

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Curtis Cate, *Friedrich Nietzsche: A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 7.
2. R. Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society: 1890–1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 2.
3. An event which has been described as the ‘cardinal point of reference in nineteenth-century political debates’. See Egon Flaig, ‘Jacob Burckhardt, Greek Culture, and Modernity’, *Out of Arcadia: Classics and Politics in Germany in the Age of Burckhardt, Nietzsche and Wilamowitz*, ed. Ingo Gildenhard and Martin Ruehl (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2003), p. 9.
4. Cited in *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), Appendix (d), p. 343.
5. See Ronald Hayman, *Nietzsche: A Critical Life* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 142.
6. See BGE 209; TI ‘Germans’ 4 and ‘Skirmishes’ 49.
7. See EH ‘wise’ 3, First version. These two meanings of the ‘anti-political’ are expressed, for example, in Thomas Mann, *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man* (1918), trans. Walter D. Morris (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1983), esp. pp. 85, 191 and 303; and in Keith Ansell-Pearson, *An Introduction to Nietzsche as Political Thinker: The Perfect Nihilist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 27–8. Norbert Elias writes that ‘During the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries, the anti-political bias of the middle-class concept of “culture” was directed against the politics of autocratic princes... At a later stage, this anti-political bias was turned against the parliamentary politics of a democratic state’. See Norbert Elias, *The Germans* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 126–7.
8. Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Imperial Germany 1867–1918: Politics, Culture, and Society in an Authoritarian State*, trans. Richard Deveson (London: Arnold, 1995), p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
10. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ‘Bismarck’s Imperialism, 1862–1890’, *Imperial Germany*, ed. James J. Sheehan (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), p. 183.
11. Lynn Abrams, *Bismarck and the German Empire: 1871–1918* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 1.
12. Mommsen, *Imperial Germany 1867–1918*, p. 29.
13. Quoted in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire: 1871–1918*, trans. Kim Traynor (Providence, NH: Berg, 1985), p. 30.
14. See Abrams, *Bismarck and the German Empire*, p. 14.
15. Guenther Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany: A Study in Working-Class Isolation and National Integration* (New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1963), p. 69.
16. Duncan Large says Nietzsche’s break with Bismarck occurred in 1888. He writes that Nietzsche could not ‘continue indefinitely to maintain a positive image of Bismarck while condemning his creation, the *Reich*, and the distinction finally collapses’. Duncan Large, ‘The Aristocratic Radical and the White Revolutionary’, in *Das schwierige neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Germanistische Tagung zum 65. Geburtstag*

