more prominence, and, for

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[75] Heumann (1994), 99.

[76] Arnhardt (1988), 80.

[77] Arnhardt (1988), 81.

[78] Arnhardt 80-81.

[79] Arnhardt (1988), 82.

the first time, papers written in German are allowed.[80] These regulations are, like many recent attempts, not fully implemented and have to be suspended.[81]

Building on the tradition of independent study outside of the classroom, another set of regulations in 1811 regulates an entire day for individual study without disturbance to work on projects like: composing a poem, writing a paper in Latin, reading speeches by Cicero or easy dialogs by Plato with an emphasis on general comprehension, preparing a speech or essay – anything that will expand the powers of the understanding, sharpen the power of judgment, or nurture and develop the imagination. It is proposed that there be twelve such days per year, though they will later become weekly in 1847.[82]

The semi-annual exams are to be held on Easter in the spring and Michealmas in the fall, lasting two weeks each time, and continuing the tradition of focusing not only on content learned and skills gained, but also on the development of individual character. The first week tests the knowledge gained by the pupils. The second highlights abilities, diligence, morality and other tendencies, and lets faculty explain to the pupils their strengths and weaknesses.[83] Though many of these regulations do finally start to go into effect by the end of 1811, they are overtaken by the final battles of the War of the Sixth Coalition against Napoleon's France and then by the Prussian educational reforms in the next few years.[84] Thus, the pattern of practice lagging behind theory and administrative efforts continues at Schulpforta.

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[80] Arnhardt (1988), 83.

[81] Heyer (1943), 106.

[82] Heyer (1943), 107.

[83] Heyer (1943), 108.

[84] Heyer (1943), 106.

1.2.4 Prussian Reforms (1815-1820)

In 1815, Saxony becomes part of Prussia, and the reforms begun by Humboldt are to be implemented at Schulpforta where previous attempts at reform are still awaiting implementation.[85] When Johannes Schulze is put in charge of the *Gymnasien* at the Prussian Ministry of Education in 1818, he gives the Prussian reforms a direction somewhat at odds with that set by Humboldt.[86] While Ilgen's actions towards reform are characterized by the neo-humanism conceptualized by Humboldt, Schulze's vision is to stock the minds of pupils with a more encyclopedic body of knowledge.[87] Schulze is a pupil of Hegel's in Berlin and is inspired by his lectures on the encyclopedia of philosophic sciences which span subjects from logic and law to art history. Where Schulze's immediate predecessor, Johann Süvern, wants all objects of study to form an organic unity, Schulze wants to comprehend the whole organism of knowledge itself, necessitating a more encyclopedic acquisition of knowledge. [88]

In 1819, Schulze is sent to Schulpforta as part of a commission to expedite the Prussian reforms. He spends two weeks there examining the state of the school and all of the neglected reforms that have been proposed for it since the early 1770s.[89] He comes away with a comprehensive set of suggestions. As administrative problems at Schulpforta he lists: 1) the admissions exam is too easy with admission being probationary and unqualified *Tertianer* not actually being expelled, 2) pupils of the upper

[85] Heumann (1994), 10.

[86] Arnhardt (1988), 94 and Heumann (1994), 93.

[87] Bohley (2007), 66 and Heumann (1994), 96-97.

[88] Bohley (2007), 24-25.

[89] Heumann (1994), 94-95.

classes are promoted simply as a matter of principle, 3) an incorrect emphasis in the administration and selection of educational content, 4) the combination of classes within courses, 5) failure to keep the weekly plan, 6) a lack of discussion of pedagogical problems, 7) too few written assignments, 8) arbitrary private readings not steered by pedagogy, and 9) a lack of control of instruction by the rector. To correct these administrative problems he suggests: dropping Ilgen's Selekta and the Quarta, leaving the Prima, Sekunda and Tertia with each class split into two years, extending study at Schulpforta from five to six years; forbidding the mixing of classes within courses; and putting all decisions on the division of hours, school years and the selection of books in the hands of the rector. These suggestions are actually put into effect in 1820.[90]

In relation to his desire to make the variety of subjects taught more encyclopedic, Schulze only appears to be able to add natural science, and that is only with one hour in the Prima and none in the lower classes. He is able to finally lock history, German and a minimum of four hours of math for each class into the weekly schedule, as well as an increased number of hours for Greek, but this expansion of the curriculum is merely an implementation of the intentions of earlier reforms.[91] The growing importance of and emphasis on Greek, German, history and math has been the tendency at Schulpforta for decades before Schulze's arrival.[92] Because of his unprecedented political power as rector, Ilgen is able to resist any dramatic shift from the curriculum he desires despite Schulze's preference for a more encyclopedic approach.[93] The shape of Schulpforta's

[90] Arnhardt (1988), 94-96 and Bohley (2007), 53.

[91] Heumann (1994), 124.

[92] Arnhardt (1988), 88-91.

[93] Bohley (2007), 66 and Heumann (1994), 95.

curriculum after Schulze's reforms of 1820 can be seen in the following schedule from 1825:

	Latin	Greek	Hebrew	German	Religion	History	Math	Natural Science
I	9	6	2	2	2	2	4	1
Upper II	11	6	2	2	2	2	4	-
Lower II	13	5	2	2	2	2	6	-
Upper III	15	5	-	2	2	2	4	-
Lower III	15	5	-	2	2	2	4	-

Before Schulze's appointment and visit to Schulpforta, the *Abitur* exam, a central feature of the Prussian reforms that both signifies graduation from the *Gymnasium* and entitles one to study at the universities, is already introduced at Schulpforta in 1817. Ilgen opposes its implementation as he fears that all subjects will be taught towards this one exam and that it will either shorten or eliminate the semi-annual exams that assess character and the capacity for independent scholarship in addition to accumulated knowledge. He is unsuccessful in blocking the introduction of the *Abitur* exam, and Schulze makes it compulsory in 1820. Nevertheless the semi-annual exams are kept and are not shortened.[94] In fact, these traditional exams are now expanded to include German, math and history.[95]

Just as Schulze and Ilgen actually agree on placing more emphasis on German, math and history, they both see the study of the Greeks from philological and philosophical perspectives as central to education at the *Gymnasium* and its mission of university preparation.[96] Schulze who has only recently edited, along with Goethe's

[94] Arnhardt (1988), 96 and Bohley (2007), 69.

[95] Arnhardt (1988), 98.

[96] Arnhardt (1988), 89.

friend Heinrich Meyer, a new edition of Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity*, believes that the Greeks have to be studied in a way that brings them to life rather than as a dry textual, grammatical exercise.[97] Still, as there are only two hours of Greek for every three in Latin in the Upper Prima and three times as many hours of Latin as of Greek in the Tertia, the traditional importance of eloquent expression in Latin and its careful reading at the university are still apparently valued more than the study of Greek. The growing use of the vernacular at European universities throughout the nineteenth century, however, results in the hours of Latin and Greek becoming almost equal at Schulpforta by 1900, with Latin receiving eight hours in every class and Greek receiving seven in all but the Lower Sekunda which has six.[98]

One very important tradition at Schulpforta that survives Schulze's drive to institutionally standardize education for all pupils at all Prussian *Gymnasien* is the focus on individual development and private study. The increased variety of subjects studied, the tighter control of schedules and of the curriculum, and the increase of institutionally standardizing practices such as exams and certificates do not crowd out the central importance of letting each pupil develop his own unique abilities. Pupils are still allowed institutionally supported independent study and are required to demonstrate responsibility for themselves and for their own learning.[99]

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[97] Arnhardt (1988), 114 and Heumann (1994), 96. *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*

[98] Arnhardt (1988), 120.

[99] Arnhardt (1988), 100.

1.2.5 Mid-Nineteenth Century (1820-1865)

Following the turbulence and instability in the curriculum beginning in the early 1770s and finally settled in the 1820s, Schulpforta's curriculum experiences relatively little change in the next few decades. Rector Ilgen dies in April of 1831 and is replaced by Adolph Lange, who also passes away very soon after in July of the same year. Following Lange, Karl Kirchner serves as rector at Schulpforta from 1831 to 1855, a few years before Nietzsche arrives, introducing some further changes.[100] Where the Prima has previously read Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Tacitus, Sophocles, Plato and Homer, new regulations in 1834 reduce the focus to just Horace, Tacitus and Homer – striking a severe blow to the focus on Cicero and his eloquence after almost three centuries. The other classes retain their focus on Cicero, but also reduce the numbers of authors read.[101] The gap in hours between Latin and Greek is continually closed as the number of authors read in Latin and Greek is reduced. Compared to the hours of 1825, Latin has gained one more hour in the Lower Tertia by 1848, but has lost one in all of the five higher classes. Greek gains one hour in the two lowest classes.[102] As the focus on Latin diminishes, and as nearly half of the weekly hours are spent on subjects other than Latin and Greek, the importance of German continues to grow. The 1834 regulations also stipulate that the *Abitur* certificate be issued in German, a decisive, institutional advance for the prestige of the mother tongue.[103]

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[100] Arnhardt (1988), 105 and Heumann (1994), 103.

[101] Arnhardt (1988), 114-115.

[102] Arnhardt (1988), 116.

[103] Arnhardt (1988), 115.

The revolution of 1848 has little effect on Kirchner's Schulpforta. Looking at the papers of pupils there and commenting on the lack of political consciousness in general at Schulpforta in the nineteenth century, Hans Heumann judges that the pupils know more about Hannibal crossing the Alps than about Napoleon's victory at Jena (only 16 miles away!).[104] In Gerhard Arnhardt's estimation, the Greeks being so consuming a focus is responsible for the fact that political and revolutionary movements have little reverberation at Schulpforta at mid-century.[105] In this revolutionary time pupils and some faculty, however, do express desire for a more democratic constitution for the school, which only results in more free time on the weekends and the Lord's Prayer being dropped at meals. [106]

After Rector Kirchner's death, Karl Ludwig Peter, a Schulpforta graduate, serves as rector from 1856-1873, a period that includes all six of Nietzsche's years there.[107] The focus and content of Schulpforta's curriculum under Peter as they relate to Nietzsche's studies while there will receive more attention in the sections that follow. The original humanist mission of Schulpforta to prepare pupils for university study in Latin is still reflected in the curriculum at Nietzsche's time. This focus has been well tempered, however, by both the neo-humanist focus on the Greeks and by a more Hegelian, encyclopedic favoring of a more diverse curriculum. To see how Schulpforta's

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[104] Heumann (1994), 150-151.

[105] Arnhardt (1988), 101, 110.

[106] Arnhardt (1988), 109-110.

[107] Heumann (1994), 106-107.

curriculum under Rector Peter during Nietzsche's years has evolved since the curriculum of 1546, compare the following two tables:[108]

1546

	Latin	Greek	Math	Music	Rhetoric/ Dialectic
Prima	19	3	5	-	3
Sekunda	22	1	-	5	2
Tertia	25	-	-	5	-

1859-1865

	Latin	Greek	Hebrew	German	French	Religion	History/ Geography	Math/ Science	Singing
Upper I	10	6	2	2	2	2	3	6	1
Lower I	10	6	2	2	2	2	3	6	1
Upper II	10	6	2	2	2	2	3	4	1
Lower II	11	6	2	2	2	2	3	4	1
Upper III	11	6	-	3	-	2	3	4	1
Lower III	11	6	-	3	-	2	5	4	1

1.3.0 NIETZSCHE AT SCHULPFORTA (1858-1864)

Though the idea has been repeated since Nietzsche's sister's, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche's, biography on her brother that Nietzsche wins a place at Schulpforta through his precocious brilliance, Carl Pletsch argues that Nietzsche receives a scholarship at Schulpforta because of his status as the orphan of a state employee rather than for intellectual ability.[109] Thomas Brobjer gives a more detailed argument that similarly makes clear that Nietzsche was accepted due to the nature and mission of Schulpforta and the loss of his father and not because of intellectual gifts. Nietzsche's father, who dies when Nietzsche is only four, has been the state-appointed pastor in Röcken. One of Schulpforta's primary missions is to provide a good education to the sons of state-

[108] For the 1546 curriculum, see Arnhardt (1988), 27-28, and for the curriculum in Nietzsche's time, see Bohley (2007), 220-221.

[109] Pletsch (1991), 44.

employees, which is precisely what most of its students at Nietzsche's times are. Most students also have scholarships, making Nietzsche's less remarkable than his sister would have us believe.[110] This scholarship also relieves his widowed mother of paying for his schooling as she has been doing while he is at the *Domgymnasium*. Brobjer further demonstrates that Nietzsche does not perform exceptionally, except in Religion, at the *Domgymnasium*, has done worse than average in Latin and Greek there, has "barely passed" Schulpforta's entrance exam and has to begin held one semester back.[111] While most students begin and end their study and their school years at Easter, Nietzsche counts his years at Schulpforta beginning and ending at Michelmas in late September. His good friend, Wilhelm Pinder for example, is a better student than Nietzsche at the *Domgymnasium*, but he is not offered the opportunity to transfer. Nietzsche will become an exceptional student while at Schulpforta, but that is not the reason he is invited to study there.

Throughout this section we will pick up the trail of Nietzsche's thinking on the Greeks, examining his six years at Schulpforta.

1.3.1 Tertia (1858-1860)

It is beyond the purpose of this study to examine Nietzsche's daily routine and the living conditions he experiences at Schulpforta.[112] Suffice it to say, as others often have, that he encounters a new, masculine world of routine and discipline unlike any he has

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[110] Brobjer (2001a), 322-325.

[111] Brobjer (2001a), 326-327.

[112] For a succinct overview including a Foucauldian perspective on discipline at Schulpforta, an elaboration of Nietzsche's own description of a normal day there, further discussion of the curriculum, and an overview of Nietzsche's performance there, see Hoyer (2001), 140-153.

known before. His letters to his mother clearly reveal his intense homesickness. On his first day there, he writes one letter to her, two on his fourth day, and then another letter again on his sixth day, apologizing that she might think he has forgotten her before one week has passed. In his second letter to her he notes that in terms of work and strictness there is no comparison between Schulpforta and the *Domgymnasium*.[113] To his friend Pinder he also writes about the rigor of his new school stating that one is "not as compelled" at the *Domgymnasium*, and requesting Pinder admit that in Naumburg things are "somewhat too free," adding that in many respects, he is glad to no longer be there.[114] This lack of consideration for the fact that Pinder *is* still there may be due to Nietzsche's need to express how overwhelmed he really is, may be an attempt to impress Pinder, or it may also even be a bit of a stab at a friend who has always gotten better grades.

In the same letter to Pinder, Nietzsche regrets that he is currently not reading Homer at school, revealing that his studies have, at least in that regard, taken a step backward for him. In that year in the Lower Tertia, his study of Greek language and literature consists only of grammar and the reading of selected excerpts. Once he is in the Sekunda and Prima, he reads Homer again and does so every year. In addition to grammar and composition, Nietzsche's Latin instruction in the Lower Tertia does allow him to read parts of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. His instruction in History is focused on the geography of Europe and Prussia for the Winter Semester, the rest of world geography in the Summer Semester and the history of ancient Greece all year.[115]

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[113] KGB I/1, 16-20.

[114] KGB I/1, 24-25. "[v]iel ungezwungener" "etwas zu frei"

[115] Bohley (2007), 223-226.

His first composition dealing with classical material during his years at Schulpforta is a brief summary in German of part of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* written in his first semester.[116] This is an appropriate starting point for Nietzsche's classical education there, as it represents the original and still dominant purpose of Schulpforta: to produce pupils capable of reading, writing, and speaking elegantly in Latin at the university level. This summary of Caesar is not yet an exercise in Latin composition, but is focused on reading and comprehension. During Nietzsche's six years at Schulpforta, the majority of his work related to antiquity is aimed initially at developing comprehension and, then increasingly over time, elegant composition in Latin, a task that will culminate in the thesis he writes upon Graduation (*Valediktionsarbeit*) written entirely in Latin and filling forty-four pages of the *Complete Critical Edition*. Unless these Latin compositions reveal something of Nietzsche's study of the Greeks or of how art and antiquity can serve modernity, they are not considered in this dissertation, as the focus here is to determine how Nietzsche's concept of the artistic value of the Greeks for his time develops in his school years. Those that do shed light on Nietzsche's valuations of the Greeks are addressed.

There are no compositions of Nietzsche's during the Winter Semester of his first year (Lower Tertia) that deal with the Greeks as exemplary for modernity. In the Summer Semester of that year, however, we do see Nietzsche using the Greeks for his own artistic production in a manner similar to the works he produced before he comes to Schulpforta. His one-act *Prometheus* drama, most likely not written for any school assignment, again reveals the piously Lutheran youth working out his religious concepts

[116] KGW I/2, 9-12.

through pagan subject matter. Prometheus is rebelling against gods that are too full of vice to be worshipped. The focus on rebellion could indicate that Nietzsche has already encountered Goethe's poem "Prometheus," in which the Titan expresses intense contempt for and rebellion against the Olympians, a poem he will discuss in *Birth*.[117] Some impetus for the composition certainly comes from learning something about the fragments of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* as the one-act drama is followed by a discussion of Aeschylus. Nietzsche's drama, certainly at odds with either model, is very much concerned with Christian ideas. The impiety of rebellion against the Olympians is made clear when the human chorus contradicts Prometheus' valuation of the Olympians:

> Pure and guiltless is the
> Divinity that leads us
> That we stand firm in storms
> firm in suffering
> And after whose example
> We churn through life
> Until the Genius
> Lowers the torch. [118]

Once again, Lessing's genius with down-turned torch appears. The Christian quality of the Greek divinity is presented with a singular noun that allows the actual polytheism of Olympian religion to be described in terms of the monotheism of the pious young Nietzsche's Lutheranism and suggests that the Greeks, as embodied here by the impious Prometheus, simply do not understand the true nature of deity. The vices of the Olympians pose no problem for Nietzsche as they are not the actual divinity to be worshipped. That the human chorus is talking about a Christian divinity (to Prometheus!) becomes clear a few stanzas later when they sing:

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[117] KSA 1, 67.

[118] KGW I/2, 37-42. Rein und schuldlos ist die/ Gottheit die uns leitet/ Daß wir fest in Stürmen/ fest in Leiden stehn/ Und nach deren Vorbild/ Wall'n wir durch das Leben/ Bis der Genius die/ Fakel senket.

And purified stands the
Sinner before the Divinity
And in Lethe's flood
He dips his guilt.
Out of the darkness of sin
Out of the dawn of repentance
He climbs like the beaming eye
of heaven. [119]

In his earlier composition, Lethe restored memories. Here it is a bit closer to the ancient conception as something which takes something away even though it does such as a River Jordan baptizing away sins. This Christianizing turn makes quite clear what issues Nietzsche is dealing with and how un-Greek his treatment of the Prometheus story is here. He is indeed interested in Prometheus' rebellion against divinity, but beyond that, this is a rather Christian exploration of pride as a sin to be forgiven and of humility.

This Christian tale of Prometheus is then followed by a most curious critique of it carried out by Nietzsche himself. He begins by saying it is necessary to critique his work. Then he writes in another voice to ask if one really wants to "renew the times of an Aeschylus."[120] Any reader of *Birth* will perk up at the mention of renewing the times of Aeschylus, though nothing like the project envisioned in that book is being discussed here. Still, we see Nietzsche self-conscious about how he is using antiquity. Is it a renewal? Unfortunately, this tantalizing question is quickly lost in a scene reminiscent of Goethe's "Prelude in the Theater" in *Faust*, where the number of Nietzsche's characters continues multiplying into an amorphous mass neither discussing the play nor the critique

[119] KGW I/2, 43-44. Und geläutert steht der/ Sünder vor der Gottheit/ Und in Lethes Fluthes/ Taucht er seine Schuld./ Aus der Sünde Finster/ Aus der Reue Dämmrung/ Steigt er wie des Himmels/ Strahlenauge.

[120] "die Zeiten eines Aeschylos erneuen"

of it as their conversation wanders off.[121] The discussion about the renewal of antiquity or the value of such an endeavor is lost before it can begin.

Nietzsche describes this play titled *Prometheus* in a letter to Pinder as full of "wrong concepts" on the subject, but does not say how they are wrong.[122] Then he goes on to discuss his piece critiquing the play and some other compositions, with his tone becoming increasingly giddy and ironic – much as it does in the critique on the play – until he ends with the line "unfortunately my paper is at an end."[123] Why it is that Nietzsche indulges in these uncharacteristic performances of a lack of seriousness in both his critique and his letter discussing the play is unclear. Is the question of renewing Greek art too serious or daunting? Though the question of renewing the time and art of Aeschylus goes no further than its asking, it is worth noting that the fourteen year old Nietzsche is at least formulating it, even if this very act of formulation causes uncharacteristic childishness to overcome his already usual sense of discipline and decorum.

Another letter to Pinder sent soon after the last one (in April or May of 1859) informs Pinder that Nietzsche now has a plan for approaching the Prometheus material, which has become for him a "a very interesting topic," and he asks for Pinder's help.[124] He indicates that, first and foremost, he is collecting all the data he can on Prometheus from every available reference work, collection of mythology, and other book to arrive at as complete a presentation as possible of Prometheus' story and of other aspects related

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[121] KGW I/2, 47-51.

[122] "falscher Begriffe"

[123] KGB I/1, 58-60. "Leider ist mein Papier zu Ende."

[124] "sehr interressanter Stoff"

to it ("Iapetus, the Titans, Epimetheus, Pandora").[125] He splits the material to be understood and handled into six sections, asking Pinder to handle half of them. He does not indicate any discomfort with his anachronistic handling of the material in his earlier attempt, but he does present a clear concern for a more thorough and accurate understanding of the material than he has formerly had.[126] Though he does not indicate having any problem with the extent to which he Christianizes Aeschylus' theme, he clearly feels that he does not yet understand it well enough.

A brief text in Latin verse written for school summarizing in fourteen lines material from books VII and VIII of the Odyssey shows that Nietzsche is getting to work a bit on Homer at school during the Summer Semester of his first year, the Lower Tertia, though it is not officially assigned. It does not contain any reflections on the value of the Greeks or their art for moderns.[127]

By August of 1859, Nietzsche's history course on the Greeks has gotten to Alexander the Great, whose biography, Nietzsche believes, offers many sections to be used for "splendid" tragedies.[128] He is specifically interested in Alexander's general, Philotas. It is unclear whether Nietzsche has been introduced to or heard about Lessing's play *Philotas* (1759) and is using it as inspiration. Lessing's play is rather independent of the historical Philotas, as it makes him a prince, does not mention Alexander, and gives a name very similar to the historical Philotas' father, Alexander's general, Parmenion, to a soldier, Parmenio, in the army of Philotas' father, here a king. Lessing's Philotas

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[125] "Japetos, der Titanen, Epimetheus, Pandora"

[126] KGB I/1, 60-61.

[127] KGW I/2, 65-66.

[128] "vortrefflichen"

commits suicide, whereas the historical one is executed after being accused of conspiring against Alexander. It is much more likely that Nietzsche's inspiration is his history course.

True to history, Nietzsche's Philotas is a commander in Alexander's army whose soldiers fear and respect him "because he is strict and does not suffer that any Oriental luxuriance, which the king [Alexander] has started to develop, get out of control."[129] Through Philotas, Nietzsche is again exploring the Christian vice of pride and virtue of humility, though now they are connected to a military strictness, tying them to another virtue that has been important to him since he was a small boy absorbed in military games. Earlier in May of that same year he has written to his mother to please write him about "the newest political developments" as he is "very eager" for them, demonstrating to her that his interest in political and military matters has not abated.[130] We will return to the Philotas drama after examining a few texts that appear before it here at the end of Nietzsche's first Summer Semester at Schulpforta.

In a note written on the 24th of August, Nietzsche discusses his recent reading of Schiller's *The Robbers* (1781) in which he sees the characters as "nearly superhuman" waging "a Titanomachy against religion and virtue" which is ultimately won by the heavenly "Omnipotence."[131] "Dreadful" is how Nietzsche finds "the despair of the unending sinner" in the play.[132] Clearly he sees in Schiller's play the same titanic

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[129] KGW I/2, 112. "weil er streng ist und nicht leidet, daß jene asiatische Ueppigkeit, die der König selbst angebahnt hat, überhand nimmt"

[130] KGB I/1, 63. "die neusten politischen Ereigniße" "sehr begierig"

[131] *Die Räuber* "fast übermenschlich" "einen Titankampf gegen Religion und Tugend" "Allgewalt"

[132] KGW I/2, 119-120. "Furchbar [sic]" "die Verzweiflung des unendlichen Sünders"

rebellion he approaches in his Prometheus play and that he will soon take on in his Philotas drama: a sinful and destructive pride that challenges the celestial "Omnipotence" and loses.

Before Nietzsche starts producing his work on Philotas, he produces a couple of interesting notes around the beginning of his second year (the Upper Tertia) at Schulpforta in late September 1859. He writes that, on reading Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1761-1767), he is struck by "a comprehensive knowledge of the *Wissenschaften* such" as he has never encountered before.[133] Then later in the same set of notes he writes that "an uncommon urge for knowledge, for universal *Bildung*" has taken hold of him, and that "Humboldt has excited this direction in me."[134] Though Nietzsche considers this drive for what he considers to be universal *Bildung* to be inspired by Humboldt, it is not Humboldt's concept, and Nietzsche does not see it as using material like that left by the Greeks to formally arouse and develop all of his faculties. He sees it, rather, as an encyclopedic approach to gathering all possible information and developing as many talents as he can, as the expansive list of things to be learned included in his notes, and not mentioning antiquity until the very end, indicates.[135] This relates his plans for learning much more to Humboldt's successor in the Prussian reforms, Johannes Schulze, who wants to expand the curriculum into a more encyclopedic approach to knowledge, than it does to Humboldt. After his first year at

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[133] "eine so allseitige Kenntniß der Wissenschaften"

[134] KGW I/2, 133. "ein ungemeiner Drang nach Erkenntniß, nach universeller Bildung" "Humbold [sic] hat diese Richtung in mir angeregt"

[135] The list ordered into tables includes: geology, botany, astronomy, music, poetry, painting, theater, military affairs, architecture, seafaring, good Latin style, mythology, literature, German, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, math, sculpture, chemistry, business, geography, history, and antiquity. KGW I/2, 135-136.

Schulpforta, Nietzsche is aware of neo-humanist educational ideals and aims, and their sources, even if he does not understand them correctly.

The charming if exhausting list of expectations the young Nietzsche places on himself is followed in the *Complete Critical Edition* directly by his Philotas drama. Before we discuss that, let it quickly be noted what Nietzsche's studies include in his second year (Upper Tertia). In Latin he is still reading Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and working on grammar and compositions. His Greek studies add sections of Xenophon's *Anabasis* to the study of grammar, and his history course is on the Romans.[136]

As noted, the Philotas drama combines Nietzsche's concern with pride as a sin with martial virtues. It is clearly a continuation of themes that have long been important to him and is not too different from his earlier creative uses of antiquity. What is most striking, however, is that after a year at Schulpforta he is moving in a less obviously Christian direction with this work. For one thing, he finally refers to the Olympian gods with plural terms, making it impossible to read monotheism in.[137] He also adds a new dimension to his concern with pride against the gods – freedom. Philotas stands for a freedom without monarchy, and monarchy is precisely what Darius represents and what seems to be seducing Alexander. This space of freedom for humans, within a system where humans are foolish to challenge the gods, anticipates Nietzsche's later discussions of competition among peers as intrinsic to the Greeks.[138] Though Nietzsche is not yet concerned with competition in the Philotas material, what had earlier been a wholesale

[136] Bohley (2007), 223-226.

[137] KGW I/2, 147.

[138] See, e.g., KSA 1, 787.

submission in humility to God has started to become a free space for human activity that is bound by an understanding that one does not overstep the line that separates humans from gods. In the play, Nietzsche establishes that Apollo is the sun-god and has his Philotas says of Alexander that:

> Overambition
> Knows no bounds. Yes I believe
> If Alexander ruled this world,
> He would complain that the sun
> mocks him in its freedom from control.[139]

This pride can still be read as a Christian motif, as it may well be for Nietzsche, like Lucifer's vaunting pride as read by Christians into *Isaiah* 14, but it is certainly moving closer to views of proper and improper competition that a Nietzsche with thirteen additional years of philological study will consider genuinely Greek.[140] In a note from that October, Nietzsche further explores proud rebellion, not against divinity, but against religion itself: "As often as a person speaks loudly against religion, one may brazenly assume that it is not his reason but rather his passion that has won control over his doctrinal faith."[141] The wording leaves an ambiguous impression. Does Nietzsche identify himself with the "person" or with "one"? There are no contextual clues to point to either. The "brazenly" would seem to indicate a value judgment against those who make the accusation, while "loudly" allows us more sympathy with those who speak against religion. This toe-dip into questioning religion puts the Philotas drama into relief

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[139] KGW I/2, 144. [....] Ehrsucht/ Kennt keine Grenzen. Ja ich glaube/ Wenn Alexander diese Welt beherrschte,/ Er würde klagen, daß die Sonne ihn/ in ihrer Unbezwungenheit verspotte.

[140] We will see in Chapter 3 how Jakob Burckhardt influences Nietzsche's ideas on competition.

[141] KGW I/2, 167. "So oft der Mensch laut gegen Religion spricht, vermuthe man dreist, daß nicht seine Vernunft, sondern daß seine Leidenschaft Gewalt über seinen Lehrglauben gewann." Note that "*Laut"* could also mean "clearly."

as either a strong effort to stave off his own inevitable questioning of religion, or at least as a Kantian move of separating the eternal off as something to be untouched by those who remain within a sphere of human activity that can be analyzed. He is not ready to storm and explode the religious sphere yet, at least not loudly or clearly as his letter in the following spring (March 1860) to Pinder indicates, where Nietzsche congratulates him on becoming a mature Christian and wishes him the richest blessings of the Lord.[142] What is key is that after just one year at Schulpforta, we see Nietzsche recognizing that religion can be questioned, even if he is not openly doing so himself yet.

For the rest of Nietzsche's second year at Schulpforta (Upper Tertia) we have no letters or schoolwork indicating reflections on the value of the Greeks for modernity. We do, however, get another moment of reflection on one of Germany's most famous classicists, Schiller. Schulpforta celebrates the centennial of Schiller's birthday in November of 1859, and Nietzsche records that Professor Koberstein, Schulpforta's renowned Germanist, says that the national festival is "a meaningful foretoken of the reawakening, German national-feeling, and one could tie beautiful hopes for the future to this celebration."[143] Though the words are not Nietzsche's, they impressed him enough to record them, and they clearly indicate that at Schulpforta he is learning that the work of artists is related to a national feeling and is important for a nation's future.

There is nothing here about the Greeks in Koberstein's remarks, but what he says is in celebration of a man who engages the Greeks strenuously for the sake of art. In a letter to his mother, Nietzsche says of the celebration (while paraphrasing Koberstein's

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[142] KGB I/1, 96-97.

[143] KGW I/2, 177. "ein bedeutsames Vorzeichen für das wiedererwachte deutsche Nationalgefühl, und man könne an diese Feier schöne Hoffnungen für die Zukunft knüpfen."

words, slightly shifting the emphasis): Professor Koberstein "held an excellent speech in which he especially emphasized that it is a hopeful sign for Germany's future that the birthdays of its great men are increasingly becoming national festivals which bind Germany into one whole despite its political inner turmoil."[144] He emphasizes the political implications of Koberstein's words, appealing to the common interest in politics he shares with his mother, focusing on how the celebration of *great men* (not specifically "artists") promises political unity, leaving art out of it entirely.

One final note that emerges from Nietzsche's thoughts on this event is found in his description of who took part at Schulpforta: "not only the *Gebildeten*, no, also the lower classes of the people."[145] For the fifteen year old Nietzsche at Schulpforta, there are the lower classes below and the *Gebildeten* above. This high esteem of his own standing reflects an attitude held by his Grandmother Nietzsche, as we have seen, and one more than typical of the *Bildungsbürgertum* in nineteenth century Prussia.

Before moving on to his experience in the Sekunda, let us briefly summarize how Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks develops during his two years in the Tertia at Schulpforta. We see him continuing to use the Greeks in his own creative works in order to explore his own Lutheran conceptions. He is especially concerned with pride and humility which manifest themselves among his Greeks as either disrespect or respect for a proper boundary and distance between humans and the divine. Whereas in his Prometheus tragedy he is using singular nouns to blur the distinction between his

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[144] KGB I/1, 84. "hielt eine ausgezeichnete Rede worin er besonders hervorhob, daß es ein hoffnungsvolles Zeichen für Deutschlands Zukunft sei daß die Geburtstäge ihrer großen Männer immer mehr Nationalfeste würden, die Deutschland trotz seiner politischen Zerissenheit zu einem Ganzen verbänden."

[145] KGW I/2, 175. "nicht nur die Gebildeten, nein, auch die untern Stände des Volkes." *Gebildet* is the past participle of *bilden*, the verb from which we get *Bildung*.

monotheism and Greek polytheism, later in his Philotas tragedy he is comfortable letting Greek gods be plural and, thus, more genuinely Greek. In relation to his Prometheus tragedy, we see Nietzsche broach the issue of the possibility of renewing the time of Aeschylus, though he gives no further reflections on the issue. Nietzsche also reads the issue of human pride that must lose to overwhelming divine power into Schiller's work, showing that Nietzsche is thinking through the same themes in both ancient contexts and in the work of modern German classicists. We see the thought of other classicists, Lessing, with his image of the genius with down-turned torch, and Goethe, with the format of his *Prelude in the Theater*, being utilized by Nietzsche in his approach to antiquity. We also see Nietzsche consciously assuming that he is following the educational theory of Humboldt, even if he has misunderstood it. His mistaken Humboldtian approach, it must be noted, gives no central place to the Greeks in his education. Finally, in his reflections on the commemoration of Schiller's birthday, we see Nietzsche impressed by his professor's idea that Germany's great artists have importance for a national-feeling, which Nietzsche strengthens into a politically unifying power in his letter to his mother while simultaneously transferring this power from artists to all "great men."

The Greeks are neither singular nor exemplary for Nietzsche at this point, but he is clearly engaging them both directly and through earlier German classicists during these first two years at Schulpforta. We should also note that he has already begun to broach the issue of questioning religious ideas.

1.3.2 Sekunda (1860 -1862)

In Nietzsche's third year at Schulpforta (the Lower Sekunda), his Greek instruction adds the reading of a couple of books of Homer's *Odyssey* and a section of Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, as well as more extended compositional exercises to the study of grammar. Latin instruction moves towards developing the students' eloquence by introducing the study of a good bit of Cicero (*De imperio Cn. Pompei*, *Pro Archia*, *Pro Sulla*, and *In Catilinam*) alongside *The Ornamented Syntax* by University of Berlin Professor Carl Gottlob Zumpt.[146] They also read some Livy and Ovid. Having had Greek and Roman history for the first two years, he now studies Medieval history in his third.[147]

In a letter to his mother in early December, 1860 we see Nietzsche asking his mother for Shakespeare for Christmas, as Shakespeare is necessary "for general *Bildung*." This shows that he is still consciously working on what he understands to be his universal *Bildung*, and that he does not think that this is primarily done through a study of the Greeks.[148] As Shakespeare is given a mediating position somewhere between an authentic ancient Greek and a modern German by Herder's 1773 essay *Shakespeare*, in which he is described as a Germanic artist whose art arises naturally from his environment as Greek drama had done, few Germans a century later would be offended at the thought of Shakespeare taking a privileged position in the *Bildung* of a young man. What is worth noticing is that Nietzsche's enthusiasm for Shakespeare's

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[146] *Die Syntaxis ornata*

[147] Bohley (2007), 223-226.

[148] KGB I/1, 133. "zur allgemeinen Bildung."

importance to his education is not yet paired with a mention of a similar value of the Greeks. He may have felt that value, but he has not yet expressed it.

In two essays written in the spring of 1861 we see Nietzsche using theories central to the eighteenth century development of German classicism, though in Nietzsche they are hardly connected to the ancient Greeks and certainly not focused on them. "Hunters and Fishermen" is written for school and discusses the similarities between the two ways of life.[149] In the second sentence, he begins to describe peoples in terms that had become commonplaces in German classicism for describing the Greeks: not only will these peoples be gifted with unique intellectual gifts, they live with favorable climatic conditions. This later aspect, the Climate Theory, goes back to Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* of 1748 and then even back into antiquity to Aristotle's *Politics* Book VII, Chapter VI that posits that cultures are affected by the climate they develop in.[150] Winckelmann, as we saw in our introduction, leans heavily on the Climate Theory in his *Imitation of Greek Works* (1755) to explain how the Greeks achieved the art he so admired. Nietzsche's sentence begins: "And especially those people gifted with a greater intellectual excitability and favored by nature with favorable regions under the sky…."[151] At this point one familiar with the tradition of German classicism expects to read about the exceptional development and achievement of the ancient Greeks within a comparison of hunters and fishers, but Nietzsche goes on,

> [These peoples] have first left their natural state, which could be called the childhood of humanity in relation to a similar development for every person, and

[149] "Jäger und Fischer"

[150] See Szondi (1974), 25, 27.

[151] "Und gerade die Völker, die mit einer größern geistigen Erregbarkeit begabt und von der Natur durch günstige Himmelsstriche beschenkt sind…."

> they are, surrendered to their unrestrained desires, sunken into a depth of wildness reminding us barely now and then of the creations of God gifted with reason and intellect.[152]

Nietzsche shatters any expectation of continuing in clichéd terms to describe the classical Greeks. For one thing, he uses the *Lebensalter* Theory that was also a commonplace of German classicist discourse in an entirely unexpected manner.[153] A more typically classicist example of the *Lebensalter* Theory can be read in Herder's *Another Philosophy of History for the Bildung of Humanity* (1774) which traces the "universal history" of humanity through stages comparable to the stages of human development.[154] Childhood is projected upon the Biblical patriarchs while Periclean Greeks live out the robust activity of a strong youth. Here, Nietzsche makes childhood a stage among *all* peoples. When this stage is left, it is not to enter into a glorious, Greek youth of humanity still at one with nature, but to descend into a wild, irrational state that can no longer be considered the people's natural state. Is he even talking about the Greeks here at all? The next sentence indicates yes and no, as it makes clear that these people who have descended into wild irrationality go on to become the various fishers and hunters depending on whether they go off to mountainous regions, forests, to the seaside or near great rivers. He is clearly talking about many different peoples here.

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[152] KGW I/2, 232. "haben zuerst ihren Naturzustand, den man in Bezug auf eine ähnliche Entwicklung bei jedem Menschen die Kindheit der Völker nennen könnte, verlassen und sind, ihren ungezügelten Begierden übergeben, in eine Tiefe der Wildheit herabgesunken, die uns kaum noch hie u. da an die mit Vernunft und Geist begabten Geschöpfe Gottes errinert."

[153] *Lebensalter* refers to the ages of life, such as we see with Nietzsche calling an early stage of cultural development a "childhood."

[154] *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*. "Universal history" is another concept of the late 18th century that culminates in Hegel in the early nineteenth century. It reads all of history as one long development towards a, usually, glorious goal, with the historian offering the reading often standing at or near that privileged endpoint. *Lebensalter* theory usually works within the framework of universal history.

One of those, it turns out, is *most likely*, though not definitely, the Greeks. Perhaps more than one of them is one of the various groups among the Greek-speakers. Towards the end of the essay he writes, "States relying on fishing were [note the plural] the original beginnings of those flowering and powerful empires whose trade encompassed the entire world knows at the time, whose inventions were the most successful deeds of all of antiquity, whose sense for art aroused all other peoples to imitation and later to freer artistic development."[155] According to the tropes of eighteenth and nineteenth German classicism, it would seem that the peoples with the great sense for art that stimulated all others to imitation would be Greeks, but Nietzsche does not say this explicitly. And even if they are, this sentence could just as easily be talking about others like the Phoenicians and Romans. If he is talking about the Greeks, it is worth noting that already in his third year at Schulpforta, Nietzsche would have a complex and differentiated concept of them.

What is clear is that Nietzsche has come into contact with many of the central theories of German classicism: Climate Theory, *Lebensalter* Theory, and an artistic achievement compelling emulation. What is interesting is that Nietzsche does not use them to write yet another encomium to the Greeks. The Greeks are very hard to identify in the essay, if they positively can be at all. They are certainly never mentioned by name. Most striking of all is whom the essay does end up praising as the saviors of civilization. He writes that state, trade and art are the three pillars upon which the development of humanity depends, then says that these pillars would have crumbled to ruin, "if the true

[155] "Fischerstaaten waren die Uranfänge jener blühenden und mächtigen Reiche, deren Handel die ganze damals bekannte Welt umschloß, deren Erfindungen die erfolgreichsten Thaten des ganzen Alterthums waren, deren Kunstsinn, alle andern Völkern zur Nachahmung und später zur freieren Kunstentfaltung anregte."

religion, which maintained and preserved itself among a pastoral people, had not with vital energy lent the sublime structure the correct foundation, the correct strength."[156]

The Biblical patriarchs and their descendants are not written into this essay as an early stage of development, but as those who must sweep in at a later stage to save a development that would have foundered without them. Note that Nietzsche makes no differentiation between this "pastoral people" and the Christianity that followed antiquity. As in his later work, the beliefs beginning with the Biblical Israelites and continuing through to European Christians seem to constitute a single religion for him. It is hard to say whether his placement of Judeo-Christianity as the saving *telos* of his essay is due to what continues in him of religious faith or to a concern to please teachers. At any rate, had he given the Greeks this role, no one at neo-humanist Schulpforta would have batted an eye, making the fact that he does not all the more curious.

Another essay, "The Childhood of the Peoples," submitted around the same time to *Germania*, the literary-musical society formed between Nietzsche and his friends Pinder and Gustav Krug (to be examined later), continues Nietzsche's use of the *Lebensalter* Theory.[157] Here when he speaks of a childhood stage, it was a time very close to "the creation of the world or at least of humans," in which humans, gifted by God with language and religion and enjoyed "an age of flowering or a golden time period on earth," and was followed closely by the time when humanity sank from its dignity and majesty into an animalistic, unrestrained state, as mentioned in the "Hunters and

[156] KGW I/2, 234. "wenn nicht die wahre Religion, die sich bei einem Hirtenvolke erhalten und bewahrt hatte, lebenskräftig dem erhabnen Bau den rechte Grundlage, die rechte Stärke verliehen hätte."

[157] "Die Kindheit der Völker"

Fishermen" essay.[158] This clearly points to something like the Biblical concept of the Garden of Eden and the fall from it, indicating the young Nietzsche gives a much stronger Biblical angle to the *Lebensalter* Theory than had Herder and others. Very few peoples were able only with "exceptional intellectual excitability," to rise out of this fallen state, while another preserved its intellectual *Bildung*, though only "with injury to the original purity."[159] The former may well include the Greeks (though they are never named in this essay either), while the later seems to be the same Biblical, pastoral people of the "Hunters and Fishermen" essay.

Nietzsche seems to be having difficulty continuing to see all of world history through a Protestant, Biblical narrative. This is indicated by Nietzsche's struggle a few sentences later with the question whether "races of such entirely different natures could form themselves out of one human couple" – an idea he writes he can neither confidently defend nor reject at this point.[160] He goes on to call the return to culture after humanity had fallen into "barbarism" a "repentance," indicating not just a return but a penitent one with Christian coloring.[161] The rest of the essay examines how this people who preserved something of the original intellectual *Bildung* did so through their language and religion and were able finally to save the rest of humanity, just as he had asserted they did in the "Hunters and Fisherman" essay. Four pages into the essay, Nietzsche explicitly names the Jews as one stage of this saving people, and then explicitly names Christianity

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[158] "der Weltschöpfung oder wenigstens der Menschenerschafung" "ein Blüthalter oder eine golden Zeitperiode auf Erden"

[159] "besonderer geistigen Erregbarkeit" "mit Verletzung der ursprünglichen Reinheit"

[160] "aus einem Menschenpaar sich so ganz verschiedenartige Racen bilden konnte"

[161] KGW I/2, 236-237. "Barbarei" "Umkehren"

another page in, making fully clear who he is not talking about and making the fact that he never names the Greeks all the more conspicuous. What Judeo-Christianity, again a single entity composed of stages, brought to the rest of humanity, he makes clear by the end of the essay: architecture, music, poetry, astronomy, and trade, many of the objects of his desired universal *Bildung*.[162]

What Nietzsche has produced here is a curious second variation on an old theme. The Bible has been read as presenting the narrative of an original paradise where humanity lived at one with nature and divinity. Humanity lost this state and fell due to disobedience to God and would require redemption (through Jesus for Nietzsche and his fellow Lutherans) to be restored from its fallen state. Winckelmann transposes this three part structure of paradise, fall, and redemption onto a different picture of history, making Periclean Greece the paradisiacal state of oneness with nature, an artistic decay that lost this state up until Winckelmann's time the equivalent of the fall, and the hope that looking to the works of that original state among the Greeks would be able to restore the artistic ability of at least some humans. This new paradise, fall, and redemption motif is considerably fortified and further loaded with hopes and anxieties by those following Winckelmann, often making the middle period, the fall, medieval Christianity, and making the final period, the restoration, a time filled with hopes even of political unity made possible through artistic achievement not made explicit in Winckelmann. Nietzsche has now returned paradise back to the Biblical state directly following God's creation, the fall back to the general state of humanity after this original time, and restoration back to something to be found among the keepers of the Biblical message,

[162] KGW I/2, 239-243.

but, most curiously – and this is his remarkable contribution, he makes the final state of restoration not one of eternal salvation or historical, apocalyptic reunion with divinity but the promise and reality of modern artistic and scientific achievement. He keeps the first two stages of the Biblical narrative and adds on to them the third stage of the classicist narrative, all while marginalizing the Greeks.

He is clearly learning many of the ideas central to German classicism at Schulpforta, but he is not pointed by them towards the same message of artistic salvation from the Greeks that has been fueling German classicism. His religious training is still quite determinant in his thinking, even if consciously problematic. Salvation is found in the Bible, not among the ancient Greeks. That this salvation, however, is human culture shows that the German thinking of the last hundred years has taken root in Nietzsche, and is finding strong expression in his thinking as he begins to try to hold together the slowly crumbling religious worldview that has served him thus far.

Nietzsche's fourth year at Schulpforta (Upper Sekunda) begins at the end of September in 1861. In Greek, he reads four books of Homer's *Iliad*, all of Lysias' *Against Agoratus*, and selections from Herodotus, in addition to continuing the study of grammar and work on composition. In Latin, he continues to read a lot of Cicero, and now reads selections of Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Eclogues* and *Georgics* complemented by continued composition, now including full essays and spoken exercises. His course in history now focuses on modern history.[163] As in the year before, Nietzsche produces no extended creative works based on Greek materials and has little to nothing to say about the value of Greek art.

[163] Bohley (2007), 223-226.

In their biographical works on Nietzsche, both Curt Paul Janz and Carl Pletsch address an essay Nietzsche writes on Hölderlin in October of 1861. Both find within it seeds of Nietzsche's future thought and praise it for its astonishing insight and originality. As he does with the myth of Nietzsche's acceptance to Schulpforta for brilliance, Thomas Brobjer again offers clear evidence that this essay is not everything Nietzsche's biographers want it to be.[164] This misunderstanding has persisted into scholarship written as recently as 2010, even though Brobjer's article is published in 2001.[165]

The Hölderlin essay has been described as a major turning point for Nietzsche, where he is burned by criticism of it and then no longer reveals his private thoughts to his professors, and a turning point celebrated for its anticipation of his future thought, for its novel format (it is written as a letter to a friend), for a clever metaphor describing the sea, which he had not yet seen, and, above all for this study, as an expression of admiration for the Greeks. However, Brobjer makes quite clear that all of the celebrated portions of the essay are copied "almost word for word" from a biography written by William Neumann on Hölderlin and published in the series *Modern Classics* and that the letter format is part of the assignment as given by his teacher.[166] Nietzsche asks his mother for

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[164] For Janz on the Hölderlin essay, see 78-79. For Pletsch, see 57. Brobjer summarizes these previous commentators in his article. See Brobjer (2001b).

[165] Like Silk's and Stern's study (1981), neither Janz's (1978) nor Pletsch's (1991) books could have benefitted from this 2001 article by Brobjer, but Julian Young, whose biography, *Friedrich Nietzsche: A Philosophical Biography* came out in 2010, should have. He repeats Janz's and Pletsch's same arguments about the essay without any indication of the problems Brobjer points out, but then, in an endnote admits that "it turns out" Nietzsche may not have been entirely original in the essay, citing Brobjer's article. He then goes on to defend Nietzsche from Brobjer's charge of plagiarism by arguing that plagiarism is an anachronistic accusation against mid-nineteenth century scholarship. Whatever the merits of that argument, it would be a better sign of good faith for Young to take the time to rewrite his discussion of the Hölderlin essay in the main text of his book to reflect Brobjer's important work on the topic and, most importantly, to give a more accurate picture of Nietzsche's intellectual development.

[166] Brobjer (2001b), 399, 401. *Moderne Klassiker*

six volumes of the series for his birthday in 1858 (i.e., in his first month at Schulpforta), and at the time that Nietzsche needs to be writing the essay, we see him writing his mother with a request for his sister: "For a German essay on Hölderlin I require necessarily a biography; it is in my bookcase."[167] Brobjer has tracked this volume down and read it to discover that Neumann's biography not only features the clever metaphor about the sea, but it also contains the entire discussion Nietzsche offers of Hölderlin's *Hyperion* and *Empedokles*.[168] Brobjer is not even sure that Nietzsche has read *Hyperion* yet, as it is not included in either of the two books to which Nietzsche had access on Hölderlin: the Neumann biography (which includes some of Hölderlin's texts in addition to the biographical matter) and a collection of Hölderlin that Wilhelm Pinder acquires earlier in the spring for the *Germania* society.[169]

Brobjer, however, does indeed see the seeds of Nietzsche's later thinking in this essay, even if he forces us to admit that Nietzsche borrowed these from another thinker. Going beyond Janz, Pletsch and even the more recent discussion by Julian Young, Brobjer points out in Neumann's biography (that is, also in portions of the text read by Nietzsche but not copied in his essay) possible seeds of Nietzsche's ideas of the eternal recurrence, the *Übermensch*, and the Apollo/Dionysus dichotomy. As this dissertation is not a search for the themes of Nietzsche's later philosophy in his juvenilia but rather a delineation of his developing relationship to the Greeks and to classicism in his early years, we are only concerned with the ways Nietzsche's essay and Neumann's biography

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[167] KGB I/1, 181 and Brobjer (2001b), 399-400. "Ich bedarf zu einer deutschen Arbeit über Hölderlin nothwendig seine Biographie, sie liegt in meinem Bücherkasten."

[168] Brobjer (2001b), 401.

[169] Brobjer (2001b), 400-401.

may prefigure his thoughts on Apollo and Dionysus in *Birth.* What Brobjer finds in Neumann is a discussion of a dichotomy between a plastic and a musical artistic impulse, to which Nietzsche may later have added much including the names of the two Greek gods. Neumann describes Hölderlin as the synthesis of these two artistic impulses much as Nietzsche will describe tragedy as the synthesis of similar drives. This synthesis in Hölderlin is also described as the relationship of language to music, a key relationship that will be critical for our study and returned to in an essay Nietzsche writes on *Oedipus Rex* and that is formative in Nietzsche's creation of *Birth*.[170]

As hard as it may be for those who appreciate Nietzsche's thought to admit that he copies so much of an essay, an essay on Hölderlin no less, word for word from another source, we must acknowledge what we learn about Nietzsche's method here. Brobjer offers for consideration the fact that Nietzsche's later criticisms of Kant, Rousseau, Spinoza and Descartes are all based almost entirely on the reading of secondary, and not the primary, sources.[171] Pinder at one point wonders at Nietzsche's work on some Serbian folk songs which Nietzsche claims to have translated, as Nietzsche never has any opportunity to learn any Serbian at all.[172] Nietzsche is clearly not above appropriation or above making claims about his abilities he cannot support. Whether Nietzsche's ideas are born in the isolated confines of his mind without any influence (as if such were possible), or whether they are the product to a more or less conscious degree of creative absorption, their value is more in their ability to promote new ways of thinking than in the complexity and transparency of their pedigree.

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[170] Brobjer (2001b), 403-408.

[171] Brobjer (2001b), 401.

[172] Young, (2010), 28.

This leaves us with important questions about Nietzsche's thoughts on Hölderlin, about whom he will say very little for the rest of his time at Schulpforta. Brobjer sees no reason to assume that Hölderlin is not, as Nietzsche will later tell a friend, Nietzsche's favorite poet during his Schulpforta years. But he locates Nietzsche's deep attraction to Hölderlin in his reading of Neumann's biography where Hölderlin is accurately painted as a personality very accessible to Nietzsche, and argues that this biography and Schopenhauer are "among the most influential books Nietzsche ever read."[173] Unfortunately, as all the gems like Nietzsche's claim in the essay that Hölderlin writes "in the purest, Sophoclean language" are cribbed from Neumann, it is hard to see how Nietzsche may be using Hölderlin to approach and understand the Greeks.[174] What is clear is that Nietzsche gets an assignment done, that he is carefully reading a biography on Hölderlin, and that he is finding in it ideas about dichotomies and their syntheses that may very well inform the argument of *Birth*.

An essay submitted to *Germania* in December of 1861 on Byron's poetry, for which no one has found evidence of any borrowing, repeats his earlier valuation of Gothic poetry as written in a "quiet, clear as gold form" as opposed to the "*Sturmdrang*" and volcanic character of Byron's poetry.[175] Greek poetry is nowhere mentioned.

In a note, not apparently for school, from that same Winter Semester, Nietzsche shares what an unknown "famous, newer author" has to say about Homer's poems, which

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[173] Brobjer (2001b), 402.

[174] KGW I/2, 339 and Brobjer (2001b), 410. "in der reinsten, sophokleischen Sprache"

[175] KGW I/2, 341. "ruhiger, goldklarer Fassung"; *Sturmdrang* is a portmanteau of *Sturm und Drang* or "storm and stress," itself the name of a literary movement typified by the early work of Goethe.

he considers to be the most glorious.[176] A great meaning (*Sinn*) breathes over the whole revealing the ruinous consequences of violence and disorder and recommends the force of moderation and reason, obedience and freedom, heroic courage and martial discipline. Humans appear as they are and nothing in the plot is superfluous. We are transported without noticing it. Nietzsche (or the famous writer?) then goes on to discuss the moral and pedagogic value Homer has for the ancients and how one Greek father has his son memorize the poems entirely.[177]

It is hard to know what to make of this. Is Nietzsche hiding behind a fictitious character to give his own opinion? Is he simply noting something he has indeed read from someone else? Either way, he is reporting a logical unity to the poems of Homer that resists the tendency to analyze them down into countless fragments, and, citing a commonplace going back to eighteenth century German classicism, that the characters seem entirely natural and without artificial embellishment. Even if these are not Nietzsche's, it is important to at least note that he is at least interested enough in the views of someone else on Homer to write them.

In a brief note also written in this semester which seems to be a consideration of one of the inscriptions on Apollo's Temple at Delphi, "nothing in excess," (these words appear three pages earlier in the *Complete Critical Edition* with a Latin and a German translation), Nietzsche describes Apollo as one who, through arts and sciences, banned "brutishness" and moderated morals and nature.[178] Such commonplaces about Apollo and moderation will reappear in *Birth*.

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[176] "berühmter neuerer Schriftsteller"

[177] KGW I/2, 362-363.

[178] KGW I/2, 385-386. "μηδέν ἄγαν" "Rohheit"

In the Easter break before the Summer Semester of his fourth year (Upper Sekunda), we see Nietzsche's slow break with religion taking a decisive step. In a note on religion, Nietzsche writes, "The god of each human is the ideal of his or her own self freed from all inhibitions and earthly influences."[179] Though he perhaps is still not completely done with religion, this sentiment reveals a profound relativizing of it that will make any remaining ties strain all the more. An essay written for *Germania* during that same Easter Break titled "Fate and History" similarly reveals that a tipping point has been reached in Nietzsche's relationship to religion.[180] It notes that when one takes a free, impartial look (which here means one informed by the historical method he is learning in his philological studies) at Christian doctrine and church history, one could have many objections, even though the habits and beliefs of youth would strain against this. He goes on to express the anxiety of a young person taking on the authority of two millennia and the security of the most intelligent men throughout history. He describes one who embarks on this path of questioning as one in the middle "of the immeasurable ocean of ideas" looking hard for solid ground.[181] He warns of the great revolutions possible when the masses first realize that Christianity is based on assumptions. Nietzsche has dared to ask the questions: "I have attempted to deny everything: oh, tearing down is easy, but building up!"[182] These are poignantly prophetic words for a

[179] KGW I/2, 430. "Der Gott jedes Menschen ist das Ideal seines Selbst, befreit von allen Hemmungen u. tellurischen Einflüssen."

