European/Supra-European: Cultural Encounters in Nietzsche's Philosophy

European/Supra-European: Cultural Encounters in Nietzsche's Philosophy

Edited by
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DE GRUYTER

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Abbreviations and References

Abbreviations [Siglen] for Nietzsche's Editions

All references to Nietzsche's writings are from the following editions:

BAW   Nietzsche, F. (1933–40): *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Hans Joachim Mette, Carl Koch, and Karl Schlechta (eds.), Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Reprinted as: *Frühe Schriften* 1854–1869, Munich: DTV 1994.

KGB   Nietzsche, F. (1975–2004): *Briefwechsel. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, established by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, continued by Norbert Miller and Annemarie Pieper, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

KGW   Nietzsche, F. (1967–): *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, established by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, continued by Wolfgang Müller-Lauter and Karl Pestalozzi (eds.), Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

KGW IX Nietzsche, F. (2001–): *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Abteilung IX: *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß ab Frühjahr 1885 in differenzierter Transkription*, Marie-Louise Haase, Michael Kohlenbach et al. (eds.), Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

KSA   Nietzsche, F. (1980): *Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Studienausgabe in 15 Bänden*, Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (eds.), Munich/Berlin/New York: DTV/De Gruyter.

Abbreviations [Siglen] for Nietzsche's Writings in German

AC	Der Antichrist. Fluch auf das Christenthum
EH	Ecce homo. Wie man wird, was man ist
EH Bücher	Warum ich so gute Bücher schreibe
EH klug	Warum ich so klug bin
EH Schicksal	Warum ich ein Schicksal bin
EH Vorwort	Vorwort
EH weise	Warum ich so weise bin
EH M	Ecce homo, Morgenröthe
EH WA	Ecce homo, Der Fall Wagner
FW	Die fröhliche Wissenschaft ("la gaya scienza")
FW Vorrede	Vorrede zur zweiten Ausgabe
GD	Götzen-Dämmerung oder Wie man mit dem Hammer philosophirt
GD Deutschen	Was den Deutschen abgeht
GD Hammer	Der Hammer redet
GD Sprüche	Sprüche und Pfeile
GD Streifzüge	Streifzüge eines Unzeitgemässen
GM	Zur Genealogie der Moral. Eine Streitschrift
GM Vorrede	Zur Genealogie der Moral. Vorrede
GT	Die Geburt der Tragödie
JGB	Jenseits von Gut und Böse. Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft

M	Morgenröthe. Gedanken über die moralischen Vorurtheile
M Vorrede	Vorrede von 1886
MA	Menschliches, Allzumenschliches. Ein Buch für freie Geister
MA I Vorrede	Vorrede von 1886
NL	Nachgelassene Fragmente/Notate/Aufzeichnungen Nietzsches
NW	Nietzsche contra Wagner. Aktenstücke eines Psychologen
NW Vorwort	Vorwort
UB	Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen
VM	Vermischte Meinungen und Sprüche (MA II)
WA	Der Fall Wagner. Ein Musikanten-Problem
WL	Ueber Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne
WS	Der Wanderer und sein Schatten (MA II)
Z	Also sprach Zarathustra. Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen
Z I Hinterwäldlern	1. Teil, Von den Hinterweltlern
Z I Verwandlungen	1. Teil, Von den drei Verwandlungen
Z I Ziele	1. Teil, Von tausend und Einem Ziele
Z II Erlösung	2. Teil, Von der Erlösung
Z II Selbst-Ueberwin- dung	2. Teil, Von der Selbst-Ueberwindung
Z III Tafeln	3. Teil, Von alten und neuen Tafeln
Z IV Schatten	4. Teil, Der Schatten
Z IV Schwermuth	4. Teil, Das Lied der Schwermuth
Z IV Wüste	4. Teil, Unter Töchtern der Wüste
ZA	Ueber die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten

Abbreviations for Nietzsche's Writings in English

A	The Antichrist
AOM	Assorted Opinions and Maxims (HH II)
BGE	Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future
BT	The Birth of Tragedy
BT Attempt	The Birth of Tragedy, Attempt at a Self-Criticism
BT Foreword	The Birth of Tragedy, Foreword to Richard Wagner
CW	The Case of Wagner
D	Daybreak or Dawn
DS	David Strauss
EH	Ecce Homo. How One Becomes What One Is
EH Books	Why I Write Such Good Books
EH Clever	Why I Am So Clever
EH Destiny	Why I Am a Destiny
EH Foreword	Foreword
EH Wise	Why I Am So Wise
EH BT	Ecce Homo, The Birth of Tragedy
EH CW	Ecce Homo, The Case of Wagner
EH D	Ecce Homo, Daybreak

EH GM	Ecce Homo, Genealogy of Morals
EH Z	Ecce Homo, Thus Spoke Zarathustra
GM	On the Genealogy of Morals (or Morality). A Polemic
GS	The Gay Science
GSt	The Greek State
HH	Human, All Too Human
HL (UM II)	On the Use and Disadvantage of History for Life
PTAG	Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks
SE (UM III)	Schopenhauer as Educator
TI	Twilight of the Idols or How to Philosophize with a Hammer
TI Ancients	What I Owe the Ancients
TI Errors	The Four Great Errors
TI Fable	How the "True World" Finally Became a Fable
TI Germans	What the Germans lack
TI Improvers	The "Improvers" of Humanity
TI Morality	Morality as Anti-Nature
TI Reason	"Reason" in Philosophy
TI Skirmishes	Skirmishes of an Untimely Man
TI Socrates	The Problem of Socrates
TL	On Truth and Lie in an Extramoral (or Nonmoral) Sense
UM	Untimely Meditations
WS	The Wanderer and His Shadow (HH II)
Z	Thus Spoke Zarathustra, A Book for All and None
Z Prologue	Prologue
Z I Bestowing Virtue	Part 1, On the Bestowing Virtue
Z I Creator	Part 1, On the Way of the Creator
Z I Goals	Part 1, Of the Thousand and One Goals
Z II Redemption	Part 2, On Redemption
Z II Self-Overcoming	Part 2, On Self-Overcoming
Z II Stillest Hour	Part 2, The Stillest Hour
Z II Sublime	Part 2, The Sublime Ones
Z III Gravity	Part 3, On the Spirit of Gravity
Z III Tablets	Part 3, On Old and New Tablets
Z IV Daughters	Part 4, Among Daughters of the Desert
Z IV Drunken Song	Part 4, The Drunken Song
Z IV Honey Offering	Part 4, The Honey Offering
Z IV Superior Human	Part 4, On the Superior Human
Z IV The Shadow	Part 4, The Shadow

Abbreviations for Augustine's Writings

B. coniug.	*De bono coniugali liber unus*
C. Iul. Imp	*Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum*
Conf.	*Confessiones*

Pecc. mer. *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*
Simpl.   *Ad Simplicianum*

Abbreviations for Plato's Writings

Gorg. *Gorgias*
Phdr. *Phaidros*
Rep.   *Republic*
Symp. *Symposion*

Other Abbreviations

AA   Kant, Immanuel (1900 ff.): *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by the Royal Prussian, subsequently German, then Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Berlin: Reimer, subsequently De Gruyter.
DWB   Grimm, Jacob und Grimm, Wilhelm (1854–1961): *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 32 vols., Leipzig: S. Hirzel.
GW   Scheler, Max (1971–2008): *Gesammelte Werke in 15 Bänden*, ed. by Maria Scheler and Manfred S. Frings, Bern/Munich/Bonn: Francke/Bouvier.
NPB   Campioni, Giuliano u. a. (ed.) (2003): *Nietzsches persönliche Bibliothek*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

English Translations of Nietzsche's Writings

The editors and the authors of the English chapters have drawn on the following translations of Nietzsche's writings. As indicated in their respective chapters, they may also have used their own translations or modified and combined those cited as they considered appropriate.