- von Eda Sagarra im August 1998, ed. J. Barkhoff, G. Carr, and R. Paulin (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 101–16, p. 13.
17. KSA 12 9[180] 1887 WP 884. A. J. P. Taylor agrees that Bismarck was constantly 'balancing between the various forces and playing one off against another; and he aimed to be the dominant partner in any association. He never became identified with any cause, whether monarchy or German nationalism or, later, conservatism'. A. J. P. Taylor, *Bismarck: The Man and Statesman* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965), p. 94.
  18. Otto Pflanze, 'Bismarck's *Realpolitik*', *Imperial Germany*, ed. James J. Sheehan (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), p. 159.
  19. GS 357.
  20. Peter Bergmann, *Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German'* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 48.
  21. In his book, *Grundsätzen der Realpolitik*.
  22. Pflanze, 'Bismarck's *Realpolitik*', p. 156.
  23. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
  24. In fact, Nietzsche often compared Bismarck to Napoleon Bonaparte. See Large, 'The Aristocratic Radical and the White Revolutionary', pp. 10–11.
  25. As Lynn Abrams has described. Abrams, *Bismarck and the German Empire*, p. 28.
  26. See Wehler's description of this ruling technique. Wehler, *The German Empire*, pp. 91–2. *Reichsfeinde* variously included throughout the Bismarckian era, Danes, Poles, Catholics, liberals, social democrats and Jews.
  27. As Nietzsche writes, 'Even in the political realm, hostility has now become more spiritual....Almost every party sees that its self-preservation is best served if its opposition does not lose its strength; and the same applies to grand politics. A new creation more particularly, such as the new *Reich*, has greater need of enemies than friends: only as a contrast does it begin to feel necessary, only as a contrast does it *become* necessary' (TI 'Morality' 3). In 1887 Bismarck had written, in the spirit of opposing the idea of the annihilation of the enemy, that 'France's continued existence as a great power is just as needful to us as that of any other of the great powers'. *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette*, VII, pp. 177–8. Quoted in Edward Mead Earle, 'Hitler: The Nazi Concept of War', *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler*, ed. Edward Mead Earle (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1943), p. 510.
  28. Jan Rehmann, 'Re-Reading Nietzsche with Domenico Losurdo's Intellectual Biography'. *Historical Materialism* 15, 2007, pp. 1–60, p. 5.
  29. BT 'Attempt at a Self-Criticism', 1886.
  30. While Nietzsche considered Bismarck to be an anti-Semite (see, for example, KSA 122[98] 1886), Gordon Craig writes that 'Bismarck's attitude toward anti-Semitism was always ambivalent. His son Herbert once explained that the Chancellor opposed Stöcker because of his radical social views and because he was attacking the *wrong* Jews, the rich ones, who were committed to the *status quo*, rather than the propertyless Jews in the Parliament and the Press, who had nothing to lose and therefore joined every opposition movement'. Gordon A. Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 155, n. 42.
  31. Taylor remarks that 'Bismarck disliked war, though not primarily for the suffering that it involved. War was for him a clumsy way of settling international disputes'. Taylor, *Bismarck: The Man and Statesman*, p. 79.
  32. James N. Retallack, *Notables of the Right: The Conservative Party and Political Mobilization in Germany, 1876–1918* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1988), p. 45.

33. Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, trans. Noah Jonathan Jacobs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 122.
34. See Craig, *Germany*, p. 63.
35. Vernon L. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878–1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 53.
36. Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany*, p. 51.
37. Lidtke comments that 'there were four fundamental reasons for [Bismarck's] desire to crush the SPD: in constitutional-political outlook, they were republican, and therefore a threat to monarchy; in foreign affairs, they were internationalists, which implied to Bismarck that they would be friends of Germany's enemies; in domestic affairs, they sought a fundamental transformation of the existing social and economic order, opposed to the Junker foundation of the society; and, in religious matters, they were atheists, and thus undermined the religious and moral norms of Christian society'. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, p. 71.
38. Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 125.
39. Retallack, *Notables of the Right*, p. 45.
40. EH BT 4.
41. See Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890–1990* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), p. 85.
42. Letter to Franziska and Elisabeth Nietzsche, April 20, 1864, KSB 1:277.
43. Ibid.
44. Letter to Franziska and Elisabeth Nietzsche, end of June 1866, KSB 2:134–5 (cited as beginning of July). *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Christopher Middleton (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969; repr. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), p. 14.
45. Letter to Gersdorff, end of August 1866, KSB 2:159. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 17.
46. Ibid, p. 18, KSB 2:159.
47. Theodor Schieder, *The State and Society in Our Times*, trans. C. A. M. Sym (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), p.25. Nietzsche appears to belatedly concur in a note from 1885 where he associates socialism's principal event as the Paris Commune even echoing Bebel's speech in the *Reichstag*: 'the coming century is likely to be convulsed in more than one spot, and the Paris Commune, which finds defenders and advocates even in Germany, will seem to have been but a slight indigestion compared with what is to come'. KSA 11 37[11] 1885 WP 125.
48. See Letter to Franziska and Elisabeth Nietzsche, December 12, 1870, KSB 3:163.
49. See Wehler, *The German Empire*, p. 150.
50. Letter to Gersdorff, November 7, 1870, KSB 3:155. See Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, pp. 70–1, n. 43.
51. UM 'David Strauss', 1.
52. Gustav Freytag's *Grenzboten* responded to Nietzsche's arguments: 'When has Germany ever been greater, sounder, and more worthy of the name of a people of culture than today?' *Die Grenzboten*, xxxii, no. 4, 1873, p. 104ff. Quoted in Craig, *Germany*, p. 36.
53. See UW 26[16] 1873; UW 27[24] 1873; UW 27[60] 1873; UW 27[66] 1873 and UW 32[71] 1874.
54. UW 30[8] 1873–74.
55. Peter Bergmann writes, 'The Commune was, moreover, a profound shock that seemingly confirmed all his fears of the cultural barbarism of the lower classes'.