[180] "Fatum und Geschichte"

[181] "des unermeßlichen Ideenozeans"

[182] "Ich habe alles zu leugnen versucht: o, niederreißen ist leicht, aber aufbauen!"

philosopher more famous for his problematization of cherished ideas than for the positive contributions he tries to make in the attempt to live life well.

He further describes how morals are the product of time, circumstance and human need. The problem is arrived at which he calls "infinitely important," namely "the question about the rights of the individual in relation to the people, of the people to humanity, and of humanity to the world."[183] This leads thinkers to the attempt at universal history, which can only be an abstraction from what is known to what is not. Looking at the countless ways an individual or a people can be determined by events and circumstances, Nietzsche wonders if one is not simply "a ball played with by powers working obscurely."[184] Perhaps, he thinks, free will is nothing more than an aspect of fate.

> World history is then the history of material, if one takes the meaning of this word infinitely broadly. For there must be even higher principles before which all differences flow together into a great uniformity, before which all development is an ascent by grades, everything flows towards a gigantic ocean where all levers of the world's development find themselves united, welded together, alone. –[185]

With the loss of God as the explanatory principle for everything, we see Nietzsche already looking into an abyss of undifferentiation similar to the one he will find so appealing in Schopenhauer. He is not only losing all of the assumptions of his Lutheran religion, he is losing faith in the universal history that has developed alongside German classicism, and even the concept of free will. In this moment of confessing his existential

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[183] "unendlich wichtig" "die Frage um Berechtigung des Individuums zum Volk, des Volkes zur Menschheit, der Menschheit zur Welt."

[184] "ein Spielball dunkel wirkender Kräfte"

[185] KGW I/2, 431-437. "Weltgeschichte ist dann Geschichte der Materie, wenn man die Bedeutung dieses Wortes unendlich weit nimmt. Denn es muß noch höhere Principien geben, vor denen alle Unterschiede in eine große Einheitlichkeit zusammenfließen, vor denen alles Entwicklung, Stufenfolge ist, alles einem ungeheuren Ozeane zuströmt, wo sich alle Entwicklungshebel der Welt wiederfinden, vereinigt, verschmolzen, alleins. –"

crisis to his friends, we see Nietzsche really starting to cope with an enormous conceptual hole. It is only natural that he would seek something to fill it. Remarkably, we do not see him turn to any solution just yet. It seems this loss, and perhaps its mourning, will require some time before Nietzsche is ready to replace it. As R.J. Hollingdale puts it in his biography on Nietzsche, "it is noteworthy that his disillusionment with Christianity and religion has not led him to some other dogmatism or orthodoxy."[186] This existential hole could be filled at least in part with ideas about the Greeks and art that Nietzsche encounters in his philological studies at Schulpforta. It could be replaced at this time with a classicism that throws Nietzsche passionately at the Greeks to find guidance for his modern life. Interestingly, it does not.

During the Summer Semester of his fourth year (Upper Sekunda), the only place Nietzsche writes anything that may relate to his possible thoughts on the Greeks' value for modernity is a curious composition called "Euphorion Chap. 1."[187] Before we look at its content, let us ask, to whom does this "Euphorion" refer or allude? Aeschylus has a son named Euphorion who defeats both Sophocles and Euripides in dramatic contests. The *Suda* describes a Hellenistic scholar-poet named Euphorion appointed as a librarian at Antioch.[188] What should seem most likely is Euphorion, the son of Faust and Helena, in Part II of Goethe's *Faust*. This boy is modeled on a son of Achilles and Helen reported by Ptolemaios Chennos to have had wings and been struck dead by a bolt of Zeus' lightning.[189] Goethe's Euphorion is commonly understood as a representation of

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[186] Hollingdale (1999), 25.

[187] "Euphorian Cap. I"

[188] Hornblower and Spawforth (1999), 570.

[189] Trunz, Erich (2005), 688.

Lord Byron, a favorite author of Nietzsche's at this time, as well as the product of the marriage between Greek beauty and German longing – auspicious connotations for our study.

However, we are not even quite sure if the narrator of the story is Euphorion, and if he is, he bears no resemblance to any of the possible antecedents listed above. The narrator is a physician who lives across from a nun, whom he has studied intimately and made fat. He is waiting for her brother, whom he has made thin, to die so that he can dissect him. But first he needs to write his life story which has the virtue of making young people old. He is confident it will be read by his wandering *Doppelgänger*. This ends with a quotation mark, to which there is no corresponding mark to indicate where the quote has begun. After another sentence about Euphorion's (?) spinal disease the page and a half composition ends.[190] One would be hard pressed to find anything in this revealing Nietzsche's views on the value of the Greeks other than that he selects the name Euphorion for the piece and (probably?) for the main character in it.

Let us now summarize Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks during his two years in the Sekunda. We see Nietzsche's interest in English writers important to German classicism – Shakespeare and Byron – and that Nietzsche specifically cites the value of Shakespeare to his universal (which for him means encyclopedic) *Bildung*. This consideration of these authors, however, does not reflect on or show any interest in the Greeks, and his discussion of Byron compares him only with Gothic poetry, which Nietzsche still holds is the ideal of poetic clarity. He also shows enthusiasm for Hölderlin in an essay and even relates him to the Greeks, but only in material copied

[190] KGW I/2, 446-447.

from a biography, making it difficult to determine what his own thought on the value of Hölderlin for approaching the Greeks may be, if he sees any. Nietzsche's reading of the biography on Hölderlin does seem, however, to clearly present him some dichotomies that are likely determinant in his later formulation of the Apollo and Dionysus duality. A major shift in Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks, as evidenced by the letters and other writings of his two years in the Sekunda, is that we no longer see creative works inspired by or based on Greek material, unless his *Euphorion* fragment could be considered such, which would be rather hard to argue. He is now working through his religious and existential issues with essays for school and for *Germania*. In those essays, we see major themes from German classicism, the Climate and *Lebensalter* Theories, but they are used in ways that not only do not elevate nor privilege the Greeks, but they are used to argue that the Judeo-Christian tradition is the savior of civilization's arts and sciences in discussions that never even name the Greeks. These essays also clearly express a tipping point in Nietzsche's rejection of his childhood religion as having power to explain life and make it all the more conspicuous that he does not turn to German classicism to fill the gap left by his lapsed Protestantism.

1.3.3 Lower Prima (1862-1863)

The instruction Nietzsche receives in Greek at Schulpforta in his fifth year (Lower Prima) continues the study of the *Iliad*, and adds Sophocles' *Ajax* and the first three of Demosthenes' *Philippics*. The learning of grammar being complete, he focuses on verbal and written composition. In Latin he still reads plenty of Cicero but is also assigned Tacitus and Horace. He continues verbal and written exercises and composes more

essays in Latin. History moves back to the Middle Ages for a one-semester review in the winter and then to modern history for a one-semester review in the summer.[191]

At the beginning of the new semester, Nietzsche writes down a brief note on his literary and musical activities, noting that he "began Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* etc. at Pforta." [192] This is the first clear statement we have from Nietzsche that he is reading theoretical texts on aesthetics by prominent German classicists, though as we have noted, he may have read or at least heard a discussion of Lessing's *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* while at the *Domgymnasium* and he has made use of the Climate and *Lebensalter* Theories which feature prominently in the theoretical texts of German classicism. He makes no comments on what he thinks of Schiller's *On the Aesthetic Education of Humanity in a Series of Letters* (1794) or, if what he means by "etc." is that he is reading any of his other aesthetic theory, or if it means other aesthetic theory in general.[193]

Also in early October 1862 Nietzsche composes ten epigrams in Latin, most likely for school. None of them reflect on the value of Greek art, but they do demonstrate the effects of a classical education, and they return to personal themes Nietzsche has worked on before through Greek material. Four epigrams are on Greek figures and six on Roman ones. The Greeks are Solon, Andromache, Cassandra, and Antigone, making three out of four of them literary figures he most likely knows best from Homer, Aeschylus and Sophocles. The epigram on Solon is a request for him to come with his political wisdom back from the grave to Nietzsche's time: "We entreat you, just Solon

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[191] Bohley (2007), 223-226.

[192] KGW I/3, 3. "fieng in Pforte Schillers aesthetische Erziehung usw. an."

[193] *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen*

[….] Return and behold new times!"[194] Though Nietzsche does not demonstrate here the belief that Greek *art* could benefit the present, perhaps his political interests might encourage him to think that the present could benefit from some Greek political thinking. The epigram on Andromache presents her transitory bliss at a moment when she still has both her husband and her son, a bliss that is tragic as it is given to her, and, by implication, will be taken aware from her, by an "ungenerous fate."[195] This epigram reminds us of his work on the *Iliad* from his last year at the *Domgymnasium* which also focused on her before she sees her husband die. Both of these approaches to the Andromache character may have personal importance for Nietzsche, whose mother was widowed so young. The epigram on Cassandra is an attempt to paraphrase Aeschylus (from the *Agamemnon*) in Latin verse and also focuses on "unkind fate."[196] With Antigone, Nietzsche returns to his thoughts on the proper boundary between humans and gods, writing of Creon's law, "What obtuse arrogance it is to contend with Jupiter the king,/ Who sits in eternal, divine authority, moving all!"[197] He then moves back in an even more Christian direction, pointing out how the death of the body, or the "human," is ameliorated by the idea that the "soul" lives on under the protection of the gods, an idea that is certainly not present in the *Antigone*, where the physical remains are the obsessively central concern.[198]

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[194] KGW I/3, 15. "Te nos, juste Solo, precimur [….] Redeas, tempora cerne nova!"

[195] "fata maligna"

[196] "Parca maligna"

[197] "Cum Jove qui stolidus rege est contendere fastus/ Qui sedet aeterno numine cuncta movens!"

[198] KGW I/3, 16. "humana" "mens"

In November, Nietzsche produces his first extended philological piece: "Interpretation and Translation of the First Stasimon of *Ajax* with a Brief Foreword."[199] It is about 10 pages in the *Complete Critical Edition*, written in Latin and handling material quoted in Greek followed by a prose and then a verse translation of the stasimon into German.[200] The work shows the developing philological skills of the eighteen year-old Nietzsche. The majority of the essay consists of plot summary and conjectures on why things happen in the way and order they do. For example, early in the essay, Nietzsche argues why we hear from the chorus before we hear from Ajax's wife. He argues that Athena has just calmed the audience and that Sophocles' always "avoids severe changes," so the chorus, in a calmer state than Ajax's wife, must speak next.[201] He does not establish this rule he lays down about Sophocles' style with any source or argument. Throughout the essay he repeatedly offers such unestablished principles as well as historical facts he never establishes to guide his readings.

After the first few quotes in Greek which are not analyzed but serve only to help his plot summary, we see Nietzsche engaging in some more technical philological techniques. He takes issue "with the usual construction" of some lines.[202] He argues he has "nowhere come across" the Greek word for "victory" in relation to hunting but "everywhere" in relation to battle.[203] Though his language here indicates that his authority for limiting the semantic range of this word is his wide reading, rather than

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[199] "Primi Ajacis stasimi Interpretio et versio cum brevi praefatione"

[200] KGW I/3, 65-75.

[201] KGW I/3, 67. "abhorreat a mutationibus in extremum"

[202] "cum constructione […] vulgari"

[203] "nego usquam inveniri" "νίκη" "ubique"

citing other passages from Sophocles or other authors he only cites dictionaries for support.[204] In the next few pages, he explains how two particles and a conjunction [γάρ, γε, and ἀλλά] affect the reading at specific points, constituting the closest textual reading of the passage. He then goes on to discuss two adverbs in one passage and how it is unusual, and therefore textually problematic, for two adverbs to be used with one verb.[205] The discussion of the adverbs and the earlier observations on "victory" constitute the extent of his attempt at textual criticism in the essay. Towards the end of the essay, right before his translations of the stasimon, he mentions how the meter of a phrase expresses the inner state of the chorus.[206] The relation of emotion to poetic text will continue to be important up to *Birth*.

What we see in this essay is that Nietzsche is being exposed to some sophisticated technical approaches to Greek texts as Schulpforta teaches him the historical-critical method, though he is not yet putting them to coherent or effective use in an essay that offers little more than plot summary and conjecture on the order of the plot's elements. We will soon see, in an upcoming essay on *Oedipus Rex*, Nietzsche demonstrating a much more sophisticated and robust application of the historical-critical method.

This essay on the *Ajax* is soon followed by a text which does discuss art and aesthetic theory. This text, however, is all about music. Though it features reflective distance from its subject, discussing how subjective response to and perception of music is, it is not at all concerned with the Greeks.[207]

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[204] KGW I/3, 69.

[205] KGW I/3, 70-72.

[206] KGW I/3, 72.

[207] KGW I/3, 80-82.

At the end of the Winter Semester, Nietzsche is assigned an essay for his Easter exams addressing the prompt, "Explain Goethe's Maxim: 'Proverbs characterize nations, but must be native to them.'"[208] Nietzsche's discussion takes a Herderian angle, arguing that cultural productions can reflect that a nation has grown naturally into its current state, showing that he is familiar with such ideas from Weimar Classicism and can converse in them to make a point.[209] Whether he believes these ideas or not, or whether he is even interested in them, cannot be established with this essay. Its contents are not found in a letter to Pinder or Krug or in a private composition, but are written in response to a very specific exam question for school. His argument is also to a large extent contained in the quote from Goethe in the essay prompt already, and the fact that he is assigned to address a quote from Goethe that is already Herderian to begin with makes it less interesting that Nietzsche employs ideas from German Classicism. What needs to be pointed out for this study is that Nietzsche is learning the theories produced by the leading minds of Weimar Classicism and that he is being assigned to engage with them. Without a continued discussion of these ideas in less-prompted writings, however, it is hard to assess how much Nietzsche is adopting these ideas as his own.

A section of Sophocles' *Trachinae* translated into German during the Summer Semester of his fifth year (Lower Prima) does not feature any reflection on the value of Greek tragedy, but does remind us that, now in the Prima, Nietzsche is engaging much more with tragedy.[210] It is followed by notes on the archaic poets, Callinus, Tyrtaeus,

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[208] "Wie ist der goethische Spruch zu erklären: 'Sprichwort bezeichnet Nationen,/ Mußt aber unter ihnen wohnen.'"

[209] KGW I/3, 95-99.

[210] KGW I/3, 122-125.

Mimnermus, Sappho, and Anakreon, featuring very close discussion and some translation of the Greek texts.[211] Nietzsche here again demonstrates the high level of skill he is increasingly able to bring to his engagement with ancient Greek materials. This is one of Nietzsche's earliest engagements with archaic Greek thought, whether by his choice or by assignment.

A brief, two-page essay in German returning to Cassandra from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* from this summer semester is another indication of Nietzsche's serious engagement with Greek literature that also reveals how many different tragedies he has been reading this year.[212] It consists of the same kind of summary and interpretation as the *Ajax* essay without any philological analysis of the Greek text. According to the information Reiner Bohley is able to gather from the *Annual Reports* at Schulpforta from 1859 to 1865, only the *Ajax* is assigned to be read that year, so the *Agamemnon* appears to be independent reading for Nietzsche.[213] His epigram on Antigone, due to its strange focus on the eternal protection of human souls by the gods, would not seem to indicate that he has worked closely with that tragedy by Sophocles. At any rate, Nietzsche is using his free study time at Schulpforta to read more Greek tragedies than are being assigned, showing a genuine interest in tragedy.

In two letters to his mother written in the first half of May 1863, Nietzsche asks for advice on what he should study when he moves on to a university in a year and a half, as he has not yet made up his mind. "The decision is not coming automatically of what I

[211] KGW I/3, 125-131.

[212] KGW I/3, 175-177.

[213] Bohley (2007), 221. *Jahresberichte*

should study."[214] From one angle, this could be read as a first, gentle move by Nietzsche to let his mother know that he is no longer set on following in his father's (and uncles', and both grandfathers', etc.) footsteps to become a pastor, to let her know that he could consider other options. We have no indication that he is not considering becoming a pastor, other than the religious doubts that have already been discussed above, but if he is not, this might be a subtle move to let his mother know. Asking her for advice would be a way to gently gauge how intent she is on him becoming a pastor.

From another angle, his question to his mother could reflect a sincere lack of certainty on Nietzsche's part. We have already seen that he has committed himself to a "universal" *Bildung* which, for him, means gaining an encyclopedic mastery of disciplines and skills. He may still be interested in so many subjects that he simply cannot decide and wants his mother's help. This would indicate that he does not have any deep and exclusive attachment to philology, let alone to the Greeks, that is helping him chart out his future. We have certainly not seen him express any attachment to the Greeks or to philology.

His study of the Greeks and the development of his historical-critical philological skills are just a couple out of many pursuits. In the first of the two letters to his mother asking for advice on where he should focus, he does write that, "everything seems so dead to me when I do not hear music."[215] This indicates a real passion, and it is not the Greeks. Similarly, since he began school, the number of texts and notes he has written on music and German history and literature has always outnumbered the small number of

[214] KGB I/1, 237-240. "Von selbst kommt die Entscheidung nicht, was ich studieren soll."

[215] KGB I/1, 238. "es kommt mire alles todt vor, wo ich nicht Musik höre."

texts dealing with the Greeks. In this fifth year at Schulpforta, he is hard at work on a drama on the German hero Ermanaric longer and more involved than anything he has yet composed with Greek subject matter.[216] As Curt Paul Janz discusses, for most of Nietzsche's years at Schulpforta, he is obsessed with Ermanaric, the *Eddas* and other older Germanic literature and material, producing both scholarly and musical works inspired by them.[217] After almost five full years at Schulpforta, the study of the Greeks has not become Nietzsche's driving passion, and he has yet to leave a comment in a letter or elsewhere about any value that studying the Greeks could have for him or others. Music, Germanic literature and even the existential questions caused by the sincere religiosity of his earlier youth are all more consuming for him than the Greeks.

Not only has he started to read the *Aesthetic Letters* at some point, but he is also working to some degree, first- or second-hand, with Schiller's essay "On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry" (1795).[218] In one of his most theoretical pieces on aesthetics yet, Nietzsche discusses "the sources of the enjoyment of nature."[219] In one paragraph he explicitly cites Schiller and makes use of his dichotomy between naïve and sentimental literature – categories Schiller uses to discuss the relation of modern poetry to Greek poetry. What is contained in the *Complete Critical Edition* appears to be notes or a very rough draft for what was to end up a school essay. The fragmentary nature of the notes makes it hard to tell if Nietzsche has really worked out his ideas on the subject or not. He offers formulations like, "The naïve, in relation to human *Bildung*, also in relation to

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[216] KGW I/3, 52, 54-56, 58-65

[217] Janz (1978), 94-96.

[218] "Über naive und sentimental Dichtung"

[219] "Die Quellen der Naturgenusses"

guilt," which seems to be referring to nature, and shows that, for Nietzsche at this point, a concept like guilt is not out of place in a discussion of the aesthetic power of nature using Schiller's ideas.[220] He writes that pleasure in nature is moral because it is "mediated by an idea," showing that he is working with Schiller's Kantian conceptions, even if he does not fully understand them.[221] Whether Schiller's theoretical texts have been assigned at school or not, we see that Nietzsche feels there is some importance to reading them, and here he makes a cursory attempt to integrate one of them into his own thinking. There is no mention of the Greeks or antiquity in this text.

A document titled "My Life" and dated September 18, 1863 offers us yet another biography written just before the beginning of Nietzsche's sixth and final year at Schulpforta (Upper Prima).[222] He explains that when he began at the *Domgymnasium* in Naumburg, his chief interest was music, which he felt the beginning of his education did all it could to destroy. Nothing is mentioned of the Greeks, or of the Romans, or of antiquity, or even of ancient languages in this biography written after five years at Schulpforta and three and a half at the *Domgymnasium*. In this biography, Nietzsche does announce an important realization. He discusses how he had wanted earlier to gain a "universal knowledge" which came to threaten him "with becoming a real muddled-headed person and dreamer."[223] As we will see, he soon announces what new approach to learning replaces his encyclopedic approach.

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[220] "*Das Naive*, der menschliche Bildung gegenüber, auch der Schuld gegenüber"

[221] KGW I/3, 177-180. "durch eine Idee vermittelt"

[222] "Mein Leben"

[223] KGW I/3, 189-192. "Universalwissen" "ein rechter Wirrkopf und Phantast zu werden"

1.3.4 Upper Prima (1863-1864)

In his final year at Schulpforta, Nietzsche is assigned for his Greek course, in the Winter Semester, Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, and more of Homer's *Iliad*. In the summer he is assigned either Plato's *Phaedo* or the *Phaedrus*.[224] For the whole year he continues with various exercises and compositions in Greek. In Latin, he reads the six books of Tacitus' *Annals*, eight of the poems from Book I of Horace's *Satires*, two from Book II, and, of course, yet more Cicero, while continuing with exercises, small compositions and essays. His history course returns to antiquity with the Greeks in the Winter Semester and the Romans in the summer.[225]

An essay assigned him at school, "On that which Attracts, Cultivates, and Teaches that is Found for Youths in the Consideration of Patriotic History," confirms, above all, the intentions and biases of Schulpforta.[226] The topic indicates that it is already accepted by his teacher, and should be accepted by all pupils, that the history of one's own country has attractive, formative and educative virtues. It is simply up to the pupils to identify and elaborate on them. Any statements of Nietzsche's indicating these beliefs must be read in light of how these biases are already built into the assignment. In a moment reminiscent of Humboldt's actual theory of universal *Bildung*, Nietzsche claims that there is not a "[more] profound and more brilliant teacher" than history for providing "the thorough, complete *Bildung* of someone wise about the world, of an orator, or of a

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[224] The text is simply indicated with the abbreviation "Plat. *Phaed*." We will see him repeatedly teaching the *Phaedo* in Basel, but he also often uses imagery from the *Phaedrus*, including in the *Lectures on Bildung*. See KSA 1, 730.

[225] Bohley (2007), 223-226.

[226] "Ueber das Anziehende, Bildende, Belehrende, das für den Jüngling in der Beschäftigung mit der vaterländischen Geschichte liegt"; *Bildend* is the present, active participial form of *bilden* used here as a substantive.

statesman."[227] Though he does not say that the study of history develops all of one's faculties, he is arguing that it is the single best discipline for providing a thorough *Bildung*. Of course it is one's own national history, not the study of the Greeks, that Nietzsche is arguing can provide this. How committed he is to this idea is hard to tell given that it is expressed in a rather directed essay to be graded for school, but he is at least comfortable portraying himself holding his own national history higher than the Greeks as the best single object of study for the most thorough education.[228]

Does Nietzsche argue for any value in the study of the history of "other peoples?"[229] Value is harder to gain from the study of foreign history because "we lack on our side the warm, full devotion, the affinitive attraction."[230] Foreign history lacks "everything shared" and "no similar drop of blood ran in their veins; these habits appear unnatural to us, that moral ugly."[231] Eventually after long, committed familiarization it is possible that one "feels the exotic as no longer exotic," but the study of one's own national history is clearly more rewarding and effective.[232] The study of the ancient Greeks, it would seem, could not have nearly the same value as German history.

In the same Winter Semester, Nietzsche writes an essay addressing the question "To What Extent was Exile from one's Fatherland among the Greeks and Romans as a

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[227] "tiefsinnige und geistvollere Lehrmeisterin" "die gründliche Durchbildung eines Weltweisen, eines Redners, eines Staatsmannes"

[228] KGW I/3, 292-293.

[229] "andrer Völker"

[230] "es fehlt von unsrere Seite die warme, volle Hingebung, der verwandtschaftliche Zug"

[231] "alles Gemeinsame" "kein gleicher Tropfen Blutes rollte in ihren Adern; unnatürlich erscheint uns diese Gewohnheit, häßlich jene Sitte"

[232] KGW I/3, 293-297. "das Fremdartige nicht mehr als fremdartige empfindet"

Rule a much Harder Punishment than it is Among Modern, European Peoples?"[233] He does not offer us any clues of the possible value he may see in the study of the Greeks, and the essay has nothing to do with art, but it does show us that, at least with this assignment, Schulpforta is making its pupils think about practices in their time in relation to antiquity.[234]

In what takes up thirty-five pages in the *Complete Critical Edition*, Nietzsche offers a striking sign of his rapidly developing philological skill, his "The First Choral Song in *Oedipus Rex.*"[235] It is written in Latin, Greek and German, not as translations repeating the same material, but with different work presented in each of the languages. Like his other work on Greek tragedy from the previous year, it offers no reflection on the value of the Greeks or their art. It is, however, a far more impressive piece than his earlier work on the *Ajax*, showing either that he has been significantly expanding his philological skills in the past year, or that he has put a greater amount of effort into this study. Perhaps it shows both.

After the Latin preface, the section in Greek is, similar to the earlier work on the *Ajax*, summary with commentary. Not only is this section composed in *Greek*, it is far more sophisticated than the earlier *Ajax* essay. The Greek section contains two parts, the first of which is the story behind the tragedy, which, like his earlier work, contains a lot of information and ideas not contained within the text at hand and not cited as from any other source. The second part of the Greek section offers Nietzsche's thesis that Oedipus

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[233] "Inwiefern war die Verbannung aus dem Vaterlande bei den Griechen und Römern in der Regel eine viel härtere Strafe, als sie es bei den europäischen Völkern der Jetztzeit ist?"

[234] KGW I/3, 309-313.

[235] "Primum Oedipodis regis carmen choricum"

suffers a divinely caused destiny, not in any way chosen through his own agency, which leads to an improvement in the moral world order. In his essay on the *Ajax*, Nietzsche does not rely on other ancient texts to ground the views he expresses. Here, he cites Sophocles' *Philoctetes* to support his argument as he also sees Philoctetes as one who also suffers from divine intervention in order to improve the moral world order. To compare Oedipus to Philoctetes, Nietzsche must bring in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, where Oedipus' eventual gravesite is beneficial to the community hosting it.[236] Thus, Nietzsche is reading *Oedipus Rex* within the context of at least two other tragedies, both of which are by the same author.

In the next section, in German, he begins by discussing the effect and plan of the tragedy, restating his thesis from the Greek section about Oedipus's suffering and being a moral benefit and going on to outline the tragedy in a symmetrical structure centered on the conversation between Oedipus and Jocasta as the high point.[237] One sentence of this discussion has received attention before as it relates directly to *The Birth of Tragedy*:

> It is interesting, by the way, that even the highest aesthetic pleasure does not blind the judgment of the Athenians against the ethical and religious elements, so that they always keep the religious origin of tragedy in sight. The effects of their theatrical ideas were for that reason neither those of our stages nor those of our churches, but they were a mix of both wound into one.[238]

Nietzsche is addressing, though not yet in detail, the origins of Greek tragedy; here they are religious and ethical. He also places the Greek conceptions of theater as

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[236] KGW I/3, 333-334.

[237] KGW I/3, 334-336.

[238] KGW I/3, 335. See also Cancik (1995), 8. "Interessant ist übrigens, daß auch der höchste aesthetische Genuß das Urtheil der Athener nicht gegen die ethischen und religiösen Momente verblendete, daß sie den religiösen Ursprung der Tragoedie immer im Auge behielten; die Wirkungen ihrer theatralischen Vorstellungen waren deshalb weder die unserer Bühnen, noch die unsrer Kirchen, aber sie waren aus beiden gemischte und in eins geschlungene."

something between modern theater entertainment and religious ritual. What is interesting for us is that Nietzsche is proposing tragedy as a form of entertainment that can serve at least part of the function of modern religion, most likely prompted by a familiarity with Wagnerian theory through Krug.[239] He has not yet proposed German classicism or any similar project as a replacement for the religious faith he has lost. His statement here, however, may indicate that, if he does not consciously believe such now, he is at least formulating Greek tragedy in such a way that it could give purpose to modern life.

The next portion of his German section deals with the prologue of the tragedy. He describes it in terms of the overture that precedes a modern opera, giving the chords and motifs that will be explored in more depth during the tragedy. Sophocles, he argues is the best at doing this, though he finds Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* exemplary as well.[240] This argument is most interesting as it is not at all a historical-critical approach to the text; Nietzsche cites nothing like vocabulary, grammar, variants or anything similar to establish this argument. He is boldly using modern art to understand and explain ancient art, Greek tragedy.

The final portion of the German section goes into further reflection on "the choral music of the tragedy" by looking at the first choral song in *Oedipus Rex*.[241] This section has also received attention before, but some details must be emphasized for our

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[239] We will discuss Nietzsche's cultural interactions with Krug in the section on *Germania* below. What is important here is that much of Krug's contribution to *Germania* deals with music and specifically with Wagner's theories. Upon his suggestion, the society subscribes, from its founding, to the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, a Wagnerian periodical. See Janz (1978), 90 and Borchmeyer (1994), 1223-1224.

[240] KGW I/3, 336-337.

[241] "die chorische Musik der Tragoedie"

consideration later.[242] Nietzsche argues that Greek tragedy originates out of lyric united with musical elements. Though he does not explicitly or implicitly link lyric to Apollo, which he could, or music to Dionysus, which could also be legitimately done, we see yet another dichotomy that will flow into the one that structures much of his argument in *Birth*. More importantly, it is presented as the dichotomy out of which tragedy is developed. He discusses how the chorus is overwhelming in the earlier tragedy of Aeschylus, with the intervening dialog often only serving to introduce new motifs and re-direct the mood of the chorus. He argues that music is indispensible to tragedy "when it is to make a really tragic impression."[243] This tragic impression is presented in elements mostly musical where the action is minimal and "the lyrical feeling" is everything.[244]

Where he previously opposes the lyrical to the musical, Nietzsche now uses "lyrical" to refer to the musical elements of tragedy. Why he does this is not clear, though as the lyrical poetry that predates tragedy consists of poetic verbalizations accompanied by instrumental music, the term could be used to refer to either music or text. After presenting this idea that the lyrical (now musical), aspect must dominate the action, he says, "out of this we comprehend why Aristotle names Euripides the 'most tragic.'"[245] Nietzsche's view that Euripides has the most correctly tragic proportion of music over action and that Aeschylus goes too far in letting the music dominate the

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[242] See Cancik (1995), 8-9.

[243] "wenn sie einen wirklich tragischen Eindruck machen sollte"

[244] "die lyrische Empfindung"

[245] Even though Aristotle is not actually discussing the relationship of music to text in making this pronouncement. KGW I/3, 340. "hieraus begreifen wir, weshalb Euripides von Aristotles der τραγικώτατος genannt wird"

dialog will have to be modified, of course, for the argument of *Birth* as we see in Chapter 3.

As Nietzsche continues, we begin to see clearly how his argument here about tragedy is personal. He has already made clear that he is passionate about music. Now he is having a chance in his schoolwork to propose and defend the importance of music, even to a classical philologist. He argues that tragedians are not just *Dichter*, a lofty enough vocation, but they are also musical composers.[246] In fact, "they were both so that one went hand in hand with the other."[247] Nietzsche here raises the nobility of musical composition, which he has long felt, to the level of the nobility of Greek tragedy as it is celebrated at Schulpforta. He goes on to argue that tragedians also have to contribute to the choreography, scenery and other elements, so that in their works they produce "what the newest musical school" calls "the ideal of the 'Artwork of the Future'."[248] This is a term straight out of Richard Wagner's self-descriptive lexicon. This makes clear that Nietzsche is consciously thinking about Wagner's musical theory here in his discussion of Sophoclean tragedy. He makes this even more explicit by naming him directly when saying that no modern attempts at opera except for "the brilliant reform plans and deeds of R. Wagner" ensure that the music corresponds to the feelings expressed in the libretto.[249]

One of the key elements of Wagner's theory of opera is the proper relationship of text to music, which we have already seen Nietzsche considering in his discussion of

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[246] *Dichter* can be translated as either poet or author and can have a connotation of excellence.

[247] "sie waren beides so, daß eins mit dem andern Hand in Hand gieng"

[248] "was die neueste musikalische Schule" "das Ideal des 'Kunstwerk der Zukunft'"

[249] KGW I/3, 341-342. "die genialen Reformpläne und Thaten R. Wagners"

tragedy's origin in both lyric and musical elements. As we will see in more detail in Chapter 3, by the 1860s, Wagner believes that music should be the dominant element of modern opera just as Nietzsche argues is the case with ancient tragedy. Wagner is here already shaping Nietzsche's ideas on tragedy by inducing him to think about it as the combination of text and music. We see Nietzsche happily using this Wagnerian idea to explore his passion for music within the rather textual bounds of classical philology. Wagner will have an undeniably powerful impact on Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks that here begins with Nietzsche's own interest in music and need to find a way to discuss it in his work for school.

In the Latin section of this essay, Nietzsche first discusses the gods and plague in the choral song and then the composition of the song. In the discussion on the gods, both Apollo and Dionysus, among others, are discussed. They serve no philosophical agenda as they do in *Birth* and are in no way aligned with the dichotomies of lyric v. action, lyric v. music, individual v. the pantheistic, or plastic v. musical, dichotomies which have appeared so far in our study. They are described in conventional terms any nineteenth century philologist can easily accept. In the discussion of the plague, Nietzsche makes an argument about the date of composition for the tragedy before the plague at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, demonstrating that Sophocles' description of the plague is much less detailed than similar ones found in Seneca, Ovid and Thucydides, and that, had it been composed after the plague, it would have been described "with more lifelike colors."[250] Nietzsche also uses Shakespeare to show that, on the other hand, other artists do something similar to Sophocles (specifically discussing birth-defects caused by the

[250] "cum […] vividioribus coloribus"

plague). In describing the arrangement of the choral song, Nietzsche lays it out as a paean in the first strophe and antistrophe, a lament in the second strophe and antistrophe, and another paean in the final strophe and antistrophe. This structure places the description of the plague at its center point, returning to the dominance of symmetrical structures Nietzsche has been arguing for in Sophocles and in tragedy in general.[251]

In the next ten pages of his Latin section, Nietzsche really flexes his historical-critical muscles, reading through a lengthy list of words and phrases in the choral song, doing simultaneous hermeneutic and textual critical work. For example, where he has only used the dictionary to support an argument about the usage of a single noun in his *Ajax* paper, Nietzsche here appeals to other plays by Sophocles as well as Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, Bacchylides, multiple plays by Aeschylus and Euripides, Xenophon, and Plato to argue for the correct reading of many words and phrases. In using these other authors, he almost always pulls in more than one source at a time to support his proposed reading. This much broader familiarity with Greek usage not only gives weight to his readings but leads to insights unlike anything in the prior paper.

Here are some examples for the technically minded. Nietzsche appeals to this broad base of Greek usage to argue that what Hellenistic critics took to be a substantive is really an exclamation, and he uses this support to decide between two opinions on the meaning of a verb based on the case of its object. In a virtuosic flash of boldness, he disputes the reading of two modern critics by opting for the simplest meaning of a word, ἀκτή – which he describes as "the place where waves of the sea break," and then cleverly reinserts this stripped-down meaning back into its metaphorical usage in Sophocles

[251] KGW I/3, 345-353.

(where he has it refer to an altar against which the floods of evils and toils are breaking) calling on the support of scholia, Aeschylus and Xenophon to produce a simpler, more elegant and more meaningful reading than that produced by the other two moderns who have to go so far as to create a new word to maintain their reading. [252]

A very important aspect of this last reading is that Nietzsche invokes his aesthetic sense as authority. In asking why these modern critics do not opt for the "real meaning of the word," he notes that it fits so "beautifully" into the passage.[253] He relies multiple times on this aesthetic sense developed by extensive reading. At another point he establishes a reading against another critic by arguing for a "beautiful" parallelism between the adjective being discussed and another adjective that he just cannot relinquish.[254] He argues against a reading of another passage citing the fact that Homer uses two adjectives interchangeably based on metrical demands primarily because this reading "does not please him" at all as it does not accurately, in his opinion, describe the geographic region it is supposed to describe.[255] This leads him to follow an alternative he supports with the help of Aeschylus that allows him to keep the beautiful parallelism.[256] This level of technical ability and confidence in his own aesthetic sense is far, far beyond what he displays a year earlier in the *Ajax* paper.

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[252] Liddell and Scott define ἀκτή primarily as a "headland, foreland, promontory." "locus, ubi maris aestus fraguntur"

[253] "genuinam vim vocabuli" "pulcre"

[254] "pulcrum"

[255] "non mihi placet"

[256] KGW I/3, 353-362.

At the end of his discussion of the Greek text, Nietzsche turns to the phrase "the paean shines" in a discussion of its synaesthetic properties.[257] He establishes the idea among the ancients of a sound emitting light with appeals to Plato, Euripides and Bacchylides. Then he follows this with a discussion in German that expands the formulation of such synaesthestic phrases to modern poets, citing examples in Goethe and Hölderlin. He further supports this thesis on how universal such poetic practice is with a quasi-scientific argument that sight and sound are related the same way in which taste and smell are.[258] He finishes this argument by noting that, in current musical discussions, the opposite, describing the effects of musical tones with vocabulary about light and sight, occurs regularly.[259] Here we clearly see Nietzsche using German classicists to help him think about a Greek text, though not in a discussion about the value of the Greeks for Nietzsche or for any other modern. Note well, this is his first clear, original connection drawn between the Greeks and modern German art and thought.

What this essay shows first and foremost is, again, a precipitate improvement in Nietzsche's philological ability, or his willingness to perform such hard work on paper, or both. This essay is not, however, about how the Greeks offer any cultural salvation to moderns, though we do finally, clearly see a connection between ancient and modern art, especially in the discussion of the relationship of music and text inspired by Wagner. Julian Young is right to argue "that far from Wagner hijacking Nietzsche's first book

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[257] "παιὰν δὲ λάμπει"

[258] This is reminiscent of, though not necessarily dependant on, Herder's argument in his *Plastik* (1778) that sight is originally bound to touch.

[259] KGW I/3, 362-363.

through force of personality," some of the direction of the argument of *Birth* is indeed adumbrated here. When Young reads this early thinking on Wagner and tragedy, however, as an appearance of what he calls "the Wagner-as-the-saviour-of-art-and-culture theme," he is overstating his case.[260] Nietzsche believes that Greek tragedy as originally practiced is musical, that the musical motifs in it corresponds to the emotions of the text, and that Wagner is the only modern doing something similar. This allows him to bring his love of music into his philological work for school. He also believes that tragedy is the combination of many art-forms as is promoted by Wagner's "Artwork of the Future." Possibly most interesting, we can see that Nietzsche's thinking on Greek art is being directly influenced by Wagner's own theories. However we do not yet see here that art and culture need any savior, and we certainly do not see Wagner proposed as such a savior.

We do, however, also see Nietzsche finding commonalities between ancient Greek and modern German poets. This should not be surprising at Schulpforta in the mid-nineteenth century. What is surprising is how long it has taken to appear!

In the Summer Semester of his final year at Schulpforta, Nietzsche writes an essay in German for school on the relationship of Alcibiades' speech in Plato's *Symposium* to the others in it. This essay leaves even less room for reflections on the value of the Greeks for modernity than the previous essay on tragedy, working closely with Plato's text instead. His basic argument is that the final speech is not to be read as a correction or rejection of the first five speeches, but that they all build on each other,

[260] Young (2010), 40.

leading up to the final speech.[261] What is significant about this essay is that it is on the *Symposium*, and we learn from a list Nietzsche has drawn up earlier in the Winter Semester that this is one of the texts Nietzsche is reading most.[262] In the last biography he is soon to write at Schulpforta, he calls the *Symposium* his "favorite literary work."[263] Here is clear evidence that Nietzsche has developed a strong affection for a Greek work, specifically a Platonic dialog, which he calls literature without qualification. This work is one that explicitly deals with aesthetic issues, though Nietzsche offers no thoughts on the specific value of the text for modern readers.

That final biography of Nietzsche's youth is written as a bequest left at his school, and this public nature of the document should be kept in mind as it is examined. He names two turning points in his life: the death of his father and his transfer to Schulpforta. As he has in his most recent biography, he again discusses his quest for "universal knowledge" upon entering Schulpforta and that everything, except for math, interests him equally. He promises that as he heads to the university, he will fight the tendency towards "a trivializing knowledge of many things" while promoting the drive "to take a detail back to its deepest and widest foundations."[264] Perhaps his earlier request to his mother to help him decide on a field for university study was a part of this process of narrowing his focus. It may also be the case that he is being influenced by the

[261] KGW I/3, 384-388.

[262] KGW I/3, 299.

[263] KGW I/3, 419. "Lieblingsdichtung"

[264] KGW I/3, 415-419. "einem verflachenden Vielwissen" "das Einzelne auf seine tiefsten und weitesten Gründe zurückzuführen"

methods of historical-critical philology he is beginning to master, where the deep examination of details is central.

In this biography he does finally claim that there has grown in him increasingly an "inclination for classical studies; I recall with the most pleasant remembering the first impressions of Sophocles, Aeschylus and above all Plato in my favorite literary work, the *Symposium*, then the Greek lyric poets."[265] This is all he has to say about his study of the Greeks, but it is more than he has said about it yet in any of his many earlier biographies! Despite the fact that this essay is assigned as a bequest to remain at Schulpforta, the affection for the *Symposium* does seem genuine, based on the interest in it Nietzsche has already expressed. His exploration of music in Greek poetry also seems to indicate the development of a real interest in tragedy and lyric, two forms of poetry originally accompanied by music. There is no reason to assume that the "inclination" Nietzsche mentions is not genuine.

However, he says nothing else about the Greeks or about his study of them in this biography. Within this one sentence there is nothing here to indicate that his six years at Schulpforta has caused Nietzsche to "love" the Greeks or to enter into in an "immediate, living, even passionate relationship" with them as Janz claims on the basis of this biography.[266] He shows no passion for them, he does not hold them up as singular and exemplary, nor does he indicate any need modern culture may have for the Greeks. Upon graduating from Schulpforta, Nietzsche demonstrates no classicism, though he has demonstrated considerable philological skill.

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[265] KGW I/3, 419. "Neigung für klassische Studien; ich gedenke mit der angenehmsten Erinnerung der ersten Eindrücke des Sophokles, des Aeschylos, des Plato vornehmlich in meiner Lieblingsdichtung, dem Symposion, dann der griechischen Lyriker."

[266] Janz (1978), 121.

1.3.5 Thesis on Theognis

Nietzsche's thesis upon graduation represents the culmination of all of his learning at Schulpforta through a study of the archaic Greek poet, Theognis of Megara. In the 1860s, the majority of pupils at Schulpforta write their graduating theses in German, but Nietzsche chooses to write his in Latin.[267] He writes a letter to Pinder and Krug on the 12th of June, 1864, telling them that he plans to write on Theognis and has "won a new perspective for the consideration of this man" and has in fact a different perspective "in most points" from the usual views, having already thoroughly studied "the best materials" on the topic.[268] He asks them to help him by securing a dissertation on Theognis recently written, without which he cannot begin his study.[269] They do not get the dissertation for him, as is clear from a letter from the 4th of July in which he thanks Pinder for trying to get "the book" and wishing he really would have.[270] In this letter he announces, "I began my paper on Theognis this morning."[271]

Paul Deussen has just graduated from Schulpforta in the spring. He and Nietzsche become friends in the fall of Nietzsche's second year at Schulpforta. They soon came to call each other "Du," where the formal is usual between pupils at Schulpforta.[272] Nietzsche writes him on the 8th of July, announcing he has just completed the last page of his theses, making the total time of composition five days, and noting that

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[267] Hoyer (2002), 152.

[268] "einen neuen Standpunkt bei der Betrachtung dieses Mannes errungen" "in den meisten Punkten" "die besten Sachen"

[269] KGB I/1, 282-284

[270] "das Buch"

[271] "Meine Theognisarbeit habe ich heute morgen begonnen."

[272] Janz (1978), 83-84.

it will be sixty pages or more when written out in fair copy (it fills forty-four pages of the *Complete Critical Edition*, nine pages more than his *Oedipus* paper).[273]

"On Theognis of Megara" consists of three sections.[274] The first establishes the historical context of Theognis's time, the second explores the poems attributed to him, and the third examines Theognis's views on gods, morality and public affairs as expressed in the poems. Going against current and ancient opinion, Nietzsche argues that Theognis' poems are not normative and are not written for moral education. The modern foil he respectfully challenges with this thesis is Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, a pioneer in the field of archeology who is for a time the tutor to Humboldt's children and is, at the time of Nietzsche's writing this study, a highly respected professor at the University of Bonn. Nietzsche specifically appreciates Welcker's work in collecting and combining all of the ancient sources, rejecting some and improving others and judging "more precisely and correctly" than previous editors.[275] Interestingly, he praises Welcker as the first to offer a "new and correct" understanding "of the popular use of the Greek words for 'good' and 'bad'."[276] He honors Welcker as one who "holds by rights his first place until now" on the subject of Theognis, but Nietzsche cannot follow him in assigning a gnomic, or normative, character to the poems.[277] Isocrates, a contemporary of Plato, already sees Theognis as "a most strict moral teacher," giving Welcker long-respected support for his views and making Nietzsche's proposition all the more daring.[278] Still, at one point,

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[273] KGB I/1. 289-292.

[274] "De Theognide Megarensi"

[275] "accuratius et rectius"

[276] "novum rectumque" "de usu verborum ἀγαθός et κακός civili"

[277] KGW I/3, 420-421. "adhuc suo jure primum obtinet locum"

Nietzsche goes so far as to say of Welcker that his reading "does not square with the historical method."[279]

In the first section of the study, Nietzsche examines various ancient sources, including the *Suda*, to arrive at his chronology for Theognis, establishing him as a poet living in Megara in the pre-classical period specifically at a time when the lower classes are infiltrating and displacing the aristocracy to which Theognis belongs. Theognis is disgusted by the marrying in of plebeians to nobles, by the power the plebeians are gaining, and by the fact that he has to serve their interests.[280]

As he has done in his paper on *Oedipus Rex*, Nietzsche makes use of Goethe. This time, however, Goethe does not simply provide an example of a modern poet doing the same thing examined in the ancient source. Goethe gives the methodological direction Nietzsche follows in his second section where he reads Theognis' poems. Goethe explains, in the two large paragraphs Nietzsche quotes in full from him, that he is unable to any longer consider Theognis a moralist after looking at Theognis' situation in Megara. Nietzsche quotes a third paragraph from Goethe to explain that too often we read ancient texts from within our own contexts and, thus, misunderstand them, a central tenet of the historical-critical method.[281] Nietzsche reveals here, without hesitation, that both the direction of his reading of Theognis and the way in which he is conducting it (i.e., reading him within his historical context) are taught to him by Goethe. In being

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[278] KGW I/3, 433. "magistrum morum severissimum"

[279] KGW I/3, 431. "cum rationae historica non quaderet"

[280] KGW I/3, 426-429.

[281] KGW I/3, 435-436, 440. Nietzsche's appeal to a German classicist like Goethe to argue for the ascendant institutional approach *in order* to argue against reading according to the prejudices of his own time is the exact kind of irony explored in depth throughout Porter's *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future* (2000a).

willing to include such lengthy quotes from Goethe, he also reveals how comfortable he is to cite him as a guiding authority, an attitude that would not be entirely out of place at Schulpforta. What may be more perilous within the philological community is Nietzsche's argument by implication that Goethe sets him on a surer historical-critical path than does Welcker.

It is important to emphasize that, while Nietzsche is relying so heavily on Goethe, he is doing so within the parameters of the historical-critical method of reading he has learned at Schulpforta, not as a banal repetition of clichés inherited from Weimar Classicism. Other commonplaces Nietzsche has put to use before, such as Climate Theory and the *Lebensalter* Theory, have no place in this discussion. Nietzsche is not reverting back to German classicism, but is using its brightest light to argue that his is the more historical-critical reading of an ancient text.

In the third section, Nietzsche lays out Theognis' views on religion, morality and public affairs as he finds them in his poems. He offers none of the textual critical brilliance he displays in the *Oedipus* paper. He cites Theognis' poems without questioning the correctness of the texts to draw from them his worldview. Nietzsche judges this worldview to be continuous with the earliest worldview of the Greeks passed down to his time: "Excellence, wealth and honor" can only be recognized when closely connected.[282] That is, religion and morality, for Theognis, are tightly bound to his political thinking, as the wealthy nobility has long had a contract with the gods to maintain their fortune and prominence in exchange for piety. Excellence cannot be recognized without wealth and honor any more than honor can be understood without

[282] "virtutem et divitias et honorem"

excellence and wealth. For Nietzsche's Theognis, it is the correct and stable religious order of the cosmos that the three go together and be proper only to the nobility. Similarly, time, wealth and a cultivated manner of living are connected and have resulted in a wealth of "rules" passed on generationally.[283] The manners and inside knowledge of the nobility keep the classes separate and keep the plebeians subjected to the aristocracy.[284] As the plebeians become wealthier through maritime trade, not only are they able to infiltrate noble spheres previously closed to them, but the nobles themselves become more like the plebeians, abandoning martial skills and virtue for indulgence in excess. Simply put, the *nouveaux riches* spoil the stratified order of Theognis' world, or as he puts it, "Wealth mixes breeding."[285]

As Nietzsche writes in the six-page German summary of this thesis, he is opposing "aristocratic" to "ethical" ways of reading Theognis.[286] His poems do not provide how-to tips for becoming someone great, they celebrate the ancient, generational manners of those who simply are great. They are elegies for a lost, noble time:

> The old aristocracy however did not survive beyond the Persian Wars. The transition of wealth to the men of the people destroyed the nobility of blood just as the generalization of knowledge and art did. With this the elegies of Theognis lost the basis necessary for their being understood.[287]

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[283] "praeceptorum"

[284] KGW I/3, 455-459.

[285] KGW I/3, 460. "πλοῦτος ἔμιξε γένος"

[286] "aristokratische" "ethischen"

[287] KGW I/3, 465. "Die alte Aristokratie aber erhielt sich nicht über die Perserkriege hinaus, der Uebergang des Reichthums zu den Männern des Volkes, ebenso wie die Verallgemeinerung des Wissens und der Kunst vernichtete den Geblütsadel. Hiermit hatten die Theognideischen Elegien ihre nothwendige Basis um verstanden zu werden verloren."

According to Nietzsche, Theognis has no intention of teaching others how to attain *kalokagathia* with his poems, but is mourning the loss of *kalokagathia* specifically through the dissemination of previously aristocratic knowledge and culture among the lower classes.[288] Theognis does not want the education of the masses, he mourns it. We will later see Nietzsche arguing vehemently against making education more accessible in the *Lectures on Bildung* and worrying about the lack of an elite class. It is important to note at this point the Nietzsche does not interject his own opinion here on what he sees in Theognis. He reports what he sees Theognis thinking without supporting or condemning it.

As already noted, this study by Nietzsche shows no reflection on how the Greeks can be used by moderns for their cultural benefit. What little it does say about art and culture is simply that they are, for Theognis, the preserve of an elite used to exclude the masses. Anyone familiar with Nietzsche, however, cannot help but notice how similar this discussion is to that in works like *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886) and *Towards a Genealogy of Morals* (1887).[289] Here he praises Welcker and gives him credit for the correct understanding of the ancient usage of "good" and "evil," a central insight at the heart of those works. These later works by Nietzsche will outline a large-scale shift in Western morals from the good/bad valuations of pagan antiquity to the good/evil valuations of Judeo-Christianity in the past two millennia. This study on Theognis, however, only outlines a small, local shift in one region of Greece in a single man's lifetime. It is the same kind of shift: the loss of the values of the aristocracy in favor of

[288] καλοκαγαθία, a noun form combing adjectives meaning "beautiful" and "good" to denote, originally among the aristocracy then more generally, the ideal of physical and behavioral perfection.

[289] *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* and *Zur Genealogie der Moral*

those of their former subjects. In fact, Theognis is featured as the "mouthpiece" of Greek nobility in Section Five of the First Essay of *Towards a Genealogy of Morals*.[290]

This graduation thesis seems to be on a trajectory headed straight for the argument and thinking style of *Towards a Genealogy of Morals*. Neither work is concerned with the Winckelmannian task of using Greek art to create peerless, modern works, nor with the Humboldtian task of using the Greeks in a program to educate and develop people. They both look at the Greeks to see how morality shifts over time, how one set of valuations replaces another. The Greeks are a case study, not an ideal. How, or why, does Nietzsche swerve off of this trajectory with *Birth* into concerns and modes of thought that are nowhere expressed in his years at Schulpforta, nor in a work like *Towards a Genealogy of Morals*? This is the question to be answered in the next two chapters of this study.

In a final thought on this study of Theognis, let us return to Nietzsche's letter to Paul Deussen, announcing that he has finished the last page of the study. What is most interesting about this letter is that Nietzsche only discusses his work on Theognis for two paragraphs, giving the bare-bones data on it that may interest a former schoolmate: how long it took to write, how long it is, a brief outline, and whether he is satisfied with it. These paragraphs take up less than a fourth of the letter. The rest of the letter is taken up with a description of his daily routine and the fact that he will soon be joining Deussen as a university student at Bonn, and it ends with a discussion of music including Nietzsche's own compositions.[291]

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[290] KSA 5:263. "Mundstück"

[291] KGB I/1, 289-292.

A letter written four days after the one to Deussen is to Rudolf Buddensieg, another schoolmate at Schulpforta who has just graduated in the spring. Now that the writing of his study on Theognis is a few days behind him, he only spends two sentences mentioning it. He mentions in another sentence that he hopes he will pass his exams. But this is all shop-talk, and not the purpose of the letter: "And nothing would be more desirable for me than to express myself about music to you again, to describe to you the musical state of Schulpforta, and to share with you some things about my own musical efforts."[292] Music is clearly a passion he shares with Buddensieg, as it is one he shares with Pinder and Krug, and is at least an interest he shares with Deussen. After producing such a lengthy and in-depth discussion of a Greek poet, one with insights central to some of his best-known works written later, it is music Nietzsche wants to discuss with his friends. Among his friends at Schulpforta and those back at the *Domgymnasium* in Naumburg, philology is Nietzsche's work, music his passion.

This is not to argue that Nietzsche has no interest in the Greeks. As his most recent biography indicates, he does. Much of his work on Greek authors is on works that are apparently not assigned for school. In the final assessment of his maturity upon leaving Schulpforta, the following is said of his work with the Greek language: "As in class he consistently demonstrates a praiseworthy interest in the subject, […] so also he proves in his written and oral examinations to have good knowledge."[293] Even if his technical skills are only adequate, his teachers do notice enthusiasm for the Greek

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[292] KGB I/2, 292-294. "Und nichts wäre mire erwünschter als mich Ihnen gegenüber wieder einmal über Musik aussprechen zu können, Ihnen den musikalischen Zustand Schulpfortas zu schildern und Ihnen einiges über meine eignen musical[ischen] Bestrebungen mitzutheilen."

[293] Hoyer (2002), 152-153. "Wie er in der Klasse stets ein löbliches Interesse für den Gegenstand zeigte, […] so bewährte er bei der schriftlichen und mündlichen Prüfung gute Kenntnisse."

materials in class. Nietzsche clearly does have interest in the Greeks, but there is no evidence to suggest that this interest is primary for him or more than academic. There is certainly no evidence that he places any hope in the Greeks to rectify any ills he may be seeing in his own time after having been educated for the full six years at one of the most prestigious humanistic *Gymnasien* shaped by Humboldt's reforms. The Greeks are still neither singular nor exemplary for Nietzsche. They are a subject at school for which he has interest and in which he performs well.