The Gay Science, trans. Walter Kaufmann, New York: Vintage (1974); *The Antichrist*, in *The Portable Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann, New York: Viking Penguin (1982); *Twilight of the Idols*, in *The Portable Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Walter Kaufmann. New York: Viking Penguin (1982); *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage (1989); *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, and *Ecce Homo*, trans. Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage (1989); *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, New York: Vintage (1968); *Daybreak,* eds Maudemarie Clark and Brian Leiter, trans. R. J. Hollingdale, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1997); *The Anti-Christ, Ecce Homo, Twilight of idols*, ed. Aaron Ridley, trans. Judith Norman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2005); *Writings from*

Late Notebooks, ed. Rüdiger Bittner, trans. Kate Sturge, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2006); *On the Genealogy of Morality,* ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson, trans. Carol Diethe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2007); *Twilight of the Idols/The Anti-Christ*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale, London: Penguin (1990); *Ecce Homo*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale, London: Penguin (1992); *Daybreak*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1993); *Untimely Meditations*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1994); *Human, All Too Human,* trans. R. J. Hollingdale, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1996); "On Schopenhauer," trans. Christopher Janaway, in: *Willing and Nothingness: Schopenhauer as Nietzsche's Educator,* Oxford: Clarendon Press (1998); *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks*, trans. Marianne Cowan, Washington: Regnery Publishing (1998); *Beyond Good and Evil,* trans. Marion Faber, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998); *On the Genealogy of Morality,* trans. Maudemarie Clark and Alan J. Swensen, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company (1998); *Twilight of the Idols,* trans. Duncan Large, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998); *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Ronald Speirs, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2000); *The Birth of Tragedy (and Other Writings)*, ed. Raymond Geuss and Ronald Speirs, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1999); *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* trans. Graham Parkes, New York: Oxford University Press (2005); *Unpublished Writings* from the Period of Unfashionable Observations, trans. R. T. Gray, Stanford: Stanford University Press (1999); *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, ed. R. P. Horstmann and J. Norman, trans. Judith Norman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2002); "On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense," in: *Philosophy and Truth: Selections from Nietzsche's Notebooks of the Early 1870s,* trans. and ed. Daniel Breazeale, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press (1979).

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Introduction

In an aphorism of the *Wanderer*, Nietzsche draws a clear distinction between a *geographical* and a *cultural* concept of 'Europe.' Neither is assigned sharp boundaries. However, the cultural concept, while not comprising the whole of geographical Europe, includes even America as "the daughter-land of our culture" (WS 215). Hence this cultural concept of 'Europe' may be considered roughly equivalent not only to "modernity" (WS 215), but also to 'the West.' Nietzsche's *political* concept of tomorrow's united Europe, which likewise is not sharply delimited, does not coincide with either the geographical or the cultural concept of Europe.

Beyond Good and Evil sees "the most unambiguous signs" that "Europe *wants to be one*" (BGE 256). And the author of *The Wanderer and his Shadow*, like other pro-European nineteenth-century thinkers, envisions something like the United States of Europe. With Switzerland as a model, he foresees "a European federation of peoples [*Völkerbund*] within which each individual people [...] will possess the status and rights of a canton" (WS 292). Actually, however, Nietzsche's vision is even more ambitious than full-blown federalism, let alone a 'Europe of fatherlands.' Against nationalism, he declares in *Human All Too Human*, "one should not be afraid to proclaim oneself simply a *good European* and actively to work for the amalgamation of nations" (HH I 475). The aphorism is entitled "*The European and the abolition of nations*": the "amalgamation" or "fusion" [*Verschmelzung*] of nations will result in nothing less than their "abolition" or even "annihilation" [*Vernichtung*].

The 'good Europeans' that promote this fusion of nations anticipate a form of existence still belonging largely to the future: the Europeans of tomorrow who, like "the one Europe" (BGE 256) itself, will constitute a "new *synthesis*" (BGE 256). Like these Europeans of tomorrow, already the "good Europeans, and free, *very* free spirits" (BGE Preface), among whom Nietzsche counts himself, are not merely citizens of any European country who stand out with their definitely pro-European stance. They are supranational existences leading a "nomadic life" (HH I 475) and crossing borders and other national restrictions as well as overcoming cultural boundaries. Their supranational character implies that they be able to synthesize in themselves different European cultures. Actually,

Nietzsche requires even more: in their thinking, they must even be 'supra-European.'

Our volume – like the conference to which it goes back – takes its title from Nietzsche's *Nachlass:* "Europäisch und über-europäisch," "European and supra-European," is the last of a list of titles in a notebook of the period of *Beyond Good and Evil.*[1] "Über-europäisch" (sometimes written "übereuropäisch") is one of the many terms that Nietzsche builds putting the famous prefix "über" (over, super, supra) before what he thinks must be overcome. To the multifarious uses of the prefix correspond heterogeneous figures of overcoming. The "Übermensch" proclaimed by Zarathustra is undoubtedly the best known and most radical of them; but there is indeed a whole series of adjectives, mostly neologisms, constructed similarly to "übermenschlich" [*overhuman/superhuman*]: "supra-German" [*überdeutsch*], "supranational" [*übernational*], "supra-Christian" [*überchristlich*], "supra-European" [*übereuropäisch*] and even "supra-Asian" [*überasiatisch*]. None of these terms stand for an increase or a radicalization, but rather for an overcoming: thus '*übernational*' does not mean 'extremely national,' but, on the contrary, 'supranational'; it stands for what is beyond the national and/or leaves it behind.