- Bergmann, *Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German'*, p. 120. In particular, Nietzsche could not contain his anger towards the anarchist Bakunin, 'who out of hatred for the present wants to destroy history and the past. Now, to be sure, in order to eradicate the entire past it also would be necessary to eradicate human beings: but he only wants to destroy all prior *cultivation*, our intellectual inheritance in its entirety' (UW 26[14] 1873).
56. Letter to Gersdorff, June 21, 1871, KSB 3:204. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, pp. 80–1.
  57. *Ibid.*, KSB 3:203.
  58. See KSA 1:767.
  59. BT 18.
  60. See Lionel Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 430.
  61. Abrams remarks that 'Despite classic liberal principles such as freedom of the individual the liberals supported the [illiberal] *Kulturkampf* by arguing that the repressive influence of the Catholic Church had to be dismantled if the German people were to be emancipated as individuals'. Abrams, *Bismarck and the German Empire*, p. 30.
  62. See Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 84.
  63. *Ibid.*
  64. See Lionel Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt*, p. 257.
  65. UW 32[80] 1874.
  66. Nietzsche's view of the Roman Catholic Church is expressed in a letter to Erwin Rohde dated February 28, 1875, KSB 5:27–8, where Nietzsche derides their friend Romundt's conversion to Roman Catholicism: 'do not fall off your chair when you hear that Romundt has plans to enter the Roman Catholic Church, and to become a priest in Germany ... This wounds me inwardly ... and sometimes I feel it is the most wicked thing that anyone could do to me'. Towards the end of the letter, he adds: '[I] am deeply ashamed when it is suspected of me that I have had anything to do with this utterly odious Catholic business'. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, pp. 131–2.
  67. Prophetic because, by the time it ended, 'Not only had ecclesiastical power not been broken, but the Catholic Church had emerged from the struggle with its organisational edifice intact and its ideological buttresses stronger than ever before ...' See Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870–1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 50–1.
  68. Quoted in James Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 183.
  69. Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany*, p. 73.
  70. Wehler, *The German Empire*, p. 95. Elsewhere Wehler writes, 'the anti-Socialist law, was intended as "a prophylactic measure" against social upheavals, completing his policy of taming the working classes'. Wehler, 'Bismarck's Imperialism, 1862–1890', p. 200.
  71. Tal explains that "'Practical Christianity" ... was coined by Bismarck at the beginning of the eighties to justify the regime's social policy and to seize the initiative from the Social Democrats by showing the social concern of an antisocialist imperial regime for improving the conditions of the workers by passing laws such as national insurance... [Bismarck:] to assert the political power of Christianity, and to contain the non-Christian forces of socialism and "Manchester" liberalism'. Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 133.