Let us pause to summarize Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks and to German classicism in his final two years at Schulpforta. For the first time we see Nietzsche explicitly stating that he is reading a theoretical text by a German Hellenist, Schiller's *Aesthetic Education*, though he offers no comment on it. We also see him using Schiller's concepts of the naïve and the sentimental in an essay with no connection to the Greeks. Similarly, we see his first explicit reflections on art and aesthetic theory, though they are on music and have no relation to the Greeks. In essays tightly directed by their topics as chosen by his teachers, we see him reflecting on the relation of modern to ancient practices of exile, on Goethe's idea that proverbs describe nations, and on the value of studying German history. In none of these does he privilege the Greeks and only the essay on exile has anything to do with the Greeks. It is clear that Schulpforta is indeed pushing him to think about topics important to German classicism, just as it is clear that none of them produce statements on the singularity or unique value of ancient Greece from the young Nietzsche.

The two biographies Nietzsche writes while in the Prima indicate that he begins school passionate about music without any similar passion for the Greeks, though the

second biography, written for and turned into his school, does offer a sentence about his developing inclination for the Greeks. These biographies let us know that he has a very wide range of interests and that he is abandoning his previous approach of trying to master them all and is working hard to focus instead on one thing at a time. A request to his mother in a letter shows him asking for her thoughts on where he should focus. None of this indicates any passion for the Greeks that could be driving him at this time. We also see in one of his two biographies and in a list of what he is reading that he now has a genuine interest in Plato, or at least in Plato's *Symposium*.

We do see a brief return to his more youthful practice of using Greek material for his own creative productions in his Latin epigrams. These show his continuing reflection on issues from earlier years such as Andromache in the moment before she loses her husband, and they show a continued tendency to Christianize ancient material when he makes Antigone about the preservation of souls in heaven. These epigrams also show an interest in tragedy, as three of the four Greeks he handles are all featured in tragedies. This interest in tragedy is underscored by a translated section of the *Trachinae*, an essay on Cassandra from the *Agamemnon*, and especially by his two essays on the *Ajax* and on *Oedipus Rex*. Where the *Ajax* essay shows developing skill, the *Oedipus* essay shows just how philologically talented Nietzsche is and how diligent he can be especially in its textual critical section which shows both technical dexterity and productive insight.

His graduation thesis on Theognis shows some of the technical skill of the *Oedipus* essay, even if it lacks textual critical work, and especially demonstrates his ability to arrive at original insights through careful reading. These insights seem to be on a continuous trajectory towards his middle-period work on the history of western

morality, raising again the question of why Nietzsche turns to the particular form of classicism central to *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* in 1872. For all of this impressive philological work Nietzsche produces in the Prima, it is not indicative of any classicism, though it is clear that Nietzsche does have a genuine interest in tragedy, which he already relates to modern music composition, a fact that presages the sharp turn his relationship to the Greeks takes in 1870.

1.4.0 *GERMANIA* (1860-1863)

Before leaving Nietzsche's time at Schulpforta altogether, some attention must be paid to the society for mutual artistic and intellectual improvement Nietzsche forms with his two friends, Pinder and Krug, while he is at Schulpforta: *Germania*. That Nietzsche's relationship with Pinder is artistically and intellectually stimulating is clear before the society is created. In a letter to Pinder from February of 1859, Nietzsche asks Pinder what he is reading and whether he will soon send him his biography. In another letter that same month, Nietzsche sends Pinder a poem he has written about the way spring has affected him.[294] In a letter from the around the end of March that year, Nietzsche asks Pinder to send him a topic on which he can write an essay in German, and he sends Pinder a topic.[295] As discussed above, while Nietzsche works on his "Prometheus" drama, he wants to collaborate with Pinder on the project.[296] A letter from Pinder in April promises that he will take on the essay topic Nietzsche recommends and includes a

[294] KGB I/1, 46-48.

[295] KGB I/1, 55-56.

[296] KGB I/1, 60-61.

poem for Nietzsche's evaluation.[297] A year later in April of 1860, we see Nietzsche asking how things are going with Pinder's plans and whether he has completed multiple scenes of a work apparently discussed in person. Nietzsche promises that he is working on his plan mentally and has completed a couple of scenes in rhyme.[298]

After the summer break of 1860, we have Nietzsche's description written in August of the founding of *Germania*. He describes a Sunday, which is now "famous, because on it the resolution was made on our monthly submissions and on the joint account."[299] Nietzsche is clearly enthusiastic about the prospects for his society of three recently founded. At the time of its founding, as he describes in the August account, he is visiting his uncle in Gorenzen near Mansfeld in today's southern Sachsen-Anhalt when Pinder has come to visit him.[300] While in the woods, they sit down to discuss a plan that, at the time, only includes poetry and "scholarship," but would come to include music.[301] Then in a sentence eliding any personal responsibility, Nietzsche explains that "In regard to individual demands and requirements a conflict arose."[302] In silence they eventually head back to his Uncle's garden, and in a reconciliation which again indicates no personal fault the plans are finished. On this day, every year, they are to celebrate at the Rudelsburg, a castle ruin overlooking the Saale southwest of Naumburg and just beyond

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[297] KGB I/1, 73.

[298] KGB I/1, 103-104.

[299] "berühmt, weil an ihm der Beschluß zu unsern monatlichen Sendungen und zu der gemeinschaftlichen Kasse gefasst wurde."

[300] Hödl (1999), 39-40.

[301] "Wissenschaft"

[302] "Ueber einzelne Forderungen und Bedingungen enstand ein Streit."

Schulpforta. At this celebration, each member, which means Nietzsche, Pinder and Pinder's cousin Krug, are to read a written submission up on the tower.[303]

A chronicle written by *Germania's* appointed Chronicler, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, two years later in September of 1862 offers the clear reminder that each member is to offer a monthly submission to the society of music, poetry or scholarship. The submissions begin in August of 1860. Already in November and December, Pinder neglects to offer his submissions. In August and then October and November of 1861, Krug neglects to offer his. In May of 1862, none of the three send anything in. From June until September, when the chronicle is written, Nietzsche is the only one submitting anything. Accordingly, this chronicle notes that a fine has been instated, against the two not writing it, for neglected submissions, and it offers a passionate plea for all laziness to cease so that the society may live up to the noble elements upon which it is founded.[304]

It would appear it is Nietzsche who feels the need for this society most deeply, and it also is likely that his passion causes the conflict and silence (for which he conveniently assigns no blame) on the day of the society's founding. Pinder and Krug go as far as they can, but apparently do not feel the need for the benefits of the society as Nietzsche does. If it is Nietzsche who needs this society most, and the indications point that way, it is clear that his classical education at Schulpforta is not enough for his creative and intellectual needs. *Germania* presents a second outlet for his passions and interests. Of Nietzsche's twenty-five submissions, only one is on the Greeks: "Greek History in the Time of the Peloponnesian War."[305] It is on Greek historiography, not on

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[303] KGB I/1, 106.

[304] KGW I/2, 475-483.

[305] "Griechische Geschichte aus der Zeit der pelopon. Kriegs"

Greek art, and is also not an exploration of what the Greeks have to offer moderns. Six (all submitted before July 1861) are music on a Christian theme, portions of a Christmas Oratorio he worked on for a year and a half. Seven others are also musical.[306] A list of submissions from October 1862 to June 1863 shows that Pinder and Krug continued to fail to submit anything, though this could very well be caused by the fact that they are six months ahead of Nietzsche in school and are consumed with *Abitur* preparations at the time.[307] None of Nietzsche's nine faithfully submitted contributions on this latter list have anything to do with the Greeks.[308]

In the same biography submitted as a bequest to Schulpforta upon his leaving, the first to mention the ancients or his study of them, Nietzsche comments also on *Germania*, which he states helped him fight his unfocused wandering in search of his universal knowledge:

> The monthly contributions of treatises, compositions, and their critiques, as well as quarterly meetings compelled the mind to observe small but exciting regions more exactly and, on the other side, to work against the trivializing effect of "fantasizing" through a thorough study of compositional theory.[309]

Nietzsche is proud enough of the society he helps to create, or persuades others to help him create, to mention it in this record of his education to remain at Schulpforta, and he praises it for his ability to help him focus his mental powers. It is clear, however, that, whatever need Nietzsche hopes *Germania* could fulfill, it is not to provide further outlet

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[306] KGW I/2, 480-483.

[307] See Young (2010), 27.

[308] KGW I/3, 143.

[309] KGW I/3, 419. "Die monatliche Einlieferung von Abhandlungen und Kompositionen und deren Kritik, sowie vierteljährige Zusammenkünfte zwangen den Geist, kleine aber anregende Gebiete genauer zu betrachten und auf der andern Seite durch ein gründliches Erlernen der Kompositionslehre der verflachenden Einwirkung des 'Phantasierens' entgegen zu arbeiten."

for his engagement with the Greeks at Schulpforta. Carl Pletsch sees *Germania* as a refuge *from* antiquity and philology.[310] As Hubert Cancik observes, he chooses *Germania*, not his family home and not Schulpforta, as the place to express and explore his break with Christianity.[311] Curt Paul Janz believes *Germania* primarily serves as an outlet for Nietzsche's musical interests.[312] All three are correct.

Now let us turn to Nietzsche's years as a university student and see how his thoughts on the Greeks, his passion for music, his coping with his existential crisis, and the form of his career path continue to develop.

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[310] Pletsch (1991), 52.

[311] Cancik (1995), 11-12.

[312] Jana (1978), 89.

2.0.0 NIETZSCHE'S UNIVERSITY *BILDUNG* (1864-1869)

Nietzsche first studies at the university in Bonn before studying at Leipzig. In this chapter, we will begin by sketching out the history of the philological methodology that Nietzsche encounters at both schools, a methodology he first masters and then later comes to severely critique in the *Lectures on Bildung*. Then we will look at his time in Bonn to see how his thinking on the Greeks, his love of music, his coping with his existential crisis, and his thinking about his career path develop there. After that, we will follow him to Leipzig to see how those elements of his life continue to unfold and steer him towards his classicism of 1869-1872.

2.1.0 BONN SCHOOL OF PHILOLOGY

On October 25th, 1864, twenty-year old Friedrich Nietzsche matriculates at the university at Bonn where fellow Schulpforta alumnus, Paul Deussen is also studying.[1] As part of the Prussian educational reforms begun half a century earlier by Humboldt, the university is founded in 1818 in order to further unite the Rhineland, recently gained by Prussia during the Congress of Vienna, with the rest of Prussia.[2] It becomes one of the largest German-language universities, and, considered an exceptional center for philological studies, stands with the university at Berlin as a symbol of Prussian cultural

[1] Hoyer (2002), 156.

[2] Cancik (1991), 12.

ambition at midcentury.[3] The Philological Seminar at Bonn develops throughout the course of the nineteenth century the Bonn School of philology, characterized by a methodology that deeply impacts on Nietzsche's approach to antiquity. Before the tenets of the Bonn School and its impact on Nietzsche are considered, we would do well to turn back to the man who shapes the discipline of *Altertumswissenschaft* at German-language universities more than any other and trace his influence down to the time of Nietzsche's matriculation.[4]

2.1.1 Founding of *Altertumswissenschaft*

Friedrich August Wolf, (1759-1824) born in Hainrode south of the Harz, embodies much like Humboldt the link between the classicism of Weimar and the academic, historical-critical philology that makes Germany the center of classical studies in the nineteenth century.[5] He begins studying at Göttingen in 1783 under Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812), who comes to know Winckelmann while working as a librarian in Dresden in the 1750s. Though Heyne produces some critical editions of classical texts, his lack of rigor dooms them to rapid obsolescence. He does establish the branch of classical studies concerned with material remains, teaching the first course on Archeology in 1767, and he masters a wide-ranging knowledge of ancient art history that

[3] Hoyer (2002), 157.

[4] *Altertum* means "antiquity" and, as noted in the Introduction, "*Wissenschaft*" is a body of knowledge studied by professionals and students. Thus, *Altertumswissenschaft* is the rigorous study of all aspects of antiquity, as we will see in the continued discussion.

[5] Sandys (1958), 51.

allows him to correct Winckelmann on historical and chronological points. Heyne also holds well-attended lectures on Latin and Greek literature.[6]

According to Wolf, he learns much from the library at Göttingen, but little from Heyne's lectures.[7] He prepares quite thoroughly for Heyne's course on the *Iliad* and then finds Heyne's lectures sufficiently vague and superficial to stop attending after finishing the first book.[8] In 1782 Wolf is made professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy at Halle. Within just a few years, he changes the direction of this university reproached for lacking philology, and in 1786 he founds the Philological Seminar there. By the time Halle is closed in 1807, Wolf is the dominant scholar in northern Germany, and has had his class visited by his eminent friend, Goethe, who remains hidden behind a curtain to hear lectures he finds as good as their reputation.[9]

Anthony Grafton explains how Wolf offers his explanation of his scholarly method for approaching antiquity in his *Encyclopedia of Altertumswissenschaft* presented as a series of lectures.[10] His *Presentation of Altertumswissenschaft according to Concept, Scope, Purpose and Value* (hereafter *Presentation*) of 1807 is intended as both an introduction to and a distillation of his *Encyclopedia*.[11] In the *Presentation* we see that Wolf is deeply influenced by Humboldt's conception of the value of the study of the Greeks for moderns. Like Humboldt, he holds up the study of the ancient Greeks in their

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[6] Sandys (1958), 38-42.

[7] Grafton (1981), 102.

[8] Sandys (1958), 52.

[9] Grafton (1981), 102.

[10] Grafton (1981), 102. *Enzyklopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*

[11] *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft nach Begriff, Umfang, Zweck und Wert*

literature as the best way in which moderns can develop all of their own faculties and capacities into a harmonious whole.[12] One passage features a footnote quoting Humboldt's opinion that only the study of the ancients, and especially the Greeks, "can lead to true philosophical knowledge of humanity."[13] In this passage, Wolf himself states that the final goal of *Altertumswissenschaft* is "the knowledge of ancient humanity itself, which knowledge proceeds out of the observation of an organically developed, meaningful national-*Bildung*, an observation conditioned by the study of ancient remains." This indicates that he shares Humboldt's opinion of the potential for individuals studying antiquity expanded by his own belief in the virtue of such study for the nation.[14]

For Wolf, the Greeks and Romans are able to achieve a level of development unequaled by any other nation. Where he sees other nations, and here he is specifically discussing those of the Levant, only achieve what he calls "civilization," a state of safety achieved by communal policing, the Greeks and Romans rise to a "higher, original intellectual culture."[15] This culture has, in addition to the necessities of safety, order and comfort, "more noble inventions and knowledge."[16] Its literature is not limited to official record-keeping by specific castes, but constitutes a body of texts contributed by any

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[12] Wolf (1986), 122.

[13] "kann zu wahrer philosophischer Kenntniß des Menschen führen"

[14] Wolf (1986), 124-125; see also 126—130. "die Kenntniß der alterthümlichen Menschheit selbst, welche Kenntniß aus der durch das Studium der alten Ueberreste bedingten Beobachtung einer organisch entwickelten bedeutungsvollen National-Bildung hervorgeht"

[15] "Civilisation" "höherer eigentlicher Geistescultur"

[16] "edlere Erfindungen und Kenntnisse"

member of the nation confident of "better insights" for the enlightenment of all.[17] Thus, for Wolf, the Greeks and Romans may as the only "peoples refined by intellectual culture, erudition, and art" be referred to as *Altertum*.[18] Wolf, however, in the tradition of Winckelmann and most German classicists does not see the Greeks and Romans as equals. He sees the Romans as borrowers from the Greeks, being only original in their ability to conquer and reign. It is only the Greeks who are able through their own intrinsic gifts to demonstrate the full development of their human potential.[19] In most points, Wolf's reasons for privileging the Greeks and for valuing the study of them recapitulate the tradition that has developed from Winckelmann to Humboldt.

Even the historical and interdisciplinary nature of Wolf's approach to antiquity is not, according to Grafton, entirely original. Heyne also already believes that one must see the Greeks as living in a different time with different mores, as historical, and that all available data, whether textual or archeological should be utilized in their study as should all scholarly disciplines that might also be helpful. In fact, Grafton elaborates on a tradition running through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of setting texts into "a rich context," which leads him to state that much of Wolf's work" is "traditional in character."[20]

Heyne also already finds value for moderns in the study of antiquity. He believes a serious engagement with the ancients can provide understand for "pressing modern problems." This expresses itself in some of his scholarship that serves as indirect

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[17] Wolf (1986), 16-17. "bessern Einsichten"

[18] Wolf (1986), 19. "durch Geistescultur, Gelehrsamkeit und Kunst verfeinerten Völker"

[19] Wolf (1986), 20-21.

[20] Grafton (1981), 103-105.

commentary on contemporary political issues. Heyne does not, however, ascribe to the Greeks the same cultural power Humboldt and Wolf see, and he certainly does not load the study of the Greeks with the same individual and national aspirations that drive others.[21] Göttingen, where he teaches, is founded in 1734 as *the* university for training nobles as public servants.[22] It is not imbued with the cultural mission of Berlin or Bonn and neither is Heyne.

Halle, where Wolf teaches, also lacks the institutional vision that will soon lie at the foundation of Berlin and Bonn. By the time Wolf arrives, theorists there have already been calling for years "for the abandonment of ancient languages in favor of more modern, useful subjects."[23] Thus in the years before Humboldt's reforms establish universities offering a new model of philological study, Wolf has to provide an argument for the robust study of the Greeks (let alone the continuance of teaching Greek and Latin) at Halle. Heyne and others have a method for studying antiquity, but lack an argument for the value of this study. Humboldt has the argument, but he lacks experience as a professor to outline this study in an institutional setting. Grafton, then, sees Wolf's importance in his fusing of the historical, inter-disciplinary method of Heyne together with the culturally aspirational argument Humboldt has articulated to produce what Wolf names *Altertumswissenschaft*.[24]

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[21] Grafton (1981), 108.

[22] Grafton (1981), 104.

[23] Grafton (1981), 102.

[24] Grafton (1981), 109.

2.1.2 Wolf's Method

Wolf's contribution to nineteenth century classical studies goes beyond this fusion into the way he adapts the historical and interdisciplinary methods he has learned from others. As Grafton writes, the most important claim for Wolf's originality "lay not on his general theories but on his technical research," especially as demonstrated in Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer* published in 1795.[25] The *Prolegomena* presents a thesis on how the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are produced. Wolf argues that at first oral poems short enough to remember are recited by bards, and that a written version of them does not appear until the time of Peisistratus (late sixth century BC) in Athens. These texts are then further "altered, emended, cut and added to by early revisers" the most important being the Hellenistic critics "Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus." What the modern world now has, Wolf argues, are manuscripts preserving a corrupt form of the final Alexandrian editions produced by the Hellenistic critics. The most a modern critic or editor can hope for, Wolf believes, is to restore "the Alexandrian vulgate," without any chance of determining any form of authenticity early than that.[26]

He establishes this thesis by working painstakingly through Jean-Baptiste Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison's *Venetus A* (1788), the Venetian scholia on the *Iliad*, containing multiple strata of annotation, commentary and glosses. It is through the very careful reading of these scholia that Wolf believes he discovers what each Alexandrian critic has done to the text of the *Iliad*.[27] In this way, Wolf produces "a history of

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[25] *Prolegomena ad Homerum*

[26] Grafton (1981), 109-110.

[27] Grafton (1981), 111.

scholarship rather than the history of scholia."[28] His careful and exhaustive approach helps him to bring to life figures from antiquity. Grafton points out in his introduction to the text of Wolf's *Prolegomena* that "where Villoison heaped up without structure or order texts and data" Wolf is able to move "systematically through the scholia, assembling what he took to be characteristic corrections attributed to the ancient readers and critics: rash Zenodotus, the thoughtful Aristophanes of Byzantium, and the latter's pupil Aristarchus, who had been superior to his teacher in 'precise, truly grammatical investigations.'"[29]

Here we see what Wolf's approach really contributes to nineteenth century philology and how he bridges the gap between Weimar Classicism and the historical-critical method of the German university. Through the painstakingly careful work of sifting through evidence, based on a wide and deep base of familiarity with the languages and contexts of this evidence, Wolf is able to produce a living picture of antiquity. Though this may be a limited reanimation of the splendor Wolf and his friends see in ancient Greece, it is still a reanimation. As Grafton notes, Wolf's chapters bringing the Alexandrian critics to life "reveal impressive technical dexterity and attention to detail" and that every claim "rest[s] on a solid base of close-packed references and quotations," but what is more, that "Wolf's work [is] not only thorough but full of insight."[30] Wolf's is not simply an approach to antiquity that orders and arranges ancient data but one that carefully examines that data to find living humanity within it.

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[28] Grafton (1981), 119.

[29] Grafton (1985), 18.

[30] Grafton (1981), 111.

A more detailed look at some of the aspects of Wolf's method will help us understand his heritage as carried on in Nietzsche's work later in the century. For this we turn again to Wolf's introduction to and summary of his *Encyclopedia* (the explanation of his method), his *Presentation of Altertumswissenschaft*, mentioned above. In it he divides the remains of antiquity into three categories: written, artistic (whether aesthetic or utilitarian), and artifacts combining the first two categories. Of these three categories, Wolf privileges the first, texts, as they naturally hold the first rank and provide the primary means of correctly judging and understanding the other two. Ancient texts help us to understand archeological remains by providing, through the means of language, a familiarity with "the ideas and forms of expression" of the ancients.[31] With a thoroughly expert familiarity with the languages of the texts and with the texts themselves one can identify what is authentic and what spurious, what was written earlier and what later. This expert familiarity with the authors combined with a highly developed sense for authenticity and age are the first requirements for Wolf's scholar of *Altertumswissenschaft*.[32] In his privileging of texts, Wolf is not throwing out the archeology of Heyne. He sees archeology as a legitimate and necessary tool in the scholarly approach to antiquity to be used gainfully when guided by linguistic and textual expertise.

Wolf then moves on to the three constituent tools of his philological method: grammar, hermeneutics and criticism [*Grammatik*, *Hermeneutik*, *Kritik*]. His conception of grammar does not take language as an object of study but much more as an instrument

[31] "den Ideen und Ausdrucksarten"

[32] Wolf (1986), 32-35.

of *Wissenschaft*. According to a philosophical explanation of the universal principles of language determined by the laws of the mind, this instrument follows Greek and Latin as each language develops diachronically producing varieties over time. That is, grammar here does not mean a limited system of prescriptive rules for a language at one point in its flowering, which Wolf does think can suffice for modern languages. It comprehends instead "every period in the life of a language" including its origin, its construction, and its continued formation.[33] Wolf's grammar describes language as a living entity, dynamic in its development over time and across regions. Wolf calls the pursuit of this grammar both historical and philosophical. The former, as any rule that can be attributed to a language is tied to a fact, to a linguistic usage critically demonstrated from uncorrupted textual passages. The latter, as no linguistic rule can stand without being grounded in the nature of the way speech is used [*Redegebrauch*]. Grammar can only become a secure foundation for hermeneutics and criticism through a comprehensive treatment of language historically and philosophically, as linguistic usage in its many forms during the progression of a nation's culture must be recognized and worked out in order to decide on the correct sense of an author and what should be considered authentic and inauthentic for that author.[34] Only once one has mastered this dynamic of a language in all of its developments sufficiently to determine what does or does not belong to an author, one may approach hermeneutics and criticism.

In his own time, Wolf believes that hermeneutics still needs to develop "the art" of discovering with the requisite insight an author's thoughts as expressed in that author's

[33] "alle Zeiträume des Lebens einer Sprache"

[34] Wolf (1986), 35-37.

texts.[35] This interpretive art also needs to be able to establish by investigation word meanings [*Bedeutungen*], meaning [*Sinn*] in a sentence, the coherence of a speech, and many other points of "grammatical, rhetorical, and historical interpretation."[36] At its best, hermeneutics allows entry of the "the genius of the interpreter-artist" and the "expertise of the mind" into the manner of thinking of earlier centuries in multiple languages and ages, into the peculiarities of every form of speech, and into the personal individualities of an author.[37] Then, by thinking at one with every author through comparing literary expressions from before and after, this genius and expertise is able to make judgments about the author:

> Then this, this is nothing more than understanding in its higher meaning, the understanding through which the interpreter, a native everywhere, lives now in this now in that period with all of his soul and with proofs of his judgment puts on display here an excellent author to be admired, there an imperfect one to be censured by the reader.[38]

Such an ability! Even more than just wanting to bring individual Greeks to life – already a bold, if not Faustian desire – Wolf's method hopes to take the scholar himself to live among the ancients "with all of his soul" and to be so naturalized a citizen of any specific point in time in antiquity as to be able to pass meaningful judgment on what a particular author really would say or not. Where Wolf's friend Goethe has his Iphigenia seeking with her soul for the land of the Greeks, Wolf formulates an *Altertumswissenschaft* through which he believes a modern, albeit a highly trained

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[35] "die Kunst"

[36] "grammatischen, rhetorischen und historischen Interpretation"

[37] "Geniale des Auslegungs-Künstlers" "Gewandtheit des Geistes"

[38] Wolf (1986), 37-38. "Denn dies, dies ist erst das Verstehen in höherer Bedeutung, dasjenige, wodurch der Ausleger, allenthalben einheimisch, bald in diesem, bald in jenem Zeitalter mit ganzer Seele wohnt, und hier einen treflichen Schriftsteller der Bewunderung, dort einen unvollkommenen dem Tadel des Lesers mit Beweisen seiner Urtheile ausstellt."

modern, can spiritually inhabit that lost land.[39] Antiquity and its beauty may never be recreated in modernity, but a select few moderns, those with the right education, can return to enjoy it through the art of hermeneutics. And yet, by calling these well-trained few "interpreter-artists," Wolf admits that the Greece to which they return is one of their own creation, even if it is based on hard-won expertise.

This sweeping power is only available to one who has already mastered Wolf's grammar. The other requirement for hermeneutics is criticism. Very little of what Wolf holds out through his hermeneutics, especially the ability to understand as one native to them the unique aspects of specific times, is possible without first sufficiently determining the times and authors upon which the interpreter-artist is working. Similarly, no text can be explained for Wolf with the necessary conviction of the harmony of our thoughts with those of the author without first demonstrating, down to the smallest details, the authenticity and correctness of that text. These two considerations give rise to "philological *criticism*," related to which are rhetorical and aesthetic criticism, which are necessary for claims of a text's beauty and are indispensible for the philological critic.[40] The division in criticism that Wolf recognizes that will have the strongest hold on professional philology is that between lower and higher criticism. Lower criticism, or textual criticism, is concerned with producing accurate critical editions of texts. Once such an edition is produced by lower criticism, higher criticism uses external sources to place the text in its historical context and to develop a picture of the process by which it is produced and the world in which this happens.[41]

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[39] "Das land der Griechen mit der Seele suchend"

[40] "die philologische *Kritik*"

[41] Wolf (1986), 38-40.

There are a few more aids Wolf proposes beyond the central three of grammar, hermeneutics and criticism. Another aspect of Wolf's method is the art of style and composition. He believes that only when one has developed the ability to write like the ancients is one qualified to understand the linguistic productions of others. Wolf describes the art of writing in ancient languages as a means for gaining "hermeneutic and critical agility and depth."[42] Finally, one needs the help of many disciplines, especially some that have recently been developed in Wolf's time.[43] Wolf lists twenty-four subdisciplines at the end of his *Presentation* which are needed for *Altertumswissenschaft* including, among others: ancient astronomy, ancient morality, archeology, art history, numismatics, and ancient architecture in addition to the more literary disciplines like the study of meter, mythology, Latin grammar and Greek grammar.[44]

In sum, Wolf's method privileges texts but incorporates all available evidence from antiquity and all available disciplines for examining that evidence. This method requires first and foremost an intimately familiar linguistic knowledge aware of the developmental nature of language and sufficiently exhaustive to allow a philologist to feel at home in any given period of antiquity and habituated enough to pass judgment on the correctness and authenticity of passages, phrases and even single words. The philologist who has mastered this grammar and thereby gained access to antiquity can then employ criticism and hermeneutics to provide critical editions, as well as descriptions and explanations that help others to see antiquity accurately.

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[42] "hermeneutische und kritische Gewandtheit und Tiefe"

[43] Wolf (1986), 42-44.

[44] Wolf (1986), 143-144.

2.1.3 Boeckh, Hermann, and the *Philologenstreit*

Two main schools of philological thought follow Wolf's foundational work in the early nineteenth centuries, one headed by Philip August Boeckh (1785-1867), the other by Johann Gottfried Jakob Hermann (1772-1848). Boeckh studies at Halle where Wolf helps him to narrow his study from theology, philosophy and philology to just philology focused on the Greek literary classics. In his early career at Heidelberg, Boeckh produces considerable work on Plato, Pindar and the Greek tragedians. He soon turns his focus more to material evidence and to aspects of the Greek world beyond literary texts, and for his fifty-six year career at Berlin he works towards an understanding of the entirety of ancient Greek life. He writes a manual on philological method, an *Encyclopedia* based on Wolf's, and sees his work as a continuation of and improvement on that of his teacher. One of his students, Otto Jahn, is at Bonn when Nietzsche studies there as is one of Boeckh's admirers, Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl.[45]

Ritschl studies at Leipzig, however, with Hermann, Boeckh's rival. Hermann also conducts his university studies at Leipzig. While there he takes three main ideas from his teacher Friedrich Wolfgang Reiz: "(1) never to study more than one writer, or one subject, at a time, (2) never to take any statement on trust, and (3) always to be able to give a good reason for holding any opinion which he deemed to be true." Hermann stays at Leipzig as a professor where, in addition to teaching literature, he teaches on Greek festivals and on the ancient Greek theater. Hermann produces work on meter more thorough than his predecessors have, as he is more systematic and bases his insights on his extensive familiarity with the Greek poets. Similarly, in his textual criticism his

[45] Sandys (1958), 95-100.

"conjectures rest on a fine sense of Greek idiom." Even though he does not study under Wolf, he believes that insights into a text must rest upon a vast familiarity with its language, and he believes, like Wolf, that criticism "must go hand in hand" with interpretation. He produces many critical editions during his career, especially of the Greek tragedians.[46]

The so-called *Philologenstreit* between the two begins when Hermann thoroughly, and in John Edwin Sandys' opinion, justifiably, excoriates Boeckh's *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions*, which first begins to be published in 1825.[47] For it, Boeckh fails to use exact facsimiles of the inscriptions, trusting instead to transcriptions made by others. Beyond that Boeckh makes mistakes based on what is even in those transcriptions and based on misunderstandings about Greek grammar.[48] A vicious, printed feud rises up between the two philologists and many of their supporters and students join in, turning it into a battle between two swelling camps.[49] It seems the heat of this conflict contributes more to the perception of the distance between the two camps than do actual methodological differences.

Called "thing philology" [*Sachphilologie*], Boeckh's approach stands squarely within Wolf's methodology as it requires knowledge of the "entire doing, of the whole life, and of the activity of the people."[50] Hermann's approach, called "word philology" [*Wortphilologie*], focuses instead on textual criticism, grammar and meter. In his textual

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[46] Sandys (1958), 90-92.

[47] *Philologenstreit* means "quarrel" or "battle" of the philologists. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*

[48] Sandys (1958), 98. See also Nippel (1997), 244-245.

[49] Nippel (1997), 244-245.

[50] "gesamten Tätigkeit, des ganzen Lebens und Wirkens des Volkes"

criticism, Hermann relies on a well-cultivated feel for the language above all else, and he believes that working in ancient languages provides a formal, not material *Bildung*, being in fact the "pattern of *Bildung* and of taste."[51] Though Hermann is not a direct student of Wolf's, it is clear that his methodological prioritization of texts, his requirement of a thorough knowledge of and familiarity with the ancient languages, and his belief that the study of the ancients provides the best formal *Bildung* all have much in common with Wolf's *Altertumswissenschaft*.

As Wilfred Nippel notes in his discussion of the *Philologenstreit*, Hermann and Boeckh both value text-related and archeological research and they believe that both are needed to complement each other within a thorough and effective philological method.[52] Both forms of philology attacked and defended in the *Philologenstreit* are really continuations of the project proposed by Wolf. Boeckh deviates from Wolf in prioritizing archeology before philology and Hermann differs from Wolf in devaluing, though not entirely, the study of archeological remains. The two schools really represent two different focuses within the program laid out by Wolf at the beginning of the century.

2.1.4 Ritschl

As mentioned, Nietzsche's professor, Friedrich Ritschl (1806-1876), is a student of Hermann's at Leipzig.[53] Ritschl is brought to Bonn in 1839 by Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784-1868).[54] Welcker, whose interests are more archeological and art-

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[51] "Muster der Bildung und des Geschmacks"

[52] Nippel (1997), 245-247; see also Vogt (1979).

[53] Sandys (1958), 139.

[54] Sandys (1958), 216.

historical than literary, and who stands as Nietzsche's foil for his theses on Theognis, has already helped establish the Philological Seminar at Bonn in the first years of the university's existence. In 1854 Welcker gives the younger Ritschl the directorship over the Seminar as his own energy and productivity are waning.[55] In the same year, Ritschl has Otto Jahn (1813-1869) appointed as professor at Bonn without Welcker's knowledge. Jahn, who focuses on archeology and art history, is a student of both Hermann's at Leipzig and of Boeckh's at Berlin.[56] With Ritschl in control of the Philological Seminar and with his new colleague now teaching with him at Bonn, the Bonn School of philology is established by Ritschl, giving Bonn the reputation as the university of method.[57]

Christian Benne describes the Bonn School as seeing itself in the tradition of Humboldt and Wolf, first and foremost. Though a student of Hermann's, Ritschl overcomes any perceived division caused by the *Philologenstreit* by returning to Wolf's principle of using the written record to investigate the other remains of antiquity. Following Wolf again, Ritschl teaches that this must be done through the production of accurate critical editions, which is for him the primary task of philology. Thus a method rigorous enough to produce dependable critical editions becomes the distinguishing characteristic of Ritschl's work and of the method of the Bonn School.[58]

Two considerations should be noted before proceeding to Ritschl in more detail. First, Jahn shares Ritschl's penchant for methodological rigor, establishing with him the

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[55] Herter (1975), 650-651.

[56] Sandys (1958), 220.

[57] Benne (2005), 54.

[58] Benne (2005), 54-59.

Bonn School without any methodological conflict. It is also likely that Jahn has some influence on Nietzsche's own professional method.[59] As we will discuss later, however, the only course Nietzsche ever takes from Jahn is on art history, and it is difficult to determine to what extent the course may shape Nietzsche's understanding of method. Ritschl dominates the Bonn School and its method, and, when Nietzsche's entire time at university is considered, Ritschl has far greater influence on him than Jahn. Second, we need to keep in mind that though the method of the Bonn School is critical in understanding Nietzsche's ideas on the value of the Greeks for modernity in his student and professor years, this method has no intrinsic interest in or tie to the Greeks. It could be applied to Sanskrit, as it is at Bonn where work on Sanskrit constitutes an important aspect of the Bonn School. Ritschl does not focus his attentions primarily on the Greeks. He is a Latinist.[60]

Unlike Wolf, Ritschl is not studying the Greeks (or the Romans for that matter) within a cultural agenda, and, as Benne points out, Ritschl finds it necessary to defend the philological approach to history against the "claim to absoluteness of art and philosophy," which he later sees Wagner pushing on Nietzsche.[61] Already in 1833 he finds classicism, as this study defines the term, rather artificial as it "rests on an uncritical and nostalgic admiration of antiquity which is far from being scholarly rigorous."[62] It is

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[59] Both Benne and Hans Herter discuss how the so-called *Philologenstriet* between Ritschl and Jahn was about academic politics and had nothing to do with scholarly method, as both were indeed quite close in method. See Benne (2005), 58-59 and Herter (1975), 649-654.

[60] Benne (2005), 46.

[61] Benne (2005), 50. "Absolutheitsanspruch von Kunst und Philosophie"

[62] Emden (2004), 381.

critical to note that Ritschl has departed from Wolf in at least this one aspect: his philology is an entity far removed from classicism.

Concerning his commitment to rigorous method, Ritschl writes, "Better to err methodically than to find what is true unmethodically, i.e., by chance."[63] Benne notes that observers of Ritschl in the nineteenth century are unanimous in seeing his name as a synonym for "method." In teaching his method to students, Ritschl makes them quite aware of their inadequacy. Then he impresses on them that nothing in *Wissenschaft* is achieved quickly, that success only follows strenuous work, and that, to produce honest work, one must begin with the smallest things. He teaches them, in fact, that nothing in *Wissenschaft* is small, and that things considered small can, when taken lightly, jeopardize those other things considered large. Further, no difficulty can be circumvented, and one must assess honestly how well difficulties are treated. General statements and reliance on authority should never give confidence. Finally, everything has to be examined and tested until the highest clarity is achieved.[64]

Like most of his contemporary philologists, Ritschl recognizes the three Wolfian methodological instruments of grammar, hermeneutics and criticism. Ritschl's grammar is descriptive like Wolf's, but without any philosophical speculation or interest in theories of linguistic origin. Etymology has its place, but only as examined in each concrete context. This philological grammar is still for Ritschl, as one would expect, the prerequisite for hermeneutics and criticism.[65] Ritschl views these latter two as aspects of the same process of understanding, and he uses the terms "hermeneutics" and "criticism"

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[63] "Besser methodisch irren, als unmethodisch d.h. zufällig das Wahre finden."

[64] Benne (2005), 47-49.

[65] Benne (2005), 72, 75.

together as a noun governing a singular verb.[66] Ritschl is aware of the cyclical relationship of higher to lower criticism and warns against proceeding with either logical conclusions or with principles alone. He takes a middle-path, working historically with sources and other objective foundations from which he proceeds to more subjective work.

Like Wolf, Ritschl believes it is only after much work with materials to produce exact familiarity that one can begin to produce insight into their meaning. He certainly does not think this can ever by achieved by means of just any theory selected and applied to a text. Also like Wolf, he believes assiduous lower criticism producing accurate critical editions is primary. Then divination can play a decisive role, but only "in the form of a methodically inspired and *controlled* supposition" that comes after "laborious consideration and combination."[67] Ritschl never begins by assuming results he wants to find and then applying methods that will produce those results. His commitment is to the method. The results simply end up being whatever is produced and can be justified by method.

Benne boils what Nietzsche learns from Ritschl and the Bonn School down to eight points: 1) philology is based on unrelenting rigor against any half-measures in thought, 2) though philology has the knowledge of the whole of antiquity as its goal, one must focus on single points to be examined as thoroughly as possible, 3) one should think of the reader and produce written findings artistic in their own right, 4) philology cannot be reduced to a formula but is characterized by intuition based on intimate expertise and extensive textual knowledge with every text requiring its own approach, 5) textual

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[66] Benne (2005), 81.

[67] Benne (2005), 75-77. "in Form einer methodisch inspirierten und *kontrollierten* Vermutung" "mühsame Abwägung und Kombination"

criticism is the center of philology, first as a basis for other classical studies and second as pedagogically valuable, 6) though hermeneutics and criticism are dependent on each other, they must be kept distinct, 7) the characteristic activity of philology is reading, both slow reading accompanied by looking many things up and cursory reading to develop broad knowledge and linguistic skill, and finally 8) all research and knowledge must have an empirical foundation.[68]

Ritschl publishes in 1838 *The Alexandrian Libraries* in which he calls the Hellenistic critics Zenodotus, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Apollonius and Aristophanes of Byzantium "heroes of truly great scholarly *Bildung*."[69] Ritschl chooses the Alexandrian scholars as his intellectual ancestors. Seeing himself in their great company, Ritschl calls himself an *Alexandriner*.[70]

2.1.5 Influences of Bonn School at Schulpforta

Before moving on to Nietzsche's time of study under Ritschl, let us pause to look at three of Nietzsche's works completed at Schulpforta to see to what extent the tradition of *Altertumswissenschaft* and its method have already been introduced to him there. These three works are his essay on the *Ajax*, his essay on the *Oedipus Rex* and his thesis on Theognis.

If one looks for the three tools of philology as delineated by Wolf and Ritschl, grammar, hermeneutics, and criticism, one finds primarily a weak form of hermeneutics in the *Ajax* essay, as Nietzsche is mostly offering an explanation for the order and nature

[68] Benne (2005), 60-64.

[69] *Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken*; "Heroen wahrhaft grossartiger Gelehrtenbildung"

[70] Benne (2005), 47. See also 28.

of events in the first stasimon. There is the slightest bit of philological grammar in Nietzsche's discussion of the usual contexts of a specific Greek word and in his discussion of another point at which two adverbs are used with one verb. In both cases this leads to a bit of lower criticism, as he argues against the correctness of the line in each case. In general, Nietzsche offers "facts" about Sophocles' style, tragedy, and the Greeks in general that are not supported by any citation or comparison, and it is on these unsupported premises that Nietzsche offers his argument for why the stasimon develops the way it does.

Nietzsche's *Oedipus* essay from a year later shows substantial improvement in his mastery of the historical-critical method of philology, though it also prominently features a rather Nietzschean approach. He is clearly elevating music to the level of Greek literary texts, arguing that Greek tragedy is a combination of the two and that a tragedian is simultaneously *Dichter* and musician. This is certainly not something he would have learned at any neohumanist *Gymnasium* in the mid-nineteenth century, but is a clear instance of Nietzsche bringing his true passion, music, into his daily work, philology. He strays even further from historical-critical methods in using modern music theory, specifically that of Wagner, to understand the nature of tragedy. The idea he uses, that the music of tragedy corresponds to the emotion expressed in the words is then used to offer a structural understanding of the first choral ode. It is hard to imagine Wolf or Ritschl approving of this importation of modern music theory to understand ancient tragedy.

However, in the middle of the Latin section of this essay, Nietzsche does use some well-developed historical-critical skills. He displays his wide knowledge of Greek usage,

grammar, in the detailed discussion of the many Greek words and phrases he accepts, rejects or improves. This enables some important textual criticism through which Nietzsche is able to establish his reading of the choral song, his hermeneutics. Nietzsche even displays what is the height of historical-critical work for both Wolf and Ritschl, an ability that is only made possible through the rigorous application of grammar, criticism and hermeneutics: an aesthetic sense for what is right or wrong for an ancient author. Based on his wide reading, Nietzsche is able to not only reject or improve readings through arguments of usage, but also because they simply do not please his developed sense.

His work on Theognis is the most Ritschlian of the three in its focus, as it addresses the sources and process of collection behind the works attributed to Theognis. None of Nietzsche's other work on classical texts at Schulpforta have featured this focus on text sources, one of Ritschl's few professional foci. It lacks the grammar necessary for lower criticism, but proceeds confidently to higher criticism and hermeneutics in its discussion of Theognis' world and the meaning of his elegies within that world. Benne notes that the topic for this study is suggested to Nietzsche by Diederich Volkmann, a new teacher only six years Nietzsche's senior who starts at Schulpforta in 1861. Volkmann's has written his dissertation at Bonn under Ritschl on the *Suda*.[71] Though Volkmann is not mentioned in Nietzsche's letters or other writings from his last year at Schulpforta, he clearly has a significant impact on the younger pupil's thesis. Not only is Nietzsche's essay well within the tradition of Hermann and Ritschl, it features the *Suda* as an important source for just this kind of work on text sources.

[71] Benne (2005), 53. See also Janz (1978), 122.

It would seem that Volkmann did more than simply suggest the theme of the work. It appears to be the case that an infusion from Volkmann of Ritschlian focus on a single point to be thoroughly investigated may be the decisive factor in Nietzsche wanting to give up his quest for his "universal" knowledge in his last year at Schulpforta. Indeed, as we saw in the last chapter, he abandons the trivializing attempt to learn many things in favor of a new commitment "to take a detail back to its deepest and widest foundations."[72] It is hard not to see an effect from Ritschl through Volkmann here.

2.2.0 BONN (1864-1865)

With an understanding of the method Nietzsche encounters at Bonn and Leipzig, we are ready to examine his time at Bonn. This examination will focus on his thinking on the Greeks, what there is of it, at Bonn, as it will also track his love for music and his attempt to enjoy life in a burst of social activity without precedent and without any comparable future attempt.

As for why Nietzsche chooses to study at Bonn, There is little evidence to point us in any specific direction. Schulpforta alumni teach there, and a number of alumni are also there as students. Curt Paul Janz believes Nietzsche chooses Bonn to be with his friends, while Julian Young thinks it is both Nietzsche's friend Paul Deussen as well as the eminent Professors Ritschl and Jahn that attract him there.[73] It may also be that Volkmann has influence on the decision as well.

[72] KGW I/3, 419. "das Einzelne auf seine tiefsten und weitesten Gründe zurückzuführen"

[73] Janz (1978), 142 and Young (2010), 51.

2.2.1 *Franconia*

After Nietzsche graduates from Schulpforta, he and Paul Deussen spend a few days at Nietzsche's home in Naumburg and then take off for Bonn. One of the first things he and Deussen do is take a steamboat trip on the Rhine and visit sites along the river. One of the their excursions is a ride on horseback up to the Drachenfels, the ruins of a medieval castle built on a hill where legend locates the cave in which Siegfried kills the dragon and bathes in its blood to gain invincibility.[74] This location will play a key role in Nietzsche's *Lectures on Bildung* in 1872. Not long after, Nietzsche and Deussen join the *Burschenschaft* "*Franconia*." The *Burschenschaften* are student organizations founded in "1815 by young Germans recently returned from the 'wars of liberation' against Napoleon's armies of occupation," with the original intent to "promote a united, generally liberal, Germany." By the time Nietzsche and Deussen join, most *Burschenschaften* are little more than clubs where university men socialize, drink and duel.[75]

The importance of Nietzsche's membership in *Franconia* is underscored by the fact that Janz entitles his chapter on Nietzsche at Bonn "The Bonn Franconian," as, for the most part, that is what he is there.[76] That his membership in the society is outside of Nietzsche's comfort zone is reflected in the letter home in late October defending the decision. He explains that he has inspected another society, the *Marchia*, with whom he was able to enjoy a trip to Rolandseck, a town just across the Rhine from the Drachenfels. In addition to this research behind his decision, he further explains that Deussen and six

[74] Janz (1978), 133 and Young (2019), 52.

[75] Young (2019), 53.

[76] "Der Bonner Frankone"

other graduates fresh out of Schulpforta have also joined. Not only are the Schulpforta alumni in the society an important draw, *Franconia* also includes many philologists and music lovers.[77] Almost a full year later in September of 1865, Nietzsche will describe *Franconia* as having the advantage of uniting within it "pretty well all the Schulpforta graduates at Bonn."[78] In addition to providing Nietzsche with a host of familiar faces, *Franconia* also seems, as Julian Young supposes, to offer Nietzsche opportunities to make new friends, and Young sees Nietzsche's membership in the society as highly motivated by the desire to build a social and professional network, though there is no evidence of this in Nietzsche's written statements.[79]

Franconia has two pub nights per week, one of which is to deepen the young scholar's academic experience. Hoyer believes many other events are not officially compulsory but nearly so, like trips to Cologne, *Burschenschaft* festivals, and many duels in which the young men can gain their *Mensur* scar, a life-long mark of honor.[80] The energy with which Nietzsche engages social life in *Franconia* derives from Nietzsche's need to make up for his lack of socialization at Pforta.[81] Though his attempts to loosen up and just be one of the boys are never natural and always a bit awkward, Nietzsche throws himself into the project with characteristic commitment.[82] In his notes is a list of

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[77] KGB I/2, 14-16. See also Janz (1978), 135 and Hoyer (2002), 165.

[78] KGB I/2, 83. "ziemlich alle Bonner Pförtner"

[79] Young (2019), 53.

[80] Hoyer (2002), 166-167.

[81] Hoyer (2002), 165.

[82] Janz (1978), 136 and Pletsch (1991), 65.

thirty-six *Burschenschaften* giving the colors of each society.[83] His letters home are at first full of praise for *Franconia*, though certainly in part to sell his mother on the idea. By February of 1865 he can still write home that *Franconia* is becoming "dearer day by day."[84]

In a letter to his sister he describes yet another trip to the area below the Drachenfels, this time taken with *Franconia* as part of their three-day commemoration of their founding. The noisy group fires shots off into the air on their arrival in Rolandseck, and enjoys some song and wine on the steamboat. The nature-loving Nietzsche caps this description of college-aged revelry off by observing that the place he has just described by its natural features "makes an impression of the deepest peace."[85] We will return to this location and perhaps this very party in the *Lectures on Bildung*.

Though he does drink, Nietzsche is never as much of a drinker as the others, preferring tea and sweets to beer.[86] He does eventually get his *Mensur* scar, though Deussen reports it is on the bridge of his nose, obscured by his glasses.[87] Hoyer believes that Nietzsche is not particularly concerned with the politics of *Franconia* upon joining, as most societies are similarly nationalistic and conservative.[88] Before too long, however, Nietzsche is disaffected by the politics of the other members of *Franconia*, which he finds much too democratic for his tastes. He expresses this displeasure in

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[83] KGW I/4, 39-40.

[84] KGB I/2, 44. "von Tag zu Tag lieber"

[85] KGB I/2, 24-25. "macht den Eindruck der tiefsten Ruhe"

[86] Janz (1978), 137.

[87] Janz (1978), 140.

[88] Hoyer (2002),165.

opposition to their decision to change colors from white, red and gold to black, red and gold, which represent a popular desire for national unification.[89] By May he is already writing to his mother that he cannot and would not like to stay in the society for longer than a year.[90] In a letter to his aristocratic friend from Schulpforta studying in Göttingen, Carl von Gersdorff, also written in May he explains that he cannot stand certain individuals due to their "beer-materialism."[91] After the end of the school year, in August he writes to a friend made at Bonn, Hermann Mushacke, blaming his membership in *Franconia* for a wasted first year, describing their capacity for political judgment as "very low" and finding their behavior "plebeian."[92]

Janz believes Nietzsche's fraternizing first year is the result of his needs for release and a break after six years at the neohumanist cloister-barracks of Schulpforta.[93] Nietzsche admits as much in a letter home in which he discusses the possibility of future military service. At one point he wonders if he should have gone straight from Schulpforta to the military, but then rejects this idea immediately: "But first Pforta – and then non-commissioned officers! No, 'Freedom loves the desert beast!'"[94] *Franconia* has given him more than enough freedom from discipline.

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[89] Janz (1978), 158-159 and Pletsch (1991), 66.

[90] KGB I/2, 52.

[91] KGB I/2, 55. "Biermaterialismus"

[92] KGB I/2, 80. "sehr gering" "plebejisch"

[93] Janz (1978), 135.

[94] KGB I/2, 45. "Aber erst Pforta – und dann Unteroffiziere! Nein, 'Freiheit liebt das Thier der Wüste!'"

2.2.2 Music and Diligence

In addition to social irresponsibility and drinking, Nietzsche finds his diversion, not surprisingly, in music. In his letters, he often mentions concerts he attends, musical performances in which he participates, and the piano he rents (and cannot afford). A note from the period provides a long list of performances he has attended.[95] The skill he has developed in improvising on the piano makes him a hit in social settings, according to his own report.[96] He is also still writing songs and composes twelve in November and early December 1864, which he sends as gifts.[97] In the summer of 1865, he is working on a three-act opera on Ermanaric.[98] In a letter home towards the end of his first semester, he writes that his experiences have been limited recently "to enjoying art."[99] "Art" here does not refer to art galleries or to anything other than music, as he goes on only to discuss music. In the same letter he goes on to explain how he is something of a musical authority in his social circles.[100] Though he will give up theology in this year at Bonn, he is not able to give up music by any means. In fact, Jahn, who has written a Mozart biography still used today, gets him to consider the possibility of becoming a music critic and historian alongside his work as a philologist. As Janz indicates, and perhaps understates, this musical avocation will surface in Nietzsche's advocacy for Wagner.[101]

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[95] KGW I/4, 16-17.

[96] KGB I/2, 4 and Janz (1978), 134, 136.

[97] Janz (1978), 135.

[98] KGW I/4, 65-68.

[99] "auf Kunstgenüsse"

[100] KGB I/2, 42-43.

[101] Janz (1978), 158.

A list written in the late summer of 1865, which seems to be organizing the sections of Nietzsche's life during the Bonn year, possibly in preparation for another autobiography, gives insight into how he prioritizes his activities. The first section is "A Look Back on Life at School," continuing his tradition of explaining his present with a look at the past, though it focuses on the recent trip with Deussen that brought him to Bonn.[102] The second section is "The *Burschenschaft*," showing how prominent the effect of his membership has been. This is followed by what may be construed as its opposite, "My Domesticity," or the solitary activities of the previous year necessary to sustain his animated social life.[103] The fourth point is "Piano."[104] Interesting that though the subpoints listed here show a concern with music in general, including the many performances by others he has taken in, the title of this section focuses on the place of his own musical creation. One of the subpoints for "Piano" is "Jahn" and another is "My Intentions as Reviewer and Historian of Music," indicating that Nietzsche does indeed take Jahn's advice to heart.[105] The fifth point is "Life in Nature," reflective of the fact that he continues to love nature and time in it as much as he has since his childhood.[106] As subpoints it includes social activities on the Rhine as well as solitary activities.

The sixth and final point is "Theology and Philology."[107] Conspicuous is the combination of the two here, especially with theology first, as Nietzsche has at this time,

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[102] "Rückblick auf Schulleben"

[103] "Meine Häuslichkeit"

[104] "Klavier"

[105] "Meine Absichten als Recensent u. Musikhistoriker"

[106] "Naturleben"

[107] "Theologie u. Philologie"

which will be discussed below, dropped the study of theology. The fact that these two constitute the final point in the list may be another indication that they are not so much passions to be enjoyed as the compulsory or necessary section of his life. They are Nietzsche's *work*.[108] Such a reading is supported by the fact that this list is a modified repetition of a similar list from the spring. This first list includes similar points like "Life in the *Burschenschaft*," "Life in Nature," and "Artistic Life" followed by "Work and the Philological."[109] What these two lists make clear about Nietzsche's study of the Greeks at Bonn is that philology is associated with work and not at all with art, which means music for Nietzsche.

That philology is work for Nietzsche may also be indicated by the way he has difficulty jumping into it during this year at Bonn. Biographers repeatedly see Nietzsche making little effort academically in his year at Bonn, and Hoyer wisely observes that one should not expect from the year at Bonn any "great gain in *Bildung*" for Nietzsche, though as we will see, he does pick up at least one seminal idea at Bonn.[110] In November of his first semester, Nietzsche assures his mother that he is attending lectures and tells her how he has had a discussion with Ritschl about philology and theology (without telling her the content of the conversation) and that he is also being influenced by Jahn who, "like me pursues philology and music without making either one a minor matter."[111] Clearly he still feels philology has not overtaken music for him. Again in December, as

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[108] KGW I/4, 62-64.

[109] KGW I/4, 32-33. "Das Leben in der Burschenschaft" "Naturleben" and "Kunstleben" "Die Arbeit und das Philologenthum"; the final English translation is, admittedly, not the most elegant

[110] Hoyer (2002), 162-163. "großen Bildungsgewinn"

[111] KGB I/2, 17-18. "ähnlich wie ich, Philologie und Musik treibt, ohne eins von beiden zur Nebensache zu machen"

part of his campaign to convince his mother that she is not wasting her money and that her son is not wasting his time, Nietzsche writes home protesting that he is indeed taking his studies seriously and gives proof by noting that Professor Jahn has been invited to one of *Franconia's* parties.[112] By May he is more honest about his lack of interest in his studies and explains his rough start by arguing that he has needed to get used to everything, including the historical-critical method.[113] As we have seen, by late summer he blames his lackluster performance in his first year at university on his membership in *Franconia*.

2.2.3 Winter and Summer Semesters (1864-1865)

Nietzsche's matriculation form at Bonn lists theology first, followed by philology. His *Abitur* certificate at Schulpforta has the two in reverse order. Lack of concern for their order likely says more about Nietzsche's indecision than it does about conscious strategies for portraying himself to either institution. We will get to philology but first must ask just why does Nietzsche study theology at Bonn? Most biographers believe it is for his mother's sake. Her husband had been a pastor from a family of pastors as had her father and most of the men in her family.[114] This is surely a good part of the reason. As a young boy, Nietzsche is deeply pious and wants to follow in father's footsteps out of his own motivation. The secondary education available to him, first at the *Domgymnasium* at Naumburg and then at Schulpforta provides the neohumanist focus on classical education standard for preparing for theological studies at the university level,

[112] KGB I/2, 22.

[113] KGB I/2, 53. See also Hoyer (2002), 163.