The good Europeans must not only be "supra-national"; in their last consequence and at least occasionally and "temporarily," they must be capable of thinking "in a supra-European manner" (KSA 11, 35[9]); they must have what Nietzsche calls his "supra-European eye." The concept of "supra-European" stands for 'beyond cultural Europe' and thus for 'beyond the West.' The 'good Europeans' must be able to gain distance from the now declining European i. e. Western morality and overview it from afar. Then making oneself free from one's national narrowness by becoming "more supranational" and thus "more European" is just the beginning. Europe too may still be a restriction. Thus Nietzsche envisages a whole series of successive overcomings: one has to "become step by step more encompassing, more supranational, more European, more supra-European, more oriental, and finally *more Greek* – for the Greeks were the first great binding together and synthesis of everything oriental, and

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[1] NL Autumn 1885/Autumn 1886, KSA 12, 2[36]. On Nietzsche's concept of "supra-European" cf. Marco Brusotti: "'Europäisch und über-europäisch.' Zarathustra, der gute Europäer, und der Blick aus der Ferne," in: Mathias Mayer (ed.): *Also wie sprach Zarathustra? West-östliche Spiegelungen im kulturgeschichtlichen Vergleich*, Würzburg 2006, pp. 73 – 87. A first version of this paper is: "'Europäisch und über-europäisch'. Nietzsches Blick aus der Ferne," in: *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 66 (2004), pp. 31 – 48.

thus the beginning of the European soul, the discovery of our 'new world'."[2] Here the supra-European itself is not the ultimate achievement, but only a middle stage, a preparation for an "oriental" perspective, which is apparently that much broader since it requires a further distance from national and ethnocentric narrowness. But why "finally *more Greek*"? Should the European and even the supra-European standpoint be just single steps on the way back to ancient Greek culture? And why? In Nietzsche's lecture on *The Divine Service of the Greeks*, Greek syncretism and especially cultic feasts and festivals are a model for the creation of a new culture. For the classical philologist, a look at the Greek beginnings shows that what one may call "the European soul" is not an original and peculiar essence that has always defined Europe (or the West), setting Europeans apart from the rest of the world. On the contrary, this "European soul" is at first a blend of apparently foreign elements, a great "synthesis of everything oriental." Wasn't even the Dionysian of Asian origin? Did the Apollinian Greeks not incorporate and transfigure it in their tragedy? This approach to Greek antiquity does not only show that there is no unhistorical essence peculiar to Europe or the West. Besides this, the ancient "Greek synthesis of all that is oriental" is a model that shows how to acquire the basis for a future cultural synthesis, for a possible new supra-European synthesis. In order to become "more Greek" and in particular get re-acquainted with the Dionysian, the good Europeans – a synthesis themselves – must not only connect and 'synthesize' multifarious European elements, but, like the erstwhile Greeks themselves, must even rise to a supra-European point of view.

Promoting the unity of Europe and transgressing the boundaries of the West: the two tasks Nietzsche sets himself are still unachieved today. To what extent has his philosophy, which belongs to an entirely different historical situation, preserved its diagnostic, critical and utopian potential for the current challenges confronting Europe? The papers in our volume engage with these problems as well as with Nietzsche's new syntheses and boundary-transgressions.

The volume is divided into two parts, corresponding broadly to the aforementioned two tasks of promoting the unity of Europe (Part One: European

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2 KSA 11, 41[7]. On Greek syncretism as a model of a future supra-European cultural synthesis cf. Marco Brusotti: "'Der Cultus wird wie ein fester Wort-Text immer neu ausgedeutet'. Nietzsches Betrachtungen über den Synkretismus im *Gottesdienst der Griechen* und die Genealogie der Moral," in: *Nietzscheforschung* 14 (2007), pp. 159–169. On the synthetic character of the Hellenic culture of the festivals cf. Marco Brusotti: "Nietzsches ' höhere Kunst, die Kunst der Feste'," in: G. Gödde, N. Loukidelis, J. Zirfas (eds.): *Nietzsche und die Lebenskunst. Ein philosophisch-psychologisches Kompendium*, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 255–264.

Views) and of transgressing the boundaries of the West (Part Two: Beyond Europe: Nietzsche's View from Afar).

Part One of the volume deals primarily with Europe as a cultural and a political project. The contributors therein examine Nietzsche's opposition to nationalism and (German) militarism, his disgust with and condemnation of antisemitism, as well as his controversial criticism of democratization and socialism. They variously engage the question of how Nietzsche's cultural and political diagnoses and philosophical aims relate to one another. Good Europeanism pertains to the instinctive disposition with which Nietzsche identifies himself and which he ascribes to those "Europeans from the day after tomorrow, we firstborn of the twentieth century" (BGE 214). Prompted by "the darkening and increasing ugliness of Europe" (BGE 222) afflicting the continent in the wake of the 'death of God,' he conceives of 'good Europeans' as those free spirits who, with their supra-European outlook, possess the resources needed to initiate Europe's recovery from decadence and eventually overcome nihilism. In so doing they show that far from being an inconsequential aspect of Nietzsche's thought, the 'good European' synthesizes key themes in it.

Part Two of the volume is dedicated to Nietzsche's view from afar. The disparate subjects its contributors examine are spurred by questions including how inclusive is Nietzsche's concept of the 'good Europeans' of non-European values? How effective might it be in trying to think beyond the horizon of Western culture? How does this ideal of the 'good European' relate to classical (Kantian) cosmopolitanism and the putatively universal values commending it? Why 'good Europeans' and not simply cosmopolitan individuals? Is 'good Europeanism' perhaps something like the nationalism of tomorrow? Is it only a first, shy step towards a more inclusive cosmopolitanism? To what extent does Kantian cosmopolitanism belong just to the Western horizon which Nietzsche intends to leave behind?

Opening Part One of the volume is Gary Shapiro's chapter "Times of the Multitude and the Antichrist." In Nietzsche's Europeanism Shapiro discerns key resonances of his "great politics of the Earth" out of which those capable of "rethinking the direction of the earth" may ultimately deploy a "philosophy of the Antichrist" to realize their vision of the future. In considering how philosophers of the future may create the opportune moment in which to revalue all values in such a new direction, Shapiro accounts for Nietzsche's rejection of the priestly philosophers' teleological conception of time. He also explicates Nietzsche's notion of the multitude (*Menge*), whose diversity contrasts with the homogenous masses and mitigates against the reactionary state.

Chapters 2–4 deal each with an aspect of the enduring presence of ancient Greece in the thought of the former classical philologist. The formative influence

of the Greeks on Nietzsche's understanding of history and vision for Europe prompts Paul Bishop (chapter 2: Goethe, Nietzsche, Varoufakis: Why Did the Greeks Matter – and Still Do?) to examine Europe's contemporary decadence, itself rooted in trends Nietzsche identified in late nineteenth-century Europe. Specifically, Bishop considers the significance of Nietzsche's thought to economics and applies it to an analysis of the European debt crisis, the economic collapse of Greece in the last decade, and the predations of capitalism. He reflects upon the emphasis German officials placed on the debt and guilt of Greeks in negotiating with Greek officials and their insistence upon punishing austerity measures over arguably more rational alternatives.