72. Lidtke, *The Outlawed Party*, p. 156.
73. Retallack, *Notables of the Right*, p. 48.
74. See Bergmann, *Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German'*, p. 32. The précis is dated January 13, 1862. See *Nietzsche Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Nachgelassene Aufzeichnungen*, Herbst 1858–Herbst 1862, de Gruyter, 2000, p. 357.
75. See Nietzsche's reference to the 'Schulze-Delitzsch model' in UW 29[66] 1873. The Liberal, Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch was the founder of the German credit and cooperative movement, which was committed to alleviating the material and spiritual plight of the working classes resulting from the decline of traditional society.
76. Quoted in Rehmann, 'Re-Reading Nietzsche with Domenico Losurdo's Intellectual Biography', p. 9. Nietzsche refers to the Imperial Message of November 17, 1881 in GS 188.
77. GS 188.
78. The *Kolonialgesellschaft* or *Kolonialverein* (Colonial Union) was established in Germany in 1882.
79. See Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 201.
80. KSA 12 9[173] 1887 WP 315.
81. EH CW 3. It is interesting to note here that Catholic Germany, reintegrating itself into the *Reich* after the *Kulturkampf*, became involved in German colonialism. As Smith writes, 'Partly through the antislavery campaign, partly through the missionary activity of... [the] Jesuits, Catholic Germany became... involved in the new national state's "civilising mission" ... for the goal of Christianising and cultivating the African natives'. Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, p. 76.
82. Erich Eyck, *Bismarck and the German Empire* (New York: Norton, 1968), p. 275.
83. KSA 11 37[9] 1885. Nietzsche writes, 'In order... that Europe may enter into the battle for the mastery of the world with good prospects of victory – it is easy to perceive against whom this battle will be waged – she must probably "come to an understanding" with England. The English colonies are needed for this struggle ...'
84. Bergmann, *Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German'*, p. 163.
85. D 206.
86. One of the four broad conceptual areas that discussion of colonialism in Germany centred on. See *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Conference 1884–1885 and the Onset of Partition*, eds. Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Ronald Robinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 122.
87. WS 87.
88. BGE 208.
89. Letter to Franziska and Elisabeth Nietzsche, March 14, 1885, KSB 7:23. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 238.
90. Quoted in Craig, *Germany*, p. 153.
91. See Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 146.
92. KSA 13 11[148] 1887–88 WP 30.
93. KSA 13 11[235–6] 1887–88 WP 748.
94. See Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 253.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid. p. 227.
97. Ibid.
98. Letter to Franz Overbeck, March 24, 1887, KSB 8:48. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 264.

99. GM III 26.
100. See GM II 11.
101. HH 475.
102. Like Nietzsche, Treitschke also 'interpreted the principle of integration as a complete ethnic-religious fusion in the sense of miscegenation'. Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 65.
103. BGE 251.
104. In a note from 1884, Nietzsche had already given the Jewish role in his new Europe some consideration: 'we require, too, the cleverest financiers, the Jews, in order to rule on earth'. See KSA 11 26[335] 1884.
105. See Letter to Georg Brandes, December 2, 1887, KSB 8:206. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 279.
106. See Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt*, pp. 288–9.
107. Roth, *The Social Democrats in Imperial Germany*, p. 28.
108. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 154–5. Uriel Tal remarks that "Treitschke expressed the fear felt by the "entire spiritual aristocracy of Germany" in the face of the rising lower social classes and the growing strength of the left, which aroused in his words "fears for the ideal cultural possessions that are imperiled by the brutish movement of the lower classes" ...' Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 67.
109. TI 'Skirmishes' 39.
110. Ibid. 38.
111. See, for example, 'The Greek State'; GS 377; TI 'Skirmishes', 38, 39; KSA 13[14]182 1888 WP 864.
112. Bismarck, *Gesammelten Werke*, XI, 611. Quoted in Theodor Schieder, 'Nietzsche and Bismarck', *The Historian* 29 (4), August, 1967, p. 591. For Nietzsche's reference to the Paris Commune and his echoing of the warning in Bebel's speech, see n. 47 above.
113. See Letter to Malwida von Meysenbug, September 24, 1886, KSB 7:257. Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 257.
114. See n. 17 above.

## 1 Schulpforta, 1862

1. The essay consists of two parts: a shorter introduction and a longer account of Napoleon III as president. The second and longer part plagiarises (with direct quotation and paraphrasing) Wolfgang Menzel's *Geschichte der letzten vierzig Jahre, 1816–1856*.