[114] Hoyer (2002), 155.

standard for studying anything at the university level. From a very early age, he is on track to study theology and become a pastor.

By the time he gets to Bonn, his crisis in belief has already advanced to a point of no return. We have seen that he is no longer committed to studying theology when he writes his mother from Schulpforta asking for advice on what he should study. That he matriculates at Bonn in both disciplines shows that he is not yet able to focus with the single-mindedness to which he commits himself at the end of his time at Schulpforta. It may also show that he does not know what he wants to do professionally. It is clear what his passion is at this point, music. But he has not had any of the training needed to make a career out of music. He has never had any formal training in music. It is most likely, then, that Nietzsche signs up for theology *and* philology at Bonn because of the momentum of his life's course up to this point: theology has long been an expectation for him, and philology is a field in which he has shown promise after receiving an already impressive introduction to the historical-critical method. Both tracks offer professional opportunities, though he is already likely uninterested in becoming a pastor. We see him still hanging on to music, hoping to himself that it is still equal to philology in his attentions, but without opportunities for professional training. He is at the point of needing to decide what he wants to be when he grows up, which is not easy as his passions and his training do not coincide.

The university at Bonn features two dominant forms of learning: the *Kolleg* and the *Seminar*. The former is a leftover of medieval university education that strictly separates teacher from student; it is a lecture where the teacher speaks and the student silently listens and learns. The latter form is a product of Humboldt's reforms and

reflects his belief that there is no hierarchy at the university level between teacher and student, but that they are all equally tasked with expanding knowledge. Thus, the *Seminar* is ideally an equal exchange of ideas between teacher and students all searching for truth together.[115] In his winter semester at Bonn, Nietzsche attends six *Kollegs*: The Gospel of John, Church History Part I, Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* (from Ritschl), History of German Art, The Life of Michelangelo, and a course on politics (simply listed as *Politik*).[116] The two religion courses make sense for one still enrolled as a student of theology. What is more interesting is that he only has one course on classical philology, and not one focusing on Greek works, and that he is taking two courses on art history and one on politics. Perhaps he is taking Ritschl's course to get to know his former teacher's, Volkmann's, *Doktorvater*. Also interesting is that the two art history courses focusing on visual arts are unable to derail Nietzsche from his focus on music, as they do not result in a flowering of his interest in visual arts. In general, this course load reflects Nietzsche's inability to commit yet to one topic for deep study and his continuing quest for focus.

Near the end of this winter semester, Nietzsche is able to write home that he is committing himself to philology, which means of course without saying it to his mother, that he is dropping theology. The unapologetic manner in which he announces this to his mother indicates that he now owns this decision as an adult, which in turn indicates an awareness of his mother's likely disappointment. He simply writes: "This too: my turn towards philology is settled. To study both is something half done."[117] Then he begins a new paragraph ending the letter with well-wishes but no further explanation of or defense

[115] Hoyer (2002), 159.

[116] Hoyer (2002), 160.

[117] "Noch dies: meine Wendung zur Philologie ist entschieden. Beides zu studieren ist etwas Halbes."

for his decision.[118] This sharp break initiates a new stage in Nietzsche's relationship with his mother that will last the rest of his life. No longer is he the deferential, chivalrous young boy. He is a man with independent thoughts and plans, even if he still has to depend on her financially.[119] Janz believes it is Nietzsche's reading of David Strauß's historical-critical account of Jesus' life, an account which thoroughly historicizes and humanizes Jesus, that brings Nietzsche to this final break with Christian belief.[120]

Nietzsche begins his second and final semester at Bonn as a dedicated student of philology. The six lectures he attends are: The Essentials of Archeology (from Jahn), Latin Grammar (from Ritschl), General History of Philosophy and Plato's Life and Teachings (both by Schulpforta alumnus Karl Schaarschmidt), History of German Literature:1800-Present, and the Poems of Walther von der Vogelweide. Obviously, there are no lectures on theology, though there are courses from two fields that interested him at Schulpforta: philosophy (i.e., Plato), and German literature. He is also taking a course from Ritschl again, and we should be clear that "Latin Grammar" is not the kind of introduction to grammar that one needs to begin reading in Latin. Nietzsche has more than mastered that at Schulpforta. This is a course delving deeper into what Wolf and Ritschl call grammar, the deep, dynamic and diachronic understanding of a language that allows one to make the judgments of criticism and achieve the insights of hermeneutics within the historical-critical method. He is finally also taking a course from Jahn. In

[118] KGB I/2, 40.

[119] Janz (1978), 148-149.

[120] Janz (1978), 146.

addition to these lectures, Nietzsche is also taking part in a philological seminar led jointly by Ritschl and Jahn.[121]

Hubert Cancik, a philologist and one of the editors of *The New Pauly*, the standard German dictionary for antiquity, describes Jahn's course on archeology as one intended to prepare students for a course he plans to teach in the winter called "The History of Greek Art."[122] Comparing the notes Nietzsche takes to those taken by another student, Eduard Hiller, Cancik can give us the plan for the semester. It consists of thirteen parts of which the middle point, the seventh, is dedicated to Winckelmann. The course features sculpture prominently while also covering everything Jahn believes archeology can examine.[123] Cancik describes the central section on Winckelmann as the highpoint of the course, and he provides a few sentences on Winckelmann from Nietzsche's notes: "Throughout the course of his life and development his uncommon meaning is unexplained. He appears to us as a vessel, in which one great idea is set down. At the same time he possessed the full intellectual and moral energy."[124] This is the first time in Nietzsche's entire education that we see him learning from someone who clearly has and expresses great respect for Winckelmann and his work. Long before Nietzsche comes to Bonn, Jahn delivers a speech in favor of a memorial to Winckelmann. In the speech he calls Winckelmann a "creator," a "prophet," and, curiously, a

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[121] Hoyer (2002), 161. On Scharschmidt, see 164.

[122] *Der neue Pauly*

[123] Cancik (1991), 29.

[124] "Durch seinen Lebens- und Entwicklungsgang ist seine ungemeine Bedeutung nicht erklärt. Er erscheint uns wie ein Gefäss, in das eine große Idee niedergelegt ist. Dabei besaß er die volle geistige und sittliche Energie."

"knight."[125] In his comparison of Hiller's and Nietzsche's notes, Cancik finds the former's complete and the latter's incomplete, full of holes, and disorganized.[126] This course and the one on Plato are the only two courses Nietzsche takes that are focused on the Greeks while at Bonn. Both courses from Ritschl are on Latin language and literature.

We do see Nietzsche doing some work on Greek material during this year. In a note dating from somewhere between the spring of 1865 and the spring of 1866, we see Nietzsche listing sources on Simonides, along with some other books, most likely ones he needs to acquire.[127] He does turn into Jahn, most likely for the seminar and not the lecture course on archeology, a paper called "Simonides' Lamentation of Danae," which is likely a forerunner to a paper he will publish in 1867 discussing issues of meter and other musical aspects of Greek lyric poetry.[128] Picking up where his *Oedipus* essay left off, Nietzsche is continuing to work on questions of the musicality of Greek poetry during this year. A brief note from Spring of 1865 asks, "What does poetry have in common with music?" and includes the observation that "Music is analogous to feeling, not identical or the language of feeling."[129] Here we see his interest in finding commonalities between music and Greek poetry not limited to tragedy, but extended to lyric, one of his other interests at Schulpforta.

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[125] Cancik (1991), 38-39. "Schöpfer" "Prophet" "Ritter"

[126] Cancik (1991), 31.

[127] KGW I/4, 44, 46.

[128] Hoyer (2002), 161. "Simonides lamentatio Danae"

[129] KGW I/4, 32. "Was hat die Poesie gemeinsam mit der Musik?" "Die Musik ist analog dem Gefühl, nicht indentisch oder Sprache des Gefühls"

2.2.4 Relationship to Ritschl and Philology

Like his friend Deussen, Nietzsche arrives in Bonn with letters of introduction to Jahn and Ritschl.[130] Curt Janz thinks that the talk Nietzsche has with Ritschl is decisive in his turn from theology and commitment to philology. Beyond this, he sees Nietzsche having no further personal interaction with Ritschl at Bonn and believes Nietzsche purposely, even if not consciously, avoids Ritschl as he is still undecided about philology and the strength of Ritschl's personality could pull him decisively into the discipline.[131] This is quite plausible. We have seen that Nietzsche describes the followers of Ritschl, not Ritschl himself, as one-sided. Though it is unclear to what this exactly refers, it is possible that it means a strong partisan commitment on the part of his students within the conflict between Ritschl and Jahn, as it is written in the summer when the conflict is at full steam. It does not seem to refer to Ritschl's philological approach, as Nietzsche eventually adopts it almost entirely once he commits to being Ritschl's student, and since Ritschl and Jahn are so similar in method and Nietzsche offers no similar criticism of Jahn's students or of the Bonn School in general.

Cancik sees Nietzsche taking up not only Ritschl's methods but also almost all of his professional interests except that Nietzsche stays with Greek literature while Ritschl is a Latinist, and he does not pick up Ritschl's pursuit of linguistic and epigraphic studies. Nietzsche does share Ritschl's interest in literary history written anciently as well as Ritschl's focus on ancient libraries and librarians. We have already seen in his Theognis essay, the direction of which was influenced by Ritschl's student Volkmann, Nietzsche

[130] Hoyer (2002), 15.

[131] Janz (1978), 143, 163.

beginning to look into issues of sources, collections and Byzantine lexicographers, and he will continue to work in precisely these areas of Ritschl's expertise while under Ritschl at Leipzig.[132]

Janz's speculation on Nietzsche resisting the power of Ritschl's personality and influence while at Bonn is most likely correct. A letter written in August of 1865, after Nietzsche leaves Bonn but before he arrives in Leipzig, would seem to confirm this. The letter is written to Hermann Mushacke, a friend Nietzsche makes while at Bonn who is also transferring to Leipzig and who apparently also takes courses from Ritschl at Bonn, perhaps with Nietzsche, since Nietzsche talks to him about Ritschl as one familiar with his teaching and research. He admits to Mushacke that he wasted the year at Bonn and that he would be grateful to Ritschl, had he taken advantage of what he has to offer. But, Nietzsche insists, he has been working on his own personal development, and it is too easy, he continues, for one "to be destined by men like Ritschl, to be swept away perhaps even on paths that lie far from one's own nature."[133] Then he continues to praise the understanding of himself he has gained as the greatest achievement of the past year.[134] Indeed we do see Nietzsche wary of Ritschl's potential influence, his protection of this period of personal development, and an admission that he consciously made less use of Ritschl than he could have.

We have clear signs that he does absorb some of the Bonn School's method, most likely in Ritschl's lectures, but possibly also in Jahn's course on archeology and in

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[132] Cancik (1995), 15-16.

[133] "von Männern wie Ritschl bestimmt werden, fortgerissen werden vielleicht gerade auf Bahnen, die der eignen Natur fern liegen"

[134] KGB I/2, 79-81.

Ritschl's and Jahn's seminar to the extent that Nietzsche participates in it. In the letter home at the end of February in which Nietzsche defends his lack of discipline by pointing out that having gone straight from Schulpforta to the military would have been too much, and thus that he could not let Bonn be like either Schulpforta or the military, he does protest: "Given that, I have tidily steered into the philological channel here."[135] Earlier that month he has announced to his mother and sister that he is done with theology, and certainly that is part of what he means here. He may also be indicating that he is learning things that are improving his philological skills and even increasing his commitment to and interest in philology.

We get a clearer indication of this in a letter home in May in which he states he is still happy he spent this first year in Bonn and then goes on: "What really matters of course is learning method as a philologist, and where better than here?"[136] This is a clear indication of the reputation of the Bonn School's rigorous method and of Nietzsche's awareness of it. He speaks of it as if even his family members back home should know that there is no better place to learn it. At this point he has had Ritschl's course on Plautus and is currently in his course on Latin grammar. He is also attending Jahn's course on archeology and is in the seminar run jointly by both professors.

We get a critical clue as to what Nietzsche is picking up from the Bonn School's method in a letter written in June only to his sister. She is angry with him for the way he has discussed his loss of religious faith with other family members. He is writing to convince her of the necessity of his candor and strictness. He writes:

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[135] KGB I/2, 45. "Dazu bin ich hier ordentlich in philologisches Fahrwasser gekommen."

[136] KGB I/2, 53. "Es kommt ja wesentlich darauf an, als Philologe Methode zu lernen; und wo besser als hier?"

> Is what matters then to receive the opinion of God, the world, and atonement that allow one to feel most comfortable? Is not the result of his research for the true researcher rather something indifferent? Do we seek then quiet, peace, and happiness in our research? No, only the truth, and even if it is most repulsive and ugly.[137]

The key word in this passage for us is "result." Just what result is one trying to get from their religious belief on the one hand or from their scholarly research on the other? Religion has a predetermined result it wants, and shapes itself towards that end. Nietzsche believes the researcher works entirely differently. With no predetermined result in mind, the researcher works carefully through the data. What is produced, "truth," is completely unknown before the end of the research process. The result may end up horrifying and ugly and bring no comfort or happiness whatsoever. This is irrelevant to the researcher.

This concept of working without attachment to any particular result is central to Nietzsche's understanding of Ritschl and his method. In Nietzsche's "Retrospective on my Two Years in Leipzig," written sometime between the fall of 1867 and the spring of 1868 and to which we will later return, Nietzsche describes Ritschl's teaching and research thus: "At the same time he was free from every scholarly creed, and he was especially annoyed by an unconditional, indiscriminate devotion to his results."[138] Had Nietzsche already learned this attitude from Ritschl by his second semester at Bonn? Was this an attitude Nietzsche already had and then found appealing in Ritschl? The former seems more likely, as we have never before seen Nietzsche speaking of a

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[137] KGB I/2, 60. "Kommt es denn darauf an, die Anschauung über Gott, Welt und Versöhnung zu bekommen, bei der man sich am bequemsten befindet, ist nicht viel mehr für den wahren Forscher das Resultat seiner Forschung geradezu etwas Gleichgültiges? Suchen wir denn bei unserem Forschen Ruhe, Friede, Glück? Nein, nur die Wahrheit, and wäre sie höchst abschreckend und häßlich."

[138] KGW I/4, 520. "Rückblick auf meine zwei Leipziger Jahre" "Dabei war er frei von jedem Credo in der Wissenschaft; und besonders verdroß ihn ein unbedingtes urtheilloses Hingeben an seine Resultate."

commitment to research without predetermined results. Such an attitude is at the core of Ritschl's work, and we see Nietzsche adopting and promoting it only once he is in a second semester with Ritschl.

His biographers do not connect Nietzsche's statement to his sister in this letter with philology, reading it instead as a step in Nietzsche's own existential quest – which it certainly is.[139] Earlier we noted Hollingdale's surprise that after religion begins falling apart for Nietzsche at Schulpforta, Nietzsche does not immediately reach for another dogma to take its place, and we saw that this would have been a likely time for someone educated at a neohumanist *Gymnasium* like Schulpforta to perhaps reach for classicism as such a new dogma, which Nietzsche does not. What we see in this letter to his sister is Nietzsche beginning to find a replacement for his religious belief. It promises nothing as grand as Christianity and Classicism offer and embraces more risk and pain than either, but Nietzsche's new commitment to *Wissenschaft* does give his life and activities purpose: he is searching for truth, whatever form it may take. Biographers are surely right to see Nietzsche's statement to his sister as a step in his existential quest. For understanding Nietzsche's relationship to the Greeks, though, it is imperative to recognize that he has learned this step from the historical-critical method of professional philology, likely bolstered by his reading of David Strauß's *The Life of Jesus* which both undoes religion for him while demonstrating the historical-critical method. Classicism is not turned to as a new dogma for Nietzsche at Schulpforta, but the historical-critical method he is learning at Bonn is.

[139] See Janz (1978), 152-153, Pletsch (1991), 69-70, and Young (2010), 59-60.

Another indication that Nietzsche does indeed learn this non-teleological search for truth from Ritschl is found in the same letter in August to Hermann Mushacke mentioned already. Nietzsche tells Mushacke he is now working on Theognis in preparation for going to Leipzig and goes on: "Now and then, when every way appears closed off, I would like to despair of the whole investigation. Whether results are produced, – something I can hardly assess – they will be transformed into a paper for the seminar at Leipzig."[140] It would appear that his dramatic protestation that he has no idea whether his research will even produce results, that he is clearly working with no results in mind, is meant to assure his friend that he is staying true to what they have both been taught. Otherwise, such a statement is hard to explain. It is much more precise than, "if the paper turns out to be any good, I'll present it." Nietzsche's words specifically paint a picture for another Ritschl student of Nietzsche working diligently without any thought to results.

2.2.5 Return to Work

Nietzsche's conversion to scholarship as an existential pursuit gives his studies new energy and renews his academic diligence. In the summer of 1865, we see Nietzsche starting to refocus on his studies as his rejection of life in the *Burschenschaft* solidifies. Already in May he writes to his mother and sister that he has "the proper philological consciousness" now that he irreversibly is a student solely of the

[140] "Mitunter, wenn jeder Weg verschlossen scheint, möchte ich an der ganzen Untersuchung verzweifeln. Kommen Resultate heraus, – was ich kaum übersehen kann – werden sie in eine Arbeit für das Leipziger Seminar verwandelt."

philosophical faculty, and no longer, by implication, of the theological.[141] His earlier commitment to focus has returned and he writes that he now endeavors "to centralize" himself in every aspect of his life.[142] We have seen that he is more intellectually active in the summer semester, participating in Ritschl's and Jahn's philological seminar for which he likely produces his paper on Simonides.

As we see in his letter to Mushacke, he is returning to his work on Theognis. A list of works to read during the Easter break includes Theognis.[143] In the letter to Mushacke in which he tells him that he is now working hard on Theognis, he describes him as being horribly mistreated and as someone from whom Nietzsche has to daily cut "tacked on frills," presumably attached to him by those undiscerning critics who have been mistreating him, as one of the tasks of criticism is to clear away all spurious readings.[144] If anything comes of this work, as we have seen, it will be turned into a seminar paper.[145] Not only is he working, he is working so that he can hit the ground running at Leipzig. As we shall see, this work spent on Theognis now is a great investment as it wins him Ritschl's favor and thus, eventually, secures his professorship at Basel. In two more letters written in September just before he gets to Leipzig, another to Mushacke and one to Raimund Grainier, an old Schulpforta friend to whom Nietzsche

[141] "das rechte philologische Bewußtsein"

[142] KGB I/2, 49-50. "centralisiren"

[143] KGW I/4, 50-51.

[144] "aufgeflickten Flitter"

[145] KGB I/2, 81.

once sent his odd "Euphorion" fragment, Nietzsche again mentions that he is working on Theognis.[146]

It should be observed that in a note dated May through June of 1865, we see Nietzsche seriously reading Lessing's *Laokoon*, though he says nothing explicit about the Greeks in connection with it.[147]

2.2.6 Why Nietzsche Transfers to Leipzig

Before we go with Nietzsche to Leipzig, we should gather what evidence we can to help us understand why Nietzsche is transferring there. As Nietzsche himself expresses, Bonn is too expensive for him, so the fact that he transfers at all is, if nothing else, financially necessitated.[148] In fact, by the time he leaves Bonn, he owes what equals a year's worth of rent in debt.[149] It should also be kept in mind that it is quite normal at this time for students to move around frequently during their university years. Nietzsche's friend Deussen, for example, studies at Bonn, Tübingen and Berlin before graduating with a dissertation written at Marburg.[150] Any discussion of his transfer must keep this basic fact in sight to avoid digging up problems where there are none. In a letter home in May he is uncertain about where to study next, his only criteria, besides the quality of the faculty, are that he would either like to live in southern Germany or go to a foreign university so that he can go where he does not have friends that will pull him into

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[146] KGB I/2, 84-86.

[147] KGW I/4, 58-59.

[148] KGB I/2, 45.

[149] Young (2010), 61.

[150] Reich (2004), 53.

predetermined social circles.[151] Another letter from May sent shortly after that one, but to his old Schulpforta friend Gersdorff explains that Nietzsche decides firmly to transfer to Leipzig once he hears Gersdorff is going there and that Ritschl's recent decision to move there only strengthens him in that choice.[152] This shows a serious vacillation in Nietzsche's thinking as he quickly goes from wanting to escape all former acquaintances at his new school to claiming to choose his next place of study because a friend will be going there. As Nietzsche himself observes, much of this year is about finding himself. It appears he is still trying to do so.

Janz depends on this letter in his diagnosis of motivations, arguing that Gersdorff initiates the decision and Ritschl cements it. Young also gives credit to both for motivating the choice.[153] In another letter home at the end of May, Nietzsche cites Ritschl's move as his main reason, but also notes that he has friends that will be in Leipzig. Here he adds one more key element: music. In another letter home in June he again expresses his excitement about having friends and family close, but he is especially excited that he will be "in middle of an abundance of musical stimulations."[154] In another letter to Gersdorff in early August, Nietzsche writes, "Now I am not in fact going to Leipzig just to pursue philology, rather I want to gain considerable musical training. In Bonn I simply have no opportunity for it."[155] Here not only do we have Nietzsche's clear intention to enjoy the musical opportunities in Leipzig but specifically to finally receive

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[151] KGB I/2, 53.

[152] KGB I/2, 54-55.

[153] Janz (1978), 153-155, and Young (2010), 61.

[154] KGB I/2, 65. "mitten in einer Fülle von Musikanregungen"

[155] KGB I/2, 75. "Ich gehe nun zwar nicht nach Leipzig, um dort nur Philologie zu treiben, sondern ich will mich wesentlich in der Musik ausbilden. Dazu habe ich in Bonn schlechterdings keine Gelegenheit."

training in music, something he has never had in all of his years of philological education.

This dual commitment to philology and music seems to be inspired, in part at least, by Jahn's encouragement and example. It does not seem that Nietzsche is sticking with philology simply because it is his only hope for a profession. At the same time, it is clearly not a passion, and he still assigns the Greeks no exemplary role in leading moderns to a higher cultural plane. Also, it does not seem that Nietzsche sees philology offering him access to the kind of ideal art-world like the one Winckelmann projects on the ancient Greeks. At this point, art (which means music for Nietzsche) and philology are two separate things, though he is continuing to build what ties he can between the two with his thoughts on the musical nature of Greek tragic and lyric poetry.

2.3.0 LEIPZIG (1865-1869)

Nietzsche matriculates at Leipzig a few days after his twenty-first birthday in mid-October, 1865. The founding of the university in 1409 predates those of both Bonn and Schulpforta. In the 1830s, administration of the medieval university is taken over by the state and it is modernized on the model of Humboldt's university in Berlin.[156] Nietzsche is registered there for four semesters, twice as many as he spends at Bonn, starting in the fall of 1865 and ending in fall of 1867, when he begins his military service.[157] After his year in the military, Nietzsche will give another presentation to the Philological Association [*Verein*], a student organization founded by Ritschl and

[156] Hoyer (2002), 168.

[157] Hoyer (2002), 168, and Janz (1978), 176.

discussed below, but he will no longer consider himself a student at the university as he will explain in a letter to Deussen.[158]

As Hoyer notes, in Nietzsche's *Retrospective* on his two years at Leipzig, none of the high points mentioned are courses or lectures.[159] Based on Nietzsche's leaving certificate, his preserved lecture notes, and statements he makes, Hoyer has reconstructed the courses likely attended by Nietzsche. In the Winter Semester of 1865-66, he takes: History of Greek Tragedy and Introduction to Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (Ritschl), Roman Epigraphy as Aid to the Study of Latin Grammar (Ritschl), History of Greek Literature (G. Curtius), and Foundations of Practical Politics. In the Summer Semester of 1866, he takes: Encyclopedia of Classical Philology in Connection with a Thorough Introduction to Greek and Latin Linguistics (G. Curtius), Comparative Statistics and Political Science of European States, and other courses for which we lack the names. In the Winter Semester of 1866-67, he takes: Latin Grammar (Ritschl), Greek Grammar (G. Curtius), Explanation of Fragments of Greek Lyricists (G. Curtius), and Greek Paleography for Theologians and Philologists (C. von Tischendorf). In his last semester, Summer 1867, he takes: The Most Important Lessons [*Lehren*] of Latin Grammar (Ritschl), History of Political Theories, and Old French Grammar.[160] We see a much higher density of philological courses than he has taken at Bonn, with the only known distraction being a few political courses. We also see Nietzsche taking a number of courses from Ritschl, including at least three on method. His focus is finally narrowing.

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[158] Janz (1978), 248, and KGB I/2,328.

[159] Hoyer (2002), 169.

[160] Hoyer (2002), 174.

All the same, in a letter to Hermann Mushacke in late April 1866, Nietzsche explains that he finds the lecture courses he is taking boring and most useful for sleep and relaxation.[161] In his *Retrospective* on the two years at Leipzig, he explains that what interests him most is method, and that, though content is esteemed highly, very little of it is actually taught. The content rarely appeals to him anyway, and he focuses instead on the form in which a teacher conveys his wisdom [*Weisheit*]. Indeed, it seems to be the method of *teaching* that most interests him at Leipzig where he limits himself "to observing how one teaches, how one transmits the method of a *Wissenschaft* to young souls."[162] We will see Nietzsche's new interest in pedagogy continue to develop. It would seem to indicate not only an interest in a teaching career, but that he finally commits himself at Leipzig to the career path offered to him philology.

The remainder of this chapter investigates Nietzsche's experience at Leipzig where his existential crisis and commitment to a career in philology begin to turn him decisively towards the classicism expressed in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung*.[163] First we see how his encounter with the philosophies of Schopenhauer and Lange give him both new ways to cope with the conceptual vacuum left by his loss of faith and a new way to think about philology. Then we discuss his time in the military and early attempts to pursue philology in a more philosophical manner. Finally, we look at how his thinking

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[161] KGB I/2, 129.

[162] KGW I/4,511. "zu beachten, wie man lehrt, wie man die Methode einer Wissenschaft in junge Seelen überträgt"

[163] The third motivation, his love of music, does not drive his classicism until he moves to Switzerland, at which point it causes this classicism to crystallize into its most solid and sparkling expression, though it has already led Nietzsche to the explore the relationship of music and text in tragedy as seen in his paper on *Oedipus Rex* written at Schulpforta.

on his career develops, discuss the first indications of a nascent classicism, and examine the role that music plays for him while in Leipzig.

2.3.1 Encountering Schopenhauer and Lange

Nietzsche's thinking on almost every aspect of his existence is deeply impacted by two discoveries he makes during his student years in Leipzig: the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer and a history of philosophy by Friedrich Albert Lange. In a letter home to his mother and sister, written on the 5th of November, 1865, just a few weeks after school begins in Leipzig, he asks them if it really is so easy for them to bear "this whole existence full of contradiction, where nothing is clear other than that it is unclear?"[164] The existential crisis caused by losing his religious faith is becoming overwhelming enough that he needs to express it to the one person he should least like to, his mother. In response to having been earlier admonished to do his duty, most likely by his mother, he now writes, "From which source, then, do I know everything that is a duty for me to fulfill?"[165]

We do not have any indication of the exact date when Nietzsche first buys Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation* (1844) in his landlord's bookstore and begins to read it.[166] Perhaps Nietzsche's questions to his mother are being posed as he begins the book, or perhaps they are only a clear indication of a need requiring the relief he will very soon find in Schopenhauer. He does not explicitly mention Schopenhauer to his family until a letter in December, in which the twenty-two year old

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[164] "[…] dieses ganzes widerspruchsvolle Dasein, wo nichts klar ist als daß es unklar ist?"

[165] KGB I/2, 94-95. "Woher weiß ich denn das alles, was mir zu erfüllen Pflicht ist?"

[166] *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*

scholar gives his mother a list the books he wants to be given for Christmas, a tradition he has observed since his first year at Schulpforta, when it was perhaps a bit more age-appropriate.[167] Whether he has just discovered Schopenhauer or is about to at the time of the November 5th letter, we see Nietzsche still very much without conceptual clarity or moral guidance. He is hovering precariously above the pit of nihilism he spends the rest of his life trying to keep from falling into.

Nietzsche's relationship to Schopenhauer has been discussed in detail many times already.[168] What is key for us to note here is how Schopenhauer affects Nietzsche's thinking on Greece as exemplary for moderns. As mentioned above, Nietzsche does not turn to classicism as a replacement for Christianity while at Schulpforta. We have also seen in the letter to his sister in June of 1865 that he does begin to see purpose in pursuing truth through *Wissenschaft*, regardless of the results of that pursuit, which is to say that he hopes the Bonn School's method will give him some existential purpose. As Janz notes, Schopenhauer presents a similar "fight for the truth without compromise or fear" that appeals to Nietzsche, building on the courageous purpose he finds in his professional work, and courage has been a virtue quite important to Nietzsche since he was a boy.[169]

With Schopenhauer, Nietzsche finally finds an answer as satisfying as Protestantism once was for his desire for epistemological orientation and moral direction. He also finds a vision of art as redemptive.[170] Nietzsche has since his youth had a deep

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[167] KGB I/2,101.

[168] See, for example, Simmel (1920), Most (1977), Kopij and Kunicki (2006), and Dahlkvist (2007).

[169] Janz (1978), 182. "kompromiß- und furchtloser Kampf um die Wahrheit"

[170] Janz (1978), 179-81.

appreciation for art, writing poetry and music, dabbling in fiction, and beginning some dramas. But he has never consciously discussed the *value* of art or presented it as serving a specific purpose in life. It is from Schopenhauer, not classicism, that Nietzsche first gains this conviction of the redemptive value of art which will be so central to the form of classicism he expresses in 1872.

Schopenhauer's idea of the way art serves life, as Nietzsche receives it, proposes that life is constant willing and, thus, constant suffering. Art and aesthetic experience temporarily suspend human volition, lifting the perceiver of art temporarily out of suffering.[171] In an aesthetic experience, Schopenhauer believes, one no longer experiences oneself as an individual, willing ceases, and the object one perceives is not an individuated object, but an a-spatial, a-temporal Platonic Form. Thus, art can provide us with a privileged vision closer to the truth than our usual spatially and temporally determined perceptions of an individuated world.[172] The artist who is able to provide others with this privileged wisdom and temporary reprieve from suffering is Schopenhauer's "genius," the rare individual who has access to will-less objectivity.[173] This idea of the genius as one with clearer vision unperturbed by the will and individuation is, we will see, critical to Nietzsche's reception of Wagner.

In his student years at Leipzig, Nietzsche says only a little specifically about art or its value in these Schopenhauerian terms. He discusses the value of the cessation of willing and the pleasure of experiencing a "disinterested eye" (something he experiences walking in nature), as he also uses Schopenhauer in two different letters to comfort a

[171] Soll (1998), 83.

[172] Soll (1998), 93-94.

[173] Young (2005), 125-127.

friend whose brother has died.[174] He also describes Schopenhauer, alongside Schumann's music and going for walks, as one of his great forms of recuperation after a day of his philological work.[175] Schopenhauer's theories have clearly deeply impressed Nietzsche, but it will take another encounter, or two, for the questions of the value of art to really become central for him. For now, what is most important to him is the idea of seeing, by means of art, concepts similar to Plato's ideas that are neither the objects of daily perception nor, for Schopenhauer, the absolute truth of existence but mediating forms between the two.

Schopenhauer leads Nietzsche, in a way Plato never does at Schulpforta or Bonn, to an interest in the history of philosophy. By the late summer of 1866, almost a year after discovering Schopenhauer, this interest brings Nietzsche to read Friedrich Albert Lange's newly published *History of Materialism* (1866), a history stretching from the pre-Socratics up into the 1860s.[176] Much less attention has been given to Lange's influence on Nietzsche than has been to Schopenhauer's, and, as James I. Porter points out, the importance of his ideas for Nietzsche "has never been fully appreciated."[177] This is perhaps because Wagner's strong influence on Nietzsche's language leads him to rely more heavily on Schopenhauer's vocabulary in *Birth*. It may also be because Nietzsche himself says so little of Lange outside of the letters of these Leipzig years. A third possible reason may be that Lange is not canonized in the history of philosophy the way

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[174] "interesseloses Auge"

[175] KGB I/2,119, 194-197, 198-202

[176] *Geschichte des Materialismus*

[177] Porter (2000b), 9.

Schopenhauer has been, and gets little traction with professional philosophers today.[178] George J. Stack provides a thorough and useful analysis of Lange's formative influence on Nietzsche in his *Lange and Nietzsche* (1983), which should have opened up a field of study that remains much too neglected even still. Though he focuses on how Lange affects Nietzsche's philosophical program throughout his middle- and late-period, the implications of Stack's analysis make quite clear that Lange is also integral to the curious classicism Nietzsche pursues in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* of 1872, even if it does not focus on this early period. Porter's *Invention of Dionysus* (2000) does give more attention to the impact Lange has on Nietzsche's thinking in *Birth*, though his study is not focused on Lange.[179]

Stack summarizes Lange's views, as presented in *History of Materialism* in two parts. First, the advance of *Wissenschaft* has led to the realization that our knowledge is only of phenomena and is formed by our own organization. To this clearly Kantian proposition, Lange adds that our own organization that forms our knowledge of phenomena is itself only known as a phenomenon, which is to say the entire Kantian and post-Kantian discussion of how we form knowledge is no more objective than our perceptions of the world. The second part of Lange's view is that the loss of what was once a ubiquitous religious belief at a time when *Wissenschaft* is becoming predominant

[178] This seems to be determinant in the shape of Paul Swift's *Becoming Nietzsche: Early Reflections on Democritus, Schopenhauer, and Kant* (2005). The book says very little about Lange despite his formative importance on Nietzsche's thinking. It is written from the perspective of the discipline of philosophy with a focus on teleology. Thus, it considers only the canonized figures of Democritus, Kant and Schopenhauer, whom Swift designates as "primary thinkers," "traditional philosophers," and "pivotal thinkers" (2). For the question of Lange's influence, Swift refers readers in a footnote on page 3 to Stack's book.

[179] He offers a useful summary of Lange in relation to Nietzsche more concise than Stack's. See Porter (2000b), 9-16.

is leading "Western civilization to the brink of a crisis," a proposition Nietzsche understands all too personally.[180]

As for Lange's views on *Wissenschaft*, what he is primarily discussing as *Wissenschaft* is the positivism of his time, the genealogy of which he traces back to pre-Socratic atomists in his *History*. Despite his neo-Kantian skepticism, Lange does not think that we should have better scientific explanations than positivism provides. Beyond his worries of their corrosive effects on human purpose and existential comfort, he knows that we simply have no way to validate them as objective, which is not the same thing as wanting to throw them out in the hopes of something better. He is not at all anti-*Wissenschaft*, he is simply compelled to admit that even basic concepts like "thing" and "matter," though quite useful, have no validity as actual reality.[181] Another critique Lange offers of *Wissenschaft* as currently practiced is that it is too fractured into sub-disciplines and methodologies. He suspects, in fact, that *Wissenschaft* can never offer a unified theory using its actual methodologies, and that any attempt at such a holistic picture is more aesthetic than scientific.[182]

This is indeed a dire situation for Western humanity, losing the existential comfort of its religious faith to a *Wissenschaft* that itself is extremely limited. Lange fears that only the most "disciplined scientific mind" can continue to live with the agnosticism of *Wissenschaft* and that an entire people, its culture and civilization will be unable to live long without "ideals of a religious or post-religious nature."[183] Judeo-

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[180] Stack (1983), 302-303.

[181] Stack (1983), 17.

[182] Stack (1983), 304.

[183] Stack (1983), 18.

Christian religion is irretrievable and any attempts with metaphysical systems to explain reality are "doomed to failure." Thus, with religion, *Wissenschaft*, and metaphysical philosophy unable to provide humanity with the comfort, orientation, and direction it needs, Lange proposes the only possible source of salvation he can see: the projection of a poetic, myth-creating, ideal world. This world of artistically created ideas provides a "'figurative representation' of the entire 'truth'," a truth which is not scientifically or empirically verifiable, nor even taken to be such, but simply an expression of values. This poetic activity is not metaphysical and never masks its artistic, which is to say fictive, nature.[184]

Where religion and *Wissenschaft* are failing humanity and human culture, artistic philosophy needs to step in. Lange feels that philosophers should be allowed poetic freedom as long as they are edifying, and thus for him a philosopher should at best be a kind of artist.[185] In this, Lange is still working from Kant. He takes Kant's noumenal world, where Kant believes useful forms of the thing in itself called "regulative ideas," such as God and the soul, can still have an effect on our thinking and behavior, and proposes what he calls "the standpoint of the ideal."[186] This standpoint is a heuristic position from which a poetic philosopher can project edifying concepts and myths. This standpoint and the "truths" it allows one to create do not and need not have any empirical or even rational validation. They are to be valued for the "effects that such ideals would have upon human life, the feelings, sentiments needs and aspirations of mankind."[187] To

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[184] Stack (1983), 304.

[185] Stack (1983), 11.

[186] Stack (1983), 308, 312. "der Standpunkt der Ideal"

[187] Stack (1983), 11, 306, 319.

be clear, this creation of "truths" valued for their effects or results is what Nietzsche has recently rejected about religious thinking in his letter to his sister.

Nietzsche does, nevertheless, embrace Lange's standpoint of the ideal. Apparently living with the unembellished results of rigorous method has not been existentially satisfying. In examining how Lange's ideas work in Nietzsche, Stack is focused on his later works and names the will to power, the eternal recurrence, and the *Übermensch* as the three main elements of the mythology Nietzsche creates and projects from his own standpoint of the ideal.[188] He does not look at any of Nietzsche's works of 1872, though it should be quite clear that Lange's ideas, especially his standpoint of the ideal, go a long way towards explaining the bewildering mélange of myths Nietzsche deploys there. Though it depends on Schopenhauer's concept of the Will viewing all of phenomenal existence as its own artwork, Nietzsche's famous assertion in Section 5 of *Birth* that, "only as an *aesthetic phenomenon* are existence and the world eternally *justified*," makes even more sense as a program explaining the style of his philosophy, certainly the style of *Birth*, when understood as a description of a Langean program.[189]

This call for artistic philosophy is not to replace modern materialism but to supplement and even utilize it. Using Lange's two terms, Stack explains that "*Dichtung* must be joined to *Wissenschaft* in order to construct a view of the totality of actuality."[190] Lange sees a sharp distinction between scientific "truth" and what he calls "figurative truth," and he sees beauty as standing opposed to whatever truth about actuality may be

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[188] Stack (1983), 319. Nietzsche's *Übermensch* is often translated as "overman" or "superman."

[189] KSA 1, 47. "nur als *aesthetisches Phänomen* ist das Dasein und die Welt ewig *gerechtfertigt*."

[190] Stack (1983), 304. *Dichtung*, related to *Dichter* already encountered above, can be translated as "poetry," "literature," or "fiction." For Lange it is the creative part of the philosopher's attempt projected from the standpoint of the ideal to give existence meaning and life direction.

perceived in *Wissenschaft*.[191] Thus, poetic philosophers should remain conscious that their representations are not *true*, but *edifying* and meant to raise humanity "above the limits" of what is known by the senses. Similarly, scientists would be wise not to overvalue their work, specialized and limited as it is, and to keep in mind that only a poetic vision has the best chance at giving humanity ideals worthy of continuing culture and civilization.[192]

The first mention we have of Nietzsche reading Lange is in a letter to Gersdorff at the end of August, 1866, after he has been reading Schopenhauer for a year. In it, he describes both the undoing of Schopenhauer and his reclamation. After summarizing Lange, he writes, "the true being of things, the thing in itself, is not only unknown to us, rather the very concept of it is nothing more or less than the final quintessence of a contradiction conditioned by our organization."[193] Where Kant has indulged himself in his noumenal, regulative ideas, Lange sees nothing but edifying human poetic creation. Schopenhauer, of course, has indulged in many concepts crucial to his system, describing in detail what Nietzsche now accepts to be fully inaccessible and indescribable.

He clearly sees the implications Lange has for Schopenhauer. He continues, explaining that Lange argues we should let the philosophers be free, even in the region of concepts. Then, demonstrating his adoption of Lange's view of philosophers as artists, he wonders who would want to contradict a movement of Beethoven or find a fallacy [*Irrthum*] in Raphael's Madonna. Schopenhauer is not lost but remains for them, he

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[191] "bildliche Wahrheit"

[192] Stack (1983), 313.

[193] "das wahre Wesen der Dinge, das Ding an sich, ist uns nicht nur unbekannt, sondern es ist auch der Begriff desselben nicht mehr und nicht weniger als die letzte Ausgeburt eines von unsrer Organisation bedingten Gegensatzes"

writes, "even from this most strictly critical standpoint; yes, he becomes almost even something more for us."[194] Thanks to Lange, Nietzsche loses Schopenhauer as the metaphysically accurate descriptor of reality, but can now keep and cherish him as a poetic philosopher who provides what Nietzsche still finds to be the best edification: "if philosophy is to edify, then I at least know no philosopher who edifies more than our Schopenhauer."[195] The intellectual framework Nietzsche actually trusts at this point is Lange's, a framework that merely proposes combining the findings of positivistic *Wissenschaft* with artistically constructed myths to provide "philosophical" images of existence. Yet Schopenhauer represents the best performance of Lange's ideas, the best example of artistic philosophy justifying life, of a genius seeing artistic forms of existence that give it meaning, all of which makes him the best example of what Nietzsche calls a "personality."[196] As we will see, his most frequent use of Lange's poetic image-projection is the creation of such personalities, human figures that artistically assimilate into one whole a constellation of concepts.

This understanding of what Nietzsche adopts from Lange should temper any discussion of elements of Schopenhauer found in works after August 1866, especially *Birth*. If Nietzsche recognizes Schopenhauer as a scientifically faulty but artistically edifying myth-maker years before writing *Birth*, we should be very hesitant to attribute metaphysical, let alone *wissenschaftlich*, intentions to his use of Schopenhauer in that book. Lange has really left him with very little. He can still believe that *Wissenschaft*

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[194] "selbst bei diesem strengsten kritischen Standpunkte, ja er wird uns fast noch mehr"

[195] KGB I/2, 159-160. "wenn die Philosophie erbauen soll, dann kenne ich wenigstens keinen Philosophen, der mehr erbaut als unser Schopenhauer"

[196] "Persönlichkeit"

provides the best view of reality based on the senses, though it can never be verified even in its most basic propositions such as matter, nor can it produce an image of reality worth living for. This is a very deep and thorough skepticism Nietzsche gets from Lange that shapes his professional views profoundly. Metaphysical philosophy, such as he has reveled in for the past year, has even less truth value. What Nietzsche gains from Lange is permission to project poetry combined with his scholarly work on to the universe in order to make it habitable, in order to justify existence.

As we see Nietzsche telling Gersdorff that they can hang on to Schopenhauer, we also see him continuing to use metaphysical concepts, such as the thing in itself, which, as Stack points out, is critical to his argument on linguistics in *On Truth and Lie in the Extra-Moral Sense*, written a year after *Birth* in 1873.[197] Porter points out that Nietzsche learns from Lange not only that metaphysics is a mistake but that it arises from a deep need and can provide edification as a kind of "conceptual poetry."[198] As we will see below, Lange gives Nietzsche a framework, if not permission, to use many ideals, metaphysical or otherwise, in which he no longer believes or never did in order to try and find aesthetic justification for his life. They have simply become artistically created concepts instead of epistemologically accurate descriptions and as such are as useful as any other form of *Dichtung* Nietzsche could combine with the findings of *Wissenschaft*. This does not mean that his use of these concepts needs to be understood as cynical or meant merely to reveal to those who seek to follow his thought the limitations of their thinking. Nietzsche's need for existential meaning and purpose in his life activities is

[197] Stack (1983), 14. *Ueber Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne*

[198] Porter (2000b), 8.

serious and quite sincere, and, despite his Langean epistemological uncertainty, his use of the artistic ideas he borrows or creates to give meaning to existence is just as sincere.

Schopenhauer continues to be intimately important to Nietzsche. As Julian Young correctly observes, Schopenhauer presides over all of Nietzsche's relationships in the late 1860s, with a healthy appreciation for Schopenhauer practically serving as a prerequisite to friendship with Nietzsche.[199] In a letter written in November 1867 to Erwin Rohde, who becomes Nietzsche's closest and most valued friend in the late 60s, he lists Schopenhauer alongside Byron (a poet, note) as his favorite reading after work, stating that he is as sympathetic to him as ever.[200]

In a letter from the same time to Deussen, we see Nietzsche continuing to hammer him into the shape Nietzsche requires, which above all now includes Schopenhauer. Though he has finally quit theology and switched to philology at Tübingen, as Nietzsche has been commanding him to do, he is still not reading Schopenhauer. In his continued proselytizing, Nietzsche preempts arguments against Schopenhauer that can be raised on logical grounds. He tells Deussen, "The best thing we have in order to feel at one with a great mind, to enter into the paths of his ideas sympathetically, to have found a home for thought and a place of refuge for gloomy hours – we will not want to rob others of this, we will not even let it be robbed from us. Let it be an error, let it be a lie – – –"[201] Strong protestations, and ironic, considering they are addressed to a future leader of the

[199] Young (2010), 87-88.

[200] KGB I/2,230.

[201] KGB I/2,229. "Das Beste, was wir haben, sich eins zu fühlen mit einem großen Geiste, sympathisch auf seine Ideengänge eingehen zu können, eine Heimat des Gedankens, eine Zufluchtsstätte für trübe Stunden gefunden zu haben – wir werden dies andern nicht rauben wollen, wir werden es uns selbst nicht rauben lassen. Sei es ein Irrthum, sei es eine Lüge – – –"

Schopenhauer movement. Even after Lange, or perhaps because of Lange, Schopenhauer clearly means so much to Nietzsche. Though he assumes Deussen could find Schopenhauer's philosophy an error and a lie, Nietzsche is convinced Deussen could also find in him a home and place of refuge.

In the autobiographical *Retrospective* on his Leipzig Years, written at the earliest in August 1867, or a year after his discovery of Lange, Nietzsche gives much more importance to his own development than to Lange, who is not mentioned in the body of the text nor in the chronological list of "noteworthy points" at the end of it, which begins with Schopenhauer.[202] After discussing how he is more interested in learning in class how teachers teach than in the material they are teaching, he describes the point a student should be brought to:

> A young man should first find himself in that state of astonishment, that state which one has called the "preeminent philosophic pathos." After life dismantles itself before him as nothing but enigma, he should consciously, but with strict resignation, keep to that which can possibly be known and choose within this large region according to his capabilities. How I have come to this point of view, I will explain first. Here then for the first time the name of Schopenhauer appears on these pages.[203]

Curiously enough, he gets quite distracted in his account and never returns in it to the subject of how to teach. He also does not discuss how Schopenhauer leads him to his philosophic pathos *par excellence* other than to say,

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[202] "bemerkenswerthe Punkte"

[203] KGW I/4, 512. "Der junge Man soll erst in jenen Zustand des Erstaunens gerathen, den mann das φιλόσοφον πάθος κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν genannt hat. Nachdem das Leben sich vor ihm in lauter Räthsel zerlegt hat, soll er bewußt, aber mit strenger Resignation sich an das Wissensmögliche halten und in diesem großen Gebiete seinen Fähigkeiten gemäß wählen. Wie ich zu diesem Standpunkte gekommen bin, will ich zunächst erzählen. Hier erscheint denn zum ersten Male der Name Schopenhauer auf diesen Blättern."

> Here was every line that cried renunciation, negation, resignation; here I saw a mirror in which I caught sight of the world, life, and my own disposition. Here I saw the full, disinterested sun-eye of art; here I saw sickness and healing, exile and refuge, hell and heaven. The need for knowing myself, indeed for gnawing at myself, seized me violently [….][204]

Schopenhauer, who looms so much larger in Nietzsche's mind than Lange despite the fact that Lange actually gives him the only framework for thinking he can really trust, does not give Nietzsche the solutions to his existential concerns. Instead, he is a sympathetic mirror for Nietzsche. He is a reflection of his own feelings of being without orientation in the riddle of existence and provides him with the image of one who, nonetheless, courageously takes existence seriously and projects, by means of art, visions giving life meaning. He rescues Nietzsche from his mental solitude by laying out for him all of his concerns, and embodying someone who is resolute in continuing on despite them. In this resolve with little hope, Schopenhauer serves as an exemplary, philosophically poetic *personality* for Nietzsche, not as a source of doctrines to be dogmatically followed and defended. Or as Janz puts it: it is not Schopenhauer's ascetic and negating ideas that appeal to Nietzsche, but "the personality of the philosopher and his creative morality."[205]

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[204] KGW I/4, 513. "Hier war jede Zeile, die Entsagung, Verneinung, Resignation schrie, hier sah ich einen Spiegel, in dem ich Welt, Leben und eigne Gemüth in entsetzlicher Großartigkeit erblickte. Hier sah ich mich das volle interesselose Sonnenauge der Kunst an, hier sah ich Krankheit und Heilung, Verbannung und Zufluchtsort, Hölle und Himmel. Das Bedürfniß nach Selbsterkenntniß, ja Selbstzernagung packte mich gewaltsam [….]"

[205] Janz (1978), 182. See also Pletsch (1991), 71. "die Persönlichkeit des Philosophen und seine schöpferische Moral"

2.3.2 Philosophical Philology

Reading Schopenhauer and Lange changes Nietzsche's approach to the profession to which he is beginning to commit himself, philology. As a *Wissenschaft*, philology is something Nietzsche can still value and pursue after reading Lange. He must simply extend it beyond the method he has learned. Lange's "philosophy" that he hopes brave souls will pursue is, after all, the combination of *Wissenschaft* and *Dichtung*. Nietzsche must simply find a way to bring *Dichtung* to his scholarship, an idea that will, of course, not please Ritschl, though an aesthetic sense has been central to philology since Wolf and a gift Nietzsche has displayed since Schulpforta.

To follow the development of Nietzsche's new form of philology, we need to go back to the beginning of his student time in Leipzig, the fall of 1865. After arriving in Leipzig, Ritschl invites four students, including Nietzsche, to his home for a social evening on the 4th of December. There, he presents to them the idea of a Philological Association to be run by the students as a forum in which they can present and discuss their research, without Ritschl or any other faculty present.[206] Nietzsche gives a paper to the Association in all four of his semesters at Leipzig and is elected president in his third semester.[207] In the first semester, Nietzsche presents the revised version of his work on Theognis he begins working on in the summer before transferring to Leipzig. He then brings it to Ritshl's office.[208] The work is so impressive, according to Nietzsche's

[206] Janz (1978), 184, and Hoyer (2002), 171.

[207] Pletsch (1991), 73.

[208] This revised work will not be handled here as it has been discussed already by others. In his own summary of it, Nietzsche describes his continued work on Theognis as focused on two points: "die Wiederherstellung der letzten Redaktion und das richtige Verständniß der Suidasnotiz," which is to say, he is continuing to look at the sources and the history of the production of a version of the collection (KGB

account in his *Retrospective*, Ritschl tells him that he, "has never yet seen from a third semester student something similar in terms of strict method and certainty of combination."[209] Ritschl instructs him to prepare it for publication, offering his help. "After this scene my self-worth shot into the air," Nietzsche writes, "it is the time when I was born as a philologist."[210]

This extremely positive impression will soon develop into multiple career opportunities for Nietzsche arranged by Ritschl. Hubert Cancik supports Ritschl's enthusiasm. He feels that Nietzsche's work at the time is very much in line with that of his contemporaries, that Nietzsche is becoming a master of the historical-critical method, and that Ritschl's high praise in these early years is well deserved.[211] Until now, Nietzsche has received an education at Schulpforta ideal for preparing one for professional philology, he has had an unfocused year at Bonn, and he has had no professional training in music. He could have become a pastor after Schulpforta, but he already decided against that earlier in the spring. His best career option at this point, and the one for which he has the most talent, is philology. As he writes, Ritschl's high praise makes him from this moment on a philologist, a logical and promising choice for the young Nietzsche

After this episode, Ritschl is appreciated and respected by Nietzsche for the rest of his life. At this early point in his career, Ritschl also becomes an intimate mentor and

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I/2,117). James I. Porter discusses it in detail in chapter 5 of his *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*. (2000a).

[209] "noch nie von einem Studierendenden des dritten Semesters etwas Ähnliches der strengen Methode nach, der Sicherheit der Combination nach gesehen zu haben."

[210] KGW I/4,515, and KGW I/4,515. "Nach dieser Scene gieng mein Selbstgefühl mit mir in die Lüfte" "es ist die Zeit, wo ich zum Philologen geboren wurde."

[211] Cancik (1995), 17.

promoter for Nietzsche, who comes to visit him in his office twice a week, where they not only discuss philology, but where Ritschl freely shares with Nietzsche his thoughts on school politics, his own idiosyncrasies, and other matters usually passed over in such a relationship. Nietzsche also often comes to his home where he discusses theater and music with Frau Ritschl.[212] As part of his fostering of Nietzsche's professional promise, Ritschl sets the subject for an essay contest in the fall of 1866 as "On the Sources of Diogenes Laërtius" after Nietzsche tells him that he is interested in the 3rd century AD biographer of philosophers.[213] Nietzsche turns in his essay, finished in July of 1867 and wins, as he writes to Rohde, "against Mr. Nobody," indicating, it would seem, his was the only submission.[214]

Yet despite the success and recognition he finds under Ritschl at Leipzig, philology is still just his day job. This is seen in expressions like the one already cited above where he names Schopenhauer, Schumann's music and solitary walks as his forms of recovery *from* his philological work.[215] And despite Nietzsche's deep appreciation for Ritschl's attention and assistance, in his first semester at Leipzig he already feels he has nothing more to learn from him, as indicated by letters discussing his desire to transfer in September 1867 and especially one in April 1866 in which he tells Hermann Mushacke

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[212] KGW I/4,519, Pletsch (1991), 74.

[213] KGW I/4,526, and Janz (1978), 190. "De fontibus Diogenis Laertii"

[214] KGB I/2,230. "gegen Herrn Οὔτις" - a play on the name Odysseus gives Polyphemus in Book IX of the *Odyssey*. Porter discusses Nietzsche's work on Diogenes on p. 116-125 of *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*. As he writes on page 119, the texts under consideration, "give the appearance of being a reconstruction, by way of a late ally of the atomists, of the historical antagonism between Plato (or Platonism) and Democritus." Nietzsche's interest in Diogenes is clearly caused by his reading of Lange and his subsequent interest in materialism. The conversation Nietzsche has with Ritschl that leads him to set this as the subject in the fall of 1866 clearly happens in the wake of Nietzsche's very recent discovery of Lange. See also Gigante (1994).

[215] KGB I/2,119.

that he should be glad to be in Berlin instead of Leipzig as "it is very boring, Curtius is repulsive, Ritschl is no longer new, Voigt is stale."[216] In a similar letter from January 1866, however, Nietzsche indicates that, despite his plan to transfer in September, it will be difficult to get away from Ritschl, "for you cannot believe how tremendously the considerable personality of Ritschl captivates us and how hard, indeed hardly to be born, the separation from him will be."[217] As with Schopenhauer, it is Ritschl's as a personality that keep Nietzsche most bound to him.

We have seen how Nietzsche likely avoids too much interaction with Ritschl while at Bonn in order to maintain his independence, and Nietzsche's concerns seem to have been well founded. Though he grows much closer to him at Leipzig, Nietzsche does try to still maintain some distance. Not only does Ritschl propose the founding of the Philological Association, he also founds a Philological Society at Leipzig. The critical difference is that Ritschl leads the Society and attends its meetings. Nietzsche avoids joining the Society for its first year, while enjoying the student-only Association. In October of 1866, he feels obligated to also join the Society, as he writes to Mushacke, "At least I cannot turn it down, if [Ritschl] offers it."[218] That semester, he does join.[219]

His discomfort with being Ritschl's disciple, or with at least feeling too under his influence, is counteracted by his gratitude for the professor's generosity. As the time for his planned transfer to Berlin in the fall of 1866 approaches, Nietzsche writes to

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[216] KGB I/2,103, and 127. "es ist sehr langweilig, Curtius abscheulich, Ritschl nicht mehr neu, Voigt altbacken"

[217] KGB I/2,107. "denn Du glaubst nicht, wie gewaltig uns die bedeutende Persönlichkeit Ritschls fesselt und wie schwer, ja kaum erträglich die Trennung von ihm sein wird."