Against the rationalism informing contemporary liberal social contract theory William Winstead (chapter 3: Nietzsche, Liberalism, and the Future of European Democracy) argues that Nietzsche's political thought entails a commitment to overcoming the enduring Platonism in contemporary politics. In Nietzsche's thought he identifies "an image of politics rooted in the pre-Socratic Periclean democracy of Athens" intended to recover the Greek rhetorical tradition. In reviving that tradition Nietzsche hoped to empower individuals to overcome asceticism by fostering experimental forms of citizenship. Winstead claims that Nietzsche's rhetorical understanding of the political, expressed through Zarathustra, is capable of supplanting dissipative contractual forms of political association by opening Europe to novel forms of democratic citizenship.

From the model of life that nineteenth-century German scholars identified in the pre-Socratic Greeks, George Papandreopoulos (chapter 4: *How Does One Become Greek?* Nietzsche and the Rediscovery of the South) argues that Nietzsche saw an example of socio-political organization capable of fostering complexity and creative agonism. By applying this rediscovery, a comparable model could master the reductive version of life that modernity – itself a by-product of the West's Christian heritage – stubbornly enforces. The latter – aided by the (mis) understanding of *Macht* Nietzsche saw in Bismarckian militarism – is bound to further humanity's decline. Papandreopoulos explicates such an *inclusive* model of human life conducive of infinite possibilities that opposes the *exclusive* model propagated throughout the post-Christian West.

Andrea C. Bertino (chapter 5: Europa nach Nietzsche: Integration ohne Identität) investigates the question of European identity. He asks if Europe requires a strong identity, comparable with national identities, and therefore reconstructs Nietzsche's conception of the democratic process. It is depicted as fundamentally ambivalent in its tendency to make people equal and mediocre. On the other hand, it is part of a progress towards a culture of Europe that oversteps national limitations. Bertino argues that Nietzsche's geographically based (as opposed to ethnic) concept of a European race challenges the concept of nations. It aims to

create a European culture that preserves distinctions to make individuality possible.

Daniel Conway (chapter 6: Nietzsche's Europe) considers the viability of Nietzsche's response to the emerging global reach of European politics. Nietzsche recognized that the dawning world order would require leaders capable of governing it according to "a post-moral appreciation of the planet." This would require overcoming Europe's decadence to invigorate its culture. Therefore, Nietzsche sought to "breed" such a ruling caste through the amalgamation of Europe's national types, specifically the German, French, and English, and the Jews, for whom he "reserved an indispensable role." According to Conway, Nietzsche held that Europe's future cultural greatness depended upon it offering a permanent home to the Jews.

Employing Nietzsche's critique of the ascetic ideal, Katherine Graham (chapter 7: *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and a Europe Yet to Come) claims that the free spirits of late nineteenth-century Europe were – and that their contemporary inheritors continue to be – mired in and uncomprehending of "a moral-metaphysical interpretation of the world" that hinders them from overcoming Europe's Christian inheritance. Following Nietzsche's statements in the *Genealogy* she maintains that Nietzsche's vision of Europe lies in *Zarathustra* and provides a vision capable of contending with the ascetic ideal that goes beyond Europe. Graham asserts that the re-naturalizing counter-ideal Zarathustra expresses in 'The Sublime Ones' provides a prescription through which future free spirits might transmute Europe's post-Christian decadence.

Allison Merrick (chapter 8: "What Renders Our Sores Repugnant": Reconsidering Nietzsche on *Ressentiment*) elucidates the features of *ressentiment* by examining its structure. In so doing she aims to clarify its conceptual form. Regarding the usual emphasis upon the affliction's psychological structures she argues that "more attention must be paid to the social conditions that engender *ressentiment*." The ascetic priest's redirection of *ressentiment*, which served to alleviate the suffering that the slaves' inadequacy caused them while providing them with a way of denying their deficiency, point to *ressentiment's* physiological origin. Merrick's exposition of the structure of *ressentiment* offers a more complete account of the concept and indicates how it may be overcome.

According to Daniel Rosenberg (chapter 9: Two Visions of Europe: Nietzsche and Guizot), Nietzsche's conception of Europe is illuminated via François Guizot's seminal account of European civilization. Nietzsche's radical vision responds directly to the aspiration Guizot's idea birthed, namely that European identity exceeds national origin and cultures, and that a common educational framework could integrate those narrow, often divisive features. In Nietzsche's vision of Europe Rosenberg sees the advancement of an educational model cen-

tered on active forgetting under which individuals and groups would be trained to subordinate their particular identities. Through it, and despite their superficial differences, good Europeans would share in a supra-European culture with harmonious political concerns.

Steffen Dietzsch (chapter 10: Nietzsches Europa. Überlegungen zu einer neuen geistigen Landschaft) takes Nietzsche as the first German philosopher who/that continuously emphasized the need for a supra-national culture, while nationalism and patriotism were to become more and more dominant. In particular, Dietzsch shows that Nietzsche, who strongly criticized the Germans, attributes to them the ability to interpret and connect different people. Furthermore, he reflects on the wide acceptance of Nietzsche's arguments regarding Europe and their inspiration for thinkers like Ernst Jünger, Stefan Zweig or Ortega y Gasset.

The contributors in Part One offer a broad spectrum of approaches and reach different conclusions. Thus the next two chapters present a more critical evaluation of Nietzsche's thought. In his close reading of "*The extent to which things will become ever more 'artistic' in Europe*" (GS 356), Armin Thomas Müller (chapter 11: Die "freie Gesellschaft" als 'hölzernes Eisen'. Gesellschaftliche Perspektiven Europas im Abschnitt 356 von Nietzsches *Fröhlicher Wissenschaft*) investigates the aphorism's pattern of reasoning, textual structure and literary form. In order to broadly contextualize it, he considers the section's source material as well as its textual variants and parallel passages. The challenging heterogeneous content of the section combines artistic, sociological, anthropological, and political aspects. Müller reconstructs two competing models of European society given in the text: the stability of illiberal hierarchy on the one hand and the vicissitude of democratic societies on the other. In his opinion, Nietzsche would depict the latter as less effective and would reject it.

Framing the tension between cultural determination and individuality in its Nietzschean sense, Richard Elliott (chapter 12: Transgressions of the Lawgiver: Nietzsche, Culture and the 'Good European') argues that despite his denouncements of nationalism as symptomatic of 'petty politics,' Nietzsche's cosmopolitanism possesses limited scope. Elliott maintains that as Nietzsche's prescription to engage in 'grand politics' is aimed only at those he considers to be superlative individuals, the tendency in the secondary literature to view his internationalism as possessing a far-reaching imperative is misguided. While the motivation to characterize it thusly may stem from a desire to distance Nietzsche from pernicious misappropriations, Elliott alleges that elitism and transgression are interwoven in Nietzsche's 'good European.'