## 2 Agonistic Politics, 1871–1874

1. Letter to Franziska and Elisabeth Nietzsche, April 20, 1864, KSB 1:277.
2. Letter to Hermann Muschacke, August 30, 1865, KSB 2:80.
3. Letter to Franziska Nietzsche, June 1865, KSB 2:66.
4. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, August 4, 1865, KSB 2:76.
5. Letter to Franziska and Elisabeth Nietzsche, beginning July 1866, KSB 2:136.
6. Ibid.
7. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, end of August 1866, KSB 2:159.
8. Ibid.
9. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, February 20, 1867, KSB 2:199.

10. Ibid.
11. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, February 16, 1868, KSB 2:258.
12. Letter to Wilhelm Vischer (-Bilfinger), August 8, 1870, KSB 3:133.
13. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, November 7, 1870, KSB 3:155.
14. Letter to Wilhelm Vischer (-Bilfinger), May 27, 1871, KSB 3:195.
15. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, June 21, 1871, KSB 3:204.
16. Letter to Erwin Rohde, March 29, 1871, KSB 3:190.
17. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, November 7, 1870, KSB 3:155.
18. UW 27[66]1873.
19. Ibid. 27[24]1873.
20. Ibid. 32[80]1874.
21. Letter to Erwin Rohde, November 23, 1870, KSB 3:160.
22. Letter to Carl von Gersdorff, June 21, 1871, KSB 3:203–4.
23. UW 32[63]1873.

In this passage, Nietzsche is referring to the ‘representational constitution’ of the German *Reich* (1871), which was known as the Prusso-German constitution.

### 3 The Free Spirit, 1878–1880

1. HH 476.
2. HH 475.
3. EH HH 1.
4. WS 229 (not included in this volume).
5. See HH P 6.
6. WS 221.
7. EH HH 1.
8. HH 463.
9. HH 237.
10. HH 244.
11. HH 261.
12. The first volume of *Human, All Too Human* was published in May 1878.
13. HH 473.
14. As Bergmann observes. Peter Bergmann, *Nietzsche, ‘the Last Antipolitical German’* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 121.
15. HH 473.
16. WS 286.
17. HH 451.
18. HH 235.
19. HH 457.
20. MM 304.
21. Whether or not Nietzsche supported the anti-Socialist Laws is difficult to determine unequivocally. The only passage which explicitly refers to the ‘exceptional rules’ that have made ‘enemies’ – although ‘welcome enemies’ – of the socialist movement, and which thus sheds some light on Nietzsche’s perception of these ‘rules’, is MM 316: ‘The socialistic movements are today becoming more and more agreeable than terrifying to the dynastic governments, because by these movements they are provided with *a right and a weapon* for making exceptional rules, and can thus attack the figures that really fill them with terror, the democrats and anti-dynasts. – Towards all that such governments professedly detest they feel a secret cordiality and inclination ...’ Nietzsche’s position is that

dynastic governments (by which he means the Bismarckian/Wilhelmian *Reich*) introduced the anti-Socialist Laws ('exceptional rules') primarily to target the 'democrats and anti-dynasts' (by which he means the National Liberal and Progressive Liberal parties). This passage reveals that Nietzsche believed that Bismarck's measures were not really designed to undermine the power of the socialists, but of the liberals. Nietzsche's perception was partially correct as Bismarck's conservative goals required the weakening, or splitting, of the liberals in the *Reichstag* which debate over these Laws effectively achieved. Nevertheless, Nietzsche is wholly accurate in identifying a technique of political rule typically utilised by Bismarck, that is, governing through raising the threat of common enemies, yet Nietzsche appears to be grossly underestimating Bismarck's actual view of the socialists as a serious political threat to the *Reich*. Certainly, Nietzsche would have been aware of the extensive persecution of the socialist movement, the closing of their presses, the deportation and imprisonment of their leaders; these were not acts that betrayed a 'secret cordiality'. The question is: is Nietzsche supporting the democrats in this passage or is he suggesting that the government should have gone further and outlawed the socialist party completely (as the Laws permitted the parliamentary caucus of the SPD to continue to operate in the *Reichstag*)? The beginning of an answer may be found in Curtis Cate's remark that Nietzsche 'felt misgivings about the concessions the German Chancellor seemed prepared to make in not ruthlessly outlawing all communist and socialist movements'. See Curtis Cate, *Friedrich Nietzsche: A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 273.