[218] KGB I/2, 168. "Wenigstens darf ich es nicht wieder ausschlagen, falls er es anbietet."

[219] Janz (1978), 189-90.

Gersdorff that, "Ritschl is continually friendlier towards me," and that he will stay in Leipzig next semester "where, all things considered, it pleases me splendidly."[220] What Nietzsche is probably most directly referring to as Ritschl's friendliness is a paying job Ritschl has recently procured for Nietzsche, which Nietzsche also tells Gersdorff about. Ritschl has arranged for Nietzsche to help another colleague put together an index of scholarship on Aeschylus, which wins Nietzsche, for the first time in his life, a degree of financial independence from his mother.[221] Writing again to Gersdorff in October of the same year, Nietzsche lists all of the things that made his year at Leipzig better than that at Bonn, which includes "unearned preference from Ritschl," and he describes how "Ritschl always finds the nicest way to see that I am working," referring to, at least, the rigged essay contest and the Aeschylus index job.[222] Nietzsche is both humbly grateful to Ritschl and leery of his influence.

Ironically, as it is Ritschl's help that makes Nietzsche a philologist, it is also his help that leads him to his first stark criticisms of the profession. As just noted, Nietzsche starts telling friends about the job working on the index in August of 1866. In October, he writes about the work to Mushacke that "It means drilling heartwood. One learns much doing it."[223] It is worth noting that this enthusiasm for the project comes just before he actually begins to work on it, and just at the time he first discovers Lange. At the end of the month, after he has begun, he writes home, describing the work as

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[220] "Ritschl ist immer freundlicher gegen mich" "wo es mir, alles gerechnet, vortrefflich behagt"

[221] KGB I/2,157.

[222] KGB I/2,172. "unverdiente Bevorzugung von Seiten Ritschls" "Ritschl findet immer einen hübschen Weg, mich zum Arbeiten zu veranlassen"

[223] KGB I/2,167. "Es heißt Kernholz bohren. Man lernt viel dabei."

requiring more hand than head.[224] In November he writes again to Mushacke telling him that, of the various scholars working on Aeschylus he's been reading, among one hundred critics [κριτικοί] one barely finds two legitimate sons [γνήσιοι] and ninety-eight bastards [νόθοι].[225] So far, he is hardly impressed with his colleagues and the field they comprise. He is also finding this work less than inspiring.

This does not dim his appreciation for Ritschl, nor for the financial means the work provides. In April of 1867, he writes to Deussen of Ritschl that, "You cannot imagine how this man thinks, worries, and works for every individual he is fond of," and goes on to explain how his income for the next few years appears to be guaranteed and that he wants to stay in Ritschl's proximity.[226] The same month he writes to Mushacke, explaining that Ritschl is quite ill and that he fears losing him: "I cannot express to you what I would lose in him."[227]

Also in that April he writes to Gersdorff, complaining that "most philologists lack that uplifting, comprehensive contemplation of antiquity, because they place themselves too close to the image and investigate a spot of paint instead of admiring the grand and bold strokes of the entire painting and – what is more – enjoying it."[228] By the end of his time at Schulpforta we have seen him learning, likely from Volkmann, to focus on one thing and study it in depth, and he has certainly been further trained in this focus on

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[224] KGB I/2,177.

[225] KGB I/2,180.

[226] KGB I/2, 205. "Du kannst nicht ahnen, wie dieser Mann für jeden Einzelnen, den er lieb hat, denkt, sorgt und arbeitet [….]"

[227] KGB I/2, 214. "Ich kann Dir nicht ausdrücken, was ich an ihm verlieren würde."

[228] "jene erhebende Gesammtanschauung des Alterthums fehlt den meisten Philologen, weil sie sich zu nahe vor das Bild stellen und einen Oelfleck untersuchen anstatt die großen und kühnen Züge des ganzen Gemäldes zu bewundern und – was mehr ist – zu genießen"

details by Ritschl, as such focus is central to his method. Thanks to Ritschl he has the opportunity to work for pay on an intricately fastidious philological assignment. Yet, just half a year earlier Nietzsche has also discovered Lange and his proposition of a poetic philosophizing that can bring holistic meaning to life. The signs of the strain between the Langean direction he believes his work should go – towards unity, and the Ritschlian direction his work does take – specialized fragmentation, are beginning to show. By October of 1868, a year and half later, he frankly tells Rohde he finds the work on the index "slave labor."[229]

The image of the philologist standing too close to the painting and examining only one spot anticipates what will soon become one of Nietzsche's favorite ways of describing the work of a philologist: the turning of a single screw by a factory worker.[230] Following Lange's concern that *Wissenschaft* has become too specialized to provide edifying, if artistically invented, images of the whole, Nietzsche's work on the Aeschylus index is bringing him to see philology as a discipline much too specialized, where each worker is limited to a very small problem, with no vision of the whole. This produces an entire field, or perhaps industry, where much is being done and little is being accomplished. As Nietzsche writes, "It is a horrible thought to know that countless average minds are occupied with truly influential things."[231]

Lange has inspired Nietzsche to want to see the *Wissenschaft* of philology combined with edifying, philosophic ideals that focus on the whole, not on details. As he

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[229] KGB I/2, 321. "Sclavenarbeit"

[230] See, e.g., KGB I/2, 316 and KGW I/4, 222.

[231] KGW I/4, 363. "Es ist ein schrecklicher Gedanke, eine Unzahl mittelmäßiger Köpfe mit wirklich einflußreichen Dingen beschäftigt zu wissen."

tells Gersdorff in the April 1867 letter cited above, most philologists lack an uplifting, comprehensive view of antiquity. In a note he writes that a single historical event does not deserve the kind of agonizingly detailed attention it currently receives from philologists, if it does not lead to further questions. "My method is to grow cold towards a single fact as soon as the farther horizon shows itself."[232] What he hopes to find on that horizon is a place to rest, with "rest" being a usage of the Schopenhauerian idea of being free from the suffering of the will, a doctrine Nietzsche no longer has to believe in, but which he can use as a standpoint in the construction of his poetic philosophy. Such places of rest on the horizon are "insights full of essential influence on us."[233] Nietzsche no longer believes in objective truths he is tasked to uncover, but in places of rest, standpoints of the ideal, which can have real influence on his life.

This is clearly a trajectory moving him away from Ritschl's method. As Nietzsche can no longer defend the idea of objective truth, he is no longer so worried about doing so. Even if philology makes errors, what matters most is the effect. Considering the choice between pure *Wissenschaft* and artistic philosophy, erring towards grand, edifying visions and away from scrupulous analysis of details is preferable, for the "poetic force and the creative drive have done the best things in philology. The greatest influence has been achieved by some beautiful mistakes."[234] This is not the method of Ritschl's Bonn School, neither is it the aesthetic sense or even the ability to transport oneself to a living antiquity Wolf proposes. This is the willful creation of antiquity that

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[232] "Meine Methode ist, für eine einzelne Thatsache zu erkalten, sobald der weitere Horizont sich zeigt."

[233] KGW I/4, 395. "Einsichten voll wesentlichem Einfluß auf uns"

[234] KGW I/4,399. "[…] dichtende Kraft und der schaffende Trieb haben das Beste in der Philologie gethan. Den größten Einfluß haben einige schöne Irrthümer erlangt."

certainly uses, but is not bound to the data studied by philologists. It should also be noted that this dramatically reverses the position he took in the letter to his sister where he criticizes religion for seeking comfort at that cost of truth and praises *Wissenschaften* for seeking truth with no thought to results.

Such motivation and ideas as he now has obviously set Nietzsche at odds with his colleagues. Thus, it is for the next generation, the future, that Nietzsche believes he must practice philology. As he writes in another note from the same period, "Gradually it is no longer the time to crouch over letters. The endeavor of the next generation of philologists must finally be to conclude and to enter upon the great legacy [….] Humanity has more to do than pursue history. If we do it, however, then let us seek the *bildenden* points."[235] There is more to life than philology, though Nietzsche is fine with doing it as long as it presents points that are formative, *bildend*, in one's life. Another note states, "Something need not be investigated just because it has existed, rather because it was better than now and has an exemplary [*vorbildlich*] effect."[236] One way that philology can be *bildend* is by providing *Vorbilder*.[237] Following Lange, Nietzsche only wants to find aspects of antiquity in his philology that give meaning to life and provide examples of acting in a meaningful manner. That is, he wants to investigate and present antiquity as exemplary for modernity. This is a crucial first step for Nietzsche in the development of his classicism.

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[235] KGW I/4,397. "Es wird allmählich Zeit nicht mehr über den Buchstaben zu hocken. Das Bestreben der nächsten Philologengeneration muß endlich sein abzuschließen und das große Vermächtniß der Vergangenheit antreten [….] Die Menschheit hat mehr zu thun als Geschichte zu treiben. Wenn er es aber thut, so suche er die bildenden Punkte."

[236] KGW I/4,496. "Darum weil etwas gewesen ist, darf nichts untersucht werden, sondern weil es besser war als jetzt und also vorbildlich wirkt."

[237] *Vorbilder* are examples, like images set up in front of someone to be emulated.

And it is not just influence over a single life that concerns Nietzsche. Following Lange, he feels that this power is necessary to save culture itself, to which not only the *Wissenschaften*, but also individuals are obligated. In a letter to Deussen from October of 1868, he writes "To be sure I ask to see the license of every individual *Wissenschaft*, and if it cannot prove that some grand, cultural purposes lie in its horizon, I, admittedly, let it pass all the same" as "oddballs" have as much right "in the kingdom of knowledge" as anyone else, though he has to laugh when they don buskins and gesture with pathos.[238] This attempt to affirm even the oddballs will be tested throughout Nietzsche's life, but what is key is that what lies on the horizon, what Nietzsche must find at the standpoint of the ideal, must serve culture in general. As will be discussed below, Nietzsche already feels that he has no career options outside of philology at this point. Thus, he commits to using philology philosophically, to inspire students of the next generation to move beyond historical factory work and towards inspiring, comprehensive images for the sake of modern culture.

For the first time we see him wanting to make use of the past, Greek antiquity in fact, in order to provide exemplary points to inspire current humanity to salvage its culture. Nietzsche is aware that this project is fraught with poetic creation, that his very hope in the power of projecting ideals from the past is itself the projection of ideals he has been encountering. Since reading Lange, he has no reason to believe he has any other options. The creation and projection of new ideals derived from antiquity, along with the

[238] KGB I/2, 329. "Allerdings frage ich jede einzelne Wissenschaft nach ihrem Freipaß; und wenn sie nicht nachweisen kann, daß irgend welche großen Kulturzwecke in ihrem Horizont liegen: so lasse ich sie zwar immer noch passieren [….]" "Käuze" "im Reich des Wissens"

re-projection of some old ideals, in hopes of inspiring and edifying have now become Nietzsche's task.

2.3.3 Military Service and Democritus

We can see this when we consider Nietzsche's work on Democritus, though before we discuss that, we should flesh out a little of the biography that helps shape it. After Nietzsche's four semesters at Leipzig from October 1865 - September 1867 he spends a year in the military, stationed in his hometown of Naumburg, though he hoped to be stationed in Berlin.[239] Nietzsche especially enjoys riding, but has an accident in early March of 1868 that crushes his breastbone against his saddle. He convalesces until October when he is discharged.[240]

Nietzsche's military service is clearly motivated by sincere patriotism and his commitment to the cause of German unification under Prussia. Already in the summer of 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war that lasts through June and July, Nietzsche expresses strong support for Prussia and Bismarck. In July of 1866 he writes to his mother and sister about the war being waged. He praises Bismarck for the "revolutionary manner" in which he is attempting to unite Germany and calls Bismarck's method of freeing Germany of its princes "the most comfortable in the world," praising him for his "courage and ruthless determination."[241] He calls himself an "enraged Prussian" and sees

[239] Janz (1978), 223-224. See also KGB I/2,225.

[240] Janz (1978), 232, 236. See also KGB I/2,261.

[241] "revolutionäre Weise" "die bequemste von der Welt" "Muth und rücksichtslose Consequenz"

the day coming soon when he will be called to risk his life for his fatherland.[242] In a letter from the same time to Gersdorff he again shows enthusiasm for getting rid of the princes of the German states and writes, "Never before in the last fifty years have we been so close to the fulfillment of our German hopes," referring back to the early days of the *Burschenschaften* and their push for unification shortly after the victory, won in no small part by the contribution of Prussia, at Waterloo in 1815.[243]

There is no reason to assume that his service little over a year after the victory of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian war is motivated by anything other than his belief in Bismarck's program and hope for unification. There is no sign of irony anywhere in it. What we have seen up to this point is Nietzsche's love of war games as a child, the continual reference to politics in his letters to his mother, the courses he takes on politics at the university and the strong support he currently shows for Bismarck and his policies. We will keep tracking the development of his political thinking as we continue towards 1872.

For now we return to Nietzsche's year in the military beginning in the fall of 1867. It seems that the break from student life gives Nietzsche an independence that results in a decisive and productive development in his thinking as inspired by Lange. While still working on the Aeschylus Index and other philological projects, Nietzsche begins an intense study of the pre-Socratic materialist Democritus, to whom Lange has led him.[244] Porter devotes two thorough chapters of his *Nietzsche and the Philology of*

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[242] KGB I/2,134-136. Simply reading this one letter makes quite clear the sincerity of Nietzsche's support of Bismarck, Prussia and a united Germany. "enragierter Preuße"

[243] KGB I/2, 143. "Niemals seit 50 Jahren sind wir der Erfüllung unsrer deutschen Hoffnungen so nahe gewesen [….]"

[244] See Janz (1978), 195, Cancik (1995), 18, and Porter (2000a), 34.

the Future to this study, so we need only consider how it illuminates Nietzsche's developing relation to the Greeks and the value they can have for moderns.

Dated between July and September of 1867 is an essay "The Lists of the Writings of Democritus," the first major work we see Nietzsche pursuing on Democritus.[245] A letter to Ritschl from the end of September announces that his progress on the Aeschylus Index may be slowed as he is currently working on a project "on the inauthentic writings of Democritus."[246] This shows that, at least in its inception, the work on Democritus is focused on determining which of the works attributed to him are done so justifiably. This puts the work squarely in line with all of Nietzsche's other philological work that has focused on determining the authenticity of sources, it also puts it squarely within the bounds of what he has learned from Ritschl and the Bonn School. By February of 1868, however, Nietzsche writes to Gersdorff that, though at first the project was being led by the concept "of a great literary counterfeiting," he has begun to see "a new, whole image of the considerable personality of Democritus," and that pursuing the task as he now is requires "leisure and fresh health of thought [*Denken*] and of composition [*Dichten*]."[247] The pair *Denken* and *Dichten* are rather reminiscent of Lange's *Wissenschaft* and *Dichtung*, showing his influence on the change in course Nietzsche's work on Democritus is taking. Nietzsche seeing a whole image of his Democritus's personality also shows Lange's unmistakable influence.

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[245] KGW I/4, 283-339. "Die πίνακες der Democritea"

[246] KGB I/2, 224. "über die unechten Schriften Demokrits"

[247] KGB I/2, 255. "einer großartigen litterarisch Falschmünzerei" "ein neues Gesammtbild der bedeutenden Persönlichkeit Demokrits" "Muße und frische Gesundheit des Denkens und Dichtens"

Porter notes that as one reads chronologically through the various notes that comprise the record of this unfinished project, one sees earlier judgments continually overturned, though in favor of accepting *more* titles as authentic, not fewer.[248] This raises the question of Nietzsche's use of skepticism in the project. Part of what informs the rigorous method of the Bonn School is a need to stay on guard against casually accepting certain variant readings or even entire texts as correctly constituted and attributed. Skepticism is necessary, and as Porter points out, Nietzsche sees it as "the state of the art of philology" and wears it "proudly like a badge."[249] In a note from between winter 1867 and spring 1868, Nietzsche discusses how modern criticism is characterized by a considerable skepticism as boundless as trust had earlier been, and that doubt now has a moral necessity to it. He sees virtue in the current skepticism as it is perhaps coming to show that the tradition, born of less skeptical roots "was right, although it stood on clay feet."[250]

Porter points out that Nietzsche's own skepticism is intensified by the model provided him by Valentin Rose, a contemporary scholar who privileges skepticism even more than Ritschl, and this skepticism is again compounded by his reading of Lange.[251] If an original text, or a certain ancient edition of it, is seen as a kind of thing-in-itself to be revealed by philology's peeling away of all the distorting additions and alterations made during the history of its transmission, which is to say, if the task of philology is to clear away from a document the tradition that produced the document in order to clearly

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[248] Porter (2000a), 41.

[249] Porter (2000a), 39. "Recht hatte, obwohl sie auf thönernen Füßen stand"

[250] KGW I/4, 536.

[251] Porter (2000a), 41.

see its undistorted form, the implications of Lange's neo-Kantian skepticism become quite clear. After all of the work performed by a critic to reveal the original, it must be admitted that what is revealed is the product of all of the work performed by the critic. As Nietzsche writes in a note from between the fall of 1867 and the spring of 1868:

> The medium through which a historian sees are his own ideas (as well as those of his time) and those of his sources. [….] We have enough to do, indeed perhaps more to do than is possible, when we seek to strip off the "subjectivity" of our appearance and that of the sources: the "objectivity" for which we can strive is a long way from being it. It is nothing but "subjectivity" on a further level.[252]

This thorough skepticism that renders everything all-too subjective and never arrives at a pure object would only be maddening for Nietzsche if he were still trying to pursue the task of restoring "original" texts or of determining the "genuine" catalog of texts that should be attributed to an author. Lange has already set him on another path.

This Langean skepticism only intensifies his disillusion with his professional field. In discussing the greatest artists of history, Nietzsche writes in a note, "The average minds need a terrible quantity of material in order to 'understand' their *Dichter*, because they precisely want to understand the material and can actually only do so. Hence the expansion of literary studies."[253] Critics are actually distancing themselves from the great artists of antiquity by their specialized obsession with material, to say nothing of the fact that, if they were to focus directly on the artists, what they see would still be shaped by the way they see it. Thus, Nietzsche writes in February of 1868 to

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[252] KGW I/4, 367-368. "Das Medium, durch das der Historiker sieht, sind seine eignen Vorstellungen (auch die seiner Zeit) und die seiner Quellen. [….] Wir haben genug zu thun, ja vielleicht zu viel zu thun als möglich ist, wenn wir die 'Subjektivität' unsrer Erscheinung und der der Quellen abzustreifen suchen: die 'Objektivität' die wir erstreben können, ist weit entfernt es zu sein. Es ist nichts als 'Subjektivität' auf einer weitern Stufe."

[253] KGW I/4, 224. "Die Durchschnittsköpfe brauchen schrecklich viel Material, um ihre Dichter zu 'verstehen': weil sie eben das Stoffliche verstehen wollen u. eigentlich auch nur können. Daher die Ausdehnung der Litteraturstudien."

Rohde: "I have an astonishing desire [in my work on Democritus] to say a number of bitter truths to the philologists."[254] This indicates one of the new uses Nietzsche hopes he can put philology to: sending messages to his colleagues about the inadequacies of their current approach to antiquity. This critical function is one of the main aspects Porter focuses on and details at length in his *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*.

Another use is also indicated in the letter to Rohde, "Until now I have the most beautiful hope for [the work on Democritus]: it has developed a philosophical background, something that has never worked out for me with any of my papers."[255] This marks a turning point in Nietzsche's practice of philology, and much hinges on what he means by "philosophical" here. Nietzsche does not believe Democritus is *correct*. After reading Lange, he is not going to believe that any form of materialism is correct. As Porter writes, Nietzsche does not reduce all of reality down to anything "let alone to its material substance or shape." Nietzsche's interest in Democritus is not based on any ostensible accuracy of his doctrines as he "has refuted the assumptions of atomism on logical grounds but validated them as a heuristic strategy.[256]

The "philosophical" background Nietzsche mentions could not mean that he is constructing a new, epistemologically accurate system of philosophy based on Democritus. "Philosophy" for Nietzsche here (and for a long time) means what it means for Lange, what Lange helps him to see and salvage in Schopenhauer. It is the combination of *Wissenschaft* and an *artistic* vision of wholeness poetically projected by

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[254] "Ich habe erstaunliche Lust den Philologen eine Anzahl bittrer Wahrheiten zu sagen."

[255] KGB I/2, 248. "Bis jetzt habe ich für denselben die schönste Hoffnung: er hat einen philosophischen Hintergrund bekommen, was mir bis jetzt bei keiner meiner Arbeiten gelungen war."

[256] Porter (2000a), 22, 25.

Nietzsche for edification and inspiration. In this case, as with Schopenhauer, the wholeness is the personality of the philosopher, *as Nietzsche sees it*, independent of any correctness of his thought, certainly independent of any accuracy to the actual life lived and thoughts thought by the historical Democritus. Janz recognizes that as Nietzsche's work on Democritus continues, Nietzsche moves from indifference to Democritus' personality to an intense interest in it.[257] Porter also sees precisely this, seeking the personality of an ancient "rather than the vaporous diffusion of its ideas" as the natural consequence of Nietzsche's "fusion of Lange and Rose."[258] Again, Nietzsche writes to Gersdorff in 1868, cited above, that after having started out wanting to establish which texts are to be correctly attributed to Democritus, what one would expect to be the task of a philologist trained in the Bonn School, he ends up with the whole image of his personality.[259]

How that emerging personality can be used to edify humanity is far from obvious, especially to Nietzsche. He is still working more with aspirations here than with results he can put his finger on. As he describes him in the letter to Rohde, Democritus would appear to be one of the geniuses of history who provide enlightening ideas to humanity that determine future human activity, but little more is clear.[260] Discussing the same letter, Porter comments on the goal towards which Nietzsche thinks all of his projects are pointing and calls the goal "unforeseen but increasingly visible."[261] Without arriving at a

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[257] Janz (1978), 229.

[258] Porter (2000a), 59.

[259] KGB I/2, 255.

[260] KGB I/2, 248.

[261] Porter (2000a), 44.

finished product that successfully weds *Wissenschaft* and *Dichtung*, Nietzsche abandons the work on Democritus unfinished.

What is easier to see, as is usually the case with Nietzsche, is the negative value his work on Democritus produces, which Porter discusses thoroughly. As he writes, "The world [Democritus] depicts is drained of moral and aesthetic significance [….] Viewed against the featureless background of atoms and void, meanings appear more starkly than ever to have been imposed and invented."[262] That is, Democritus does not give Nietzsche an edifying picture of life and existence, but makes quite clear just how meaningless it is and how all meaning is imposed, reinforcing what he learns from Lange without producing the poetic vision of wholeness Lange hopes for and is also unable to provide.

And Porter is right. The hope Nietzsche begins to feel with the new philosophical nature of his work on Democritus does not produce the new life-affirming mythology he is seeking. Though he later in life offers some bold ideas like the *Übermensch* and the will to power, Nietzsche's attempts to provide something positive at this early point are failures. Ambitious and hopeful, but failures. Thus it is clearest to see how Nietzsche's ideas function negatively, to counteract and dismantle other ideas. Porter's discussion examines this aspect thoroughly and shows quite accurately how Nietzsche serves to highlight all of the problems in the thinking of his contemporaries and the tradition that leads up to them. This insight, however, threatens to obscure the fact that Nietzsche is earnestly trying to create something that can affirm existence for him.

[262] Porter (2000a), 109.

2.3.4 A History of Literary History

The goal towards which all of his work is pointing and of which he does have some concept is a history of literary history from antiquity to the present. Literary history is one of Ritschl's research interests, so he would likely approve the pursuit, but Nietzsche's approach is entirely his own. As Nietzsche describes it to Rohde, "now the general-human attracts me, how the need for a literary-historical research forms itself and how it takes shape under the forming hands of the philosophers."[263] As he can clearly see that those who create and maintain the tradition of literary history give it its form, Nietzsche wants to discover the human need that produces a practice like literary history and the tendencies that form it. It is right after this sentence that Nietzsche mentions the geniuses throughout history who have contributed ideas to the way humanity now lives and indicates that his study of literary history could perhaps bring to light "a new cult of the genius."[264]

A letter to Gersdorff later that same February also announces his plans to conduct a study of literary history, focusing on his desire to see how such a practice ever developed.[265] After discussing the limitations of *Wissenschaft* and accusing philologists of being mere factory workers, a note from the period clarifies which great ideas Nietzsche is interested in: "I mean a distinct presentation of the points of view that have become fruitful from which one observes antiquity including all the wrong turns; in short

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[263] "jetzt zieht mich das Allgemein-Menschliche an, wie das Bedürfniß einer literar-historischen Forschung sich bildet und wie es unter den formendenden Händen der Philosophen Gestalt bekommt"

[264] KGB I/2, 248. "einen neuen Kultus des Genius"

[265] KGB I/2, 255.

those borderlines between the philosophical ideas and the history of literature."[266] He wants to identify the ideas contributed by geniuses that have made the study of antiquity one that promotes human life, the philosophical contributions, and separate them out from the sterility of the remaining practice of literary history.[267] He equates Lange's philosophers with Schopenhauer's artist-geniuses, the ones who can see and contribute more comprehensive views. Thus we see Nietzsche planning to examine precisely how the kind of philosophy Lange promotes can, when combined with philology, provide humanity with, if not the same kind of edifying ideas, at least an understanding of how they have worked in the past.

2.3.5 Career Plans

Nietzsche clearly sees many problems with the profession for which he has nearly completed his training. Nevertheless, he is firmly committed to a career as a professor of philology and believes he can see possible solutions. In a letter to Deussen from September of 1866, in which Nietzsche is still trying to persuade him to switch from theology to philology, he warns him that humans only a have a few productive years tied directly to one's twenties and that philology requires a degree of erudition and routine to be acquired in a timely manner.[268] Nietzsche's concern about timing his training and career properly comes out even stronger in a letter to Rohde from early May of 1868. There he tells him that they both must have academic careers, "we simply must, because

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[266] "Ich meine eine deutliche Darlegung der fruchtbar gewordenen Gesichtspunkte, von denen aus man das Alterthum betrachtet, sammt allen Verkehrtheiten, kurz jene Grenzlinien zwischen den Philosophemen und der Litteraturgeschichte."

[267] KGW I/4, 223.

[268] KGB I/2, 162.

we cannot do anything else, because we have no more appropriate life course in front of us, because we have simply taken the wrong course for other, more useful positions."[269] Perhaps the last reason is the most poignant. Nietzsche wants to do something useful, but he feels he has grown too old to pursue anything else, including his true love, music. He is telling Rohde: they have no options; philology is it. Nietzsche simply must make something of the Greeks if he wants to have a useful career.

Here pragmatism clearly outweighs any idealism Schopenhauer and Lange may be inspiring in Nietzsche. He gives no indication that he is proceeding with a philological career out of any love of the Greeks, but makes clear that he sees no other viable options for himself beyond the training he has already spent so many years on, and he hopes that he can at least put what he considers a misguided and wasteful *Wissenschaft* to uses that, at least for now, Lange is inspiring him to believe might be redeemed. Hoyer and Janz both also point out that Nietzsche is interested in being a university professor, rather than a teacher at a *Gymnasium*, to have the freedom to pursue what truly interests him.[270] A career at the university as a philology professor will give Nietzsche more time *away* from philology to pursue his actual interests.

2.3.6 Nascent Classicism and German Classicists

Though we have seen no signs of classicism from Nietzsche at the *Domgymnasium* in Naumburg, at Schulpforta, or at Bonn, we do finally get a couple of statements showing Nietzsche thinking, at least somewhat, like a classicist while in

[269] KGB I/2, 274. "wir müssen einfach, weil wir nichts anders können, weil wir keine entsprechendere Lebenslaufbahn vor uns haben, weil wir uns zu anderen nützlicheren Stellungen einfach den Weg verrant haben"

[270] Janz (1978), 242 and Hoyer (2002), 177.

Leipzig. In his letter to Gersdorff from April 1867 in which he complains about his philological work, he also praises Gersdorff's current military occupation as a necessary counterbalance to scholarship. He goes on to talk about how the ancient Greeks knew no divide between mental and physical activity and to suppose that Christianity is to blame for the divide, calling the Greeks the "people of harmony."[271] This recalls Humboldt's idea that the Greeks most successfully developed all of their faculties and potential into a harmonious whole as individuals which is itself influenced by the harmony central to Winckelmann's idea of the Greeks as a people at one with nature. Greek "harmony" is one of the oversimplifying ideals German classicists have returned to for over a century before Nietzsche here resorts to it for the first time.

Similarly, in a note written sometime between the fall of 1867 and the spring of 1868, Nietzsche discusses the need to see beyond the considerable respect given to *Wissenschaft* to see it for what it really is, claiming that a "healthy people, like the Greeks," only knew it "to a minimal degree"[272] His use of "healthy" as an evaluative category is certainly consonant with his later usage, but the sweeping gesture that makes the Greeks as a whole healthy is reminiscent of the reductive and apotheosizing rhetoric of earlier German classicists and especially brings to mind Goethe's statement that health is classical while sickness is romantic.[273]

These two comments alone do not make Nietzsche the torch-bearer for the tradition Winckelmann begins, but they are suspiciously simplistic for a scholar steeped

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[271] KGB I/2, 210. "Volk der Harmonie"

[272] KGW I/4, 363. "gesundes Volk, wie die Griechen" "in geringem Grade"

[273] Maximen 487. Nietzsche's relationship to this maxim is discussed in Gooding-William (1990), von Staden (1976), and Young (1992).

in the minutiae of antiquity and interesting for one newly wanting to oppose that very obsession with detail with more holistic myths. They would have made the most sense in Nietzsche's earliest years at Schulpforta or at the *Domgymnasium*, when his acquaintance with ancient Greece consisted more of simplifications and when his ability to blur distinctions allowed him to consider, for example, the River Lethe a site for baptism. What these couple of statements seem to indicate is that Nietzsche's new approach to philology is making him, for the first time, comfortable using clichéd simplifications about a subject he knows in far too much detail.

At the same time we see the beginning of what can reasonably be called a classicist project, something Nietzsche has not indulged in before. As we have seen, Nietzsche sees philologists of his generation obligated to teach the practice to the next generation in a more philosophical manner that brings out what is *bildend*, that provides *Vorbilder* and that nurtures culture. That is, he is beginning to see professional philology as a classicist project of using antiquity, an intentionally idealized version, to serve the cultural needs of his present.

He does not write much more about the German Classics in this period than he has earlier. There is a mention of Grimm's *Festrede* on Schiller, which Nietzsche calls one of his favorites without explaining why.[274] In a note discussing Wagner's *Die Walküre* he mentions that Lessing leaves music out of his aesthetics.[275]

One more note from between fall 1867 and spring 1868 that needs to be mentioned here discusses how Germans want to create a historical sequence of growth

[274] KGB I/2, 96.

[275] KGW I/4, 127-128.

and decay when the three great Greek tragedians are mentioned. Rather than making Sophocles the middle and high point, a philologist wants to set the peak already at Aeschylus, degrading Euripides further. This would contradict Aristotle's description of Euripides as the most tragic. Nietzsche's own opinion, at this time, is that a three-step model of growth and decay in succession is wrong to begin with as chronologically the tragedians worked to a degree "*next* to each other."[276] If one does draw a line from Aeschylus to Euripides, Sophocles is actually an oscillating and not a stable point.[277] Here we see Nietzsche applying his considerable knowledge of historical data against the tendency to simplify and mythologize. He will, of course, take another tack in *Birth*.

2.3.7 Concern for Developing Style

In letters of April 1867 we see Nietzsche reviving the attempt to improve his prose style, a project he had begun as a young boy. The first is to Deussen and it lays out the Scylla and Charybdis between which he would like to steer his writing: exposing too much logical structure on one side and burdening his writing with too much erudition on the other. The former needs to be dressed with a "somewhat artistic dress."[278] As for the latter, he writes that "some superfluity must be trimmed away that just happens to please us very much."[279] Thus, he is aiming for something closer to a "strict exposition of the evidence in a light and pleasing presentation, possibly without that morose seriousness

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[276] "*Neben*einander" Nietzsche's emphasis

[277] KGW I/4, 490.

[278] "etwas künstlerisches Kleid"

[279] "manches Superfluum muß hinweggeschnitten werden, das uns gerade sehr gefällt"

and that erudition full of citations that is so unimaginative."[280] He finds it hardest to display how all the reasons connect as a whole "in short, the outline of the structure," and it would seem that it is in its pursuit that he either falls into too logical a presentation, or the welter of scholarliness.[281]

A couple days later he writes to Gersdorff of his categorical imperative "Thou shalt and must write" and explains that he is once again seeking what he once sought at the *Gymnasium*: to write well.[282] He lists Lessing, Schopenhauer, and the aphorist Lichtenberg as examples of good German style.[283] In a letter a couple of weeks later to Mushacke he complains that his lack of style is actually hindering the production of his philological work. He adds that one is taught nothing of style at the *Gymnasium* and does not practice it at all at the university where everything one writes are "subjective outpourings" that do not demand any artistic form.[284] In a note from between the fall of 1867 and spring of 1868 he writes that the organic writer of history needs to be a *Dichter* and that "it does some damage at any rate when he is not a *Dichter*."[285]

Though it appears his desire to have more style is related to the mission he has adopted from reading Lange of combining more unifying, artistic "philosophy" to his scholarship, there may well be other reasons for Nietzsche's resurging interest in style which he does not make clear. In any case, Janz is certainly correct in assessing

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[280] "strenge Exposition der Beweise, in leichter und gefälliger Darstellung, womöglich ohne jeden morose Ernst und jene citatenreiche Gelehrsamkeit, die so billig ist"

[281] KGB I/2, 205-206. "kurz den Riß des Gebäudes"

[282] "Du sollst und mußt schreiben."

[283] KGB I/2, 208.

[284] KGB I/2, 214. "subjektive Ergüsse"

[285] KGW I/4, 365. "es schadet jedenfalls etwas wenn er nicht Dichter ist"

Nietzsche's desire for more style at this point as being itself somewhat superfluous as Nietzsche's writing, especially in his polished pieces, has indeed already long had its "lucidity and music."[286]

2.3.8 Music at Leipzig

Before we move onto Nietzsche's momentous meeting with Wagner, let us take in an overview of his experience with music in Leipzig up to that point. As we have already seen, Schumann's music, along with Schopenhauer and solitary walks, serves as refreshing diversions from his philological work.[287] Many of his letters home in his first year at Leipzig either discuss concerts he is attending or invite his mother and sister to see him perform with a choir he has joined.[288] Despite his announced plan to study music thoroughly in Leipzig, there is no sign that he has begun this study, limiting most of his musical experiences to the performances he attends and gives. He does send his mother a Kyrie for her birthday in January of 1866, noting that he has not composed for a year, but there is little other indication of composition, which he calls a "nearly abandoned activity" in the Leipzig years.[289]

As Porter discusses, Nietzsche's work on atomism does indeed focus on issues related to music such as the rhythmic pulsation of atoms and their relation to musical quantity.[290] Thus, as it has since his time at Schulpforta, Nietzsche's philological work

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[286] Janz (1978), 191. "Luzidität und Musik"

[287] KGB I/2, 121.

[288] See, e.g., KGB I/2, 94, 96, 98, 112, and 113. See also on p. 151 a similar letter to Gersdorff.

[289] KGB I/2,108. "fast aufgegebene Thätigkeit"

[290] Porter (2000a), 101-106. See also KGW I/4, 124-126.

continues to serve as an outlet for his love of music, though it also seems to continue to overshadow his pursuit of it, especially as he has been devoting himself to and preparing for a philological career. Now that he is committed to this career, seeing no way out, and now that he has found in Lange an artistic way as a professional philologist to try to give meaning to his life and to the lives of others, he is ready to have his love of music, among other factors, thrust him into Wagner's influence, where his nascent classicism ripens quickly and produces both *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung*.

3.0.0 NIETZSCHE'S EARLY PROFESSORSHIP (1869-1872)

Nietzsche is committed to a philological career as he believes it is too late to begin any other, and he has begun to make use of Lange's suggestion to enhance *Wissenschaft* with an artistic creativity giving existence meaning. In this chapter, we see Nietzsche begin his career as a professor hoping to make philology serve life with this "philosophical" approach. His new friendship with Wagner allows him to experience firsthand the immense energy and confidence with which Wagner is pursuing his goal of cultural reformation for Germany. This gives intensified impetus to Nietzsche's own desire to provide himself and others with existential meaning in his philological career. This culminates in his classicist plan to create new institutions of *Bildung* where the study of the Greeks produces further artistic geniuses capable of sustaining the new culture Nietzsche hopes Wagner is about to initiate. This friendship also turns Nietzsche's professional focus back to tragedy, one of the first philological subjects through which he has attempted to find an outlet for his love of music already at Schulpforta. This leads to the publication of *Birth*, a bold example of Nietzsche's attempt at philosophical philology that provides a classicist argument that Wagner's *Musikdrama* has all of the culturally salutary power of ancient Greek tragedy.

This chapter begins with Nietzsche's relationship to Wagner and Wagner's ideas on the Greeks. Then we discuss the beginning of Nietzsche's professorship at Basel and the inaugural address he delivers announcing the philosophical direction he hopes his

career will take. Next we look at Nietzsche's renewed interest in tragedy in the work preliminary to *Birth*. Then we examine his political thinking and the influence Jakob Burckhardt likely has on his embrace of elitism both as a way to understand the Greeks and as part of a cultural remedy for his own time. Finally, we will see the formation of his desire to create new institutions of *Bildung* and the process leading up to the publication of *Birth*.

3.1.0 WAGNER AND TRIBSCHEN

Now we turn to Nietzsche's relationship with Wagner, looking first at the period from their first meeting in Nietzsche's last months in Leipzig through the first year Nietzsche spends in Basel. We also sketch out Wagner's views on the value of the Greeks for modernity.

3.1.1 Becoming Friends

When Nietzsche meets Richard Wagner on November 8th 1868, his cultural aspirations receive life-changing stimulus that can only be compared to the effect Schopenhauer and Lange have had on his thinking. Much has already been explored and written about their relationship, so our focus on Wagner is, as always, kept to how he affects Nietzsche's views on the Greeks as exemplary and meaningful for modern culture and how he inspires Nietzsche's classicist hopes.[1] Nietzsche has known of Wagner's music since Gustav Krug introduced it to the *Germania* in the early 1860s, from which time until their meeting Nietzsche continues to pay some attention to Wagner's theories

[1] On Nietzsche's and Wagner's relationship and cultural partnership, see: Love (1966), Dietrich (1976), Hollinrake (1982), Vogel (1984), Borchmeyer and Salaquarda (1994), Köhler and Taylor (1998), Sorgner (2008) and Wildermuth (2008).

and music, oscillating between more and less appreciation for the composer.[2] We have already seen how this awareness affects Nietzsche's essay on *Oedipus Rex* written in his penultimate year at Schulpforta (in November 1862). In it, as explored in Chapter 1, he discusses how the composer brings all art forms together in his works and especially how he matches his musical motifs to the emotions of the words – an effect Nietzsche is exploring in his first major philological paper in order to use Sophocles' tragedy to discuss his passion, music. The relationship between music and text will be the question with which Nietzsche returns to his study of tragedy as he now discusses this relationship in person with the man from whom he first learned to formulate it as a question, Wagner.[3]

In a letter to Rohde from the 8th of November 1868, exactly a month before Nietzsche meets Wagner, we see his enthusiasm for Wagner growing, due in part to the writings of Otto Jahn. He appreciates that Jahn describes Wagner as a representative of an art that combines all other arts within itself, and is himself impressed by Wagner's considerable and varied talents and the energy to make use of them all, especially when compared to the anemic world of "*Bildung*," which Nietzsche puts in quotes to indicate through irony how inappropriate he finds the term for professional scholarship.[4]

In Leipzig, Nietzsche has been visiting the Ritschls frequently, as much to visit Frau Ritschl as to see his professor, if not more so. Music is one of their favorite topics, and Nietzsche has even played some Wagner for Frau Ritschl who is friends with

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[2] For a concise summary of Nietzsche's awareness of Wagner in the years before their meeting, see Borchmeyer (1994), 305-321, 1223-1225 and, even more concise, Silk and Stern (1981), 24-28.

[3] Though Nietzsche has indeed been working on the index of Aeschylus scholarship, it is very unlikely he would consider this "slave labor" requiring more "hand than head" a meaningful study of Greek tragedy. It certainly has no personal meaning for him beyond the money it provides.

[4] KGB I/2,321-322.

Wagner's sister, Ottilie Brockhaus. Frau Ritschl has let Wagner know that she is already acquainted with his music through one of her husband's musically and philologically talented students. Wagner requests to meet the young man.[5] Apparently, the prospect of a talented philologist appreciative of his music is too much to pass up.

Janz points out that Nietzsche has only up to this point become personally acquainted with scholars and literary types. He believes that Wagner presents him for the first time with a creative artist, one who awakens in him "every hidden dream and secret wish."[6] In a letter written to Rohde on the 9th of November, the day after this first meeting, Nietzsche is unable to conceal his bubbling enthusiasm. He describes to Rohde what occurs during the "strange fairy tale" of the preceding night.[7] After Wagner plays some of his own music, the two have a long discussion about Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche is overcome to hear Wagner's appreciation for the philosopher and that he thinks Schopenhauer is the only philosopher to recognize the essence of music. Then Wagner disparages professional philosophers and discusses their lack of appreciation for Schopenhauer. After this, Wagner reads from his biography, a scene which still makes Nietzsche laugh as he thinks about it. Finally, upon parting, Wagner takes Nietzsche's hand, invites him to visit in Tribschen on Lake Lucerne, and asks him to further acquaint Ottilie and the others with his music.[8] This initial meeting already encapsulates many of the aspects that will characterize Nietzsche's relationship to Wagner: their mutual appreciation for Wagner's music and Schopenhauer's theories on music, their mutual

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[5] Reich (2004), 180 and Janz (1978), 248.

[6] Janz (1978), 251. "alle verdeckten Träume und heimlichen Wünsche"

[7] "wundersame Mär"

[8] KGB I/2, 335.

disdain for professional scholarship, Wagner's self-promotion (in the form of his biography), and his deployment of Nietzsche as his apostle.

Letters to Rohde throughout November and December reveal Nietzsche's continuing reflection on the meaning of Wagner. A letter from the 20th of November complains of the small-mindedness and irrelevance of philologists, such as Nietzsche and Rohde are. The two need, he suggests, to consider another pair, Schopenhauer and Wagner, with their boundless energy to stand tall in the face of "the entire '*gebildeten*' world."[9] How Schopenhauer and Wagner offer solutions to Nietzsche and Rohde is not detailed. What seems to matter is simply the image of the two withstanding a flood of barbarism. In regard to the particular venom for professional philology in this letter, Rohde has just had an article turned down by Ritschl's prestigious philological journal, the *Rheinisches Museum*, after efforts on Nietzsche's part to get it published. Nietzsche may be enhancing his disdain out of solidarity for the hurt feelings of his friend. These sympathetically bitter grapes aside, Nietzsche's discontent with his profession has already been developing before his encounter with Wagner. In the same letter to Rohde, Nietzsche discusses their plans to move to Paris together independent of any university after they finish their doctorates, an aspiration that only underscores their dissatisfaction with their impending profession.[10]

Nietzsche is still months away from his first visit to Tribschen and has not been corresponding with Wagner in the past month, but Wagner has made a deep impression and is very much on his mind. A letter to Rohde from early December expresses

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[9] KGB I/2, 344. "der ganzen 'gebildeten' Welt."

[10]KGB I/2, 345.

Nietzsche's confidence that Wagner is a Schopenhauerian "genius" as evidenced by his music, his writings, his aesthetic theories, and not least, from "that happy get-together with him."[11] Where Schopenhauer has given Nietzsche a way to view existence that makes continued life possible, and where Lange has made it clear to Nietzsche that even Schopenhauer's ideas are not to be taken as verifiably true but as aesthetically and existentially encouraging, Wagner now presents to Nietzsche a flesh and blood embodiment of Schopenhauer's genius, the kind of person who justifies human existence, even if only aesthetically as a Nietzschean personality.

Nietzsche's enthusiasm, however strong it may be, is not unalloyed. As we have seen Nietzsche avoiding too much contact with Ritschl at Bonn and even putting off as late as possible joining the Philological Society at Leipzig that Ritschl forms and attends, we already see what may be faint signs of a Nietzsche wary of being consumed by Wagner's personality – a concern he is quite right to have. From the beginning of his relationship with Wagner, Nietzsche distances himself from and criticizes other Wagnerians.[12] A letter to Krug, whom Nietzsche has not written in a very long time, triumphantly announces Nietzsche's new acquaintanceship with Krug's long-time hero. In the letter to Rohde just discussed above, Nietzsche calls Wagner "Richard," a familiarity Nietzsche would certainly not assume in Wagner's presence. Now to Krug, startlingly, he calls Wagner not only by his first name, but renders him "that chap, Richard."[13] In both cases, Nietzsche is likely overplaying his recent and limited familiarity with the composer in a grotesque gesture of name-dropping. What may also

[11] KGB I/2, 352. "jenem glücklichen Zusammensein mit ihm"

[12] Janz (1978), 260.

[13] KGB I/2, 343. "jener Knabe Richard"

be at work here is Nietzsche's own need to feel some form of superiority in the relationship, as submission to Wagner would be, indeed will be, overpowering.

The first letter Nietzsche mentions having received from Wagner appears to be one noted in a letter to Gersdorff in mid-January, 1969.[14] The first preserved letter from Tribschen is from Cosima Wagner to Nietzsche from May 20th 1869.[15] Few of the letters Nietzsche sends to Richard or Cosima are preserved, so it is difficult to know how much Nietzsche is writing to them before his first visit to Tribschen on May 15, 1869, a month after arriving in Basel.[16] Nietzsche will visit the Wagners in Tribschen more than twenty-five times.[17] Unfortunately we have almost no records of the lively conversations held between Nietzsche, Richard and Cosima. What comes through in their letters and Cosima's journal is only a scant impression. We do, however, have a significant record of Wagner's attitudes towards the Greeks, and much of how these views impact Nietzsche can be made out.

3.1.2 Wagner's Greeks

Wagner's earliest impression of the Greeks is, as for most early nineteenth century German boys, characterized by the liberal humanism through which he is introduced to them at school.[18] In his mid-thirties, in 1847, he pursues his own

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[14] KGB I/2, 364.

[15] Borchmeyer (1994), 11.

[16] Janz (1978), 293.

[17] See Pletsch (1991), 116 and Janz (1978), 332, 336, 338, and 340.

[18] Deathridge (2008), 105. John Deathridge provides a direct look at Wagner's attitudes towards the Greeks. Much of his study repeats Wolfgang Schadewaldt's detailed study of the topic. He offers, however, the important qualification that Schadewaldt prepares his sometimes too reverential findings for presentation at Bayreuth on Wagner's grandson's invitation to commemorate Wagner, and he sometimes

independent and intensive study of the Greeks. Here for the first time, Wagner conducts what he will long consider one of the most important experiences one can have with Greek art. He imagines a production of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in its entirety as it would originally have been staged at the City Dionysia in Athens. With the aid of Johann Gustav Droysen's recent translation (1841), Wagner feels he can present his imagination with such a clear image of the performance that the *Oresteia* is able to affect him "with a previously *unheard of, penetrating power*."[19] Throughout his vision of all three tragedies he is transported, leaving him unable to ever really reconcile himself to modern literature afterwards. He has a similar experience in reading Plato's *Symposium*, where he gains "such a fervently intimate insight into the wonderful beauty of Greek life," that he is left feeling more at home in ancient Athens than anywhere in modernity.[20] Wolfgang Schadewaldt describes Wagner's writings after this intense reading in 1847 as having the quality of immediacy and experience that is otherwise only seen among the great German authors and Hellenists.[21] He has experienced, or at least wants to imagine that he has experienced, the kind of transporting "living-into" [*Hineinleben*] that Wolf once held out as the reward of studying the Greeks.[22]

Wagner supplements his reading of translations with a study of secondary materials from philologists including Droysen, Welcker, Boeckh, and Karl Ottfried

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relies too uncritically on Wagner's self-descriptions. While agreeing with most of what Schadewaldt presents, Deathridge seeks to give more balance to his picture of Wagner's ideas on the Greeks.

[19] "mit einer bisher *unerhört eindringlichen Gewalt*"

[20] "einen so innig vertrauten Einblick in die wunderbare Schönheit des griechischen Lebens"

[21] Schadewaldt (1970), 348-349.

[22] *Hineinleben* refers, in Wolf's case, to one's ability to enter with all of one's soul into a living experience of antiquity by means of highly developed philological skill, one of his goals for *Altertumswissenschaft* as we saw in Chapter 2.

Müller. Schadewaldt believes, in agreement with the Austrian poet Johann Nordmann, that Wagner's understanding of the Greek tragedians surpasses that of a professional philologist.[23] Regardless of how well Wagner's philological expertise really does match up to the professionals, what is certain is his sincere and intense attempt to really understand Greek tragedy and the world that produces it. As John Deathridge argues, Wagner is never able to see the Greeks as anything other than "the pristine source of a lost culture—an ideal of fundamental origins projected onto the utopian future of a society encumbered by alienated living and a lack of spiritual freedom."[24]

Thus, his hard-earned image of the Greeks is caught up into his revolutionary politics in the late 1840s and the aesthetic theory he develops to clarify art's role in revolution. In his study of Wagner and the Greeks, Ulrich Müller demonstrates that Wagner's three seminal essays on the theory of art written between 1849 and 1851 are all influenced by his intense study of the Greeks.[25] What Wagner finds so repellent in modernity, and so in need of being overthrown, is essentially a devaluation of life and of humanity. Christianity devalues life in this world while modernity devalues humans by using them as machinery and slaves. Humans are so exhausted they are incapable of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.[26] The arts are all separated from each other as means to satisfy

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[23] Schadewaldt (1970), 350.

[24] Deathridge (2008), 103.

[25] U. Müller (1992), 229. The essays are: *Die Kunst und Revolution* [Art and Revolution], *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* [The Artwork of the Future], and *Oper und Drama* [Opera and Drama].

[26] "*Gesamtkunstwerk*," a concept central to Wagner's aesthetics, means "the total work of art," and refers to a work that combines all media within itself.

various specific demands, while society is equally atomized, and no one works together. All are egoists and the state is the only force for cohesion.[27]

This more socialist and optimistic Wagner has not yet read Schopenhauer. Before we can look more in depth at how ancient Greek art provides the solution for Wagner to modernity's problems, we need to look at how Schopenhauer affects Wagner's thinking. Wagner first discovers Schopenhauer in 1854. He is convinced by him that death is the best of all, and that the best use of life is renunciation, attained by faith, in preparation for death. In reading Schopenhauer, Wagner concludes that the socialism he has been espousing could only rearrange suffering but never get rid of it. Like Nietzsche, Wagner is aware that the world beyond plurality and individuation presented by Schopenhauer is itself only a delusion, as much of a delusion as the individuated world. He embraces it, however, as it is, in the words of Julian Young, a "healing rather than diseased *Wahn*."[28]

Before reading Schopenhauer, Wagner has already been addressing the relation of text to music in tragedy, believing that the text is primary. In reading Schopenhauer, he comes to see music as the only key to accessing the world beyond plurality, giving music priority over the text in his theory of tragedy. Wagner decides, in fact, that all great art, even if not created out of literal music, is created out of the spirit of music.[29] The Wagner of the 1860s and early 1870s, the one influencing our young Nietzsche, is firmly

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[27] Young (2010), 113-114.

[28] *Wahn* means "delusion" and is part of the name of the home Wagner builds for himself in Bayreuth, *Wahnfried*, which Wagner explains as referring to the place where his delusions have found "peace" [*Friede*].

[29] Young (2010), 119-123.

committed to the idea that drama – the actions, words and emotions on stage – derives from the music.[30]

Schopenhauer does not cause Wagner, however, to renounce his artistic creativity, and he continues to see a social value in his art of the future, a value he believes he has found among the ancient Greeks. Greek tragedy as the *Gesamtkunstwerk* gathers within itself all of the arts, undoing their individuation. More than that, it brings all of Athenian society together. At the City Dionysia, the wounds of individuation in art and society are temporarily overcome in an experience of unity and wholeness, with music giving everyone access to the world of unity.[31] The wholeness that has so consistently been ascribed to the ancient Greeks since Winckelmann takes on both socialist and Schopenhauerian inflections in Wagner's amalgamation of the three theories.

Just as in his operas, however, Wagner is also inspired by the European Middle Ages. He idealizes life then as one where all live in harmony with nature and the seasons, with life given a stable rhythm by punctuating festivals and celebrations. Everyone has beautiful, meaningful work, which is what Wagner still wants for all in his time. If this still sounds like the socialism of his youth, Wagner would argue that socialism only seeks to rearrange labor, where his vision of society brings beauty and harmony to human life.[32] As Young points out, however, Wagner does not display a socialist/pre-Schopenhauer theory and a pessimist/post-Schopenhauer theory in distinct,

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[30] H. Reinhardt (1992), 290.

[31] Young (2010), 114-115.

[32] Young (2010), 116. See also U. Müller (1992), 231.

sequential periods as much as he shows a "split personality" consisting of both socialism and pessimism after reading Schopenhauer. He never fully lets the socialism go.[33]

Wagner insists this vision is for the future, and not a simple recreation of the past. Since the 1848 revolution, Wagner makes clear that he does not want moderns to become Greeks again and try to revive their world. He especially does not want to recreate their system of slavery. His study of the Greeks impresses on him a consciousness of his distance from them that never leaves him. What he wants is for myth to be experienced again, but anew and in a manner relevant for modernity.[34] Wagner describes myth as "the poetry of a common view of life."[35] It is as creative and dynamic as it is shared and unifying. His operas are structured as much by Greek myth as by Germanic myth. There is no better art form, Wagner believes, for transmitting myth than tragedy, as the tragedians convey myth most convincingly and in the most accessible manner. George Williamson points out that Wagner does not believe that myth can grow out of the soil of modern Germany but must be created by a great, individual artist.[36] By the time Nietzsche meets Wagner, he is seeking, as the modern Aeschylus, to provide a renewed myth for modernity that grows out of modernity. Thus, it must be "ideally socialist" even if its matter is taken from Germanic sagas and shaped by Greek literature.[37]

The *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which is to be none other than the artwork of the future, is a classicist project emulating the Greeks while not seeking to imitate them. It is an art

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[33] Young (2010), 124.

[34] Young (2010), 114, Deathridge (2008), 108, and Schadewaldt (1970), 354.

[35] "das Gedicht einer gemeinsamen Lebensanschauung"

[36] Williamson (2004), 202.

[37] Schadewaldt (1970), 354-355. "ideal-sozialistisch"

form driven by a rebirth of myth, relevant to modernity, conveyed in drama born out of the spirit of music, and presented in a setting that brings all of society together in a time of festival and celebration. It is the highest form of healing Wagner can offer to modern humanity, and the model for it has only existed once before, in ancient Greece. Nietzsche has already been introduced to much of this vision by Gustav Krug back in their *Germania* days, and we have seen how elements of its theorizing turn up in his schoolwork, specifically in his essay on *Oedipus Rex*. He has recently felt the power of Wagner's vision in its most charismatic embodiment when he meets Wagner himself in Leipzig. Now, as he enters the door of Wagner's house in Tribschen, he is immersed in his charisma.