The last two chapters of Part One insist on the importance of agonism for Europe's future. Paul Kirkland (chapter 13: Beyond Boundaries: Contesting Au-

thorities in Nietzsche's Europe) rethinks Nietzsche's rejection of nationalism and accompanying critique of the hegemonic nation-state as a form of political organization. Nietzsche looks to a pluralist, supra-European ideal to challenge the notion of political orders dominated by a singular vision or essentializing identity to encourage contests that serve as a framework for moving beyond the modern state. Kirkland argues that instead of rejecting singularity in the name of democracy Nietzsche's alternative is an agonistic aristocracy. This latter, radical notion is rooted in his support of the spiritualization of enmity in order to provide a model for a Europe beyond national particularities.

According to Michael J. McNeal (chapter 14: Good Europeanism: The Practice and Pathos of Nietzsche's Good Europeans), Nietzsche's good Europeans embody the *ethos* of his "free-spiritedness," instinctively enacting his cosmopolitan disposition and practicable agonic strategy for overcoming Europe's dissipative nihilism. Nietzsche's good Europeanism commends life-affirmation to transform its practitioners physiologically and attitudinally, inuring them to the spiritual narcotization of romanticism, nationalism and xenophobia. Therewith, Good Europeans counter myopic statism, create inclusive new values, and generate culturally invigorating forms of life. McNeal demonstrates the contemporary relevance of Nietzsche's pluralistic value orientation – his good Europeanism – via its potential for facilitating recuperation from the bad conscience impairing the modern European project and realizing Nietzsche's idea of Europe.

Part Two of the volume – *Beyond Europe: Nietzsche's View from Afar* – begins with the biographical and historical background of this *view*. From a biographical point of view Johann Figl (chapter 15: Nietzsches 'übereuropäisches' Denken – Biographische und kulturelle Aspekte) draws conclusions regarding the provenience of Nietzsche's pro-European and supra-European thinking. Figl reconstructs Nietzsche's education and shows its interference with contemporary's perception. By figuring out how non-European people were seen and what was known about them in the nineteenth century, Figl can show that these time-dependent aspects of culture and society influence Nietzsche's approach and terminology. Finally, he accentuates Nietzsche's crises of periodic illness and solitude as existential phenomena that affected his later (supra-)European thinking.

According to Alexey Zhavoronkov (chapter 16: Nietzsches Interkulturalität und die anthropologische Perspektive der Klassischen deutschen Philosophie), Nietzsche's concept of interculturalism is based on his anthropological perspective. In this respect his thinking signifies a vehement critique of German idealism. Especially because of the Eurocentrism of protagonists like Kant and Hegel, Nietzsche stages himself as a philosophical alternative. As illustrated by Zhavoronkov, Nietzsche's ideas on interculturalism explicitly point beyond

Europe and therefore served as a suitable, if implicit reference point for the founders of Philosophical Anthropology of the twentieth century, Max Scheler and Helmuth Plessner.

Andrea Orsucci (chapter 17: Im 'Zeitalter der Vergleichung': Nietzsche, das Problem der Wertschätzungen und das Erbe Feuerbachs) draws a line from the thoughts of the left-wing Hegelians around 1840 to the discussion of values at the end of the nineteenth century. Following Eugen Dühring, Nietzsche took terms like 'values' ('Werthe,' 'Werthschätzungen') from national economy and made them to fundamental concepts of his philosophy. Ludwig Feuerbach shares with Nietzsche a materialistic viewpoint, according to which deities and beliefs of the most different cultures are products of a fantastic transfiguration of the 'existence,' of the 'life' of men, of their instincts and aspirations. Common to these cultures is a logic of mutual exclusion based on an irresistible need to separate and contrast the valuable and the worthless.

In her contribution Sarah Bianchi (chapter 18: Europäisch, übereuropäisch – menschlich? Über Grenzüberschreitungen in Nietzsches Humanitätsverständnis) considers limitations on the possibility of crossing limits, especially when it comes to Nietzsche's notion of humanity. Firstly, the movement from the European to the supra-European dimension is sketched, and the problem of broadening it to a universal understanding of humanity is raised. While analyzing such figures as the good European, the free spirit and the sovereign individual, Bianchi concludes that Nietzsche's thinking does not lead into a pathos of humanity.

'Europe and the Other' or 'Europe as the Other': this topic is the overall thread running through the next chapters. While geographically Russia has both a European and an Asian part, for Nietzsche it definitely symbolizes an alternative and completion to Europe, as Ekaterina Poljakova (chapter 19: Nichteuropäisch oder übereuropäisch? Zur alten Frage, was Russland "versprechen kann") reconstructs it. She underscores that, because of Russia's promising history, music and literature, Nietzsche was trying to see in its culture the overcoming of Europe's contradictions. However, there seem to be some anti-Enlightenment elements in the Russian attitude to life, provoking his critique. In this regard Poljakova accentuates the tendency to believe in self-made ideals or in evidence made merely of wishes.

Nietzsche's effort to find other perspectives for philosophy and knowledge by going beyond Europe brings Dagmar Kiesel (chapter 20: "Unter Töchtern der Wüste". Islamische Sinnlichkeit und christliche Sexualfeindlichkeit bei Nietzsche) to Islamic sensualism. Thus, developed as counter-perspective to the ascetic and body-hostile Christian tradition, Kiesel provides a detailed reading of *Among Daughters of the Desert* from Zarathustra. In Kiesel's view, Nietzsche idealizes Islamic sexual ethics and the appreciation of sensual pleas-

ures just to set it against Christian sexual hostility. As a result, he advocates its internalization in the codex of values of a new Europe.

Despite the fact that very few works on Nietzsche and the Islamic tradition have appeared until recently, Peter S. Groff (chapter 21: Nietzsche and the *Falāsifa*) contends that comparative work on Nietzsche and philosophical traditions beyond the bounds of Europe raises possibilities for productive cross-cultural dialogues. Toward this, he engages Nietzsche with specific Islamic philosophers of the classical period rather than Islam itself. Groff examines Nietzsche's understanding of Islam and its relevance to his critique of Christianity and European modernity. While Nietzsche had little, if any, familiarity with the *falāsifa*, Groff notes their intellectual relatedness, particularly their notions of perfectionism and philosophy as a way of life.

How non-Europeans engage Nietzsche's European and Supra-European thinking is the topic motivating Tsunafumi Takeuchi's contribution (chapter 22: Wer ist der "gute Europäer"? – Aus der Perspektive der japanischen Nietzsche-Forschungsgeschichte). He asks if, despite not being Europeans, they are nonetheless addressed by Nietzsche's diagnosis of a European nihilism and the attribution of being good Europeans. After a discussion of the two main types of interpretation in Japanese research, Takeuchi presents an alternative by transferring structural, nihilistic elements to non-European contexts. In his opinion, both, the explanatory potential of cultural crises and the positive, challenging such concepts as the overcoming of nations, the related plurality of good Europeans and possibilities for the adoption of such principles outside of Europe.