22. MM 306.
23. WS 292.
24. HH 439.
25. HH 472.
26. See *ibid.*
27. WS 293.
28. See HH 450.
29. *Ibid.*
30. See HH 472.
31. He had, after all, assisted in the drafting of the Manifesto of the German Conservative Party in 1876, although it was the Free Conservative Party who were ultimately the Bismarckian Party.
32. HH 438.
33. *Ibid.*
34. WS 275.
35. *Ibid.*

#### 4 The Campaign against Morality, 1881–1885

1. GS 188.
2. GS 24.
3. D 173.
4. EH D 2.
5. D 132.
6. *Ibid.*
7. D 206.
8. See D 534 and GS 10.



9. GS 40.
10. GS 42.
11. D 206.
12. D 190.
13. GS 283.
14. See GS 291 and KSA 10 7[26–27] 1883 WP 1026.
15. GS 23.
16. KSA 11 37[8] 1885 WP 957.
17. See, for example, D 188 and GS 236.
18. D 188.
19. Z 'On the new idol'. Zarathustra's speeches in Part One were given in a city called 'The Colourful Cow', which displays the same diversity belonging to the modern democratic city. It is also worth noting that Socrates referred to democracy as the most 'colourful' of regimes because it is home to all sorts of human beings and provides the most natural setting for the philosopher seeking initiates or companions (Plato, *Republic* 557c-d, 558a-b). See Laurence Lampert, *Nietzsche's Teaching: An Interpretation of Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 33.
20. Z 'On the rabble'.
21. Z 'On the tarantulas'.
22. Z 'On old and new tablets' 12.
23. Z 'On old and new tablets' 25.
24. Z 'Conversations with the kings' 1.
25. KSA 11 34[177] 1885 WP 753.
26. KSA 11 34[109] 1885.
27. KSA 11 26[9] 1884 WP 854.
28. KSA 11 25[174] 1884 WP 861.
29. See KSA 11 26[335] 1884.
30. KSA 11 37[9] 1885.
31. See KSA 11 26[335] 1884 and KSA 11 26[336] 1884.
32. KSA 11 37[9] 1885.
33. KSA 11 26[335] 1884.
34. KSA 11 37[9] 1885.
35. KSA 11 35[9] 1885 WP 132.
36. D 112.
37. KSA 11 37[9] 1885.
38. KSA 11 35[9] 1885 WP 132.

## 5 Aristocratic Radical, 1886–1887

1. EH BGE 2.
2. BGE 202.
3. BT 'Attempt at a Self-Criticism' 6 (not included in this volume).
4. BGE 203.
5. BGE 202 and KSA 12 10[5] 1887 WP 1017.
6. BGE 202.
7. GS 377.
8. BGE 251.
9. GS 377.
10. KSA 12 2[57] 1885–86 WP 960. See, also, BGE 61.