3.1.3 Tribschen

One week after his first visit to Tribschen, Nietzsche writes Wagner on May 22, 1869 in the same spirit of praise we have seen in his letter to Rohde after first meeting Wagner, and further elevated by a high degree of reverence. He tells Wagner that already the best moments in his life are connected with his name and that only one other deserves similar adoration, "your great intellectual brother, Arthur Schopenhauer" on whom Nietzsche thinks with "a certain piety."[38] Nietzsche thanks Wagner for helping him with the exact same things with which Schopenhauer has helped him, giving him strength to hold fast to his seriousness about life (which is curiously "Germanic" here) and to a "deepened contemplation of this existence so enigmatic and questionable."[39]

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[38] "ihren großen Geistesbruder Arthur Schopenhauer" "religione quadam"

[39] "vertieften Betrachtung dieses so räthselvollen und bedenklichen Daseins"

A letter to Gersdorff in early August reports Nietzsche's plan to read in the next semester a history of pre-platonic philosophy in order to be able to lead his students to "the most serious and worthy thinkers."[40] Where Democritus and Schopenhauer have both presented personalities that weather the contradictory distress of existence, in Wagner, Nietzsche believes, he encounters a personality at least as great, and in the flesh. Wagner, he continues, is like no other the living image of Schopenhauer's "genius." He possesses "such a sublime seriousness about life" that Nietzsche feels himself in the presence of divinity around him.[41] Four more letters written just that August, to Krug, Rohde, Nietzsche's mother, and Deussen, all describe Wagner as a genius.[42] His description to Rohde is particularly telling of what Wagner as genius means to Nietzsche: "A fruitful, rich, moving life, entirely different and unheard of among average mortals! For all of that, he also stands rooted firmly through his own force, with his gaze always off beyond everything ephemeral and untimely in the most beautiful sense."[43] A result of this vision he is sure Wagner has is the Schopenhauerian seriousness about life. Not only does he repeatedly attribute this seriousness to Wagner, in a letter to Krug, he describes how just being in Wagner's presence transmits this ability for seriousness to others.[44] This vague quality is never described but is most important to Nietzsche in his quest for

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[40] "den ernstesten und würdigsten Denkern"

[41] KGB II/1, 35. "ein solcher erhabener Lebensernst"

[42] KGB II/1, 39, 44, 69.

[43] KGB II/1, 42. "Ein fruchtbares, reiches, erschütterndes Leben, ganz abweichend und unerhört unter mittleren Sterblichen! Dafür steht er auch da, festgewurzelt durch eigne Kraft, mit seinem Blick immer drüber hinweg über alles Ephemere, und unzeitgemäß im schönsten Sinne."

[44] KGB II/1, 37.

existential stability and would appear to represent the combination of a sober recognition of life's meaningless with a resolve to live on.

Nietzsche does not initially value Wagner for his vision of Greece or even for his music as much as for his embodiment of the Schopenhauerian struggle to hold to a life that makes no sense. Wagner's value is, first and foremost for Nietzsche, *existential*. Nietzsche's coupling here of Wagner with Schopenhauer, which will be repeated many times again in the coming years, is a clear indication of who Wagner is for Nietzsche, an embodiment of Schopenhauer's genius, the artist with the vision to make life bearable. As great of an impact as Schopenhauer has had on Nietzsche through the written word, Wagner now presents in the charismatic flesh the seriousness with which Nietzsche so identifies and that vision he seeks. It is no surprise that Wagner dramatically inspires the direction of Nietzsche's philological work in this period as he embodies the solution to his existential crisis and provides a powerful example of the artistic vision Nietzsche believes is now necessary to make his professional work meaningful.

Another week later Nietzsche writes to Rohde, ecstatic about his visit to Tribschen. He refers to Wagner, not as "Richard" or as a "chap" but more respectfully as "Wagner" and says of him that he is "really everything that we have hoped of him: a lavishly rich and large mind, an energetic character, and an enchanting, charming person."[45] He writes that he must cut his description short "otherwise I will sing a Paean."[46] Another letter to Rohde a couple of weeks later in mid-June again confirms how comprehensively Wagner satisfies Nietzsche's intellectual, artistic, and existential

[45] "wirklich alles, was wir von ihm gehofft haben: ein verschwenderisch reicher und großer Geist, ein energischer Charakter, und ein bezaubender liebenswürdiger Mensch"

[46] KGB II/1, 13. "sonst singe ich eine Päan"

needs: "He makes everything true that we have only been able to wish for."[47] If Nietzsche did earlier feel a need to avoid being drawn into Wagner, it was well founded – and has been swept away.

Nietzsche has moved to Switzerland to pursue the professorship his mentor, Ritschl, has secured for him. Given how ambivalent Nietzsche feels about this career opportunity to begin with, it is no surprise that his proximity to Wagner becomes far more meaningful for him. Again in his letter to Krug from August, he tells him that his days at Tribschen during the summer "are absolutely the most precious results of my professorship in Basel."[48] To Rohde he writes of his "Jupiter," Wagner, in whose presence "I breathe deeply from time to time and am more refreshed than all of my colleagues can imagine."[49] The quality of living that Wagner inspires with his mere presence is beyond anything Nietzsche thinks his professional colleagues, philologist or otherwise could ever know, and it is that proximity that helps Nietzsche to bear his work in Basel. A few days later in August he writes to his mother that when he is with Wagner, "much comes together in order to refresh me here and give me strength for my job."[50]

This statement to his mother probably might also indicate that the discussions Nietzsche is having at Tribschen with Richard and Cosima, of which we have almost no record, are inspiring his thoughts about the Greeks. A letter from Cosima to Nietzsche

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[47] KGB II/1, 16. "Er macht alles wahr, was wir nur wünschen konnten."

[48] KGB II/1, 39. "sind unbedingt die schätzenswerthesten Resultate meiner Baseler Professur"

[49] KGB II/1, 42. "Juppiter [sic]" "ich von Zeit zu Zeit aufathme und mich mehr erquicke, als sich meine ganze Collegenschaft vorstellen kann"

[50] KGB II/1, 44. "es kommt viel zusammen, um mich hier zu erquicken und mir in meinem Berufe Kraft zu geben"

from late August tells him how she and Richard have been reading an address he has given on Homer "between Goethe, Schiller and Beethoven," and she gives him permission to seek this Homer at Tribschen in addition to the great Aeschylus, whom they have already apparently been discussing – if "the great Aeschylus" is here not simply a reference to Richard.[51] Much of the time spent at Tribschen is in discussion of Greek art and artists. After all, it is only after hearing that Sophie Ritschl knows of a brilliant young philologist with good taste in music that Wagner requests to meet Nietzsche. Wagner has long been a serious student of professional philologists, valuing their aid in understanding Greek art, regardless of his expressed contempt for academia. Now he has the opportunity to bind one to him as a friend and admirer.

This letter from Cosima mentions Goethe and Schiller three times, and their names appear frequently in the letters exchanged between Nietzsche and the Wagners, with the highest frequency being in her letters (which constitute the bulk of what is available). The discussions at Tribschen center not only around the great Greek artists, but also around the great German artists who deepen the German love for them. Nietzsche writes to Rohde in early September of Tribschen: "what I learn and see there, hear and understand, is indescribable. Schopenhauer and Goethe, Aeschylus and Pindar live still; believe it!"[52] At Tribschen Nietzsche is experiencing the reanimation of not only his favorite and most inspiring philosopher, but of the great artists of Greece and Germany.

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[51] "zwischen Goethe, Schiller, und Beethoven"

[52] KGB II/1, 51. "… was ich dort lerne und schaue, höre und verstehe, ist unbeschreiblich. Schopenhauer und Goethe, Aeschylus und Pindar leben noch, glaub es nur."

In the winter of 1869-1870, Nietzsche visits Tribschen four times, including a long visit for the holidays. He maintains a lively written correspondence with them, especially with Cosima, who comments thoroughly on everything he sends them.[53] Much of what happens at Tribschen when Nietzsche is not there is the reading of Greek authors. A letter from Cosima to Nietzsche in early November mentions Richard reading out of Plato's *Gorgias*. From January on, her journal records their intense study of Greek authors, with the intensity spurred by the visits from their new, brilliant, philologist friend. This reading includes "all of Plato, as well as Aristophanes, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and later Herodotus and Thucydides."[54] A letter from Cosima to Nietzsche in mid-January reports that she has reread his address on Homer and asks him to send his other addresses as she and *der Meister* are expecting them. The same letter cites the *Odyssey*. A letter from Richard in early February cites Theodor Mommsen on Cicero, not a Greek author, but evidence that Richard still makes use of the secondary works of professional philologists.[55]

Wagner also expresses an interest in Greek metrics, an obvious interest for a composer interested in Greek music, which causes Nietzsche to write Wilhelm Brambach, a former student of Ritschl's who has also studied music and is teaching at Freiburg. He requests a copy of Brambach's work on meter on behalf of his friend, Richard Wagner.[56] Nietzsche is himself inspired by Wagner's interest, or he has gotten Wagner interested in the topic which has in turn given new impetus to his own interest –

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[53] Janz (1978), 344, 354.

[54] "der ganzen Platon, aber auch Aristophanes, Aischylos, Sophokles und später Herodot und Thukydides"

[55] Borchmeyer (1994), 28, 43, 48, 49 and, on Cosima's journal, Janz (1978), 354.

[56] KGB II/1, 122.

he has worked on Greek meter as a way to explore the music of Greek poetry since Schulpforta. Either way, that Nietzsche's own thoughts are focused on the subject is evidenced by a letter later in July to Deussen in which he speaks of their friendship and asks: "What is friendship? Two people and one meter."[57] This interest culminates in a course on meter given the following winter.

The correspondence with Tribschen also demonstrates that classical German authors and artists are never far from the Wagners' thoughts. Mentioned are: Schiller twice, Beethoven, Goethe (multiple times, including the artist himself, his *Faust*, and his *Wilhelm Meister*), and even Albrecht Dürer.[58] In addition to these Greek and German artists, Shakespeare is mentioned along with his Falstaff and *Hamlet*.[59] At Tribschen, Nietzsche finds himself in a world that engages with art and uses it to understand existence in a way no other world he has previously inhabited did. Once again he calls Wagner a genius in a letter to Deussen from February of 1870, and he says of him that he holds to Schopenhauer as Schiller did to Kant, showing that the Wagnerian habit of explanation through appeal to great artists is rubbing off on Nietzsche, a tendency quite clear in *Birth*.[60]

3.2.0 TEACHING IN BASEL

In a letter to Rohde from the 16th of January, 1869, Nietzsche announces he is surprised to learn that he has just been offered a professorship at the University at Basel,

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[57] KGB II/1, 127. "Was ist Freundschaft? Zwei Menschen und ein μέτρον."

[58] Borchmeyer (1994), 25, 26, 27, 55, 60, 77.

[59] Borchmeyer (1994), 28, 34, 37, 46, 72.

[60] KGB II/1, 98.

Switzerland.[61] In one of the often-cited episodes of this time in Nietzsche's life, Friedrich Ritschl has recommended his young student for the position when asked for recommendations, famously saying of Nietzsche: "He will simply be able to do everything he wants to do," and also reassuring Basel that Nietzsche, if God grants him a long life, will stand in the first rank of philologists and that he is currently a demigod to all of the other philology students at Leipzig.[62] That Nietzsche is appointed without a doctorate and habilitation is rather unusual and demonstrates Ritschl's power.[63] Though Nietzsche's promoters would make his appointment at such a young age seem highly unusual, it is actually standard practice at Basel at the time to hire young professors with the expectation that they will move on after a few years to more prestigious positions at German universities.[64] What is more unusual in Nietzsche's case than his youth is his lack of standard qualifications and how long he stays at Basel, with his decade of active teaching there being much longer than the average stay.[65]

By mid-February, Nietzsche receives word that all bureaucratic processes have been completed and that the position at Basel is his.[66] Most of his letters at the time announce not only his position to friends and family, they also detail his salary. Even the calling card he has printed and sends to his mother and sister to distribute includes his

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[61] KGB I/2, 358.

[62] Janz (1978), 253-254 and Hoyer (2002), 185. "Er wird eben alles können, was er will."

[63] See Silk and Stern (1981), 129.

[64] Hoyer (2002), 184.

[65] Janz (1978), 285-286.

[66] Janz (1978), 257.

salary on it.[67] Then in a letter home towards the end of February, he teases his mother and sister for being so excited about his job and assures them that it is not that big of a deal.[68] It would appear he has already grown embarrassed of his own enthusiasm and very recent letters asking his mother and sister to make a big deal out of both his new position and his salary. At any rate, the salary finally achieved with this new position provides more security than his short-term employment on the Aeschylus index and must be a source of real relief for Nietzsche.

Mixed into his excitement and the embarrassment it is causing, Nietzsche is also feeling disappointment. He and Rohde have been planning for a long time now to move to Paris and study independently once they have both finished their doctorates. Thus, in the letter from mid-January telling Rohde of his surprise appointment at Basel, Nietzsche first has to tell him that the Paris plans will remain unfulfilled. Despite hopes to be seen "together everywhere" in the museums, libraries, churches, and streets of Paris as a couple of philosophical *flâneurs*, "that devil 'destiny'" now entices Nietzsche with a philological professorship.[69] Perhaps the salary he also details to Rohde in the letter has something to do with the inevitability of that path. Nietzsche tells Rohde that just a week earlier he planned to write him and suggest that they both cast philology aside and study chemistry. But now destiny has kept him kept him tied just that much longer to philology.[70]

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[67] KGB I/2 369-37.

[68] KGB I/2, 373.

[69] "überall zusammen" "der Teufel 'Schicksal'"

[70] KGB I/2, 358.

Though Nietzsche is planning to complete his doctorate on Diogenes Laërtius (among other topics between which he has vacillated), Leipzig decides that all of his work already published in the *Rheinisches Museum* is sufficient evidence of his training and awards him his doctorate on the March 23, 1869 without any further examination or disputation.[71] Nietzsche is now a doctor and a professor of philology.

3.2.1 University and *Pädagogium*

The university in Basel is founded in 1460, just 51 years after Leipzig's founding.[72] Those who create the university are humanists, and as Hubert Cancik observes, Basel is long characterized by this humanist spirit.[73] As a Swiss city-state, nineteenth-century Basel is also characterized by freedom from princely and church control as is its university.[74] Cancik describes the republican city-state upon Nietzsche's arrival as dominated by "an old, wealthy, *gebildeten*, and sophisticated patrician class."[75] Young writes that what Nietzsche would primarily notice about Basel in contrast to Prussia is, "the absence of the self-assertive state. There was no king – the rector of the university was elected by the professors rather than being a royal appointment – no aristocracy, and no cult of the military." He also describes Basel's patrician families as

[71] Janz (1978), 263.

[72] Janz (1978), 281 and Hoyer (2002), 181.

[73] Cancik (1995), 12.

[74] Janz (1978), 278-279.

[75] Cancik (1995), 23. "einem alten, reichen, gebildeten und weltläufigen Patrizier-Stand"

very concerned about culture and intellectual life, giving much attention to the university.[76]

Basel reforms its schools, including the university, in the early nineteenth century along the lines of the Prussian reforms.[77] In 1818, the philosophical factually is raised in status by these neo-humanist reforms. Both the neo-humanist emphasis and the importance of the philosophical faculty remain strong throughout the nineteenth century, including Nietzsche's years there.[78] As part of the reforms, a "*Pädagogium*" is founded in 1817 to provide three years of additional university preparation for graduates of the *Gymnasium*.[79] Beginning in 1818, teaching faculty in the university's philosophical faculty are required to teach at the *Pädagogium* where the curriculum includes homework consisting predominantly of responses to scholarly questions, the reading of scholarly texts, style exercises, and translations of classical authors.[80]

3.2.2 Pedagogy and Courses Taught

Nietzsche arrives in Basel on April 19, 1969, where he teaches 8 hours a week at the university and 6 hours of Greek to the third year at the *Pädagogium*.[81] Nietzsche innovates on *Pädagogium* practice with a technique he learns at Schulpforta: having his

[76] Young (2010), 100.

[77] Gossman (2000), 215.

[78] Hoyer (2002), 182.

[79] Hoyer (2002), 192 and Cancik (1995), 24.

[80] Hoyer (2002), 192.

[81] Janz (1978), 293 and Hoyer (2002), 186.

pupils translate from German into Greek.[82] The texts Nietzsche teaches most both at the university and the *Pädagogium* from the Summer Semester of 1869 through the Winter Semester of 1871-1872 are Homer's *Iliad*, various tragedies, and some of Plato's dialogs. He also offers a lecture course at the university introducing the study of philology that we will examine in more detail below.[83] Nietzsche promotes efficiency in the preparation of his large teaching load by borrowing generously from others. As Fritz Bornmann details, the course on Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* relies heavily on someone else's introduction to the text, and other courses such as one on Sophocles and especially one on rhetoric given a year after *Birth* is published, consist of entire pages taken from other philologists.[84] His seminar is largely based on Ritschl's format: students write critical-exegetical essay on classical authors that are presented and disputed after Nietzsche gives his treatment, all conducted in Latin.[85]

As Nietzsche has never received any formal training in pedagogy, such emulation and even borrowing is to be expected.[86] It should be kept in mind that, though it is clear he borrows techniques and material for some of his classes, we should by no means assume that everything he does in class is unoriginal. The evidence for borrowing is only

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[82] Hoyer (2002), 194-195.

[83] In his first six semesters at the university, Nietzsche teaches: Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* (twice), Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, Hesiod's *Erga*, Cicero's *Academica* (twice), Greek Lyric, Latin Grammar, Latin Epigraphy, Greek Meter, The Introduction to Philology, and an Introduction to the Study of Platonic Dialogs. At the *Pädagogium* he teaches: Homer's *Iliad* (five of the six semesters), Plato's *Phaido* (four times), *Protagoras*, and *Apologia*, Sophocles' *Elektra* (twice), Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, *Agamemnon*, and *Choephoroi* (each twice), Euripides' *Medea* (twice), Hesiod's *Erga* (twice), Pindar's *Odes*, Demosthenes' *Philippics*, and a History of Greek Literature. See Bollinger and Trenkle (2000), 71-73.

[84] Bornmann (1999), 71. See also Most and Fries (1994) on the rhetoric course given in the Winter Semester 1872-1873.

[85] Hoyer (2002), 199.

[86] See Janz (1978), 386 and Hoyer (2002), 191.

limited to some of his courses. Nietzsche intends to teach his students a new form of philology he is working to create, even if the reality of his heavy work load encourages him to borrow teaching material and repeat courses.

In letters, Nietzsche initially reports his delight in bringing his philosophical approach to his young philologists.[87] A week before he arrives in Basel, he writes to Gersdorff that his reading of Schopenhauer and seriousness will keep him from becoming a philistine. He vows to convey his Schopenhauerian seriousness to his students and to be more than just a "disciplinarian for competent philologists" inasmuch as his concern is for the coming generation.[88]

Surprisingly, he conveys a similar message to Ritschl in mid-May, after being in Basel for a month. He reports that in teaching the *Phaido*, he has "the opportunity to infect his students with philosophy" and uses extemporaneous speaking to wake them "out of their grammatical slumbers."[89] This is not what Ritschl has trained Nietzsche to do. That Nietzsche describes his activities as "infecting" his students may reflect the very perception he fears Ritschl might have of what he is doing. He may be ironically claiming the word before it can be thought against him in accusation. This letter is rather remarkable in having the most informal and least obsequious tone of all the letters Nietzsche has ever written to Ritschl. It may be meant as a provisional declaration of independence.

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[87] Hoyer (2002), 202.

[88] KGB I/2, 384. "Zuchtmeister tüchtiger Philologen"

[89] KGB II/1, 7. "Gelegenheit meine Schüler mit Philosophie zu inficieren" "aus ihrem grammatikalischen Schlummer"

Less surprising is the letter to Rohde at the end of May in which Nietzsche proudly reports that in his Plato course he leads "the fortunate lads with a gentle hand to the philosophical questions: i.e., only to whet their appetites."[90] This is the most thorough description of what Nietzsche means by infecting his students with philosophy, and it probably means what he has earlier indicated in his *Retrospective* on his Leipzig years in which he says a student must first be brought to the state of astonishment and philosophic pathos where "life dismantles itself before him as nothing but enigma."[91] It does not appear that Nietzsche brings his students to full existential crises giving rise to official complaints; rather, he is only hoping to plant seeds.

Despite Nietzsche's casual letter to Ritschl announcing his infecting of students with philosophy, he remains quite grateful to him. It is simply an ambivalent gratitude towards one who threatens his individuality. In a mid-June letter to Rohde, he describes the letter of high praise with which Ritschl has won Nietzsche's position for him as "fantastic."[92] Yet, he goes on, that letter made his position in Basel difficult at first, and he hopes that through his inaugural address he has been able to distinguish himself "with a most decisive manifestation of my individuality."[93] Nietzsche does not want to be known simply as a disciple of Ritschl, and works like his address on Homer will ensure that he indeed will not be. Yet Nietzsche's gratitude is not at all diminished. In September of 1869, after six months of visiting Wagner regularly, Nietzsche addresses

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[90] "die glücklichen Bengels an milder Hand auf die philosophischen Fragen hin: dh. nur, um ihnen Appetit zu machen"

[91] KGW I/4, 512.

[92] "fabelhaft"

[93] KGB II/1, 17. "mit entscheidenster Ausprägung der Individualität"

Ritschl as *Meister* in a letter, a title he usually reserves for Wagner (following Cosima's usage), a gesture he repeats in a letter from mid-December to Sophie Ritschl in which he calls her husband both teacher and *Meister*.[94] A letter from late December to Ritschl himself is an expression of sincere gratitude for everything Ritschl has done for him.[95] Nietzsche twice mentions to Rohde that Ritschl praises his inaugural address on Homer, showing that he cares about his approval, something that will be harder to win as Nietzsche's professional individuality becomes more distinct.[96]

3.2.3 Inaugural Address on Homer

On his move down to Basel, Nietzsche writes his inaugural address in a hotel in Heidelberg.[97] The fact that it is written off of the top of Nietzsche's head and not with a stack of a hundred books in front of him is reflected in the personal and philosophical nature of the address. As this address has already received some close attention, here we focus on what it says about Nietzsche's incipient classicism as he begins his teaching career.[98]

Nietzsche begins his address titled "Homer and Classical Philology" and delivered on May 28, 1869 with the observation that the practice of philology lacks a conceptual unity and is in reality a multiplicity bound together by a name.[99] This is, he

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[94] KGB II/1, 55, 89.

[95] KGB II/1, 89.

[96] KGB II/1, 43, 52.

[97] Janz (1978), 267.

[98] Porter provides an insightful discussion of the address. See Porter (2000a), 62-81.

[99] Janz (1978), 267. "Homer und die klassische Philologie"

goes on to show, rather similar to what "Homer" is within the practice of philology.[100] In his attempt to offer and critique ways of seeing Homer as a unified concept, he also offers a vision of how philology can serve as an entity, even if never a fully unified one. As Porter points out, Nietzsche has originally titled the address "On Homer's Personality," and it is with this aesthetic concept of a "personality" that Nietzsche has developed by reading Lange, and with which he has been able to hang on to Schopenhauer as such a powerful teacher, that he addresses the Homeric question and investigates the possibility of unity.[101] For Nietzsche, when one speaks of the Homeric question, what is meant is "*the question of the personality of Homer*."[102] This appeal to the aesthetic construct of a "personality" already reveals that throughout the address Nietzsche is going to be speaking of aesthetic solutions and problems as much as scholarly ones. He is combining *Wissenschaft* with *Dichtung*.

Nietzsche defends the idea of thinking about Homer from the perspective of a personality as it has been "the center of a scholarly question […], from which a full torrent of new views has poured" and has been the fruitful germ of an entire "cycle of questions."[103] In Langean terms, it has been the standpoint of the ideal from which considerable scholarship has been produced. And he believes that, because it has been so fruitful and led to ideas that are themselves still productive, its importance deserves recognition, regardless of whether the concept is correct or not.[104]

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[100] KGW II/1, Homer, 249.

[101] Porter (2004), 19. "Über die Persönlichkeit Homers"

[102] KGW II/1, 254. "*die Frage nach der Persönlichkeit Homers*"

[103] "das Centrum einer wissenschaftlichen Frage […], von wo sich der volle Strom neuer Ansichten ergossen hat" "Fragencyklus"

[104] KGW II/1, 254-255.

Throughout the address, Nietzsche reviews many of the possible ways in which the postulating of a "Homer" or the denial of one has been attempted and has broken down, constantly relying on the very language of these attempts, as he seems to have no other option. He briefly recounts the history of the concept of "Homer" pointing out that it goes far back beyond Wolf to at least the time of Peisistratus on up through the Alexandrian grammarians.[105] Early on, he argues, the name "Homer" has no necessary relation to a concept of aesthetic perfection nor to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, denoting instead a much broader body of literature. The idea of Homer as the *Dichter* of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is not a historical tradition from earliest times but "rather an *aesthetic judgment*," a judgment made by the Alexandrians and still examined in Friedrich August Wolf's time.[106] In just this one statement we see the kind of paradoxical doubling back Nietzsche's arguments in the address repeatedly make: "Homer" as an aesthetic ideal active from the Alexandrians to Nietzsche is indeed also clearly, *a historical tradition*.

Porter is especially adept, as he is in all of his analyses of Nietzsche, at bringing out the paradoxes in Nietzsche's thinking here. He argues that Nietzsche crisscrosses between the idealizing moves of classicism and the data-based arguments of historicism, unfolding each into the other, towards a specific end:

> In pursuing the contradictory positions of classicism and historicism, Nietzsche is, I believe, exploring their internal self-contradictions. What he shows, in effect, is how both tendencies are moving down the same illogical paths toward one and the same goal, and how exposing and living with that goal coincides, or could be made to coincide, with a philology of the future.[107]

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[105] KGW II/1, 255-257.

[106] KGW II/1, 263. "sondern ein *aesthetisches Urtheil*"

[107] Porter (2000a), 69.

That Nietzsche is exposing the internal self-contradictions of these approaches to antiquity is certain, with this inaugural address on Homer serving as a dazzling demonstration of self-contradiction. What is less apparent is whether Nietzsche is trying to do more with this address than perform philology's inconsistencies. By the end of the address, he has not come close to taking sides with either the thesis that there was a historical author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* or that the texts are composed of multiple fragments from many sources. His resistance to do so is beautifully summed up in his line: "We believe in the one great *Dichter* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey – just not in Homer as this Dichter*."[108] Who could argue with that? Likely only someone who understands it.

At the end of the address he moves from his performances of all of the problems with both historical and aesthetic approaches to Homer and to philology in general and assumes the tone of someone who has made his point. He returns to a problem discussed early in the address, that the "artistic friends of antiquity," including the likes of Schiller and Goethe, oppose professional philology, "as if precisely the philologists themselves were the actual opponents and devastators of antiquity and of the antique ideal."[109] Now at the end of the address, he reminds those critical artists that antiquity was previously buried and has only been made accessible due to the labors of philology.[110] Does his comment here about artists attacking philologists reflect something Wagner has said to him at their first meeting in the previous fall and continually gnawing doubts arising from

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[108] KGW II/1, 266. "Wir glauben an den einen grossen Dichter von Ilias und Odysee – *doch nicht an Homer als diesen Dichter*."

[109] KGW II/1, 252. "künstlerischen Freunde des Alterthums" "als ob gerade die Philologen selbst die eigentlichen Gegner und Verwüster des Alterthums und der alterthümlichen Ideale seien"

[110] KGW II/1, 267.

it? We do know from Nietzsche's report to Rohde that Wagner does criticize professional philosophers at that meeting, but nothing is mentioned about philology. We have already seen that Nietzsche himself is rather critical of philology, sometimes to soothe a friend who has had a publication rejected, but also when working in the field of Aeschylus studies and finding himself less than impressed by his guild.

It is clear that Nietzsche is struggling within himself about the value of philology and its relation to art. In taking the job at Basel and forsaking his plans to research independently with Rohde in Paris, we see he feels bound to philology, even if by something as irresistible as fate, at this point. It is within this struggle that we locate the possibility of Nietzsche's classicism in his inaugural address. We see both his clear familiarity with and distance from traditional German classicism in his rhetorical question whether its idealized antiquity is only "the most beautiful blossoming of the Germanic, yearning love for the south."[111] This is not the question of someone who uncritically embraces the classicism of Winckelmann, rather it clearly demonstrates that Nietzsche sees the classicist tradition for the idealization it is. Nor have we ever seen Nietzsche caught up in this idealizing longing for ancient Greece while at Schulpforta or Bonn, though we do see a couple of small classicist gestures in writings of his Leipzig years. Given his lack of serious classicism since his earliest engagement with the Greeks and the assumption he here expresses that classicism may only express a German love for the south, it is clear that Nietzsche has never been anything like a naively devout classicist.

[111] KGW II/1, 253. "die schönste Blüthe germanischer Liebessehnsucht nach dem Süden"

Yet he recognizes that classicism has its place and even functions as Lange's standpoint of the ideal, the only intellectual model he can rely on at this point to make existence bearable. Even Schopenhauer's personality, which is still all-important to Nietzsche, is itself only an iteration of the standpoint of the ideal. Lange has given him a way to make use of the classicism he has repeatedly encountered and chosen to ignore throughout the years of his education. He also cannot help but notice that philology is not simply the practice of historical criticism, but is often at least to the same degree an aesthetic, idealizing practice – a form of classicism. He has decided that, at its best, philology *must* be an idealizing practice. Philology contains, he argues, an "imperative element based on aesthetic and ethical grounds."[112] It is aesthetic inasmuch as it sets up a "classical" antiquity as an ideal for modernity and ethical inasmuch as it demands we emulate it. The fact that the various and contradictory tendencies of philology, performed with maddening brilliance in this address, are gathered under one name is because, Nietzsche argues, they are a selection made for our *Bildung*.[113] Thus, unlike Ritschl and many other philologists of the time who believe philology is free of any ethical and aesthetic imperatives, Nietzsche insists it must project an ideal for emulation and *Bildung*. This is not, of course, because he has always learned to pursue philology in this manner. As we have seen, his own philological work has been free of any such aesthetic or ethical demands up until his reading of Lange. It is only after Lange has offered him the combination of *Wissenschaft* and *Dichtung* that Nietzsche feels his own philological work *must* be conditioned by this new classicism.

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[112] "auf aesthetischem und ethischem Boden imperativisches Element"

[113] KGW II/1, 249-250.

The disinterested historicist approach is no longer sufficient for Nietzsche's philology. It is its potential to feature an ethical aspect, its potential importance to *Bildung* that makes philology imperative, and this relies on the aesthetic, idealizing vision of Greece it can still produce. "Life is worth living, says art, the most beautiful seductress; life is worth knowing, says *Wissenschaft*."[114] Lange's philosophical approach demands that Nietzsche classicize in his philology. If he only focuses on the *Wissenschaft* in philology, it loses its imperative, life-continuing force, "the wonderful *Bildende*, indeed the original fragrance of the ancient atmosphere; we forget that yearning stirring, which, as the most lovely charioteer, leads our thinking and enjoying with the power of instinct to the Greeks."[115] In this essay demonstrating the problematic nature of classicism and Nietzsche's awareness that it is only a fictive construct, we see his first clear statement of a classicizing intent. Where we earlier saw in his Leipzig notes a need to find the *bildende* points in Greek antiquity, here we see an acceptance of the task of creating them.

Porter is certainly correct in describing Nietzsche as exploring and performing all of the paradoxes of philology in this address, but it also does seem that Nietzsche is trying out something much more personal and sincere than a demonstration of a discipline's incoherency. Though he has never believed in classicism, it seems that Lange has prepared him to try it out as a way to give meaning to the professional philological career Nietzsche believes he has no choice but to pursue. Nietzsche is trying

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[114] "Das Leben ist werth gelebt zu werden, sagt die Kunst, die schönste Verführerin; das Leben ist werth, erkannt zu werden, sagt die Wissenschaft."

[115] KGW II/1, 251-252. "das wunderbar Bildende, ja den eigentlichen Duft der antiken Athmosphäre, wir vergessen jene sehnsüchtige Regung, die unser Sinnen und Geniessen mit der Macht des Instinktes, als holdeste Wagenlenkerin, den Griechen zuführte"

on classicism for the first time, not as a secular faith, but as an aesthetic approach to his profession, as a standpoint of the ideal, in order to make life bearable for him and, perhaps, for future generations of philologists. This inaugural address is Nietzsche's first attempt to make this effort public and his invitation to others to approach not only Homer but all of philology philosophically as a conscious combination of *Dichtung* and *Wissenschaft*.

3.3.0 RETURN TO TRAGEDY

Once Nietzsche is settled in to his new job at Basel and has begun visiting Tribschen, we see him returning, after all of his work on the Democritus, Diogenes Laërtius, and the history of philosophy, to the topic of tragedy in his own research. Interestingly he picks this study up precisely where he left it at Schulpforta, with the question of the relationship between music and text, a question he first explored after encountering Wagner's ideas and one that allowed him to discuss music, his true passion, in his schoolwork. Now that is able to discuss this relationship of music and text in tragedy face to face with Wagner, we see his thinking on the subject develop rapidly. To examine this development, we investigate here the lectures he delivers publicly on tragedy and an essay he writes and gives to Cosima.

3.3.1 Two Public Lectures on Tragedy

On January 18, 1870, less than a year after arriving in Switzerland, Nietzsche gives a lecture entitled "The Greek *Musikdrama*."[116] A couple of weeks later, he gives

[116] "Das griechische Musikdrama."

another lecture on February 1, "Socrates and Tragedy."[117] They are presented in the same venue where he has given his inaugural address on Homer, the aula of the city museum, and are hosted by *The Free Academic Society*, an independent organization that serves to support the university.[118] Pletsch correctly notes that these lectures have more of a philosophical quality than the philological writings Nietzsche has previously published.[119] They are similar to the address on Homer, though they are much more linear and able to stake out a thesis supported by their arguments, which is that tragedy must be born of music. Compared to *Birth*, for which these lectures prove to be preliminary studies, they both feature comparatively little obvious Schopenhauerian metaphysics, relying mostly on Nietzsche's considerable familiarity with Greek tragedy. This lack of aesthetic idealizing, which the Schopenhauerian metaphysics contribute to in *Birth*, makes these lectures less boldly Langean than *Birth* will be, though, as we will see, they do already contain some aestheticized *Wissenschaft* and are indeed a part of the philosophical approach to philology announced in his inaugural address.

In October of 1869, a few months before delivering the lectures, Nietzsche writes to Rohde of his desperate need for his intellectual companionship, "as a whole abundance of aesthetic problems and answers have been brewing in me for the last year," and a letter is too limited to express them clearly.[120] He will use public lectures to work out "small portions of the system" as he has already done with the Homer address.[121] Though he

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[117] Janz (1978), 340 and Hoyer (2002), 187. "Socrates und die Tragödie"

[118] Janz (1978), 410 and Young (2010), 100. *Die Freie Akademische Gesellschaft*

[119] Pletsch (1991), 124.

[120] "weil eine ganz Fülle von aesthetischen Problemen und Antworten seit den letzten Jahren in mir gährt"

[121] "kleine Theile des Systems"

really needs Rohde's help, he is not all alone. "Naturally Wagner is beneficial to me in the highest sense, above all as a specimen."[122] Again, in addition to whatever theoretical inspiration Wagner may provide, he is most important as a personality, as a living genius. Finally, Nietzsche admits to Rohde, his new system of aesthetics needs to go far beyond what Lessing achieved with his *Laokoon*, a goal Nietzsche, long an admirer and student of Lessing's, has too much modesty to express "without inner alarm and shame," but feels compelled to pursue all the same.[123] This indicates that what Nietzsche is working on is not just a historical description of tragedy, but an entire system of aesthetics for which Wagner serves as a model.

On January 17th, the day before Nietzsche delivers the first address, Cosima writes to apologize that she and Richard will not be able to make it, a disappointment for sure. She reminds him of a concert in Leipzig that has been particularly powerful for him, and tells him to think of it as he delivers his lecture, in addition to thinking about "the return of the creator of the German *Musikdrama* to Germany."[124] Reading through the lecture, there can be no doubt that Wagner, his music, and his future plans are very much on Nietzsche's mind as he continues to reveal his own artistic approach to philology inspired by Lange.

In the lecture, Nietzsche makes clear that what we moderns call Greek tragedy, what he teaches in his courses, is only a part of what the Greeks created. From Aeschylus and Sophocles, he says, we have only the librettos. We are missing an essential component without the music. We have become so accustomed to thinking of

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[122] "Natürlich ist mir Wagner im höchsten Sinne förderlich, vornehmlich als Exemplar."

[123] KGB II/1, 63. "ohne innere Beängstigung und Scham"

[124] Borchmeyer (1994), 42. "die Rückkehr des Schöpfer's des deutschen Musikdrama's nach Deutschland"

these texts as a full representation of the tragedies that if we were to see "a real and entire imagining of an Aeschylean tragedy with Attic actors, audience, and poets" it would have "a shattering effect" on us as it would reveal to us "the artistic human in a perfection and harmony" in comparison to whom "our great *Dichter* might appear as, so to speak, beautifully begun but not fully finished statues."[125] We moderns, Nietzsche is telling his audience, do not even know what Greek tragedy is, and our great artists have only imitated a fraction of its power. It would appear that Wagner has shared with Nietzsche his experience in 1847 of imagining the entire *Oresteia* in detail and being transported back to ancient Athens. Perhaps Wagner has even taken Nietzsche on this trip. Nietzsche begins the lecture with an abbreviated version of this Wagnerian ecstasy, describing a Greek tragedy and many of its aspects that may be unusual and unexpected.

Then Nietzsche returns to the point he has already made in his essay on *Oedipus Rex* at Schulpforta in 1862 where his contact with Wagner's ideas through Krug allows him to discuss music in a philological essay. It will be remembered that in the *Oedipus* essay he argues that music must dominate the action, the same position Wagner holds in the early 1860s, and that tragedians are more than modern *Dichter* inasmuch as they are also musical composers. Where Nietzsche found little opportunity to explore music as a student, Wagner's theories gave him a way to do so in tragedy. Now that he has Wagner to discuss the matter face to face, his lifelong love of music forcefully brings him back to tragedy and allows him to look at it in a way that will be shockingly new, if not wholly unconventional, for professional philology.

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[125] KSA 1, 517, 523. "eine wirkliche und ganze Vergegenwärtigung einer aeschyleischen Trilogie, mit attischen Schaulspielern, Publikum und Poeten" "eine zerschmetternde Wirkung" "den künstlerischen Menschen in einer Vollkommenheit und Harmonie" "unsre großen Dichter gleichsam als schön begonnene, doch nicht zu ende gearbeitete Statuen erscheinen möchten"

What we have been missing from tragedy all along, what even our great *Dichter* have been missing, he makes clear in his lecture in Basel, is the music. That the core of the tragedy is its music is seen in its origin as a choral song.[126] Wagner has long thought that music is the "womb" of tragedy, possibly based on a reading of Aristotle, but certainly influenced by Schopenhauer, through whom he has come to his conclusion that all great art is born out of the spirit of music.[127] Making another point that recalls Aristotle's *Poetics*, Nietzsche argues that the suffering and emotion of tragedy is more important than the action. This emotion is anciently conveyed in the music, so it is irretrievably lost to us. All we have is the action as preserved in the text. It is through this music that the pity of the audience members is stirred, meaning we are unable to experience the effect of tragedy (according to an Aristotelian understanding) today. In the original performances of the tragedies music and text are both present together, able to *move* together.[128]

Germans have not yet created an original, indigenous form of *Musikdrama*. Since the Reformation, Nietzsche argues, all German attempts have been copies of foreign models.[129] Most problematic, of course, is that all modern art lacks a mystic origin, such as the Dionysianism at the root of Greek tragedy and the springtime enthusiasm that gives rise to the medieval St. John's and St. Veit dancing.[130] Compounding this problem is the

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[126] KSA 1, 524-525.

[127] Borchmeyer (1992), 330.

[128] KSA 1, 528, 530. " "musikalisch-rhythmische Periodenbau"

[129] KSA 1, 516.

[130] KSA 1, 521.

modern tendency to keep all art forms distinct, a practice moderns have grown up with and assumed to be natural.[131]

What modernity needs is a new art form, one like Greek tragedy. Luckily, this art form has already been theorized and proposed:

> A sense of being bound as well as grace; multiplicity and yet unity; many arts in the highest state of activity and yet one work of art – that is the ancient *Musikdrama*. Whoever will be reminded in seeing it of the ideal of the current art-reformer will at the same time have to say to himself that that artwork of the future is not at all a shining yet deceptive mirage: what we expect from the future was already once a reality – in a past more than two thousand years ago.[132]

Wagner, of course, is the artistic messiah alluded to here, and these last two sentences of the lecture make clear what cultural purpose Nietzsche is driving at, an embrace of Wagner's artwork of the future as a rebirth of Greek tragedy in all of its power born of music. That Nietzsche ends his lecture on this note makes clear the classicist nature of it. Greek tragedy is held up as exemplary. It does not, however, need to studied to be copied, as Wagner is already prepared to recreate *Musikdrama* with all of its original power. Nietzsche is only asking his audience to recognize this fact. Wagner, if properly supported, is ready to reform modern culture with the rebirth of tragedy. For now Nietzsche's argument posits music as the power of both Greek and Wagnerian *Musikdrama*. As he continues working out his aesthetic system he will develop a far more sophisticated, if not precariously complex, explanation of the power of tragedy.

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[131] KSA 1, 529.

[132] KSA 1, 531-532. "Gebundenheit und doch Anmuth, Mannichfaltigkeit und doch Einheit, viele Künste in höchster Thätigkeit und doch ein Kunstwerk – das ist das antike Musikdrama. Wer aber bei seinem Anblick an das Ideal des jetztigen Kunstreformators erinnert wird, der wird sich zugleich sagen müssen, daß jenes Kunstwerk der Zukunft durchaus nicht etwa eine glänzende, doch täuschende Luftspiegelung ist: was wir von der Zukunft erhoffen, das war schon einmal Wirklichkeit – in einer mehr als zweitausendjährigen Vergangenheit."

Nietzsche's return to tragedy is doubtlessly inspired by his personal relationship to the Wagners, and it is influencing his relationship to the Greeks. After the first lecture on January 31st, he writes to Rohde revealing just how at home he has become with the Wagners when he refers to them and himself as "We, i.e., we Tribscheners."[133] In this same letter, we also find at last the sentiment we have been waiting to see Nietzsche express since he was at Schulpforta, if not before that at the *Domgymnasium* at Naumburg: "I gain continually more love for Greek antiquity."[134] Finally, love for ancient Greece! It is becoming something meaningful enough to Nietzsche that he at last expresses love for it! He goes on to invert Humboldt's formula of developing oneself through the study of the Greeks: "one has no better means of coming closer to [Greek antiquity] than through tireless further *Bildung*" of one's self.[135] Similarly, in a letter to Deussen in February, he reports how "wonderfully new and transformed" history now appears to him, "above all ancient Greece!" before promising to send his two lectures to him.[136]

Nietzsche's new approach to philology inspired by his immediate contact with Wagner is finally transforming the value of history and bringing him closer to the Greeks, even bringing him to love Greek antiquity. Yet all is not well in his attempt to forge a Langean approach to philology. His experiences with Wagner have made him feel entirely inadequate in his knowledge of antiquity. Returning to his letter to Rohde, we read that Nietzsche now clearly sees the historical-critical approach to philology in which

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[133] "Wir d.h. wir Tribschener"

[134] "Ich gewinne immer mehr Liebe für das Hellenenthum."

[135] KGB II/1, 94. "man hat kein besseres Mittel sich ihm zu nähern als durch unermüdliche Fortbildung"

[136] KGB II/1, 98. "wunderbar neu und verwandelt" "vornehmlich das Hellenenthum!"

he has been trained as 1,000 miles away from ancient Greece, and that it is becoming increasingly impossible for Nietzsche to pursue. He even wonders now if he could ever become "a proper philologist."[137] The best plan he can propose has echoes of their shelved Paris plans: "four years of cultural work on myself, then a year-long trip – perhaps with you."[138] At Tribschen, he feels he has begun to really get to know – and to love – the Greeks, but this has only made the view down onto Basel all the harder to bear. Nietzsche does not yet, however, give up on his new approach to philology.

Having explained the true musical power and origins of tragedy, Nietzsche now moves on to how Greek tragedy ever lost that power in his second lecture on tragedy, "Socrates and Tragedy," delivered on February 1, 1870.[139] Like the previous lecture, this one does not depend on the structure derived from Schopenhauer's dichotomy of Will and Representation so important to *Birth*. It does, however, rely upon another dichotomy of Schopenhauer's. Nietzsche argues that the tragic effect of the pity created in the audience by the music is *pessimistic* – embracing the futility and brutality of existence, while Socratic dialectic is *optimistic* – hoping to correct or change existence.[140]

He strengthens the power of this dichotomy with a proposition that directly contradicts the philosophic approach to philology he promotes in his Homer address. Indeed, this proposition works against the motives of the very lecture that contains it, a lecture that is seeking to bring *Dichtung* and *Wissenschaft* together in a Langean attempt to make existence bearable. He argues that "*Wissenschaft* and art are mutually

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[137] "ein rechter Philologe"

[138] KGB II/1, 94. "vier Jahre Culturarbeit an mir, dann eine jahrelange Reise – mit Dir vielleicht"

[139] "*Socrates und die Tragödie*"

[140] KSA 1, 546.

exclusive."[141] This is less a moment of ludic posturing meant to embarrass his audience than one of following the necessity of his argument too closely. Nietzsche is trying to align the Wagnerian concern for the relationship of text and music he has contemplated since his *Oedipus* paper in 1862 with Schopenhauer's categories of optimism and pessimism in order to argue that music is driven from tragedy, causing its death. If dialog is dialectic and dialectic is optimistic, and if music is pessimistic, then dialectic must drive out music, the power of tragedy he has identified in his previous lecture. That "*Musikdrama* perished from a lack of music," is the central argument of this lecture.[142] Nietzsche buys this argument at the cost of making dialog and music mutually exclusive, a drastic move. By the time of *Birth*, he will discuss instead a *tension* that must exist between the two that only becomes fatal to tragedy when out of balance.

For Wagner, music is primary and text secondary, but both are still *necessary* for tragedy. Nietzsche clearly still thinks that Wagner's approach to tragedy as a union of music and text is a promising route for explaining tragedy, and Nietzsche and the Wagners have most likely been discussing this relationship at Tribschen. Thus Nietzsche returns to it here, and, in fact, takes it as the starting point for structuring his whole argument. The problem is, in imposing Schopenhauer's categories of pessimism and optimism on top of music and text, he finds himself insisting that the two are mutually exclusive. Wagner wants precisely to bring the two, and all other forms of art, together with the understanding that music is primary. We will return to this structural problem

[141] KSA 1, 545. "Wissenschaft und die Kunst schließen sich aus"

[142] "das Musikdrama gieng an einem Mangel der Musik zu Grunde"

and its rippling effects again below when we get to the appearances of Dionysus and Apollo in this lecture.

Nietzsche describes this process of optimistic text driving out pessimistic music as beginning with Aeschylus. By introducing a second actor making argument and dialog possible, he has already introduced an early form of Socratism into tragedy. In Aeschylus this is a form of competition [*Wettkampf*], rendering it a naturally Greek practice.[143] Sophocles continues the process, and Nietzsche criticizes his Antigone, Electra and Oedipus as all being too logical at times.[144] Though Euripides furthers this process, he still values the emotional aspect of tragedy, the music. This is why, Nietzsche argues, he adds the prologue and *deus ex machina*. They help the audience know exactly what is going on at all times, so as to follow the emotions conveyed by music move by move and not be distracted by suspense.[145]

Euripides has a very refined taste and is "a solitary thinker, not at all in accordance with the taste of the masses ruling at the time."[146] He is fighting the decline of tragedy that begins before him and decides on a solution that is, unfortunately, only an ironic hastening of its death. He notices a disconnect [*Kluft*] between his audience and his work and decides to make everything more easily understood. This makes reason his primary aesthetic criteria and brings every potential artistic choice "before the bench of this rationalist aesthetic."[147] This accessibility brings the viewer, no matter how low-

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[143] KSA 1, 545.

[144] KSA 1, 548.

[145] KSA 1, 538.

[146] "ein einsamer Denker, gar nicht nach dem Geschmacke der damals herrschenden Masse"

[147] "vor den Richterstuhl dieser rationalistischen Aesthetik"

class, on to the stage. Characters that have been a mirror reflecting only the best and boldest features are now more honest "and thus more common."[148] Where Aeschylus has presented an ideal Odysseus, Euripides makes him into a house slave, and "the fifth estate, that of the slaves, comes, at least according to basic conviction, now to power."[149] Not just slaves but the middle class is also invited on stage, as it is the class on which Euripides places all of his political hopes. With noble heroes reduced to everyday Athenians, the "ideal nature withdraws itself into the word and flees from thought."[150]

Wagner has believed since mid-century that Euripides kills tragedy.[151] He most likely adopts this view from Aristophanes' *Frogs*. He is an admirer of Aristophanes and especially appreciates *The Frogs*.[152] Much of Nietzsche argument echoes *The Frogs*, in which Dionysus goes to Hades and oversees a contest determining who is the greater tragedian, Aeschylus or Euripides. In this lecture, Nietzsche cites Aristophanes from the beginning and even quotes many translated lines from *The Frogs*. At the end of the lecture he again appeals to Aristophanes by name as an authority on the issue of tragedy's decline.[153] He will still acknowledge Aristophanes in *Birth*, but he does not make as explicit use of him there as he does here.[154]

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[148] "und damit gemeiner"

[149] "der fünfte Stand, der des Sklaven, kommt, wenigstens der Gesinnung nach, jetzt zur Herrschaft"

[150] KSA 1, 534-537. "Idealität hat sich in das Wort zurückgezogen und ist aus dem Gedanken geflüchtet"

[151] Young (2010), 132 and Borchmeyer (1992), 330.

[152] U. Müller (1992), 231, 233.

[153] KSA 1, 533, 535, 539. See Silk and Stern (1981), 36-37 for the similar role Aristophanes' *The Frogs* continues to play in *Birth*.

[154] See KSA 1, 76-77.

Nietzsche's earlier expressed views on the ranking of the three tragedians has always agreed with Aristotle that Euripides is the most tragic, and he has even argued that a model of linear decline with a high point is misguided to begin with. Still, despite his now yielding to the Aristophanic model of decline favored by Wagner, Nietzsche is clearly taking stands in disagreement with Wagner. First, Euripides does not intentionally kill tragedy, but tries to save it with a Socratic cure that is unfortunately fatal. Further, dialectic is not the introduction of a totally foreign element into tragedy as the tendency towards dialectical argument has already been present since Aeschylus – *Aeschylus* is really the one who introduces dialectic to tragedy as a naturally Greek form of competition. Second, and likely more offensive, in the lecture on *Musikdrama* a couple of weeks earlier, Nietzsche's argument includes a premise he attributes to Lessing that even the plebs of ancient Athens have good taste, an egalitarian view that could only please Wagner.[155] As we have seen in this second lecture, Nietzsche's attitude towards the lower classes of ancient Athens is something quite different. They do *not* understand tragedy, and it is in condescending to entertain them that Euripides finally completes the process of tragedy's death. This is not the Wagnerian picture of the City Dionysia where all are united in a common bond of humanity, equally able to enjoy the mystical-artistic rites of the festival. This is a city clearly divided into classes, the largest of which lack the sophistication to enjoy high quality art. Euripides gives tragedy an increased dose of the poisonous cure because *most* Athenians cannot understand it.

It must also be pointed out that these Greeks need ideals as much as moderns do. Earlier tragedy, with Aeschylus, presents them with a noble humanity that heals the scars

[155] KSA 1, 520.

of existence, an ideal. This proposition strongly undermines the idea that these people are *themselves* an ideal enjoying any kind of ideal existence. Instead they are rendered simply as other humans in need of ideals. They are not what modernity needs. They need what modernity needs. Nevertheless, tragedy as a combination of poetry, music and other media is an exemplary art form that would benefit modernity in its return in Nietzsche's opinion.

One last aspect of this lecture bears closer attention. In the previous lecture on *Musikdrama*, the Dionysian character of tragedy has been mentioned. This is not innovative as the tragic festival, the Dionysia, is held in honor of Dionysus. Additionally, many commentators stretching back to Aristotle believe that tragedy has developed out of the dithyramb.[156] There is no mention of Apollo in that first lecture. In this second lecture, both gods are mentioned, though not in order to establish a dualistic structure based on Schopenhauer's ideas of Will and Individuation. The two gods are not mentioned together or in any kind of comparison. Early in the lecture, the Dionysian dithyramb is mentioned as the historical source of tragedy, and then later in the lecture Nietzsche characterizes Socrates the dialectician as having an "Apollinian clarity" with no other mention of the deity and absolutely no role given to him within the creation or maintenance of tragedy.[157]

The association here of Socrates *with* Apollo points to a structural problem that continues to plague Nietzsche up through *Birth*. We noted above that Nietzsche is returning to his own work on Wagner's theory of *Musikdrama* as the union of music and

[156] Although, as George Williamson points out, Wagner actually associates tragedy with Apollo. Perhaps this is part of the reason Nietzsche arranges his argument to have tragedy born out of both deities. See Williamson (2004), 197.

[157] KSA 1, 538, 544. "apollinische Klarheit"

text. By aligning text with both optimism and *Wissenschaft* on the one hand and music with pessimism on the other, Nietzsche finds himself arguing that art and *Wissenschaft* are mutually exclusive in order to explain how music is driven from tragedy to result in its death. Nietzsche cannot really want to argue that art and *Wissenschaft* are mutually exclusive, as his hopes for a meaningful philological career depend on their union as illustrated by his image of the "centaur" featured in his inaugural address. Though this move achieves the goal of explaining how tragedy comes to an end, it also introduces the problem of tragedy having never stably existed since the moment Aeschylus introduces the second actor into it. Nietzsche will try to alleviate this by weaving more subtlety into his use of a Schopenhauer, shifting from the dichotomy of pessimism and optimism to that of Will and Individuation, to avoid the problems he creates here. The further complexity resulting from that shift, and the traces of the original dichotomy beneath it, only adds to the confusing structure of *Birth*.

This confusion is even further compounded by this original alignment of Socrates with Apollo in this lecture. Nietzsche addresses the problem of tragedy consisting of *two* mutually exclusive elements, Socratic text and Dionysian music, with the solution of *three* distinct elements in *Birth*. Dionysus in *Birth* is now most like Schopenhauer's Will though he is still very much aligned with music and has a clear relation to pessimism. Apollo is now aligned with Individuation, imagery, and the Homeric Olympians. His former relationship to optimism is mostly transformed into a Langean, life-affirming ability to cover existence with beauty rather than an attempt to change it. Socrates in *Birth* is now a third, foreign element not at all natural to or necessary for tragedy aligned with an optimism that can easily infect the dialog of tragedy. Though this three-element

solution *seems* to avoids the mutual exclusivity of elements both Nietzsche and Wagner want to have united in harmony, it nevertheless adds to the confusion of an argument where Socrates and Dionysus still end up forming the real duality and Apollo recedes as unnecessary and a bit too similar to Socrates. This solution obscures the original problem while only adding to the complexity of the "impossible" and "hardly accessible" structure of *Birth*.

Making the question of Greek tragedy one of the proper relationship between text and music once again allows Nietzsche to study and discuss music in his philological work, allowing him a professional outlet for this passion he has been pursuing since Schulpforta. The fact that this way of bringing music into philology originates in Wagner, whom Nietzsche is now conversing with face to face, makes his return to it quite understandable. It does seem to promise Nietzsche a genuinely promising way to explore tragedy. Unfortunately, the way he attempts to overlay it with a narrative of the decline of tragedy following *The Frogs* while also braiding into it multiple dualities borrowed from Schopenhauer dooms it to a confusing complexity. It is a very ambitious approach eventually weighed down by its own complexity.

To his friends, Nietzsche has been happy to report that his address on Homer has been well received. This last lecture on Socrates and tragedy has, unfortunately, stirred up "horror and misunderstanding," as he tells Rohde.[158] He tells Deussen that it even arouses "hatred and wrath," after which he resigns himself to the notion that offense is

[158] KGB II/1, 95. "Schrecken und Missverständnisse"

unavoidable.[159] His letter home is less dramatic if not less candid, saying his two lectures have aroused "lively interest."[160]

After reading the second lecture Wagner responds, in a demonstration of how the politic lion pushes the cub back down, by saying that *Cosima* was upset about certain points, and, *though she was right*, he had to calm her down by explaining why Nietzsche *made those mistakes*. The only mistake he goes on to mention is a lack of reverence for great men who are treated in much too modern a fashion. Wagner himself is shocked by Nietzsche's views on Aeschylus and Sophocles, though he submits that Nietzsche is actually right about them.