Nietzsche urged philosophers and artists to flourish as 'good-' or 'supra-Europeans,' an invitation Bartholomew Ryan (chapter 23: The Children of Nietzsche: Chaos, Plurality and Cosmopolitanism in Joyce and Pessoa) argues was accepted most brilliantly by two twentieth-century philosophical poets – James Joyce and Fernando Pessoa. In them, Ryan sees 'children of Nietzsche' who appropriated Nietzsche's ideas and styles to transform their literary human subjects into multifaceted, plural cosmopolitans. Ryan explicates these artists' Nietzschean attempts to reconcile the chaos of modernity with the possibility of a cosmopolitan human by fusing polyglot, nomadic existences into a 'chaosmos' of plurality. By challenging the nihilism of their age, Joyce and Pessoa further elaborated Nietzsche's 'good-' or 'supra-' European ideal.

This bilingual volume goes back to the joint conference of the *Nietzsche-Gesellschaft* and the *Friedrich Nietzsche Society* that was held in Naumburg (Germany) on 22–25 September 2016 under the scientific direction of Marco Brusotti and Herman Siemens. The international conference – the 27th of the *Nietzsche-Gesellschaft* and of the *Friedrich-Nietzsche-Stiftung* and the 22nd of the *Friedrich Nietzsche Society* – took place shortly after the *United Kingdom European*

Union membership referendum on 23 June 2016. Against this current background, the conference became even more exciting, but the referendum and its outcome were not the occasion. The two societies had long been planning to hold a joint conference in 2016 and the topic had already been chosen long before the event that gave it and the joint meeting in Naumburg an unforeseen topicality.

Part I **European Views**

Gary Shapiro
Times of the Multitude and the Antichrist[1]

Abstract: In Nietzsche's Europeanism Gary Shapiro discerns key resonances of his "great politics of the Earth" out of which those capable of "re-thinking the direction of the earth" may ultimately deploy a "philosophy of the Antichrist" to realize their vision of the future. In considering how philosophers of the future may create the opportune moment in which to revalue all values in such a new direction, Shapiro accounts for Nietzsche's rejection of the priestly philosophers' teleological conception of time. He also explicates Nietzsche's notion of the multitude (*Menge*), whose diversity contrasts with the homogenous masses and mitigates against the reactionary state.

1 World and Earth

Is the question of Europe to be posed within the discourse of *Weltgeschichte* or in the context of the *Menschen/Erde?* These are opposed perspectives. Responses to Nietzsche's political thinking have been strangely silent or vague about what he consistently describes as the *site* of the political, the earth. Fidelity to the earth, being true to the earth, willingness to sacrifice oneself for the earth, vigilantly dedicating oneself to the earth's direction or meaning (*Sinn*) – these are the repeated refrains of *Zarathustra*. Above and beyond its phenomenological sense as our immanent lifeworld (the limit of most scholarly readings), earth in Nietzsche's writings has a political sense as the counter-concept to what Hegel and Hegelianizing philosophers call the world. Hegel's concept of world is a unitary notion. It cannot be decoupled from the state, world history, and God. Hegel says in the *Encyclopedia* that those who do not live in a true state do not have a world (Hegel 1971, section 549). "World" is ultimately a concept of political theology; it finally provoked Nietzsche to articulate a philosophy of the Antichrist (Shapiro, 2016). When Nietzsche speaks of the earth (sometimes more specifically of the *Menschen-Erde*), he implicitly formulates a political a-theology. In *Human, All Too Human* Nietzsche recognizes that the state must now maintain itself by propagandistic fears (HH I 472). With Carl Schmitt he agrees that the state of excep-

tion is essential to the modern state's sovereignty, but God's death undermines Schmitt's theological analogy (Schmitt, 2005).

"Only after me will there be *great politics* on earth," Nietzsche writes in *Ecce Homo*, as he explains "Why I am a Destiny" (EH Destiny 1). It is great politics of or on the earth that is at stake, not the great politics of *Weltgeschichte*. The earth is the ground and site of mobile human beings, as the action of Zarathustra makes clear; Nietzsche was finding support for this orientation in his reading of works like Friedrich Ratzel's *Anthropo-Geographie*. The *Menschen-Erde* could be translated somewhat tendentiously but not altogether misleadingly as the anthropocene, the earth as humanly inhabited, transformed, and in process of transformation: as Marx called it, our exteriorized body. What shall be the *Sinn der Erde?* The possible *directions* of the *Menschen-Erde* are multiple. Nietzsche has Zarathustra describe humans as a skin disease on the earth, but he also imagines the earth transformed into a gigantic health resort and tree of life (Z II Soothsayer; WS 188–189).

Being true to the earth involves abandoning the concept of time that subordinates earthly life to a metanarrative concluding with eventual manifestation of the Idea or the Christian end of days. If the name for the world's time is world-history, what is the time of the earth? I will approach this question by first considering political temporality in the *Untimely* or *Unmodern Observations*.

The objects of those scathing, satiric, and parodic polemics can be usefully compared to more recent "end of history" theorists, who, like David Friedrich Strauss and Eduard von Hartmann, targets of Nietzsche's first two essays, share a Hegelian inspiration. Both pamphlets identify Hegelian philosophy as a crucial component of this thought, thus anticipating Alexander Kojève, Francis Fukuyama and others. Strauss's and Hartmann's versions of the theory arise from both interpreting a teleological conception of history in terms of their varying accounts of human desire, with Strauss adapting Hegel's notion of historically cumulative recognition, while Hartmann sees history as a sequenced series of projects that progressively reveal the necessary failure of the desire for happiness, thus historicizing Schopenhauer. Strauss's comic version celebrates an attained unity arising out of conflict; Hartmann's tragic, story depicts humans as repeatedly attempting the impossible until overtaken by necessity.

Strauss implicitly takes the "we" with whom he identifies as the self-satisfied German imperial *Bürger*, with culture drawn from the newspapers, religion an ethical ghost of Christianity, and a faith in progress envisioning nothing beyond further sophistications of communication and technology. Strauss could be the last human's philosopher, declaring "Yes, history has a meaning and it is us." Strauss claims to be ultimately timely, to have understood the fulfilled meaning of time, indeed, as part of his "we," to help constitute that meaning.