11. See, for example, BGE 258.
12. KSA 12 9[173] 1887 WP 315. Nietzsche would also express his disappointment that slavery ended in the United States after the Civil War. He refers to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), as a misguided disciple of Rousseau. See KSA 11 25[178] 1884 (not included in this volume).
13. BGE 239.
14. BGE 257.
15. Ibid.
16. BGE 203.
17. BGE 22.
18. GM II 11.
19. See BGE 257.
20. KSA 12 10[5] 1887 WP 1017.
21. See Lionel Gossman, *Basel in the Age of Burckhardt: A Study in Unseasonable Ideas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 391. To Overbeck in 1882, Nietzsche writes: 'For me, the Renaissance remains the climax of this millennium, and what has happened since then is the grand reaction of all kinds of herd instincts against the "individualism" of that epoch'. *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. and trans. Christopher Middleton (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969; repr. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1996), p.195.
22. BGE 242.
23. KSA 12 9[153] 1887 WP 898.
24. GM I 16.
25. Ibid.
26. GS 362.
27. GM I 16.
28. BGE 46.
29. GM I 7.
30. See KSA 12 2[76] 1885–86 WP 660.
31. BGE 202.
32. GM I 5.
33. See GS 362.
34. Peter Bergmann, *Nietzsche, 'the Last Antipolitical German'* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 162.
35. BGE 208.
36. See BGE 254.
37. BGE 241.
38. See GM II 11.
39. BGE 251.
40. Ibid.
41. GS 377.
42. GM I 7.
43. BGE 251.
44. Ibid.
45. BGE 208.
46. Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, trans. Jonathan Jacobs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 122.
47. See, for example, GS 358.
48. Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany*, p. 132.

49. See BGE 256. In a letter to Malwida von Meysenbug, September 1886, Nietzsche observes, 'the whole Wagner business seems to be an unconscious approach to Rome, which is doing the same thing inwardly as Bismarck is doing outwardly'. See Middleton, *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche*, p. 256.
50. GS 358.
51. GS 377.
52. See KSA 12 10[117] 1887 WP 361.
53. GM II 24.

## 6 The Antichrist, 1888

1. Letter to Heinrich Köselitz, June 20, 1888, KSB 8:338–9.
2. The subtitle of *The Antichrist*.
3. See, for example, AC 57 and KSA 13 14[29–30] 1888 WP 373. Nietzsche's critique of these ideologies invariably revolves around the issues of equality, altruism, revolution and the 'social' or 'labour question'.
4. KSA 13 11[235] 1887–88 WP 748.
5. KSA 12 10[81] 1887 (not included in this volume).
6. EH CW 2.
7. Letter to Georg Brandes, October 20, 1888, KSB 8:456.
8. See KSA 13 25[18] 1888 (not included in this volume).
9. Letter to Heinrich Köselitz, October 30, 1888, KSB 8:462.
10. AC 43.
11. KSA 13 14[6] 1888 WP 51.
12. TI 'Morality' 3.
13. See KSA 12 10[135] 1887–88 WP 211.
14. See GS 357.
15. See Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914*, trans. Jonathan Jacobs (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 133.
16. See, for example, KSA 13 11[148] 1887–1888 WP 30 (not included in this volume): 'The Church is still permitted to obtrude into all important experiences and main points of individual life... we still have the "Christian state"....' In *Twilight of the Idols*, Nietzsche writes, 'People forget that education, that *Bildung*, is itself an end – and not "the Reich"....' TI 'Improvers' 5.
17. TI 'Germans' 4.
18. EH 'wise' 3, First version.
19. Ibid.
20. TI 'Germans' 4.
21. KSA 13 11[235] 1887–88 WP 748.
22. See AC 62.
23. AC 43.
24. TI 'Skirmishes' 37.
25. AC 37.
26. TI 'Skirmishes' 39.
27. Ibid. 38.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. 39.
30. Ibid. 37.
31. EH CW 2.

32. See AC 61.
33. AC 2.
34. See EH 'good books' 1.
35. AC 57.
36. KSA 13 25[13] 1888 (not included in this volume).
37. A mutual security treaty between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy drafted in May 1882.
38. Letter to Helen Zimmern, December 8, 1888, KSB 8:512. For an account of this letter see Curtis Cate, *Friedrich Nietzsche: A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 544.
39. Letter to Kaiser Wilhelm II, beginning December 1888, KSB 8:503. Quoted in Cate, *ibid.*, p. 547. For similar remarks, see EH 'destiny' 1. The spectre of global wars is intrinsic to Nietzsche's vision of *grand politics*.

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