Overall Wagner is quite pleased with Nietzsche's proselytizing in the lectures. If one looks beyond the details, the brilliant young professor is after all proclaiming Wagner's work to be the rebirth of tragedy. He does not want Nietzsche to overwhelm himself by putting such deep ideas in short essays and encourages him to write a more extensive treatment. This will allow him to find "the right word for the divine mistakes of Socrates and Plato," who still deserve our worship.[161] He appears to be fine with the blame placed on Euripides, but is uncomfortable with how culpable Nietzsche makes the great Athenian philosophers, a consequence of following Aristophanes through the lens of Schopenhauer's dichotomy of pessimism and optimism.[162] Cosima's letter confirms that they have taken issue with the blame Nietzsche assigns Aeschylus and Sophocles for

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[159] KGB II/1, 98. "Haß und Wuth"

[160]KGB II/1, 108. "lebhaftes Interesse"

[161] "das richtige Wort für die göttlichen Irrthümer des Sokrates und Platon"

[162] Borchmeyer (1994), 49.

already introducing dialectic into tragedy and with the characterization of Socrates. She also encourages him to take on the issues in a full-length treatment.[163]

Another letter soon after from Wagner in mid-February admits that he can often only barely comprehend Nietzsche's work, and must laugh at his own lack of Socratic knowledge, making clear who in their relationship plays the part of Socrates. In fact, he insists that Nietzsche must remain a philologist, and that he, Wagner, will be the musician, telling him that as a philologist he can let himself be directed by music. He asks him to help bring "the grand Renaissance" to pass, in which Plato will embrace Homer, and Homer, filled with Plato's ideas, will finally be the greatest Homer.[164] Wagner does not follow the necessity of the second lecture's logic so strictly and has no need to make art and *Wissenschaft* mutually exclusive of each other. As Nietzsche wants to unite the two in his own work, he will soon try to rectify this structural problem in his argument.

With his statement to Rohde written between the deliveries of the two lectures that he is finally beginning to love ancient Greece, we see Nietzsche's strongest classicist stance yet. This love did not arise after six years of rigorous engagement with the Greeks at one of Germany's most prestigious *Gymnasien*, Schulpforta, where Humboldt himself has played a personal role in shaping the neo-humanism of the curriculum. It did not arise after studying antiquity with the illustrious founder and embodiment of the Bonn School of philology, Friedrich Ritschl. It arises within a project of promoting Wagner's art as a rebirth of what Wagner and the musical Nietzsche no doubt believe is the most

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[163] Borchmeyer (1994), 51-52.

[164] Borchmeyer (1994), 58. "die grosse Renaissance"

important and genuinely Hellenic of all Greek art forms, tragedy. It is critical to note that what Nietzsche is most passionate about and wants to promote is not ancient Greece or its art. It is Wagner. This is not surprising as Nietzsche's love for music has long overshadowed his quotidian work on classical texts, and it is a passion Wagner certainly shares and inspires. Wagner is the ideal, and ancient art is simply used to prove that Wagner is the source of cultural salvation. The argument is not, following Winckelmann, that modern artists need to understand the Greeks to create existence-justifying art, it is that if moderns understand Greek art properly, they will see that Wagner is *already* creating existence-justifying art. Nietzsche's love of music comes first. Wagner gives this love, along with Nietzsche's need for existential and professional meaning, a powerful outlet. Nietzsche's expertise in antiquity, won without the great passion that has infused his love of music, is now helpful in making one of the arguments needed by Wagner to bring his own dreams to pass, which Nietzsche at this point sees as the fulfillment of his own. Nietzsche needs Wagner to provide him with a vision of an artist justifying existence just as Wagner needs Nietzsche to provide expert arguments for a deep connection between his *Musikdrama* and Greek tragedy.

We should also note, as the Wagners do, just how irreverent Nietzsche's classicism is. His ancient Athenians do not present a picture of ideal humanity but a city filled with an uncomprehending, tasteless mob, to which artists must stoop if they want a wider appeal. These dim Greeks need ideals as much as moderns do and are not simply at one with nature in a perfect existence. They are also responsible for the death of their own greatest art-form in a process that implicates Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Socrates. Plato is also blamed in the second lecture for the final full turn from art. The

narrative of decline is indeed intrinsic to Winckelmann's view of the Greeks, but happens only after his high-point, the classical period. Here Nietzsche makes decline the characteristic of the entire classical period.

Nietzsche's is also not a classicism obsessed with sculpture – indeed sculpture plays no role whatsoever – nor with the medium that came to replace sculpture in the focus of German Hellenism, literary texts. The true power of art is in and out of music, a medium that has never been the focus of classicism or philology, much to Nietzsche's chagrin throughout his student years. Related to this turn from literature is the demotion the great German tragedians receive as mere imitators of foreign models, which they do not even understand in their entirety. Nietzsche's audience members educated by the neo-humanist educational system of the nineteenth century have many options to choose from to be offended. Nevertheless, Nietzsche is now indeed a classicist inasmuch as he holds up Greek art as an exemplary ideal for the cultural redemption of modernity.

3.3.2 Centaurs and "The Dionysian Worldview"

Despite the unorthodoxy of the two lectures, Nietzsche has still been holding back. To Rohde he confesses in the mid-February 1870 letter, after both of his lectures have stirred up "horror and misunderstanding," that the time is coming when he must express himself as "seriously and candidly" as possible.[165] "*Wissenschaft*, art, and philosophy are growing together so much in me that I will certainly one day give birth to centaurs."[166] Here we see no echo of his recent move in the second public lecture to

[165] "ernst und friemüthig"

[166] KGB II/1, 94. "Wissenschaft Kunst und Philosophie wachsen jetzt so sehr in mir zusammen, dass ich jedenfalls einmal Centauren gebären werde."

make art and *Wissenschaft* mutually exclusive – a move only necessitated by following the logic of his particular combination of Wagner's and Schopenhauer's theories. Instead, we see Nietzsche still fully in a Langean mood, bringing art and scholarship together in a grand vision that attempts to makes sense out of existence. He calls this union a centaur, as he has done in his Homer address, and combines it with the Wagnerian metaphor of birth – a birth for which Nietzsche will be the mother!

He writes to Ritschl in late March telling him that he is now "quite pregnant with hope in regard to my philology."[167] He then tells Ritschl he is sending him the Homer, *Musikdrama*, and Socrates lectures, which have been "very offensive for some," reiterating his high hopes for his philology as he comes closer to "a comprehensive view of Greek antiquity."[168] Despite the precarious structure of his second lecture, he is not straying from Lange at all. He in fact has more hope than ever that art and *Wissenschaft* can be brought together to achieve an image of the whole of antiquity, if not of existence.

In early April, he tells Rohde that all of these thoughts are forming into a book "for which new ideas keep coming."[169] He fears it will make no philological impression, "but who can act against his nature?"[170] He knows a time of great offense is coming after having been so loved and praised while still been wearing "the old, familiar house shoes," referring to the more conventional philology he has pursued with such success so far.[171] He calls the book a "book of the future," indicating that Wagner's classicist project is

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[167] "recht hoffnungsschwanger in Betreff meiner Philologie"

[168] KGB II/1, 110. "für manche sehr anstößig" "einer Gesammtanschauung des griechischen Alterthums"

[169] "zu dem immer neue Einfälle kommen"

[170] "[…] aber wer kann wider seine Natur?"

[171] "die alten wohlbekannten Pantoffeln"

inspiring Nietzsche to pursue his own.[172] Nietzsche is not at all deluded that his book will be embraced by his guild but he feels compelled by his need for meaningful professional activity to proceed with the formulation and presentation of the ideas coming to him daily.

Just as Nietzsche is planning this great long-format project heralding Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* as the rebirth of Greek art while explaining the origin of tragedy and providing a holistic vision of Greek antiquity, Wagner begins thinking about creating the seat for his artistic festival at Bayreuth, a long distance from Tribschen and Basel. To move forward with building a ritual and institutional center for the entire Wagnerian project must be thrilling and fulfilling for Nietzsche. Having the Wagners move far away from Switzerland certainly is not.

During July and August 1870, Nietzsche completes an essay, "The Dionysian Worldview," that is not meant for public presentation.[173] It presents a fully formed dialectic of Dionysus and Apollo based on Schopenhauer's Will and Representation, upon which its argument is now structured, though Apollo is still explicitly aligned with optimism.[174] The tragic artist is put forth as a parallel to Schopenhauer's saint as the two possibilities for a life fully aware of "the vanity of existence" and yet able to live on.[175] Art seduces one to continue living by producing a "feeling of delight for existence" in Apollinian dream and Dionysian intoxication.[176] The drive that creates art is the same

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[172] "Zukunft-buches"; in the genitive in the original phrase

[173] Janz (1978), 410 and Young (2010), 135. "'Die dionysische Weltanschauung'"

[174] KSA 1, 566.

[175] KSA 1, 570. "der Nichtigkeit des Daseins"

[176] KSA 1, 553. "Wonnegefühl des Daseins"

one that gives rise to the Olympian world, "a world of beauty, peace, and pleasure," that seduces humanity on to continued life.[177] Where the earlier two essays on tragedy had only focused on music as the power of tragedy, Nietzsche is now developing the existence-justifying power of art central to the argument in *Birth*.

Nietzsche infuses a historical narrative similar to Winckelmann's with Schopenhauer's Will. Where his earlier lectures had made Aeschylus problematic, with Sophocles and Euripides increasingly more so, in a history of the Greeks with no particular apogee, now early tragedy is a decided, *ideal* high point, such as Winckelmann assigns to the sculpture of Praxiteles' period. This high point for Greece occurs at the union of Apollo and Dionysus, a Dionysus, it is worth noting, able to dissolve all class distinctions.[178] It is among the Greeks that the Schopenhauerian Will is able to speak most openly, and *this* is the reason why moderns look longingly back to Greece, as this open expression of Will is heard as "the full harmony between nature and human."[179] It is in this singular moment in history with the Greeks that the Will wants to see itself "translated into a work of art."[180] The Greeks are not, however, simply a work of historical art for the Will or for moderns. They are their own ideal. In order for the Will to glorify itself, its own creations have to find themselves worthy of celebration, they need "to see themselves again in a higher sphere, raised so to speak to the ideal, without this perfected world of contemplation acting as an imperative or reproof."[181] Here we

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[177] KSA 1, 560-561. "eine Welt der Schönheit, der Ruhe, des Genusses"

[178] KSA 1, 555-556.

[179] "den vollen Einklang zwischen Natur und Mensch"

[180] "zum Kunstwerk verklärt"

[181] "sich in einer höheren Sphäre wiedersehen, gleichsam in's Ideale emporgehoben, ohne daß diese vollendete Welt der Anschauung als Imperativ oder als Vorwurf wirkte"

clearly see Lange influencing Nietzsche's thinking on tragedy as he elaborates on his idea from the second lecture that the Greeks have to provide themselves with their own artistically created ideals.

This structure and narrative is more familiar to readers of *Birth* and represents a major step in Nietzsche's thinking towards it. In this private essay, written for Cosima in the summer but not given to her until December, we see Nietzsche much more willing to explain Greek tragedy and its era with explicitly Schopenhauerian language.[182] If his earlier lectures have raised concern and opposition, a text such as this, as he has prophesied, could only cause more offense. Nietzsche has removed some of the offense he has caused the Wagners: Aeschylus and Sophocles are no longer accused as accomplices in the death of tragedy but discussed briefly as the best representatives of tragedy achieving the union of Apollo and Dionysus. Euripides is only mentioned as the author of the *Bacchae*, which, interestingly, is cited as an example of intoxicatingly beautiful art comparable to one of Skopas' or Praxiteles' statues. The very concept of *intoxicating beauty* indicates that this new distinction between the Apollinian and the Dionysian clearly still needs some thought.[183] Socrates is nowhere to be found. Nietzsche also raises the Greeks to a level of exemplarity and singularity that is lacking in the public lectures, and though they too still need ideals, they are now able to serve as their own ideals transfigured into the Olympians.

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[182] Pletsch (1991), 128.

[183] KSA 1, 558.

This is certainly not Winckelmann's classicism, nor is it his explanation for how the Greeks are exemplary. Nevertheless, Nietzsche's classicism is continuing to grow stronger, if in its own particular way.

3.4.0 WAR, POLITICS, AND ELITISM

Though not the central aspect of Nietzsche's classicism, a certain degree of nationalism does play a role in it. Before we get to the rest of the development of Nietzsche's classicism, we need to review his attitudes on politics, how they are shaped by his experience in the Franco-Prussian War, and how they continue to shape his views of the Greeks. We will begin with Nietzsche's political thinking in Leipzig just before he moves down to Basel.

3.4.1 Partisanship and the War

In one of his letters to Basel suggesting and promoting Nietzsche for the opening in philology, Ritschl says of him that he is not a partisan Prussian.[184] This has truth to it, though Nietzsche is not free of all partisanship at this point. In his own letter to Wilhelm Vischer-Bilfinger, the professor leading the search for the new professor of philology, Nietzsche explains that he will have to give up his Prussian citizenship to avoid being pulled into another conflict he is sure will soon come. He suggests it is his duty to the university to be able to continue to teach regardless of conditions of peace or war for Prussia.[185] A month later, in April, Nietzsche does give up his Prussian citizenship. He

[184] Janz (1978), 255.

[185] KGB I/2, 381.

never does gain Swiss citizenship simply because he does not ever stay in Basel long enough without interruption to do so.[186] This commitment to his new employer over any commitment to Prussia would seem to indicate that, as Ritschl avers, Nietzsche is not a partisan Prussian. We will see, however, that Nietzsche's relationship to Prussia is still more complicated than even he would like it to be.

In the summer semester of 1870, Nietzsche's life is once again disrupted by the Prussian military, indeed in what, for Prussia, is *the* war of the last half-century. On July 19, France declares war on Prussia.[187] In a letter to Rohde written that day, Nietzsche calls the declaration a "thunderclap" heralding, perhaps, a cultural apocalypse.[188] "We could already be at the beginning of the end! What a wasteland! We will need cloisters, and we will be the first friars."[189] He signs the letter as "the loyal Swiss."[190] Though the thought that they will once again need cloisters seems to indicate that Nietzsche thinks this war will take them backwards to the Middle Ages, as we will see below, it may actually be the first indication to Rohde of new and serious plans Nietzsche may have for them.

That he signs off as a loyal Swiss is indicative, it seems, of the confusion of affiliation Nietzsche feels in the moment. In a letter written to his mother also on that day, he tells her he is "in gloomy spirits to be a Swiss! This is about our culture! And for

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[186] Janz (1978), 263-264.

[187] Hoyer (2002), 188.

[188] "Donnerschlag"

[189] "Wir können bereits am Anfang vom Ende sein! Welche Wüstenei! Wir werden wieder Klöster brauchen. Und wir werden die ersten fratres sein."

[190] KGB II/1, 130. "Der treue Schweizer"

that no sacrifice could be large enough! This monstrous, French tiger!"[191] That Franziska Nietzsche is an extremely patriotic Prussian – she did name her little Friedrich Wilhelm after the king it should be remembered – and that she raised her son to be such bears remembering. As we have seen, one of the regular topics of the letter exchange over the years has been Prussian politics, in which Nietzsche always appears a loyal Prussian. Is he being ironic with Rohde in calling himself Swiss? He is most likely expressing frustration over the fact that he has given up his Prussian citizenship (intentionally to avoid being pulled into service) and must now watch events as a Swiss, which he also, of course, is not.

A letter to Sophie Ritschl the next day shows a further development in tone: "What a shameful feeling to have to remain quiet now" at the moment when his military training is most needed.[192] He takes comfort in the fact that "at least some of the old elements must remain for the new period of culture," though he can still think of analogical historical instances of the destruction of cultural traditions.[193] Especially in his gallant letters to his mother and female friend he displays a strong desire to serve in the war. And this desire is proven sincere when he writes to Vischer-Bilfinger a letter requesting time off to serve, even after having explained to him that he has given up his Prussian citizenship to intentionally avoid having to do any such thing.[194]

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[191] KGB II/1, 131. "[…] betrübten Muthes, Schweizer zu sein! Es gilt unsrer Kultur! Und da giebt es kein Opfer, das groß genug wäre! Dieser fluchwürdige französische Tiger!"

[192] "Welche beschämende Empfindung, jetzt ruhig bleiben zu müssen […]"

[193] KGB II/1, 132. "für die neue Culturperiode doch wenigstens Einige der alten Elemente übrigbleiben müssen"

[194] KGB II/1, 133-134.

Nietzsche has written no treatises on nationalism or his relation to Prussia we could examine to understand his remaining connection to the state at this point in time. The only textual evidence we have is what we see in letters like those just cited. Of his biographers, Pletsch gives the most persuasive argument that the Prussian patriotism Nietzsche is raised with remains at this late date because his relationship to the state has "not yet been subjected to the same critical examination" that leads to his break with Christianity.[195] Nor has it received, one could add, the level of examination to which we see him subjecting professional philology.

What is certain is that Nietzsche does not take time off from teaching to serve because of any inspiration or prompting from the Wagners, who make it clear that they completely disagree with his choice. He makes the choice to serve, as Janz writes, "*in opposition* to Tribschen."[196] As a young man, Wagner is rather cosmopolitan, and it is not until his later years, these years at Tribschen, that his more nationalistic tendencies express themselves.[197] For Wagner, German art is currently much too stifled by French models, and it does seem unlikely to Wagner that what he calls "the German spirit" can really flower while France maintains its cultural superiority. He will, at the defeat of France celebrate Prussia as the "saviors of a united Germany" and hope that the new German Empire will help establish a German identity and spirit in the world.[198] Nevertheless, his vision of cultural renewal never includes military action or the dominance of a state like Prussia. He and Cosima are outraged by France's declaration of

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[195] Pletsch (1991), 111.

[196] Borchmeyer (1994), 96-97, 101 and Janz (1978), 372. "gegen Tribschen"

[197] Young (2010), 117.

[198] Aberbach (2003), 95-98.

war and their sympathies are with the German side, but they have no love or need for war and certainly do not want to see their promising, serviceably philological friend drawn into it.[199]

Nietzsche leaves Basel in mid-August, being allowed only to serve Prussia as a medical orderly due to his lack of citizenship. He is trained in Erlangen, after which he travels to various stations in southwestern Germany and France. In his travels in train cars filled with mutilated men sick and dying, and in his limited ability to help them, Nietzsche faces a horror of existence he has only previously been able to theorize. He himself comes down with dysentery and diphtheria and has to return to Erlangen at the beginning of September. He spends two weeks there until he is able to be moved to Naumburg, where he will spend over a month convalescing until late October when he finally makes the return trip to Basel after begin gone little over three months.[200]

Julian Young believes that, in addition to giving Nietzsche a very visceral encounter with the nausea of existence, this experience and the continued emotional and mental discomfort resulting from it lead Nietzsche to his new preoccupation with human violence and his "newly critical focus on Bismarck's Prussia."[201] From a wider perspective, Nietzsche's experience in the war is certainly a seminal moment in his thinking on war, Prussia and nationalism, but even after returning, he still shows a strong solidarity with the German cause. In late October he writes to Ritschl from Basel, describing the political atmosphere there as "quite dreadful," with people celebrating "the treachery of Laon" (an engineer exploding a powder magazine as German troops enter

[199] Janz (1978), 370.

[200] Janz (1978), 375-378.

[201] Young (2010), 139.

the town).[202] One cannot even expect understanding from "German-minded Baselers" as the "hate for Germans is instinctive here and the lust for news of French victories great."[203] Back from the war and back on his feet, he has certainly not turned his back on Germany or Prussia at this point. His criticisms will develop over time as he now has a reason to take politics more seriously than he ever has before.

3.4.2 Jakob Burckhardt's Greeks

In Basel, Jakob Burckhardt has a decisive influence on Nietzsche's political thinking that colors his view of the Greeks and shapes the form of his classicism. Burckhardt is a life-long bachelor with musical abilities. Like Nietzsche, he composes many pieces in his youth and loves writing poetry, though he is unlike Nietzsche in that he enjoys sketching.[204] At no point does Burckhardt ever develop any appreciation for Wagner, the man, the music, or the movement, considering him, to use Janz's word, "a horror."[205]

Burckhardt has so far attended all of Nietzsche's public lectures and will continue to do so through the *Lectures on Bildung* in 1872.[206] In late October and early November 1870 Burckhardt presents a series of public lectures on history attended by the very recently returned and still convalescing Nietzsche.[207] The views he expresses in them

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[202] "geradezu scheußlich" "die Verrätherei von Laon"

[203] KGB II/1, 152. "deutschgesinnten Baslern" "deutschenhaß ist hier instinktiv und die Lust an den französischen Siegesberichten groß"

[204] Gossman (2000), 208, 214.

[205] Janz (1978), 325 and Young (2010), 103. "ein Greuel"

[206] Pletsch (1991), 114 and Gossman (2000), 303.

[207] Janz (1978), 387-388.

will later be edited and published posthumously in *Observations on World History* (1905), which contains Burckhardt's thoughts on the subject from the 1850s through to 1873.[208] In addition to the ideas Nietzsche hears in these lectures, we must also consider the private conversations the two have been having since Nietzsche arrives in Basel, many of which likely focus more on the Greeks than these lectures given in 1870. The best representation of Burckhardt's view of the Greeks is his *Greek Cultural History* (1898-1902) published just after his death.[209] As both of these sources contain ideas set down, if not formulated, *after* Nietzsche arrives in Basel in 1869, we must be careful not to assume that influence only flows one way. Before we discuss Burckhardt's ideas on Greece, history, and modernity, let us look at some more of his background.

Burckhardt is born in 1818 into one of Basel's patrician families. He attends both the *Gymnasium* and then the *Pädagogium* before studying theology at the university. While a university student, he moves to Berlin to study history from 1839 to 1843. He also spends a summer in Bonn in 1841, where he takes a course from Welcker. He later describes this summer and how he and his friends loved to visit an inn in Rolandseck with a view of the Drachenfels, one of Nietzsche's own favorite stomping grounds from his Bonn days.[210] While still studying theology at Bonn, religion falls apart for Burckhardt, forcing him to realize he will not follow in his father's footsteps and become a pastor. For the rest of his life, he does maintain a certain personal religion, in which "the beauty of art and nature is a manifestation of the divine."[211] He already believes in

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[208] *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*

[209] Gossman (2000), 304-307. *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*

[210] Gossman (2000), 206 and Janz (1978), 323.

[211] Gossman (2000), 211.

universal history, especially in the more theological understanding of history being nothing other than God's handwriting, making its study the act of understanding and appreciating scripture. At Berlin, the lectures of Leopold Ranke and J. G. Droysen reinforce this idea of universal history even as he loses his religion.[212]

In his more mature years, however, Burckhardt comes to reject nineteenth century progressivism and optimism, withdrawing "to his native city-state in order to stand his ground against them."[213] Like Nietzsche and Wagner, Burckhardt has discovered and come to appreciate Schopenhauer, a forceful critic of nineteenth century liberalism, democracy, state power, and optimistic rationalism.[214] As a schoolboy in Basel, Burckhardt is influenced by the classicism of Wolf, Winckelmann, Schiller and Goethe. By 1850, however, he delivers an address for the centenary of Schiller's birth describing "Ode to Joy" as indeed intoxicating but unable to withstand logical examination. The very neo-humanist idealization of ancient Greece as a singular moment of a happy humanity in beautiful harmony with nature he declares a fraud and a whitewashing. In his mature view, there are no perfect historical ages, as all mix good and evil.[215]

Even given these views, Burckhardt is not entirely able to withstand the desire to see some kind of singularity and exemplarity in ancient Greece. His cultural history is not an examination of any one medium or cultural activity, but a search for the spirit behind them all. The most universal expression of the human spirit, as it turns out, is indeed in ancient Greece. Greek art, and especially Greek sculpture, always retains for

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[212] Gossman (2000), 217.

[213] Gossman (2000), 218.

[214] Gossman (2000), 423.

[215] Gossman (2000), 301, 319.

Burckhardt a normative character despite the development of this thinking.[216] Greek art, made possible by what seems to be an inexhaustible creative energy, is the only thing that redeems Greek life from an otherwise unhappy existence. As it does for Schopenhauer, art serves to affirm existence in the face of its brutality.[217]

The greatness the Greeks are able to achieve artistically and culturally comes at a great cost. Burckhardt paints a bleak rather than sunny picture of classical Athens and of all the ancient *poleis*. Any greatness ever won by any of them is achieved by a sacrifice of happiness and freedom, and always by means of violence. War, not a balance of power, is the normal relationship between the *poleis*, with Sparta presenting the most fully developed *polis*. The *polis* is defined by hatred towards all outsiders and maintained by harsh repression of many inside. The individual is completely subordinate to the state and its religion, with the democratic *poleis* the most illiberal and repressive of them all.

Still, greatness in any *polis* is expressed by its individuals, reined in by measure. Burckhardt's sympathy, though never uncritical, is generally with the aristocracies, and he believes one of the sources of decay for the *poleis* is the resentment of the masses towards the wealthy and powerful. The introduction of democracy and equality only makes the masses recognize as problems aspects of life they previously accepted. Individuals set themselves above the whole, using reasoning and argument to escape what were earlier duties. The state becomes common property to be exploited by individuals. Where the natural pessimism of the Greeks is earlier combined with the

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[216] Gossman (2000), 309, 382.

[217] Gossman (2000), 319, 339.

cheerfulness of the aristocrats who provide works of art and heroism, the empowering of the mobs by democracy makes the great withdraw, hastening the leveling of the culture – an inevitable feature of democracy. For Burckhardt, the greatness of a *polis* like Athens depends on slavery and submission, not on freedom and sunshine. He privileges the pre-*polis*, archaic Greece of the heroic age.[218]

The state is only justified, for Burckhardt, by cultural achievement. Power is evil but necessary and only justified by the culture created by a small, elite few. The Greek culture celebrated today, he argues, would never come to be without the Peisistratean tyranny. The state must not use culture as a means to its own ends, but understand its role as the means for supporting culture. *Bildung* is not something to be strewn out over the masses. Cultural history does not provide professional training, and specialization and careerism are only diluting the power of *Bildung*. The study of the Greeks, moreover, must finally engage the Greeks as Burckhardt believes they really were, and the happy, delightful image of them must finally be laid to rest. Education is the responsibility the state carries towards the few who will be empowered by it to justify the state's existence through great art and other cultural achievements.[219]

Before we finish with Burckhardt's thinking about the Greeks, this study would be incomplete without a word on Burckhardt's view on the demise of Greek tragedy. Apparently following the same Aristophanic line of thought that leads Wagner to blame Euripides for the end of tragedy, Burckhardt also believes that Euripides begins the decline of tragedy by replacing a timeless, mythical view and poetic language with

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[218] Gossman (2000), 319-332.

[219] Ruehl (2004), 90 and Gossman (2000), 311-313, 334-337, 345.

contemporary philosophy and rhetorical language and by replacing heroic, idealized figures with realism. Related to this, Burckhardt sees rational philosophy as inherently optimistic and thus doomed to fail. [220]

In a letter to Gersdorff from early November, Nietzsche writes that he has recently been at one of Burckhardt's weekly, one-hour lectures on history. The fact that the series only runs for a few weeks and that it is only an hour a week makes it quite likely that all of the views we have just reviewed are not systematically presented in their entirety at these public presentations. Nietzsche does give some clue as to what is presented, namely that the lectures are in the spirit of Schopenhauer, whom Burckhardt has "on intimate strolls" called "our philosopher."[221] As Burckhardt is given to neither "misrepresentation" nor to "concealing the truth," Nietzsche believes himself one of the few in the audience to catch "the deep paths of thought" in the lectures.[222] To Rohde a few weeks later he reaffirms that the lectures have been in the spirit of Schopenhauer.[223]

As noted above, it is hard to say with certainty that an idea Burckhardt and Nietzsche share originates with the former and is adopted by the latter, as the documents we have, and indeed the public lectures Burckhardt gives, are all formulated after the two have already shared many conversations. It is clear that both get ideas from Schopenhauer as a common source. Whether Nietzsche's current views on the decline of tragedy are more influenced by Wagner or Burckhardt is impossible to say, as the view Nietzsche is expressing is already found in Aristophanes' *The Frogs*, and the additional

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[220] Gossman (2000), 333, 336.

[221] "in vertrauten Spaziergängen" "unseren Philosophen"

[222] "Verfälschungen" "Verschweigungen der Wahrheit" "die tiefen Gedankengänge"

[223] KGB II/1, 155, 159.

attack on Socratic dialectic as optimism could originate in Wagner, Burckhardt or Nietzsche, as all are already adherents of Schopenhauer. Certainly Nietzsche is encouraged to express these views, knowing that both Wagner *and* Burckhardt endorse them.

Some elements of Burckhardt's attitudes to the Greeks and their professional study are already in Nietzsche's thinking before he arrives in Basel. Nietzsche is already opposed to specialization and to using study merely as a financial means to an end, though the reality of his feeling stuck with his career and dependence on its pay belie this latter attitude. Burckhardt's focus on the pre-classical Greeks may eventually sharpen Nietzsche's focus on the period before the fifth century, but in these first few years at Basel, Nietzsche's focus (as evidenced by the topics he writes and teaches on) stretch from Homer to the fourth century, featuring authors typical for the time without any pronounced emphasis on the sixth century. It would be a mistake to think that Nietzsche, at this time, is focusing more on archaic Greece than on other periods. Some of his most extensive work to date has been on Democritus, a contemporary of Socrates. He is yet to offer his course on the Pre-Platonic philosophers.

Burckhardt's elitism is not an entirely new influence on Nietzsche. We have seen that as a child his grandmother considers the educated a part of the upper-classes, a sentiment he echoes while at Schulpforta. His thesis written there also discusses Theognis's views on the harmful effects of broadening education and his mourning of a lost elite, though Nietzsche does not take any stance on what he identifies as Theognis's views. We have also seen his criticism of his fraternity at Bonn for being too plebeian. There does seem to be, however, a distinct strengthening of Nietzsche's feelings of

superiority to the masses since coming to Basel, which is safely attributed to his association with the patrician Burckhardt. The embrace of slavery as necessary for culture at Basel has not been seen at all in Nietzsche's thought to this point, and is most reasonably attributed to Burckhardt's influence. This brutal elitism is an influence in direct opposition to Wagner's lingering socialism and vision of a class-less society.

That Nietzsche gets from Burckhardt his distaste for the masses is the first of four points Martin Ruehl offers in summarizing Burckhardt's influence on him. The second point is the notion of the state as a protector of culture. We can safely accept this as an idea strengthened in Nietzsche by Burckhardt as well, as Nietzsche's thought, especially on art and culture, has been devoid of reflection on the role of the state up to this point. Ruehl's third point is the glorification of contest and war, which again may be safely accepted as being influenced by Burckhardt as Nietzsche first writes on the subject of competition in his recent public lecture on Socrates and tragedy, where Aeschylus' introduction of dialog is explained as a form of competition. Ruehl's fourth and final element that he argues Nietzsche gets from Burckhardt is the idea of the great individual.[224] This is much harder to accept as an idea Nietzsche gets from Burckhardt as he has already been thinking in terms of Schopenhauer's genius, which may be one of the key sources of Burckhardt's own concept of the great individual. It is likely, however, that Burckhardt gives Nietzsche's thought on the subject new inflections, especially on how a state can foster or hinder such individuals. Overall, what Nietzsche appears to get from Burckhardt is a more political view of art and an intensification of his own elitism,

[224] Ruehl (2004), 92.

an elitism that shapes his image of Greece as well as the classicist project he has already begun to announce.

It is also likely that Burckhardt has as great an impact on Nietzsche's evolving view of Prussia, if not a greater one, than his recent experience in the war.[225] As we have seen, Nietzsche's concern about the new Prussian *Reich* is generally expressed as a concern for culture. It is Burckhardt, not Wagner, who sees the new super-state as a cultural threat. A letter written at the end of December 1870 to Ritschl shows Nietzsche hoping above all that "the unfolding of state power in Germany is not purchased with *too considerable* sacrifices of *culture*!"[226] Burckhardt rings more loudly in this concern than Wagner or the younger, student Nietzsche does.

Nietzsche is by no means turned against the new Germany at this point. As late as March of 1871, he writes to his roommate, Franz Overbeck, about the intense hatred of Germans in Basel, and how in Lugano, from which he writes the letter, they have safely been able to celebrate Kaiser Wilhelm's birthday without worrying about being shot at.[227] He clearly still has some patriotic affection. He just hopes that recent political developments will not doom his developing classicist project, which is not for him alone but for the culture of Germany itself.

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[225] This is the view Janz takes. See Janz (1978), 387-388.

[226] KGB II/1, 171, 173. "[…] die staatliche Machtentfaltung Deutschlands nicht mit *zu erheblichen* Opfern der *Kultur* erkauft werden!"

[227] KGB II/1, 187.

3.4.3 "The Greek State"

Early in 1871, Nietzsche writes a text that clearly expresses the influence from and common ground he shares with Burckhardt. Ruehl sees it as a rupture with the Wagners.[228] It certainly displays thought that must be deeply offensive to the Wagners, but it is not a turning point. It is rather part of the continuous development of thoughts that put stress on his relationship with the Wagners. We have already seen him publicly expressing elitist views in the Socrates lecture, targeting *ancient Athenian* plebs, no less. He would already have been aware that Wagner would not agree with a view of Greece or aspirations for modernity that relied on dividing humanity into classes, some of which are oppressed and exploited. For Bayreuth, Wagner plans a seating arrangement that in no way divides the audience by class, so that all may sit as democratic equals as he envisions they did in Athens.[229] What Nietzsche describes in this essay is a celebration of the military ethos of Sparta and Plato's oppressive republic, with a strict segregation of classes and dependence on slavery as essential for civilization. Nietzsche directly attacks the socialist concept of the dignity of work and even the dignity of human existence. The masses appear here as a threat to culture, and culture must be protected by the state. Greatness is achieved by competition among a few great individuals supported by the state to produce art that seduces the Greeks to continued life.[230]

This is certainly not the Greece of Wagner, nor of Winckelmann, Goethe, Schiller, Humboldt or Wolf. Burckhardt's own views, shaped as they are by Schopenhauer's pessimism, are clearly the greatest influence on this vision. It is not

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[228] Ruehl (2004), 80-81.

[229] U. Müller (1992), 230.

[230] KSA 1, 764-777 and Ruehl (2004), 84-91.

classicist in the sense of maintaining the tradition since Winckelmann of a happy, republican, Athenian golden age. *However*, inasmuch as it holds the Greeks up as exemplary, indeed, as having a culture at one with "nature" (in that it does not fight division and oppression), and inasmuch as Nietzsche actually intends this as a model for modernity to consider and imitate in order to achieve singular artistic achievement, it is indeed part of a darker, yet just as aspirational, classicist project.

The ideas of this short text are at times included in Nietzsche's vision for his book on tragedy, made clear by the persistence of chapter headings on slavery and the state in the outlines in his notes. They are even part of a draft for the book he shares with the Wagners in April, 1871. They are edited out of *Birth*, which may be a sign of Wagner's still considerable influence. Where Ruehl wants to see this text as a seminal rupture with and rebellion against Wagner, the fact that Nietzsche does not hide it from Wagner shows that he is willing to push back against him, not in one grand gesture but continually from at least the Socrates lecture of February 1870 until their final break years later.

3.5.0 A NEW GREEK ACADEMY AND THE PUBLICATION OF *BIRTH*

During these first couple of years in Basel, we see that Nietzsche's classicist project has two aspects. So far we have focused on how he has been using his philosophical philology in support of Wagner, promoting him as a great artist capable of bringing to modernity *Musikdrama* with the same powerful existential benefits he argues Greek tragedy once had. This aspect of his classicist project will culminate, of course, in *Birth*. He slowly, however, also reveals the role *he* would like to play in the new culture he hopes Wagner will initiate: the creator, or one of the creators, of new institutions of

Bildung capable of producing more artists like Wagner through the study of the Greeks. He wants to put his philosophical philology to use not only to give himself existential comfort, but to support the culture he hopes will soon benefit all Germans.

3.5.1 Future Institutions of *Bildung*

Wagner has been inspiring Nietzsche to think big. In a letter to Gersdorff from mid-December 1870, Nietzsche discusses various signs showing that the reception of Schopenhauer is growing in Germany. In a couple more years Nietzsche will show him "a new influence on the study of antiquity" hopefully bound to "a new spirit in the *wissenschaftlichen* and ethical *education* of our nation."[231] As Wagner compares the struggle of the German spirit to express itself artistically to the war with France, Nietzsche calls his own project a battle and underlines its urgency: "*for this we must live!*"[232]

A letter to Rohde a few days later is even more concrete. He suggests they both get a couple of years of experience at the university in order to learn how to teach – but only a couple of years. He describes how he constantly sees the truth in Schopenhauer's critique of the universities and that "a radical existence in *truth*" is impossible at the university.[233] Then, once they have thrown off the academic yoke, he plans to found "a new *Greek* academy."[234] There is no reason to think that by a "Greek" academy

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[231] "eine neue Einwirkung auf die Alterthumskunde" "einen neuen Geist in der wissenschaftlichen und ethischen *Erziehung* unsrer Nation"

[232] KGB II/1, 162. "*darum müssen wir leben!*"

[233] "ein radikales *Wahrheits*wesen"

[234] "eine neue *griechische* Akademie"

Nietzsche means one modeled on the pedagogical program and methods of Plato's academy, as he has not been analyzing or otherwise working on what that would be. It is more likely that Wagner and Schopenhauer are the formative influences on an institution that will partner with Bayreuth in producing more of Schopenhauer's geniuses, artists of the future like Wagner. Though Nietzsche is still in the process of creating the Greece to inspire this classicist project, it is clear his classicist project is becoming very serious for him and even taking on concrete plans of his own in the real world.

He goes on to remind Rohde of Wagner's plans for Bayreuth and tells him of how he has seriously considered that they support Wagner's plans to reform German art with their own effort to create this new educational institution, breaking with existing philology and its "perspective on *Bildung*."[235] He is preparing an *adhortatio* for all who will need convincing, which seems to indicate that he is already formulating his *Lectures on Bildung*. Few will join them, Nietzsche is sure, but they can form a little island, a "monastic-artistic cooperative," in which they will live, work, and have joy together, "maybe this is the only way in which we are to work for the *whole*."[236] This shows that when Nietzsche says he is concerned with the education of the entire nation, what he really means is the education of the very few who can redeem the entire nation. He does not need to restructure every German institution, as the Prussian reforms have done. He only needs to establish one school, perhaps a few, that can train the small number capable of becoming geniuses. Nietzsche will save all of his money, he tells Rohde, try some

[235] "Bildungsperspektive"

[236] "klösterlich-künstlerische Genossenschaft" "vielleicht daß dies die einzige Art ist, wie wir für das *Ganze* arbeiten sollen"

lotteries, and charge the highest payment he can for publications in order to make possible "the founding of our cloister."[237]

Clearly, this is not all theoretical for Nietzsche. It is existential, personal. *For this we must live!* He is planning the creation of a real school as revolutionary and new as Wagner promises his festival at Bayreuth will be. The fact that he refers to their projected school as a "cloister" indicates that this idea has been stewing in Nietzsche for a while. His letter written half a year earlier in mid-July 1870, on the day France declared war on Prussia, suggested that they may now have to move to a "cloister" of which he and Rohde will be the first friars. It appears he was already thinking of an active role for them in saving culture upon the announcement of war back in the summer and now feels ready to begin to share his real plans with his closest friend.

The high spirit that envisions this cooperation with Rohde (note that he does not extend the same invitation to Gersdorff a few days earlier) is inspired to learn that a professorship in philosophy is opening up at Basel. He tries to win the chair and have Rohde take his position as professor of philology, joining him in Basel. Yet he only sees the two teaching positions at Basel as provisional, embarrassing even. His theorizing is expanding quickly and dominating his aspirations, though it is far from mature or settled. He lacks, as he tells Rohde, a philosophical compass to direct his thinking, "Now I see a piece of a new metaphysics, now a new aesthetic growing: then again a new educational principle occupies me with the full rejection of our *Gymnasien* and universities."[238] Nietzsche is taking on quite a bit: new theories of education and the institutional forms

[237] KGB II/1, 165. "unser Kloster zu gründen"

[238] "Bald sehe ich ein Stück neuer Metaphysik, bald eine neue Aesthetik wachsen: dann wieder beschäftigt mich ein neues Erziehungsprincip, mit völliger Verwerfung unserer Gymnasien und Unversitäten."

needed to pursue it, the metaphysical essence of Greek tragedy and its historical expression, and the existential redemption both need to provide for him. It is no wonder he is having a hard time getting it all to settle down into a coherent philosophical system.[239] In April 1871 he receives final word that he will not get the chair in philosophy, meaning, of course, his chair in philology will not be available to Rohde. He passes the news on to Rohde with disappointment and disgust.[240] Beginning in June 1871, we see Nietzsche asking Ritschl if there is any way to get Rohde a job at Zurich. In mid-July he writes to Rohde to apply for an opening. A week later it is already clear that Rohde will not get the job.[241] Meanwhile, in a June letter to Rohde he tells him that he has discussed the idea of a journal focusing on the reformation of culture with Wagner, another venture in addition to Bayreuth and Nietzsche's new Greek academy.[242]

3.5.2 The "Encyclopedia" Lectures

In his fifth semester at Basel during the summer of 1871, Nietzsche delivers a lecture course introducing the study of philology. This course, an "Encyclopedia of Classical Philology" presents Nietzsche's most traditionally classicist thinking yet.[243] Porter devotes an entire chapter to it.[244] He shows how the course is another example of Nietzsche exploring and performing all of the contradictory and paradoxical tendencies

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[239] KGB II/1, 189-191.

[240] KGB II/1, 192-193.

[241] KGB II/1, 199, 208, 211.

[242] KGB II/1, 197.

[243] "Encyclopaedie der klassischen Philologie"

[244] Porter (2000a), 167-224.

of philology and classicism, revealing "the uneasy relation of [philological] studies to their own inevitable classicism." In the end it shows, Porter argues, that Nietzsche attacks his fellow philologists as unaesthetic, not because they do not idealize, but because they absolutely do so while refusing to admit as much. That is, his colleagues are doing the same thing that he cannot help but to do as a philologist. Nietzsche "is his own object-lesson, an accomplice of the prejudices he would dispel" and this lecture course is a perfect performance of that fact.[245] Porter is again correct that Nietzsche does reveal by performance all of the paradoxes of philology and classicism that neither he nor his colleagues can avoid repeating, thereby revealing some of the prejudices of modernity itself. In this study, we are looking to see if Nietzsche also has sincere aspirations for German culture, and we see that he does.

This summer course is firmly within a tradition initiated by Wolf who gives the first such set of lectures seeking to introduce the entirety of the study of antiquity and thereby define the borders of both antiquity and its study, as we saw above in Chapter 2. It is an attempt at a comprehensive view of antiquity that cannot be resisted by Nietzsche. Other professional philologists follow this example, as we have seen, including Boeckh. At Leipzig Nietzsche attends just such a lecture course given by Curtius. Ritschl also offers such a lecture course, though Nietzsche has not attended it.[246] Nietzsche's lectures contain pronounced classicism of a very traditional nature, and it is important to note that they are not meant for Wagner at all as there is no indication he ever sent a copy of any of them to Tribschen. Without any signs of borrowing or plagiarism in the sections we are

[245] Porter (2000), 183, 207.

[246] See Porter (2000), 168-169 for more on the history of *Encyclopaedie* courses.

focusing on here, these are clearly Nietzsche's own thoughts, related to his own project of developing a new form of *Bildung* and the institutions needed to provide it.

That Nietzsche's vision in these lectures is bold is made clear when he asks, ostensibly of the Greeks, what a nation must be like "to produce such geniuses?"[247] Yes, Nietzsche is on board with Winckelmann's project of imitating the Greeks, even of imitating Greek art. But he wants more than better sculpture. He wants to know how to produce the kinds of geniuses German classicism has envisioned among the Greeks. The production of these geniuses is one of the primary goals of the philology he is introducing in this course.

Rather than starting with geniuses, however, these lectures focus first on how to be a real *teacher* of antiquity to others. The advice he gives on preparing teachers is simultaneously the plan for how to teach students, as teaching students is nothing less than preparing future teachers. What German institutions have been good at producing so far has been "*scholars*" who have only had scholarly teachers.[248] This will produce a philologist, which Nietzsche thinks is easy enough to do, but it is not sufficient to bring that philologist to the level of a teacher, something much less common. A teacher does not primarily need to be a linguistic philologist, a role requiring skills, "having absolutely nothing to do with his vocation as a teacher."[249]

What a teacher should be is hinted at in the next sentence when Nietzsche surprisingly replaces "teacher" in this comparison with scholars: "The relationship of

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[247] KGW, 344. "[…] um solche Genien zu erzeugen?"

[248] KGW, 367. "*Gelehrte*"

[249] "die gar nichts mit seinem Lehrberuf zu thun haben"

scholars to the great *Dichter* has something *laughable* about it."[250] Later in the lectures, Nietzsche gives an even clearer idea of what his teachers need to be: "Teacher and bearer of the material for *Bildung*, the mediator between the great geniuses and the new, developing geniuses, between the great past and the future."[251] This for Nietzsche is not simply a teacher of dead languages or of how to use a critical apparatus. This is someone who is able to transmit greatness from ancient geniuses to geniuses of the future.

This requires that the teacher stand close to antiquity in three points. First, the teacher must be internally receptive to antiquity. Second, the teacher must educate [*erziehen*] himself with antiquity. Third, the teacher needs to be actively researching and working on antiquity to be able to familiarize the young with the spirit of *Wissenschaft*. The most important and most difficult requirement is the need "to live into antiquity full of love."[252] "Living into" antiquity, it will be remembered, is already proposed as vital by Wolf and has long been desired by German students of antiquity, including the young Wagner who imagines for himself the Athenian Dionysia in full, living detail. Nietzsche is not just radicalizing philology here but also returning to its most traditional aims.

In fact, he explicitly recommends that his ideal teacher begin back beyond Wolf with the founding fathers of German classicism before its professionalization: Winckelmann, Lessing, Schiller and Goethe. Importantly, reading them is not suggested so that one can understand antiquity correctly but so that one can feel "what antiquity is

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[250] KGW, 345. "Das Verhältniß der *Gelehrten* zu den großen Dichtern hat etwas *Lächerliches*."

[251] "Lehrer u. Träger der Bildungstoffe, der Mittler zwischen den großen Genien u. den neuen werdenden Genien, zwischen der großen Vergangenheit u. der Zukunft"

[252] KGW, 368. "in's Alterthum liebevoll hineinzuleben u. die Differenz zu empfinden"

for a modern."[253] Reading the German classics helps the ideal teacher to understand what it is to be a modern German separated by millennia from Greek antiquity. This approach is paired with having the students try actually recreating the ancient art they are studying. "Do everything." [*Alles ποεῖν*.] Nietzsche's use of the Greek present infinitive *poien* here defies translation. It is a basic verb meaning "to do," but it also means "to make or create" (similar to German *machen*). In its sense of creating, it is the root of English "poetry" and German *Poesie*, bringing a strong artistic sense to it and tying it to Nietzsche's characterization of his teachers as *Dichter*. What *Alles ποεῖν* means as a motto for *Bildung* is to have the students engage in the hands-on activity of trying to recreate the various artistic activities of the ancients. The students should try to create poetry, music, visual art, even to draft up state constitutions and to speak Latin and Greek "in order to feel the distances."[254] All of this is to be done before the students are introduced to antiquity or to any philosophic approach to it. The first step is "practical, artistic activity" in order to establish the distance of modernity from antiquity.[255] At this point in their education, the future teachers are still nowhere near living into antiquity.

The next step is a study of philosophy, at least a full year, in order to avoid becoming a factory worker, "who turns his screw year after year."[256] Meaningful historical understanding is nothing other than comprehending facts by means of philosophical assumptions, an idea we have already seen Nietzsche exploring with his planned study of literary history in Chapter 2. Philology is dominated by a governing

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[253] "was das Alterthum für den modernen Menschen ist"

[254] "um die Distanzen zu empfinden"

[255] KGW, II/3, 345, 368. "praktische Künstthätigkeit"

[256] "der seine Schraube jahraus jahrein macht"

philosophical assumption, "the classicality of antiquity," a heightened vision of antiquity in its best possible form.[257] If we return to Lange's concept of "philosophy," the combination of *Wissenschaft* with art, we see that the most determinant assumption of the entire *Wissenschaft* of philology is an artistic construct: classicality. That antiquity is classic at all is an artistic vision we project on it in order to take it beyond dry facts and make it in to something meaningful for life: "We want to comprehend the very highest appearance and grow together with it. Living-into is the task."[258]

"Living-into" introduced in this context takes on a new meaning it never had with Wolf. Students first try their hands at art while reading the German classics to become aware of their own ineluctable modernity, and then they study enough philosophy to understand how philosophical assumptions always shape any look at history. Students thus prepared now pursue living-into as a philosophical understanding of, and developing with, the highest vision of their philosophical assumption. This highest assumption is, of course, that there is anything singular or exemplary about antiquity to begin with. This then allows one to live into this heightened antiquity shaped by this very assumption. The best prepared student, the student worthy of teaching future teachers, is one who understands how Greek antiquity is constructed as an idealization and then experiences such an ideal in its highest form.

This is not what Wolf was proposing. Lange's influence is unmistakable here: any approach to history is a process of construction, and every step that is taken to clear obstructions away from what is assumed to be "really" there only adds to the character of

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[257] "die Klassicität des Alterthums"

[258] KGW, II/3, 344, 369. "Wir wollen die allerhöchste Erscheinung begreifen u. mit ihr verwachsen. Hineinleben ist die Aufgabe."

what is constructed. The more work that is done to return to a pristine antiquity, the more that work produces a modern creation. Had Lange not proposed for Nietzsche "philosophy" as a serious and sincere approach to making existence meaningful, it is very unlikely Nietzsche would now be proposing this creative power be consciously and intentionally harnessed to project an ideal antiquity that inspires future geniuses able to live into it.

Details are not so important when one knows that one is dealing with one's own idealization. Thus, the teacher who has come to justify his "*instinct of classicality*" by understanding its philosophical, which is to say creative, nature can pursue antiquity without worrying about being drawn into needless details, the purview of the factory workers of philology.[259] Nietzsche is aware that such an approach does not fit into current practices and even that it must strike others as deeply flawed. This is why the philologist must study philosophy "out of the most internal need."[260] A study of idealism, especially of Plato and Kant (the two most important influences on Schopenhauer, and two philosophers who are given respect and attention at the universities), allows one to let naïve "perspectives on reality" be corrected.[261] This provides the courage to stand firm in the face of "apparent paradoxes" and no longer be intimidated by common human understanding.[262] Such a philological teacher may then be isolated, but will "have the courage to seek his path alone."[263] This is the very

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[259] "*Instinkt der Klassicität*"

[260] "aus innerstem Bedürfniß"

[261] "Anschauungen von Realität"

[262] "anscheinend [sic] Paradoxen"

[263] KGW, II/3, 372. "den Muth haben, allein seinen Weg zu suchen"

courage we are seeing Nietzsche try to find as he slowly develops and reveals his consciously idealized vision of Greece that he knows will be so widely offensive.

The end goal of it all, Nietzsche says, the reason one makes a youth familiar with antiquity is "joy in what is and passing this joy on."[264] Nietzsche's philology of the future is not a dry cataloguing of facts or a sweeping of dust from artifacts. And it is also not just a cynical performance of the paradoxes and prejudices of modernity. Like the image of Homer's personality that has so long held fascination, it is to be a fruitful error, and the fruit is joy. Nietzsche's philosophical philology is a *Gay Science*, a delight in life and existence, made possible by imagination and unavoidable error.

3.5.3 Publishing *Birth*

Before we briefly sketch out in our conclusion how *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* express Nietzsche's very sincere, even if problematic, classicism, we should review Nietzsche's thoughts on the book leading up to its publication. To begin with, it seems very telling that in its early stages Nietzsche calls it "The Book on the Greeks."[265] One thing indicated by the fact that he steps all the way back to a name so general as "The Book on the Greeks" is his attempt to arrive at a comprehensive view of all that is Greek.

More, however, is at work here than just that. Nietzsche is a philologist and teacher of Greek who has been working on Greek antiquity for many, many years now. He does not call his work on Democritus his "Paper on the Greeks" to Rohde or Ritschl,

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[264] KGW, II/3, 345. "Freude am Vorhandenen u. diese weiter zu tragen"

[265] Janz (1978), 410. "das Griechenbuch"

but is always very specific when discussing his work with his colleagues. This is to be expected as they would need to know if he means his work on say Aeschylus, or on Homer and Hesiod, or on Theognis, all of which is work on "The Greeks." The extremely vague signifier "The Book on the Greeks" reveals something about his relationship to the Wagners. It is only for them that such a title could make any sense and be coined in a useful way. Their primary concern is art and culture. Professor Nietzsche specifically represents to them a deep understanding of the Greeks – indeed this may be why he is ever invited into their circle in the first place. The Wagners want a case made about the Greeks and how Richard is related to them, and this book about "The Greeks" is Nietzsche's contribution to that end. Nietzsche has always wanted to be a musician and it is probably in that capacity that he would most like to contribute to the culture of the future. Wagner, however, has made clear that *he* is the musician and that Nietzsche needs to remain the philologist. It is with "The Greeks" that Nietzsche can make his contribution, even if he has only developed a love for them during the past couple of years. Even after the Wagners leave Tribschen for Bayreuth in the early summer of 1872, Nietzsche will continue to offer to quit his job and work to promote Wagner full time, only to be reassured that he is most needed and useful as a chaired professor of philology.[266] To the Wagner's Nietzsche represents in large part an authoritative voice on the "The Greeks" that supports everything Wagner is working for.

The manuscript for the book would appear to be quite far along already in April of 1871, when Nietzsche begins negotiations to publish the book.[267] A letter in early

[266] Young (2010), 108 and Cancik (1995), 33.

[267] KGB II/1, 193-194, 211.

August to Rohde discusses the problems other professional philologists are already having with his use of Dionysus and Apollo. Otto Ribbeck, for example, who will go on to write Ritschl's biography, wants some citations to back up Nietzsche's claims. But, Nietzsche asks Rohde, what kind of evidence can be provided? He is laying out "a strange metaphysics of art," which cannot be established in a manner satisfactory to his guild.[268]

After problems with his first printer, Nietzsche finds another, Wagner's printer in Leipzig, Ernst W. Fritzsch. By mid-October he writes to Deussen that the book has been sent to this printer.[269] In late November he writes to Rohde asking him to write a review as he fears philologists will not read the book due to the music, the musicians due to the philology, and the philosophers due to the music and philology. He hopes Rohde can spur the philologists to read it. This demonstrates that, despite his anxieties, he is hoping it will be read by his colleagues and that at least some of them will appreciate the vision it promotes.[270] By late December, this anxiety turns into a nervous courage as he writes to Rohde of the final part of the book, which Rohde has not seen and that will certainly surprise him. Nietzsche has dared much he writes, and he is resigned to it being as offensive as possible, causing a "cry of indignation" from multiple parties.[271] Though it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the fulfillment of this prophecy, it is worth noting Nietzsche's prescience. He is not at all naïve about the reactions this book will cause. He knows better than anyone that it is not traditional philology, and he knows he

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[268] KGB II/1, 215. "eine sonderbare Metaphysik der Kunst"

[269] KGB II/1, 231.

[270] KGB II/1, 247-248.

[271] KGB II/1, 256. "Schrei der Entrüstung"

is inventing his own image of Greece without footnotes to serve a very modern purpose. It is interesting to see how much he has already prepared Rohde to come to his defense, which he most dutifully will do.[272]

To accompany a copy sent to Wagner, Nietzsche writes a draft of a letter on the second day of January, 1872. He demurs that everything he has to say about tragedy has already been said more beautifully and persuasively by Wagner. He apologizes in advance that Wagner will find many slips and errors. In the final draft he actually sends Wagner he writes, "Perhaps I will be able to improve much of it at a later time: and 'later' here refers to the time of 'fulfillment,' the Bayreuth age of culture.[273] He receives a letter from Wagner written a week later that indicates that Wagner is quite sincerely impressed by Nietzsche's work, if not a bit intimidated.[274]

One last aspect of Nietzsche's experience in this period deserves attention before we turn to our conclusion. A few days before Christmas, Nietzsche writes to Rohde about an extremely moving concert of Wagner's music in Mannheim. "And precisely this is what I mean with the word 'music,' when I describe the Dionysian, and nothing else!"[275] This should give some idea of what Nietzsche means by the intoxicating effect of the Dionysian. It is an ecstasy he experiences listening to Wagner. He expects that if only a few hundred people in the next generation could experience this kind of music in the depth to which Nietzsche has experienced it, "then I expect an entirely new

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[272] For the famous conflict that arises after the publication, see Gründer (1969) and Calder (1983).