Hartmann's ambitious story, moving through four great periods, was attractive to the nineteenth century's post-Hegelian periodizing obsessions. He follows a traditional analogy between history at large and life cycle stages: childhood, adolescence, maturity, old age. In their Greco-Roman childhood, human beings simply seek happiness in this life, and naively enjoy immediate life activities as imaginatively perfected by Olympian gods. Such a life eventually disappoints, giving way to boredom and melancholy. The alternative is found in medieval adolescence, which places its hopes for happiness in fictions of immortality, in another world. After skeptical disillusion about the reality of that world beyond comes mature manhood (unreflectively gendered), post-Reformation modernity. "We" no longer seek childhood's immediate enjoyment or fantastic adolescent ideals. Courageously shouldering its responsibilities, maturity surrenders easy hope, finding satisfaction rather in working toward a general progress of civilization that promises happiness to future generations. After several centuries of such effort, a general disillusion about the future earthly paradise sets in. Modernity is accompanied by its own discontents (too familiar to recount). Now we enter the world's disillusioned old age and understand the failure of earlier projects of satisfaction. We become enlightened Schopenhauerians. Will is restless and insatiable; temporary satisfactions give way to melancholy or desire's return, relaunching the cycle: desire, striving, fleeting satisfaction, repeated frustration. In old age we submit to the *Weltprozess* that has brought us to this pass. We *should* welcome the process of human extinction. Hartmann, who invoked the Biblical end of days, would no doubt have found confirmation in the anticipation of catastrophic climate change.

Hartmann calls for "total surrender of the personality to the world-process." (UM II 9) Nietzsche *responds* "If only one did not eternally have to hear the hyperbole of all hyperboles, the word world, world, world, since after all, if we remain honest, everyone ought to speak of human, human, human!" (UM II 9). To call for total surrender to the world-process is to give humans the personality of the earth-flea (*Erdfloh*), a metaphor that appears again when Zarathustra describes the last man.

Nietzsche's *Unmodern* series – which might have continued indefinitely in his budding career as public intellectual – halts abruptly after *Wagner in Bayreuth*, fourth of a planned thirteen. There he makes a first bungled attempt at describing a great event of the earth, a temporal caesura that would counter the illusory inevitabilities of the grand meta-narratives of *Weltgeschichte*. Anticipating Alain Badiou, he tells us that a great event is rare, difficult or impossible to predict or deliberately produce, and gives rise to a future. "For such an undertaking as that at Bayreuth there were no warning signs, no transitional events, nothing intermediate" (UM IV 1); it was not the result of (Hegelian) continuity and

mediation. What makes this unexpected event *great* is its transformative power, its throwing past and future into a genuinely new perspective. Such events are so rare that Nietzsche offers only two examples. The "last great event" was Alexander's linking of East and West, of Asia and Europe. This involved cutting the Gordian knot that separated two cultural and geographical spheres and was a syncretistic act, mixing together two previously separate domains (UM IV 4). Nietzsche describes Wagner as "the first of the counter-Alexanders" whose task is to unite and focus where Alexander had dispersed, in other words to tie together the threads of European culture in a novel, unified creation. Asia (and Christianity) will not be *aufgehoben* but cut loose or "subtracted." Later we hear that this Wagner was Nietzsche. I conjecture that the series was broken off not only because of Nietzsche's incipient estrangement from the maestro, but because the story that he had to tell there about Wagner's becoming himself was Hegelian, all too Hegelian.

2 Time: *kairos* and *chronos*

Nietzsche's work turns *eventually* (taking that word in several senses) to articulating the question of time on and of the earth, a time different from the world-models. The direction, future, and futurity of the earth become dominant concerns. Free spirits and good Europeans will take their distance from the shrunken earth of the last man with its foreclosure of the future. Among these modalities of time, thinking off the clock of world-history, is the venerable binary of *kairos* and *chronos*, of a passing opportunity to be seized or a continuous, extended duration to be endured.

I cite a section on temporality from "*What is Noble?*" which responds to that question by considering several possible relations to those rare opportune moments that are often recognized regretfully only when they have passed. BGE 274: "*The problem of those who wait.* Strokes of luck [*Glücksfälle*] and many incalculable factors are needed for a higher human, in whom the solution to a problem sleeps, to go into action at the right time – 'into explosion,' you might say." Even higher humans need luck, and without it (the usual case) "people sit waiting, hardly knowing how much they are waiting, much less that they are waiting in vain." Sometimes the alarm will ring and they must regretfully lament "'It's too late'"... having lost faith in themselves and being useless from that point on. – What if in the realm of genius, the 'Raphael without hands' (taking that phrase in the broadest sense) is not the exception but, perhaps, the rule? Perhaps genius is not rare at all: what is rare is the five hundred *hands* that it

needs to tyrannize the *kairos*, 'the right time,' in order to seize hold of chance by the forelock!"

Nietzsche invokes an ancient image. The Greeks and Romans knew what *kairos* looked like. Sculpture and early modern emblem books show him with locks of hair above his face, but bald in back. *Kairos*' large upper wings are matched by a smaller pair on his ankles, suggesting the swiftness of his passage. In a moment he's flown by. He bears a scale that is out of balance; the moment tilts toward possibilities that can be realized by the alert agent seizing the time – what Machiavelli called *occasione* or opportunity as distinguished from *fortuna* or chance. Seize *kairos* by the forelock as soon as he appears; if you hesitate the chance is lost. In Nietzsche's writings *kairos* appears only once, although the hunchback in Zarathustra's "On Redemption" alludes to the *topos*. It is the right time, significant moment, turning point, unexpected, unique hinge of opportunity. *Chronos* in contrast drags on and on – "creeps in this petty pace to the last syllable of recorded time." This mode of temporality lends itself to the spatialization of time that Bergson and others subject to critique. The serendipitous moment of incalculable, unpredictable opportunity partakes somewhat of the character of the event in Heidegger, Deleuze, Derrida, and Badiou.

In this reference to *kairos* (cf. also Z II Redemption) Nietzsche encourages us to think together the questions of futurity and nobility. Does nobility then involve a certain relation to futurity? In this case 'the problem of those who wait' would be central to its intent. Nobility, it must be remembered, is not only an individual character trait, but a form of social and political distinction, even when decoupled from ideas of hereditary aristocracy.

What is the right time, the *kairos?* How can we recognize it and be prepared for it? To paraphrase Meno's challenge to Socrates, how will we know it when we see it? And how can we search for it when we don't know what it is? To these we must add a temporal dimension that Plato neglected when he turned the issue into one of *anamnesis:* how can we recognize, catch it, and respond to it *at the right time?* How can we be worthy of the event?

3 Time of the Multitude

In this context, consider the concluding aphorism of "Peoples and Fatherlands" for it contains two important ideas about political temporality that deserve more attention than they've received so far. BGE 256 begins with the declaration: "*Europe wants to become one.*" Nietzsche accuses nationalist "insanity" of a mendacious diversion and misinterpretation of Europe's desire. (I simply note now that there is a question of what this "one" can mean for an anti-essentialist and rad-

ical pluralist like Nietzsche.) The first thought about temporality is the striking statement set off by dashes "this is the century of *the multitude!* [*Menge*]," with the word *Menge* emphasized. The second is more indirect: after introducing a number of exemplars of Europe's desire (Byron, Napoleon, Wagner and others), Nietzsche says that "none of them would have been capable of a philosophy of the Antichrist." Whatever else the Antichrist *topos* suggests, it clearly has to do with end times, acceleration, and radical rupture. I will return to this second moment, after exploring the idea of the "century of the multitude."

A century is not only one hundred years but also (see Grimm) the time of living memory, the longest continuous stretch possible for human experience, one exemplar of *chronos*. What is the *Menge?* It is a diverse, heterogeneous multitude, more specifically a fickle and mixed audience. Unfortunately, the term has been mistranslated as "masses" in many English translations, including even recent editions. Elsewhere Nietzsche makes explicit his distinction between homogeneous masses and plural multitude. In *Gay Science* he says that in Greece "there must have been a multitude of diverse individuals [*eine Menge verschiedenartige Individuen*]," contrasting this, later in the aphorism, with the homogeneity of the *Masse.* The topic is "*The failure of reformations*"; Nietzsche asks why Luther, whom he frequently dismisses as a vulgar peasant, was able to accomplish a reformation in northern Europe when much more gifted spirits like Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Plato failed. He concludes that

> Every time the reformation of an entire people fails and only sects raise their heads, one may conclude that the people is already very heterogeneous [*vielartig*] and is starting to break away from crude herd instincts and the morality of custom [*Sittlichkeit der Sitte*] [...]. (GS 149)

Compare the problematic English translation with the method proposed in GM I where Nietzsche undertakes a discriminating, differentiating look at the terms used to name human groups or types. There Nietzsche asks us to pay attention to distinctions, even subtle nuances, in the oldest Greek and Latin terms that masters and slaves use to describe one another. He notes the nuances of tenderness or compassion in some of the nobles' names for the slaves, urging us to hear "the almost kindly nuances which the Greek nobility, for example, places in all words that it uses to distinguish itself from the more lowly people [*das niedere Volk*]" (GM I 10). Nietzsche reinforces the methodological point, proposing that some learned academy invite the submission of essays on the question of how linguistics illuminates moral concepts (GM I 17). Surely we should read the old philologist in this perspective with respect to his own usage of *Masse* and *Menge*.

BGE 256 develops this thought about the multitude by examining the careers of exemplary cultural figures whose hybridity and internal multiplicity reflects both the heterogeneity of the *Menge* which idolizes them (cf. BGE 269) and its desire to be one; yet just as Greek reformations failed, so such unification is unlikely so long as the population remains diverse. In "*Peoples and Fatherlands*" Nietzsche discusses both factors which could encourage unification (such as the slow generation of adaptable supra-national and nomadic types [BGE 242]) and the actual diversity that leads not to homogeneity but to varied forms of hybridity. These artists and political figures, whose achievements arise from mixing and synthesizing novel combinations of various cultural traditions, resemble one another in the form but not the content of their hybridity (so Heine's German-Jewish persona is distinct from Stendhal's Franco-Italian one). The *Menge*, it seems, is like these hybrid cases so far as its members too tend to be of mixed but not uniform heritage.

As the context of BGE 256 suggests, the *Menge* is, among other things, an audience. From the beginning of the aphorism we are in the world of theater, as Nietzsche explains that the nationalistic politics of the day is "a politics of dissolution" which must necessarily be a politics of the theatrical *interlude* (*Zwischenakts-Politik*). I cite two important texts that probably contributed to Nietzsche's use of "*Menge*": the "*Prelude* in the Theater" in Goethe's *Faust* , which emphasizes the *Menge*'s diversity, and the gospel of Mark (in Luther's version), where the *Menge* is extremely fickle in their taste, now enjoying the Jesus spectacle and now turning away from him.

Nietzsche goes on from "Peoples and Fatherlands" to ask, "What is Noble?" *Beyond* characteristically ends with a question, or complex of questions. And I paraphrase one of these: What is *kairotic* vigilance in the age of the *Menge?* This is "the problem of those who wait." How can the *vornehm* live with the challenge of a future that cannot be anticipated? This temporal openness must be further defended against the amortizing of the future in a system of debt, as the *Genealogy* shows. Nobility requires not only understanding Europe's changing social structures but avoiding deception by the multitude's enthusiasms, in a culture where various forms of celebrity or news of the day are confusedly taken as great events in the society of the spectacle. How can we distinguish the spectacular flight of Zarathustra's shadow or simulacrum – or what's gone viral on the internet – with the true "great events" which come softly unannounced on doves' feet (Z II Great Events)?

That the *Menge* is not a universal class of all human beings, or all those within a certain territory or political unit, is evident from a discussion of their reverence for "great men" (BGE 269). The multitude is understood as an audience, one that often admires unwisely, but is distinguished from a more univer-

sal class. This admiration is typically naïve; in contrast "the psychologist" of this section is aware of the pitiful shortcomings of the figures generally considered to be great. The psychologist – a role Nietzsche plays when he analyzes the "higher humans" (as in BGE 256) – suffers from observing their admiration: "Perhaps the paradox of his condition becomes so horrible that the multitude, the educated, the enthusiasts [*die Menge, die Gebildeten, die Schwärmer*] develop a profound admiration for the very things he has learned to regard with profound pity and contempt..." Nietzsche takes this contemporary phenomenon as a clue to "what has happened in all great cases so far: the multitude worshiped a god, – and that 'god' was only a poor sacrificial animal!" The apposition of "multitude, educated, enthusiasts" indicates the relative selectivity in the concept of multitude, as opposed to herd and masses. They are those with sufficient interest and motivation, whatever their other differences, to care intensely about "great men." While such things may always have happened with the multitude and the objects of their admiration, we now live in the very *longue durée* of the multitude, their century.

The psychologist must resist the temptation of pity – precisely the situation of Zarathustra with the higher humans. At this point he finds himself in opposition to the *Menge:*

> The paradox of his situation may even reach the frightful point where those cases that have triggered in him great pity as well as great contempt, have triggered in the multitude, the educated, the enthusiasts, a feeling of great reverence; theirs is a reverence for 'great humans' and performing animals, for whose sake we bless and esteem the fatherland, the earth, the dignity of humanity, and ourselves; men whom we ask our children to look up to and to emulate ... (BGE 269)

Note that Nietzsche has silently enlisted the pity of his reader for the psychologist, so that we find ourselves in (or resisting) a situation parallel to his. The misplaced reverence of the multitude prevents them from detecting genuinely great people or events. The melancholy of the psychologist threatens an equivalent oblivion regarding the future. These noisy and exaggerated enthusiasts fail to see that their celebrities are not so different from performing animals. They see the great humans as justifying the earth, the fatherland, and their own dignity. Perhaps, Nietzsche continues, it has always been so with the multitude, adoring an imagined "god" who was "only a poor sacrificial animal." The great humans themselves are woefully unprepared for the *kairos* because they are "precipitous in their trust and distrust," "people of the moment," and likely to be swayed by "intoxicated flatterers."

What is nobility now, for those who wait? Among other things, it is avoiding premature, precipitate action and knowing how to avoid such temptations. In