[273] Borchmeyer (1994), 149-150. "Vielleicht werde ich manches später einmal besser machen können: und 'später' nenne ich hier die Zeit der 'Erfüllung', die Baireuther Culturperiode."

[274] Borchmeyer (1994), 152-154.

[275] "Und genau das meine ich mit dem Wort 'Musik', wenn ich das Dionysische schildere, und nichts sonsts!"

culture!"[276] He goes on to discourage Rohde from trying to publish anything else in "the damned philological periodicals."[277] He need only wait "for The Bayreuther Pages!"[278]

A letter to Gersdorff a couple of days later also gushes about the sublime concert in Mannheim, how it confirms their concepts of music, and goes on to enthusiastically describe the preparations for Bayreuth.[279] A letter home from the 27th of December, just days before the publication of *Birth* and the delivery of his *Lectures on Bildung*, informs his mother and sister of the impending publication and says "with it I begin the new year, and now people will know what I want, what I strive for with all of my strength: my activity begins."[280] There is no irony or posturing here. We see only a very sincere and very gifted young man caught up with visionary energy believing he has a very important and very *real* role to play in saving German culture. The redemption of Germany's culture is intertwined with Nietzsche's need to provide for himself and others an artistic vision of the Greeks, idealized and exemplary, that can give meaning to life. Nietzsche is about to announce his classicist vision.

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[276] "[…] so erwarte ich eine völlig neue Cultur!"

[277] "den verfluchten philologischen Zeitschriften"

[278] KGB II/1, 256. "auf die Baireuther Blätter!"

[279] KGB II/1, 260.

[280] KGB II/1, 266. "[…] mit ihr beginne ich das neue Jahr und jetzt wird man wissen, was ich will, wonach ich mit aller Kraft strebe: meine Thätigkeit beginnt."

CONCLUSION

In our Introduction we pointed out that Nietzsche uses boldly classicist language in the early 1870s, specifically in *The Birth of Tragedy* (*Birth*) and in his lectures "On the Future of our Institutions of *Bildung*," (*Lectures on Bildung*), both from early 1872. That is, he sets up Greece as an ideal that can lead modern Germany in both art and education to become a great cultural nation. Though no one has before, we asked, "why?"[1] Though he begins his formal study of Greek language and literatures in 1855, Nietzsche never strikes a classicist pose nor expresses an admiration for the Greeks as singular and exemplary until the couple of years leading up to 1872.

Working from his earliest writings on Greek subject matter up to the time when *Birth* is published and the *Lectures on Bildung* are given, we have tracked the three main motivations for Nietzsche's brief and curious classicism: his passion for music, his need for existential meaning, and his feeling of being unable to escape his philological career. Now in conclusion we will briefly outline the form of Nietzsche's classicism in 1872 and examine its motivations as found in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung.*

[1] Porter does indeed answer the question "how" Nietzsche's strikes this pose, in a performance of the paradoxes of modernity, but he does not seek the motivations behind this classicism.

A. FORM OF NIETZSCHE'S CLASSICISM 1869-1872

This first section outlines the form of Nietzsche's classicism as found in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung*. We will begin with some classicist aspects of *Birth* that have not received attention before then move on to the classicism found in the *Lectures on Bildung*. Something all biographers and commentators have failed to notice is that Nietzsche at this time is envisioning his own project parallel to Wagner's festival center in Bayreuth. He is not satisfied to act simply as a propagandist for Wagner, though he is certainly doing that. In the spirit of Bayreuth, he plans to create his own institutions to keep Germany stocked with geniuses to maintain the culture Wagner plans to initiate at Bayreuth. Thus, the *Lectures on Bildung* are summarized and examined in greater detail than *Birth* as they have never received attention before as part of the classicist project announced in *Birth*.

A.1 Supporting Wagner's *Musikdrama* with *Birth*

As stated in the introduction to this study, much focus has already been given to *Birth*, including how Nietzsche presents Apollo and Dionysus as the originating forces of tragedy, his purported thesis for the work. It was also stated that the purpose of this study is not to offer a reading of *Birth* but to reveal instead the motivations that lead to the classicism evident in it. It is assumed that readers of this study are familiar enough with *Birth* to recognize its two main arguments.[2] First, it provides a very creative explanation for why Greek tragedy should be considered singular and exemplary – its ability derived from its origin in two sources to present the pessimistic truth of existence while

[2] Again, those unfamiliar with *Birth* should see Silk's and Stern's (1981) efficient summary. 62-89.

simultaneously seducing its audience to continue living. Second, it strongly implies that Wagner's *Musikdrama* is the rebirth of this same tragic power and that it is going to initiate a new tragic age where people aware of the meaningless of existence still find beauty in existence and a desire to continue living. Here we limit our comments on *Birth* to those elements that have not earlier received attention as expressions of Nietzsche's particular classicist project.

The pairing of Apollo and Dionysus is likely the most memorable aspect of *Birth* for most readers, and it is important to understand how they play a role in his classicism. What has not received attention is that each god serves as a personality, Nietzsche's preferred version of Lange's standpoint of the ideal. This fact that they are creatively constructed personalities with some historical elements rather than more purely factual descriptions of what appears in texts from antiquity is what allows them to serve Nietzsche's classicism. Silk and Stern recognize something similar about the function of Archilochus and Homer in *Birth*. They describe each of these two functioning as "an archetype: a single, symbolic figure who sums up the whole drift of a movement, a whole constellation of forms or ideas," though they do not discuss the Langean source of this conceptual approach.[3]

As one reads the first few pages of Section 1 of *Birth*, one is struck by how little the discussion of Apollo and Dionysus has to do with the ancient Greeks. These two figures function within a Langean myth holistic enough to offer not only an origin for tragedy, but an explanation of the value art has for the living. This explanation is Langean as it consists of Nietzsche's philological knowledge tempered considerably by

[3] Silk and Stern (1981), 151.

his artistic creativity. The structure of the vision it presents is also Langean as it combines (Dionysian) knowledge with (Apollinian) artistic illusion. This union of Apollo and Dionysus is itself a reformulation of Lange's "philosophy" that weds knowledge and art.

The specific myths created by the union of these two personalities at the origin of tragedy, the plots of the tragedies, also serve to make an unbearable existence bearable. Nietzsche describes the content of a tragic myth as primarily "an epic occurrence with the glorification of a fighting hero."[4] Though this hero and the occurrence have a universal quality to them, they are far more specific and individual than the effect produced by Dionysus alone, which would be a destructively overwhelming awareness of the meaninglessness of anything individual. Born of the shatteringly general nature of Dionysus and the comprehensible and reassuring specificity of Apollo, the plot or myth of each tragedy allows one to, on the one hand, listen at the "heart chamber" of the Will (an experience that would usually destroy the listener) to see the meaningless of existence while, on the other hand, allowing one to enjoy the beautiful, heroic figure experiencing the beautiful story, thus confirming the tragic wisdom while seducing one to continued life.[5]

This concept of myth, which presents what Nietzsche calls a "world in between" is clearly influenced by Lange's proposal to seek out and create myths which offer holistic views and consist of as much art as knowledge, even though the knowledge here is not *wissenschaftlich* but Dionysian.[6] As Williamson points out, the value of

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[4] KSA 1, Geburt, 151. "ein episches Ereignis mit der Verherrlichung des kämpfenden Helden"

[5] KSA 1, Geburt, 135-136, 149-150. "Herzkammer"

[6] "Mittelwelt"

mythology for Nietzsche has nothing to do with the ethnic or linguistic origins of a story, but it resides rather "in the aesthetic and ethical meaning."[7] Indeed, Nietzsche's myth is astonishingly modern or, if he would forgive the description, timely. His myth of Apollo and Dionysus is a brilliantly creative if flawed demonstration of his attempt to put Lange's ideas into practice with a Schopenhauerian vocabulary.[8] This myth explains how the "seriousness" he so admires in Schopenhauer and Wagner can be transmitted to others through art, how moderns can both accept a pessimistic vision of existence and still be seduced to continued life. This is, in turn, the classicist argument for what makes Greek tragedy singular and exemplary and why Germans should offer their full support to Wagner.

A.2 Introduction to the *Lectures on Bildung*

Now we turn to the *Lectures on Bildung* to trace out what we can of Nietzsche's future schools and their role in his classicist project. Though Nietzsche obscures his role in the creation of these new institutions within the *Lectures on Bildung*, they provide, in addition to what we have already seen in the "Encyclopedia" lectures, another glimpse at the plans he has begun revealing to Rohde, plans to create a new kind of school for the creation of future geniuses.

The very title of the *Lectures on Bildung*, "On the Future of our Institutions of *Bildung*," poses a question: when Nietzsche speaks of the future of "our" institutions, to

[7] Williamson (2004), 242

[8] KSA 1, Geburt, 135. It would be a solid service to Nietzsche scholarship, beyond the scope of this study, to examine the extent of Lange's influence on *Birth*.

precisely which schools is he referring?[9] The *Lectures on Bildung* are offered in the same venue in which he has given his inaugural address and the lectures on tragedy, meetings of the Academic Society in Basel held on five nights stretching from the middle of January through March 1872.[10] Is Nietzsche talking about the future of the university, *Pädagogium*, and *Gymnasium* in Basel? He protests quite loudly that he is not referring to Basel's schools and makes clear that it is to the German schools under the control of Prussia that he is referring.[11] It is clear, however, that he is not really talking about a reformation of the Prussian schools either.

Nietzsche does not have Prussian schools in mind for the same reason he does not have the schools in Basel in mind: he is not referring to *any* existing schools. The argument of the *Lectures on Bildung* themselves posits that true *Bildung*, the kind offered by the institutions Nietzsche is proposing, can only ever be achieved by a very small number of individuals and that the masses simply are not made for it.[12] Nietzsche states in the *Lectures on Bildung* that only a few institutions at most will actually be needed.[13] We have already seen him express to Rohde that the cloister-like school they will create will only need to teach a few people to benefit many. As we noted then, Nietzsche does not have anything sweeping like the Prussian educational reforms in mind. He is only thinking of creating, at most, a few institutions. In regard to the existing institutions of

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[9] *Ueber die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten*

[10] Hoyer (2002), 264.

[11] KSA 1, 643-644.

[12] KSA 1, 665.

[13] KSA 1, 697.

Bildung in Basel and Germany, Nietzsche's honest preference would probably be to simply do away with them.[14]

If Nietzsche can overcome his self-doubts, his dream is that he and Rohde will *create* the new institutions of *Bildung*. "Our" schools of the future will belong to Nietzsche and those few inspired by his call to act. Nietzsche is sure those who work towards such schools must be selfless and brave, ready to fight against the leveling tendencies of the masses.[15] Nietzsche the solitary thinker *contra mundum* has already begun to emerge, though he hopes Rohde at least is still with him for now.

The *Lectures on Bildung* prominently feature an elitist tone completely opposed to Humboldt's original desire to have *Bildung* transcend class boundaries. "Nature," one of the favorite terms of the earlier German classicists, is used repeatedly by Nietzsche the way we have seen him use it in his essay, "The Greek State." It consistently refers in these lectures to a necessary bifurcation between the very few geniuses possible and the masses who need to work to support them. It is "nature" that qualifies the few to be geniuses and to deserve the *Bildung* necessary to become such.[16] This elitist tendency barely appears in *Birth* when, for instance, Nietzsche argues that Euripides degrades tragedy by bringing slaves and the lower classes on stage.[17] Later in *Birth* he argues that the Alexandrian or scholarly culture now dominating modernity requires a slave class, even though it is desperately trying to deny this. If this modern, Alexandrian culture continues to promote concepts like "human dignity" and "the dignity of work," the

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[14] See KSA 1, 648.

[15] KSA 1, 650.

[16] See e.g. KSA 1, 697.

[17] KSA 1, 77.

masses will see their existence as an injustice and will indeed rise up and seek revenge.[18] Interestingly, Nietzsche shies away from arguing for the necessity he sees of a slave class for a truly artistic culture in *Birth* as he does in "The Greek State."

He is not so shy in the *Lectures on Bildung*. There the leveling tendency threatens the rebirth of an artistic culture just as it threatens the continuation of an Alexandrian one in *Birth*. This tendency is spread by the schools themselves, which Nietzsche believes achieve little more than improving the earning potential of their graduates. This tendency also opposes the difficult work necessary to support the few geniuses that can redeem a culture. Current schools, he believes, seek to emancipate the masses from great individuals, making them the enemy of true *Bildung* whose task it is to form these few individuals into geniuses.[19]

We have seen how the elitist tendencies demonstrated sporadically in Nietzsche's youth are significantly intensified by Burckhardt's influence in Basel. Burckhardt attends all of these *Lectures on Bildung*, a fact that may encourage Nietzsche to reveal this elitism that Wagner must find distasteful, an elitism with a much smaller presence in *Birth*.[20]

As for their form, the five lectures offer a serialized account of a fictional encounter between four men in the woods above Rolandseck on the Rhine and facing the Drachenfels. Nietzsche and a friend, both university students at Bonn, constitute half of the group. The other two men are an aged philosopher and his younger companion, a

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[18] KSA 1, 117.

[19] KSA 1, 668, 698.

[20] Janz (1978), 447 and Gossman (2000), 303.

former teacher who has recently quit his job to pursue philosophy.[21] Nietzsche and his friends are shooting pistols. This irritates the aged philosopher greatly and sets the tone for this encounter between a very serious philosopher and a couple of frivolous students currently at university. The young Nietzsche and his friend are straw men representing the failure of the current schools and the real needs of students. The encounter leads to a dialog between the philosopher and the other three clearly meant to recall Plato's works.

Hoyer proposes that the old philosopher in the dialog may be Schopenhauer, while Hollingdale (in one of the very few things he has to say about the *Lectures on Bildung*) sees him as a vision of Nietzsche's future.[22] What comes across in the actual ideas and tone expressed by the philosopher is a composite of two Schopenhauers. At times he speaks as the actual philosopher Nietzsche encounters in his books, expressing ideas relying on a Schopenhauerian metaphysics. More often he seems to be the *personality* "Schopenhauer," to whom Nietzsche has clung ever since Lange made the actual Schopenhauer unreliable. This "Schopenhauer" is the clear-eyed visionary, holding to life with a seriousness that does not deny the meaninglessness of existence and

[21] KSA 1, 653-655. The details of the friendship and history of the two students blends aspects of the *Germania* society and Nietzsche's year at Bonn into an account that, though relied on by some as autobiographical, clearly goes beyond fact into invention. The two friends have known each other since before their *Gymnasium* days, giving the friend some of Wilhelm Pinder's identity. They are also, however, students together at Bonn, giving the friend, perhaps, also a bit of Paul Deussen. Before beginning *Gymnasium* they had formed a society for mutual improvement that required monthly submissions of art and literature and mutual critique, which they maintained while at *Gymnasium*, though the spot for the foundation of that group is placed here above Rolandseck, not back in Saxony where the real *Germania* society was actually founded. It would seem that centering all of the action here in the hills above the Rhine not only makes the explication of the setting more efficient, but it could be a nod to Burckhardt who also went to school at Bonn and made trips down to Rolandseck, as well as a nod to Wagner, for whom the Drachenfels – legendary location of Siegfried's fight with the dragon – has great significance.

[22] Hoyer (2002), 266 and Hollingdale (1965), 94.

a joy that keeps him living. As this personality is something Nietzsche strives towards, Hollingdale would seem to be right, along with Hoyer.

Of the four interlocutors, one character in the story is quite similar to the Nietzsche writing it. This is the philosopher's younger companion. Having recently given up his career and teaching position out of disgust in order to philosophize in solitude like his master, he nevertheless shows deep regrets about quitting and wishes he had found a way to make use of his career for the sake of culture.[23] This is a *potential* Nietzsche of the near future, a Nietzsche who has failed in developing his philosophical philology. Hoyer believes the old philosopher along with his younger companion act as the mouthpieces for the Nietzsche writing the *Lectures on Bildung*.[24] As the two agree with each other in every point, except when the younger companion sets the philosopher up to explain something, and as they both say things that Nietzsche says elsewhere in his writings (often verbatim), this assessment seems reliable.

These lectures have a nationalist tone uncharacteristic of Nietzsche's later works though similar to the nationalism we see in *Birth*. One of the clear influences Wagner has on Nietzsche at this time is this augmented nationalist tendency. As we have seen, Nietzsche has been interested in politics and military affairs since his childhood and has felt a fervent identification with Prussia in his student days, making the chauvinism he shows now in Switzerland less of a new effect Wagner has on him than an amplification of tendencies he has long had and is yet to shed. At this point in time his main concern is culture, which he understands as the product of collective effort. The collective for

[23] KSA 1, 653, 694.

[24] Hoyer (2002), 268.

which he currently has the highest expectations is the Germany of the new empire under Prussian leadership. It would seem that the new empire has fired Nietzsche's hopes and anxieties concerning serious change in the cultural sphere. As he writes in the foreword to Wagner in *Birth*, that book deals with a "seriously German problem" placed before him and Wagner "in the midst of German hopes."[25]

In both *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* Nietzsche makes use of Wagner's vague concept of the "German spirit." Echoing Wagner, Nietzsche wants to free Germany of French cultural influences. In the *Lectures on Bildung* he argues that these influences have grown naturally in France from their Roman roots but are not suitable for Germans.[26] He does not claim an ancient Teutonic source for the German spirit but claims without explanation instead in *Birth* that the German spirit grows out of a "Dionysian soil" and in the *Lectures on Bildung* that it has a mysterious and unexplainable tie to the Greek genius.[27] This spirit has begun to reveal itself in the Reformation, German music, and German philosophy.[28] The music of the future is born out of the German spirit in *Birth*. In the *Lectures on Bildung* the schools of the future are both born out of it and needed in order to renew it.[29]

For both *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* the salutary cultural effects Nietzsche envisions arising from both his schools of the future and the future artwork of geniuses

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[25] KSA 1, 24. ""ernsthaft deutschen Problem" "in die Mitte deutscher Hoffnungen"

[26] KSA 1, 689-690.

[27] KSA 1, 127, 691. "dionysischen Grunde"

[28] KSA 1, 691. In *Birth*, he describes it arising "von Bach zu Beethoven, von Beethoven zu Wagner" (KSA 1, 127). Throughout both *Birth* and the *Lectures* it is clear that Kant and Schopenhauer are the German philosophers he means. See KSA 1, 128.

[29] KSA 1, 127, 645.

like Wagner, all of which rely on the Greeks, is meant to benefit Germany. He is not yet thinking in pan-European terms. He is also not aiming, it should be made clear, at any sort of military, economic, or political goals. His nationalist concerns are squarely focused on culture.

A.3 Problems with Existing Institutions of *Bildung*

Though the title of the *Lectures on Bildung* promises a view of future schools, much more time is spent discussing what is wrong with current schools and how their results are undesirable. Before we move on to what few ideas Nietzsche has on pedagogy and the role the Greeks will play at his schools of the future, we examine the problems he sees in the current schools, the very kinds of schools he has attended and at which he currently teaches.

Nietzsche believes the process of *Bildung*, the kind that engages ancient Greece to save German culture, begins at the *Gymnasium*. Once the *Gymnasium* is properly organized, all other institutions will fall into place. He even proposes a "spirit of the *Gymnasium*" that, like the German spirit and the spirit of music, stands in need of a "rebirth" and to be "purified" and "renewed."[30] The primary form of instruction at the *Gymnasium*, and the one where reform is needed first, is German instruction. True *Bildung*, Nietzsche argues, begins with the mother tongue, the "fruitful soil" in which all other educational aims grow.[31] What he sees in actual German instruction treats the language as if it were dead, approached with a historical method that dissects it and

[30] KSA 1, 675. "Neugeburt" "gereinigt" "erneuert"

[31] KSA 1, 683. "fruchtbare Boden"

studies it as parts rather than focusing on its ability to produce beautiful, meaningful wholes. The teachers who are only capable of this are too caught up in linguistic details to be able to connect this language instruction to the great authors of German literature, making their teaching of literature equally futile.[32]

A rather interesting critique Nietzsche has of current *Gymnasium* education is that essays on personal topics are assigned much too often. These essays on one's identity, individuality, and life, he believes, enthuse the most gifted pupils, causing a premature formation of their self-identity and giving them a false sense of the worth of their opinions. This affects the writing of their later years, producing at best the kind of writing prevalent in journalism that Nietzsche so detests or in the current literature which he finds no better. It also makes pupils feel entitled to speak about and pass judgments on great *Dichter*, where Nietzsche feels they have earned no such right nor the faculty to even do so meaningfully.[33] As we have seen, Nietzsche has many times written just these kinds of essays since he was rather young, more often out of his own motivation than as assignments for school. It would appear that all of his efforts to improve his style beginning in Leipzig have caused Nietzsche to reconsider the effect his more personal essays have had on his writing. His complaint that pupils feel too entitled to pass judgment would also seem to have developed in Leipzig where we first see him disparage as superficial the views others have on authors he admires.

At least the current instruction in classical languages has one virtue, Nietzsche thinks. Greek and Latin are still taught rigorously over the course of many years. This

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[32] KSA 1, 677-678, 703-704.

[33] KSA 1, 678-680.

allows pupils to learn standards by which they can identify errors and inelegance. Unfortunately, due to the rigor of this instruction, German is often treated as a resting place where teachers do not have similar standards for its use.[34] Despite the rigor that still exists in the learning of classical languages, pupils are unable at the end of their study to express themselves comfortably in writing and speech, nor can they read Plato or Tacitus for pleasure, abilities Nietzsche's fictional philosopher claims he and his generation have enjoyed. Instead, teachers are most likely at best to produce Sanskritists and etymologists among their pupils.[35]

Finally, Nietzsche criticizes the educational institutions of his time for being much too focused on the economic potential of their students. The state, he believes, wants to produce as many educated individuals as it can, to lead to as much production and demand as possible, in order to produce the greatest amount of happiness in the state. In this rush to expand the economy and the happiness that rests upon it, the process of *Bildung* is compromised considerably.[36] Nietzsche's distaste for utilitarian and economic thinking goes back at least as far as his study of Lange. It is also one of Humboldt's foundational stances towards the purpose of *Bildung*, as he feels vocational training should only be given after a student has received a general, formal *Bildung*. Lange criticizes the Manchester School, a movement developing in mid-nineteenth century England, that proposing that selfishness and even private vice are for the social good. He dislikes the Manchester School as having no real concern for the whole, especially for the

[34] KSA 1, 688.

[35] KSA 1, 705.

[36] KSA 1, 667.

quality of culture.[37] It is this lack of concern for culture, even a distraction from it, that has Nietzsche also suspicious of utilitarian thinking.

Similarly, Nietzsche regrets what he sees as Prussia's subordination of its schools to its own interests as a state rather than letting them serve and nurture a culture complementary to it. Prussia has been rapidly multiplying the number of schools in Germany as it makes so many important positions in military, government, and elsewhere dependent on graduation from the humanistic *Gymnasien*. From the state's perspective, Nietzsche believes, the purpose of this humanistic education is to produce bureaucrats to serve it. This is causing many, many more young men to go through the *Gymnasien* than Nietzsche thinks could ever benefit from an education in antiquity.[38]

Those who end up scholars are also little more than servants of this system, as their job is really to produce more bureaucrats and officers, an idea that must be very uncomfortable for Nietzsche in his new position. They themselves are unable to contribute to culture as their training has prepared them for nothing more than specialized work, inasmuch as Nietzsche believes current *Bildung* is aimed only at details rather than wholes. As he has before, he calls these scholars "factory workers" who turn the same screw their whole lives.[39] The *wissenschaftliche* person and the *gebildete* person belong to two entirely different spheres, though these two spheres may sometimes touch within the same person.[40] The philosopher's younger companion has left his career as he feels

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[37] Stack (1983), 276-281. As an indication that Nietzsche takes Lange's critique seriously, we see him mentioning the Manchester School and the understanding he has gained of it from Lange in a letter to Gersdorff from February, 1868 (KGB I/2, 257).

[38] KSA 1, 707.

[39] KSA 1, 670.

[40] KSA 1, 683.

he is only the former, producing more of the former. Nietzsche's hope, as we have seen, is to be one of the few in whom the two spheres touch.

Thus, Nietzsche sees only *Gymnasien* that produce servants of the state who have not been trained rigorously in the use of their own language, who lack real standards of judgment, who have been led at too tender an age to form an estimation of themselves and their opinions, who approach classical antiquity without proper preparation, and who are destined only to expand their nation's economy. None of this requires, he believes, any study of the Greeks. Neither does he see *Gymnasien* producing geniuses capable of maintaining the culture of the coming tragic age he believes Wagner is about to initiate.

A.4 Role of Future Institutions of *Bildung*

Nietzsche's recommendations for what should happen at his *Gymnasien* of the future are rather sparse, even given his warning at the beginning of the lectures that detailed regulations are not to be expected.[41] In fact, he only offers *one* concrete activity that should occur in these future schools, and it brings us back to German instruction. We have seen that he believes all true *Bildung* begins with the mother tongue. He also believes it is a place where a pupil can develop his relationship to art. He recommends that teachers take their pupils line by line through the literature of great German authors, making them aware of thousands of details demonstrating how these authors wrote and to awaken within them a feeling for art. Then when the pupils write, the teachers have standards by which they can push the pupils to continually improve their expressions in every detail. Hopefully, gifted pupils will then be inspired to pursue better writing, and

[41] KSA1, 648.

the less gifted will be scared off from the task altogether.[42] As this study is aimed more at developing a pupil's aesthetic sense than at the memorization of facts, it is a variation on Humboldt's formal education. Humboldt also thinks formal *Bildung* is best achieved in language study, though for him it is in the study of dead languages, especially Greek.

According to Nietzsche, current graduates of the *Gymnasien* lack "goals, masters, methods, models, and companions."[43] They go on to the universities without standards or exemplars to further lead them in art. There they are in a state that strikes Nietzsche as frightfully independent, being only connected to the university by their ears, though even then they can choose what they hear and how much of it they believe.[44] Though Humboldt also envisions the *Gymnasien* as sites of strict discipline preparing pupils for university study, Nietzsche departs dramatically from him in his criticism of the freedom of students at the university. Where Nietzsche bemoans students not taking lecture courses seriously enough, Humboldt is not even sure that they are necessary. Nietzsche wants the strict discipline of the *Gymnasium*, one he experiences at Schulpforta, to continue at the university. He complains that students actually celebrate their freedom at the university as what the *Gymnasium* has prepared them for. The *Bildung* they have received there marches into the university where "*it* demands, it gives laws, it sits in judgment."[45] The last thing these students have been prepared with is a need for "great leaders" and the idea "that all *Bildung* begins with obedience."[46] His view of a student's

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[42] KSA 1, 675-676.

[43] KSA 1, 747. "Ziele, Meister, Methoden, Vorbilder, Genossen"

[44] KSA 1, 739.

[45] KSA 1, 741. "*sie* fordert, sie giebt Gesetze, sie sitzt zu Gericht"

[46] KSA 1, 749. "große Führer" "daß alle Bildung mit dem Gehorsam beginnt"

needs at the university stands in stark opposition to Humboldt's vision of mature and independent scholars.

Where current university students feel entitled to write literature, to judge great poets, to choose what they should or should not be learning, Nietzsche believes the universities should actually be suppressing their sense of independence and habituate them to strict obedience "under the scepter of genius."[47] What is required is to make *Gymnasien* pupils follow the same rigorous and difficult path in mastering German that the great German *Dichter* have had to take, so that these pupils can see with what ease and beauty these *Dichter* write. The only way to develop a faculty for correct aesthetic judgments is "upon the thorny path of language."[48] What Nietzsche wants to see coming out of the *Gymnasien* is not university students prepared for historical scholarship, but students accustomed to a discipline that allows them to use their mother tongue well according to standards.[49] All feel for art and the sense for aesthetic judgment begin, here in the *Lectures on Bildung*, with the careful study of German. Note that Nietzsche does not place music at the center of his pedagogy and, in fact, assigns it no role here.

It is artists – or at very least those with a refined feel for the artistic use of language – not scholars, and certainly not bureaucrats, who should come out of the *Gymnasien* and enter the universities. Three needs should be awakened at the *Gymnasium* that qualify a pupil for entrance to a university: 1) their need for philosophy, 2) their need for an artistic instinct, and 3) their need for antiquity as the "incarnate

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[47] KSA 1, 680. "unter dem Scepter des Genius"

[48] KSA 1, 683-684. "auf dem dornigen Pfade der Sprache"

[49] KSA 1, 694.

categorical imperative of all culture."[50] We have just seen how the need for an artistic instinct should be nurtured in German instruction. The need for philosophy should already occur naturally in young pupils, and it is the task of the *Gymnasien* not to extirpate it. It is in one's youth, Nietzsche believes, that the ambiguity of existence is most influential as one loses the firm foundation of opinions received earlier. Historicism and philosophy as it is currently taught kill this state. It is important to note that for Nietzsche "philosophy" has meant precisely this grappling with ambiguity by means of a combination of art and scholarship since reading Lange. Universities, as far as he can see, have no relationship to art, and without art and philosophy, he cannot imagine how a student will feel any need for antiquity. This only makes sense as the needs for art and philosophy are what have finally driven him to his *need* for antiquity.[51]

Though he appreciates what respect and care is still given to the teaching of classical languages at the *Gymnasien*, Nietzsche rather regrets what he sees as teachers taking pupils directly to Homer and Sophocles without any intermediate study.[52] The guides to antiquity he recommends are the great German authors he has already suggested as critical to German instruction. He believes this is so obvious that he marvels no one in the past half century has mentioned the value Goethe, Schiller, Lessing and Winckelmann have in leading modern Germans to antiquity. They are, he believes, the only correct preparation for modern Germans.

Here he does not say, as he does in his "Encyclopedia" lectures, that the value they have is helping one feel one's *distance* from antiquity, to see how even these great

[50] KSA 1, 741. "leibhaften kategorischen Imperativ aller Kultur"

[51] KSA 1, 741-743.

[52] KSA 1, 686.

Germans felt a vast distance from classical Greece. He makes no suggestion at all that observing the experience of earlier Germans who tried to approach Greece will deepen one's sense of distance. Rather, the value he gives to the great German authors as guides to antiquity here in the *Lectures on Bildung* is in the feel for form that they can help a pupil develop, if the pupil is taken through the kind of rigorous German instruction he recommends. All "classical *Bildung*" has only "*one* healthy and natural starting point, the artistically serious and strict habituation in the use of one's mother language," a claim he makes based on his belief that it will lead modern German pupils to the need for art, which in turn makes them worthy of studying the Greeks and based on his observation that education in ancient Rome and Greece consisted of the careful study of one's native tongue.[53]

Once the feel for form is developed in such a course of study, wings sprout that take the pupil to "the land of longing … to Greece," which is "the only home of *Bildung*."[54] Otherwise, he believes there is no hope of accessing the alien world of the Greeks. *Gymnasium* education must be grounded in the pupils' "native soil."[55] What it is that pupils and teachers will do once pupils have come to the study of Greece is not discussed at all. One can only assume that it will be more akin to Humboldt's formal *Bildung* than to a focus on learning content as the point of Nietzsche's concept of *Bildung* is to produce artists, but this is not specified. Nietzsche actually rejects the label of "formal" *Bildung* inasmuch as he thinks anything that can be called "material" *Bildung* is

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[53] KSA 1, 685-686. "klassisch Bildung" "*einen* gesunden und natürlichen Ausgangspunkt, die künstlerisch ernste und strenge Gewöhnung im Gebrauch der Muttersprache"

[54] KSA 1, 686. "dem Lande der Sehnsucht […] nach Griechenland" "einzigen Bildungsheimat"

[55] KSA 1, 689. "heimischen Boden"

no form of *Bildung* at all.[56] This is of course more of an affirmation of Humboldt's concept of formal education than a rejection of it.

Nietzsche' omission of the reasoning given in his "Encyclopedia" lectures for approaching antiquity through German authors is underscored by the fact that he here claims the *only* real starting point for classical education is the study of the German language, a claim he has not previously made in relation to German authors. We have earlier seen Nietzsche show a concern for the development of his own writing style, but never in connection to understanding the Greeks. Both reasons for studying German authors, feeling the distance from antiquity and developing a feel for form, are consonant with Nietzsche's thinking in general, which makes the switch here all the more curious. Why not offer both reasons? One could assume that Nietzsche is nervous to tell his audience that the great German authors will only make clear the distance of moderns from antiquity, but given the confidently polemic tone throughout the lectures, this seems quite unlikely. He does not shy away from much more offensive theses. Rather, it seems that Nietzsche's thoughts on the subject are still rather fluid and that he is trying out a different use for the great German authors, in search of the best one(s).

What this indicates is that the conclusion that one must start with German literature to approach the Greeks is already settled upon before the premises supporting it have been worked out. A conclusion in search of an argument is the sign of an agenda looking for cover. On the one hand, we have repeatedly seen Nietzsche studying and enjoying Goethe, Schiller and Lessing, and we have seen him take a course from Jahn at Bonn that focuses on Winckelmann, even though he has never had anything else to say

[56] KSA 1, Bildung II, 682-683.

about Winckelmann in his letters and notes before coming to Basel. On the other hand, we also know that all questions of aesthetics are approached at Tribschen in a vocabulary rich with appeals to all of these men and their ideas. It seems most likely that Nietzsche, thinking within the context of these intense conversations with the Wagners, has absorbed the idea that these German authors must play a great role in any approach to art or the Greeks, and that he is still trying to work out just what that role would be, offering two provocative possibilities in the process.

Here in the *Lectures on Bildung* a feel for form, or an artistic sense developed among German authors, causes the need for antiquity. This is very different from the scholarly need for knowledge Socrates represents in *Birth*. Nietzsche argues that F.A. Wolf himself, though the founder of the *Wissenschaft* of antiquity, went beyond a simple need for scholarship and did not end up overvaluing it. Instead, a classical spirit flowed from him to poets like Goethe and Schiller and then on into the *Gymnasien* where eventually scholarship became ascendant, choking the classical spirit.[57] Without ever mentioning Humboldt, but appealing rather to Wolf, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing and Winckelmann, Nietzsche is here calling for a return to what he sees as a classical *Bildung* that values art above scholarship in the treatment of language.

The fact that the only concrete pedagogical activity Nietzsche can propose is a German instruction that goes line by line through authors to determine standards and develop a feel for form, and the fact that this has replaced using German literature to help pupils sense their distance from antiquity, indicates that Nietzsche is quite far from a firm grasp on what exactly will happen at his schools of the future. He is still working out

[57] KSA 1, 688-689.

what should be taught as well as how. He claims that his rigorous German instruction will prepare one for, and bring one to, Greek antiquity, but he gives no idea of what needs to occur in an engagement with the Greeks once the pupil arrives there in order to form the pupil into a genius or a teacher of other geniuses. The Greeks are repeatedly held up as critical to the formation of geniuses, but Nietzsche never explains how. He clearly feels a need for the Greeks to be central in future *Bildung* along with the great German *Dichter*. By comparison, the detailed account he gives of how tragedy is originally created and is to be reborn in *Birth* is astonishing in its complexity. He has clearly given much more thought to working out the rebirth of tragedy than to the form of his future schools, though the latter is where he hopes to make his contribution.

Nietzsche acknowledges the provisional nature of his *Lectures on Bildung* when he says that one should not expect detailed "regulations" from them.[58] In fact, Nietzsche promises to deliver six lectures (and at one points plans on seven), but only writes and gives five.[59] Clearly he still has much to do to work out for himself just what a school of the future would be, and, thus, what a viable, enjoyable, fulfilling career would look like for him, as it is clearly not the more linguistic and historical teaching he now provides seasoned with touches of "philosophy."

It is likely that Nietzsche is daunted by the self-appointed task he has been planning with Rohde for the past year. The reality of how difficult it would be to find the means and support for the establishment of his first new school would have to be intimidating, no matter how inspiring it must be to watch Wagner rise from past failures

[58] KSA 1, 648. "Tabellen"

[59] Janz (1978), 444.

to boldly move forward with his Bayreuth vision. Nietzsche has also been focused for the last two years on the ideas presented in *Birth*. He has clearly not taken the time yet to work out his ideas on how to use the study of the Greeks at an ideal school to produce artists like Wagner. He may even have intimations already that such a task is not even possible. As Nietzsche never completes or publishes the *Lectures on Bildung*, and as his plans for new schools quickly disappear, never to be mentioned again, it is clear that his sincere hopes to reform philology, and especially to reform his own career in philology, are very quickly frustrated.

A.5 Summary of Nietzsche's Classicism in 1872

The core of Nietzsche's classicist project is the use of the Greeks, the subject of his professional expertise, to support and nurture artistic geniuses. *Birth* heralds the birth of a new tragic age through the *Musikdrama* of Richard Wagner, the first art-form to properly unite the Apollinian and Dionysian artistic tendencies since Aeschylus and Sophocles. *Birth* speaks of "dragon slayers" of the future, which we can safely assume will be few in number and turn their back on optimism in order "to live resolutely" in the face of a meaningless existence, aided by tragic art that both admits the truth and offers seduction to life counteracting it.[60] This cultural reformation proceeds from the German spirit, exemplified already by German music and philosophy.[61]

We have also seen how Nietzsche hopes there is a role for him in this reformation as a philosophical philologist nurturing future artistic geniuses. He begins to offer a

[60] KSA 1, 118-119. "resolut zu leben"

[61] KSA 1, 127.

provisional idea of what this work might entail in the *Lectures on Bildung*, though he is unable to get very far. In *Birth*, he addresses "us" who are on the border between two "forms of existence," who stand among both the optimistic scholars and the pessimistic artists. Hopefully those on this border are moving backwards in history from an Alexandrian age to a tragic one.[62] German culture, then, can become free of all "Latin civilization," if it will only learn from the Greeks, a task that Nietzsche finds "a distinguished rarity."[63] This, in sum, is Nietzsche's classicist project: support Wagner as the rebirth of all that is great in Greek tragedy through philosophical philology like *Birth*, then in schools of the future continue to support the newly born tragic age by using his training in Greek language and literature to continue to produce geniuses for German culture as he begins to explain in the *Lectures on Bildung*.

This part of our thesis is perhaps not controversial, though it is yet to be recognized that in early 1872 Nietzsche is as ambitious as Wagner and hopes to actually create a school or schools that can support and perpetuate Wagner's project at Bayreuth. What has not been explained at all before this study is *why* Nietzsche desires any such classicist project and why he gives the Greeks such a central role in it. Why does he resort to such oversimplified, reductionist praise of "the Greeks" that is not only clichéd by 1872, but is embarrassingly inadequate for a fully trained classical philologist familiar with the variety and complexity of the many centuries of Greek antiquity? Above all, what motivates Nietzsche, the philosopher who consistently attacks just these kind of cultural clichés, to present arguments so dependent on them?

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[62] KSA 1, 128. "uns" "Daseinsformen"

[63] KSA 1, 129. "romanischen Civilisation" "eine auszeichnende Seltenheit"

B. THE MOTIVATION OF NIETZSCHE'S CLASSICISM 1869-1872

As we have seen throughout this study, these three motivations are his love of music, his need for existential meaning, and his commitment to his career path. Now we will examine these motivations as they appear in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung*. Two of these motivations appear quite clearly in these texts. The third does not.

B.1 Love of Music

Birth is, at its core, a book about music. We saw in Nietzsche's public lectures on "*Musikdrama*" and "Socrates and Tragedy" that his thinking in *Birth* develops out of the question he first tackles in a paper on *Oedipus Rex* as a seventeen year old at Schulpforta: the relationship of music to text in tragedy. Already at that point, music is more important than text in Nietzsche's thinking, just as music is more important to him than his schoolwork. The relationship of text and music as a way to think of Greek tragedy had been presented to him by his friend Gustav Krug in their mutual-improvement society, *Germania*. This problem of the relationship of music and text in tragedy is formulated, as Nietzsche acknowledges in his *Oedipus* paper, by Wagner. In *Birth*, his greatest written effort in support of Wagner, he has returned directly to this problem.

We noted that in "Socrates and Tragedy" (January 1870) the adjective used to describe the clarity of Socrates' optimistic thinking is "Apollinian." Later in "The Dionysian Worldview" (August 1870) Apollo becomes a fully formed personality still aligned with optimism while Socrates is left out entirely. Now in *Birth*, the problem of the relationship of the text of a tragedy to its music is discussed with all three personalities: Dionysus, Apollo, *and* Socrates. This was discussed in Chapter 3 where we

saw that this three-personality solution makes unstable who Dionysus' real antithesis is, Apollo or Socrates, and we noted that new associations from Schopenhauer's philosophy are given to each figure without entirely erasing the original alignments with text and music, optimism and pessimism. These accumulated layers of associations certainly contribute to what Nietzsche finds problematic in this "image mad" text. The fact that each figure, Dionysus, Apollo, and Socrates, is so loaded with association also shows the extent to which they are functioning more as Langean personalities than as philologically accurate descriptions, as discussed above.

Despite all of the strata of complexity, Nietzsche's original use of Wagner's concern for the proper relationship of text and music in a *Musikdrama* still comes through in *Birth*. Nietzsche explicitly equates "word" and "image" in his discussion of Archilochus where he examines the "relationship between poetry and music, word and tone." He continues to vacillate between image and word to represent the verbal aspect of poetry through Section 6, a section dedicated to the question of the relationship of the image/word to music in which he calls language the "organ and symbol of appearances."[64] Image, appearance, and *word* are all the domain of Apollo in *Birth*. At the beginning of Section 9 Nietzsche specifically calls dialog the Apollinian aspect of tragedy.[65] Again in section 16, the beginning of his discussion of modernity, he equates the union of Apollo and Dionysus with the question of how music is related to "image and concept."[66]

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[64] KSA 1, 49-51. "Wort" "Bild" "Verhältniss zwischen Poesie und Musik, Wort und Ton" "Organ und Symbol der Erscheinungen"

[65] KSA 1, 64.

[66] KSA 1, 104. "Bild und Begriff"

As has been true for Nietzsche since his essay on *Oedipus Rex* and equally true for Wagner since his reading of Schopenhauer in the mid-1850s, the music is primary and text is secondary, while both are necessary for tragedy. If the importance of the dominance of music is not made clear enough by the need to reintroduce it to tragedy, or to bring Dionysus back to art, Nietzsche approaches it from another angle in his discussion in Section 19 of the optimistic form of opera prevalent in his time. In opera, the *stile rappresentativo* subordinates music to words, needing the words at all times to be understandable, and using the music primarily to imitate phenomena mentioned in the libretto.[67] This is precisely the inversion of what Nietzsche and Wagner believe is the proper relationship of music and text and is what makes modern opera so hateful to them. As the original title of *Birth* already reveals, Nietzsche's thesis concerning tragedy is that it was born, and will be reborn, out of the spirit of music.[68]

The layering of the alignment of Will and Representation with Dionysus and Apollo over the relationship of music and text in *Birth* produces problematic complexity such as Nietzsche's attempt to blur the distinction between text and image as they now both must be represented by Apollo. However, this additional layer of Schopenhauer also gives further support to the primary role of music in Nietzsche's conception of Greek tragedy. Schopenhauer is the first modern aesthetic theoretician to argue that music derives from a source different than all other forms of art. Nietzsche argues that the

[67] KSA 1, 120.

[68] The original title is, of course, *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music* [*Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*]. See KSA 1, 102.

value of his concepts of the duality of the Apollinian and the Dionysian aesthetic impulses is that it similarly maintains a privileged position for music.[69]

Birth is not just an argument about the nature of tragedy and its derivation from music. It is clearly also about the relationship of scholarship to art. Thus, the text shifts from the question of the relationship of Apollo and Dionysus, of text and music, to "the new opposition: the Dionysian and the Socratic."[70] As much as the character of Socrates serves to show how tragedy is stripped of music, and consequently how it can be reborn out of music, Socrates also allows Nietzsche to explore a question very personally relevant to him and likely not too pressing to Wagner – just what can one trained as a classical philologist, what can *Nietzsche*, do for German culture in this time of existential crisis?

Nietzsche's provisional answer to this question is not found only in the *Lectures on Bildung* and in his "Encyclopedia" lectures. We see him probing another possibility within *Birth* itself. There he proposes the possibility of a *musical* Socrates, a role he would sincerely like to play. For now though, Wagner has made clear to him that his role is philological and that Wagner will take care of the music. At the very least, Nietzsche hopes, his love of music is providing him with a new vision of ancient of Greece. He believes that with his new Apollo and Dionysus duality, he has arrived at an insight into the Greek character so unique that, by comparison, all of the work of German historical-critical philology has so far only enjoyed shadow plays.[71] Similarly, even those who teach the German spirit most, Winckelmann, Goethe, and Schiller, do not see into "the

[69] KSA 1, 103-104.

[70] KSA 1, 83.

[71] KSA 1, 104.

core of the Hellenic being."[72] We have already seen him say of these great authors that, in comparison to the musical ancient poets, they lack something essential. Here in *Birth* he again points to this lack in calling them idols without heads.[73]

The insight Nietzsche believes he is able to offer into the art and culture of ancient Greece in *Birth* has been made possible by his initial desire to think about the musical aspect of poetry as a student writing on *Oedipus Rex*. It has been nurtured by his reading of Schopenhauer and his many conversations with Wagner. Returning in Section 20 to the image of the "magic mountain" of Greek culture, Nietzsche argues that Schiller and Goethe were unable to "break open the enchanted gate" leading into it.[74] Perhaps, Nietzsche suggests, one can get the gate to open from an angle that has never been tried before, with "the mystical sound of the reawakened music of tragedy."[75] Music allows Nietzsche, he believes, as the first in all of modernity, into the core of the being of Greek culture.

It is still not yet clear to him how he can function as a musical Socrates in the schools of Basel or even in the future at schools he would like to create. At this point he can only make suggestions about how to read German literature. However, *Birth* makes clear that Nietzsche's passion for music is very much alive and is at the center of his thinking on the ancients. Music has, he believes, given him access to ancient Greece

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[72] KSA 1, 129. "den Kern des hellenischen Wesens"

[73] KSA 1, 43. This is a slightly less reverent variation on what he calls them in the "Socrates and Tragedy" lecture: "beautifully begun but not fully finished statues." See KSA 1, 523.

[74] In Section 3 this magic mountain is Olympus and is more narrowly related to just the Apollinian vision of the gods. See KSA 1, 35. "Zauberberg" "jene verzauberte Pforte zu erbrechen"

[75] KSA 1, 131. "dem mystischen Klange der wiedererweckten Tragödienmusik"

denied to Germany's greatest *Dichter* and scholars. The insights made possible by music are now presented in the service of music.

Without his lifelong passion for music, it is impossible to imagine him publishing this first book in support of Wagner. He likely never would have met Wagner. To be clear, his passion for music motivates the specific *nature* of his classicist project, and it has bound him to Wagner in a way that gives him much of the energy he needs to imagine this project. Without this love of music, his need for existential comfort and the facts of the career path to which he has committed himself may still have brought him to some form of classicizing philology based on Lange's conception of philosophy, but certainly without this ardent enthusiasm and not in this form.

Despite his difficulty in the *Lectures on Bildung* in bringing music to the center of his vision of philosophical philology, lecture five does end with an image of a genius as an orchestra conductor inspiring and leading all others.[76] Where Nietzsche has made a dazzling attempt at being the musical Socrates, of bringing music to his professional work in *Birth*, the *Lectures on Bildung* make clear just how difficult it is for him to really bring music into his teaching career, to practice music as a professional Socrates. His fervent hope that music can somehow play a role in his career certainly gives vibrant life to his classicist aspirations at this point, but as he continues to see that he cannot actually make music the center of his work as a teacher of Greek antiquity, that he as a philologist and never really a musician, his classicism quickly loses its momentum.

[76] KSA 1, 751-752.

B.2 Need for Existential Meaning

Nietzsche has another need that is much easier for him to fulfill: to create myths that impel him on to continued life. We have seen how after Nietzsche's Protestant faith crumbles, he eventually adopts Schopenhauer's philosophy as his new worldview, even if it is severely compromised within a year by his reading of Lange. In the vacuum left by the collapse of his Christian faith, one thesis of Schopenhauer's that Nietzsche does not need to question is the meaninglessness of existence. In *Birth* this is forcefully expressed as the wisdom of Silenus. It represents not just the problem that gives birth to tragedy within Nietzsche's book, but it is the problem that has been driving all of his thinking about life since he could no longer console himself with his childhood religion. In *Birth* he calls the Wisdom of Silenus "the same drive that calls art into life as the supplement seducing to continued life."[77] As we saw, it is actually Lange who gives Nietzsche permission to supplement his knowledge with his own artistic license, including concepts from Schopenhauer, in the artistic-scholarly process Lange and Nietzsche call "philosophy."

From Schopenhauer, Nietzsche has adopted the idea of the importance of seriousness – remaining honest about the problematic nature of existence, and we have seen him repeatedly praise Wagner and Schopenhauer for their seriousness. In his "Foreword to Wagner" in *Birth*, he writes that he hopes readers will appreciate the book's "courageous seriousness" and "cheerful play," two qualities that could be used to describe the Dionysian and Apollinian aesthetic tendencies, respectively.[78] As Nietzsche

[77] KSA 1, 35. "derselbe Trieb, der die Kunst in's Leben ruft, als die zum Weiterleben verführende Ergänzung"

[78] KSA 1, 24. "tapferem Ernst" "heiterem Spiel"

argues throughout *Birth*, it is the seriousness that requires the play to make existence bearable.

He describes one caught up in a dream, who, recognizing that he is dreaming, calls out "It is a dream! I will dream on!"[79] Later he clarifies that life itself is like a dream, the "appearance of appearance," rendering the decision to dream on the same as the decision to allow artistic play to seduce one to live on.[80] As he writes in *Birth*, "the greedy Will always finds a means through which an illusion spread over things keeps its hold on its creations and compels them to live on."[81] Nietzsche knows that his description of the origins of tragedy is as fictitious an illusion as any idealization of the Greeks as singular and exemplary is. But maybe supporting Wagner's ambitious project with this argument and creating his own school where he can use his training to produce further geniuses is enough to seduce him to further living, to make life beautiful and *joyful*. In describing the way the playful Apollinian impulse counteracts the serious, paralyzing truth about the Dionysian root of existence, Nietzsche offers his own justification for the highly irregular and irreverent centaur that *Birth* is. More importantly, he attempts to provide himself with a myth giving existence meaning.

B.3 Meaningful Career

As I noted above, two of the three motivations for the curious classicism demonstrated in *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* are easily found within these works,

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[79] KSA 1, 26. "Es ist ein Traum! Ich will ihn weiter träumen!"

[80] KSA 1, 39. "Schein des Scheins"

[81] KSA 1, 115. "immer findet der gierige Wille ein Mittel, durch eine über die Dinge gebreitete Illusion seine Geschöpfe im Leben festzuhalten und zum Weiterleben zu zwingen"

music and the need for existential meaning. The third is hardly to be found in them, but is just as strong as the other two in driving Nietzsche to hold up the Greeks as singular and exemplary after so many years of indifference to them. This third motivation has appeared, as we have seen, in his letters to his friends and family: Nietzsche requires gainful employment. More importantly from an existential point of view, Nietzsche needs *meaningful* employment, and he needs classical philology to provide him with it. As we have seen, he believes it is too late for him to begin on any other career track. He has never received any professional training for his true passion, music, while he has received one of the best educations available in the historical-critical methods of philology. Additionally, Wagner repeatedly makes clear to him that his calling is not in music.

It is not hard to explain why this motivation does not surface in *Birth* or in the *Lectures on Bildung*. Nietzsche's situation is a painful if not embarrassing one he chafes against consistently. He has had an auspicious rise in a field that provides him a salary he proudly displays on the calling cards he sends home to have his mother and sister distribute before quickly becoming embarrassed by his enthusiasm and downplaying his new job. It is also no mystery why his job in Basel leads him to hope to find cultural redemption among the Greeks – that is the field in which he works, and the only one for which he believes he will ever be qualified.

Perhaps this motivation does appear somewhat in the figure of the philosopher's younger companion in the *Lectures on Bildung*. He has quit his career as a teacher to philosophize independently. At this point, Nietzsche is working hard not to do the same, and *Birth* and the *Lectures on Bildung* represent his classicizing attempt to make his

career path work for him. If only he could make his new Greek academy a reality, he might be able to find the middle ground between his artistic passions and philological training that Lange makes seem so tantalizing. At this high-point of Nietzsche's classicizing in early 1872, he still hopes he can use his training to pursue a meaningful career as a philosophical philologist. Though Nietzsche does not realize this dream, he is more practical than the character of the young teacher who has quit his job in his *Lectures on Bildung*. Years later, when he does finally leave his teaching job, he is still able to live off his pension from it.

C. BIRTH OF AN ARTISTIC SOCRATES

The story told here of Nietzsche's high but problematic hopes as a classicist is in many ways a rather sad one. Though he is conscious that classicizing is an illusion as he embraces it for the sake of life, he soon finds it does not provide what he needs. His failed classicism is not the only source of his disappointment. Nietzsche's myth of the birth of tragedy shows how the optimistic Socrates drives music from it, though it has long been recognized that it is a misunderstanding to see this Socrates as a villain.[82] Where Dionysus and Apollo lead us to Wagner and his *Musikdrama*, the personality of Socrates leads us right to Nietzsche and the cultural contribution he hopes to make. He writes of one who has felt the desire for Socratic knowledge and been stimulated to comprehend the "entire" world of appearances.[83] To him, Socrates appears as a model of one who "mostly with maieutic and educative effects upon noble youths" seeks to create

[82] See, e.g., Kaufmann (1950), 343-345.

[83] "ganze"

further geniuses.[84] It is impossible for us to mistake how these descriptions clearly refer to Nietzsche himself.

At the end of Section 15, when Nietzsche is wrapping up his quasi-historical account of the origin and demise of tragedy and is about to turn to contemporary culture, he suggests we now look to see if perhaps there are points where *Wissenschaft* breaks down and needs art in order to lead us "to ever new configurations of genius and especially of the *Socrates who creates music*."[85] We can already see from the course Nietzsche's life takes and from the trouble he is having envisioning and establishing his school where he can be such a scholar making music that this possibility remains unfulfilled. He simply never becomes a composer, and his musical activity throughout his life will never be anything more than what we have seen in the years considered here: attending the concerts of others, playing the piano alone, and occasionally playing the piano for others. *Birth* is the closest he ever comes to making philology musical, and then only in a thematic sense.

However, in addition to writing of "a Socrates who creates music," he also puts forth the more general possibility of "the birth of an '*artistic* Socrates'."[86] Nietzsche may never compose music that redeems German culture (neither does Wagner for that matter), but he has artistic gifts beyond music, especially in writing. Becoming an artistic Socrates who combines highly developed analytic skills and a broad base of knowledge with artistic creativity is a goal he certainly does realize as seen in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and all of his other publications. It is perhaps fitting that Nietzsche's

[84] KSA 1, 101. "zumeist in maeeutischen und erziehenden Einwirkungen auf edle Jünglinge"

[85] KSA 1, 102. "immer neuen Configurationen des Genius und gerade des *musiktreibenden Sokrates*"

[86] KSA 1, 96, emphasis added. "die Geburt eines 'künstlerischen Sokrates'"

concrete ideas for an ideal *Bildung* all relate to German authors, as it is as an author that he makes his contribution to an increasingly secular culture in danger of cynicism and even nihilism.

Were it not for the existential crisis that brings him to his Langean classicism combining philological knowledge with artistic creativity, were it not for his years of rigorous training to think, write, and publish as a philologist, and were it not for his passionate love of music, he likely never would have taken a chance on something so inventive and risky as his classicizing myth of the origins and power of tragedy. These motivations and their culmination in the experimental classicism of *The Birth of Tragedy* prepare Nietzsche to go on attempting to give meaning to existence in other philosophically literary works as an artistic Socrates.

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