



nietzsche

Conferencia Internacional / International Conference

el devenir de la vida the becoming of life

Actas / Proceedings

**AEON - Lifetime and Eternity: Some Remarks
on the Ancient Greek Roots of Nietzsche's
Concept of Life**

GÜNTER WOHLFART

Bergische Universität Wuppertal

Alemania

AEON - Lifetime and Eternity: Some Remarks on the Ancient Greek Roots of Nietzsche's Concept of Life

GÜNTER WOHLFART

Bergische Universität Wuppertal

Alemania

Mr. Wohlfart taught at different universities in Germany and abroad. He held a chair of philosophy at Wuppertal University from 1987 to 2003 and was president of the Académie du Midi, France from 1988 to 2002. Since twenty years he specializes in ancient Chinese thinking. Wohlfart published fifteen books, among them four on Nietzsche and more than a hundred articles, translated into several languages. He is retired since 2003 and lives in Southern France.

1. Nietzsche and Heraclitus

In the preface to his early text *Über das Pathos der Wahrheit* Nietzsche draws the following pathetic picture: "Only in the wildest, most frozen desolation of the mountains can one feel anything of the loneliness that pierced the heart of the hermit of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. ... he is like a star without atmosphere. His eye that flames inwardly looks outwardly icy and dead, as if it only seemed to look. All around him the waves of madness break against the last ramparts of his pride..."¹

The wild hermit is Heraclitus, the dark one from Ephesus, or I'd better say: it's Nietzsche's Heraclitus. Against the backdrop of Diogenes Laertius' depiction of Heraclitus² and Nietzsche's interpretation one sees Nietzsche himself in *his* landscape of the Upper Engadine. Does one not see in this depiction an astonishing anticipation of Hans Olde's etching of the late Nietzsche of 1898?

In Nietzsche's imagination Heraclitus' portrait becomes one with his own self-portrait.

It's striking how forcefully Nietzsche has written himself into this portrait, as Hölscher already noticed.³

Nietzsche's Heraclitus takes on the features of Nietzsche's Nietzsche and later on, of Nietzsche's Zarathustra.

The so-called 'philosopher's treatise', *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks*, was the fruit of Nietzsche's lectures on pre-platonic philosophy at Basle in the summer semester of 1872. "The centre of the treatise is the presentation of Heraclitus", Fink maintains⁴, or as Colli rightly puts it in his afterword to the writings of the Basle period: "The most convincing pages of this text are devoted in fact to Heraclitus..."⁵

As for the way Nietzsche sees himself, we certainly can affirm not only the immense importance of Heraclitus for the young Nietzsche, but the fact that he "through all the various stages of his development" looked on Heraclitus as his "authority and source".⁶

In particular the late Nietzsche, who affirmed: "With respect and awe I set aside the name of *Heraclitus*"⁷, returned to the intention of his early Heraclitus-interpretation.

Beside Heraclitus he mentions Empedocles as one of his ancient Greek ancestors.

Where for example the young Nietzsche refers to Heraclitus as a 'tragic' philosopher⁸, the late Nietzsche of *Ecce Homo* sees himself as the first 'tragic philosopher'...

To conclude the first part of my paper, I want to affirm, that Heraclitus was for Nietzsche, before his 'master' Schopenhauer, from whom he later increasingly distanced himself, *the* philosopher, the sole model and exemplar from the time of the early treatises on tragedy and on the pre-socratic philosophers right up to his own late philosophy. In Heraclitus Nietzsche saw prefigured his own 'tragic' philosophy of life, whose 'hardest, heaviest thought' is the eternal recurrence.

"The doctrine of 'eternal recurrence', which means the unconditioned and endlessly repeated movement in a circle of all things – this teaching of Zarathustra *could* ultimately also have been taught by Heraclitus"⁹, as Nietzsche said in *Ecce Homo*.

2. Heraclitus' Fragment B 52 and its Importance for Nietzsche's Philosophy of Life

2.1 Nietzsche's Fragment B 52

Fragment B 52 stands "at the centre of (Nietzsche's G.W.) interpretation of Heraclitus"¹⁰.

This fragment, along with Nietzsche's interpretation and translation of it into his own thought, can be seen as a decisive point of intersection for various lines which connect the early Nietzsche of the Basle years with the late and the 'hardest' thought of eternal recurrence, the apex of Nietzsche's philosophy of life.

In the Basle lecture on Heraclitus, fragment B 52 occurs six times, and in the treatise on *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks* seven times.

Nietzsche's most extensive interpretation of B 52 is at the beginning of this seventh chapter of the 'Philosophers' treatise'. The opening passage is particularly interesting in view of the later depiction of the third transformation of the spirit in chapter one of the *Zarathustra*. I'll come back to it.

In chapter seven of the 'Philosophers' treatise' it reads: "A waxing and waning, a building and destroying without any moral sanction in eternally unchanging innocence ... And as the child and the artist play, so too does the eternally living fire play, builds and destroys in innocence – and this game is the game played by the aeon with itself."¹¹

It's evident: without quoting the fragments B52 and B 30/31 (*pur aeizoon*), he melts these fragments together in order to draw his own picture of the creativity of the artist. Alluding to a famous passage from Homer's *Ilias* (15.360 ff.), where Homer compares Apollo's destruction of Troy with the destruction of a sand-castle by a playing child, Nietzsche continuously to draw his fantasy- picture of the artist who creates new worlds and new life.¹²

It's obvious: as Heraclitus himself used Homer's picture of the playing child in his fragment B 52, Nietzsche uses Heraclitus' fragment B 52, to sketch his own 'artist-metaphysics'.

Nietzsche's illustration of what he calls the 'aesthetic perception of the world-play' leaves no doubt that he uses Heraclitus' fragments and especially his dark 'philosophical boulder' B 52 to build the basement for his own later philosophy of life. His interpretation of Heraclitus' fragment B 52 determines his thought up to the time of his *Zarathustra*, where he develops his later doctrine of eternal recurrence. B 52 is the philosophical knot in which Nietzsche's 'artist-metaphysics' of life is tied together with his doctrine of eternal recurrence.

I'll come back to this strange doctrine in a minute.

But because of the fundamental importance of Heraclitus' fragment B 52 for Nietzsche's concept of life, 'we philologists' should have a closer look at this mysterious fragment and try to read it without Nietzsche's accessories.

It's worth it, not only regarding its importance for Nietzsche.

2.2 Heraclitus' Fragment B 52

B 52, surely one of the darkest of Heraclitus' dark fragments, consists of only eight words.

For time reasons I have to concentrate on the first word, which is the key-word : *aion* (engl. *aeon*, dt. *Äon*)

Apart from *chronos*, the godparent of the chronometer, the one who devours his children and *kairos*, the bald-headed one with the curl on the forehead, symbolizing the right moment to grasp an opportunity, *aion* is the third and nowadays nearly forgotten concept of time in ancient Greece.

In a small dictionary you probably will find the translation (*a*)*eon*, *era* or simply *eternity*. If you have a look at the *Liddle/Scott/Jones, the classical Greek-English Lexicon*, you'll find out that the case is much more complicated and that the usual translation *eternity* is only the *meta-physical* end of a long developmental history of the concept *aion* which originally meant something very *physical* and vivid, something full of life.

Let's first have a short look at the whole fragment, before we regard the shift of meaning of our *aion*.

According to the main source in Hippolytus¹³ fragment B52 reads:

Aion pais esti paizon, pesseuon; paidos he basileie. Diels translates:

*Die Zeit(i.e. aion G.W.) ist ein Knabe , der spielt, hin und her Brettsteine setzt: Knabenregiment.*¹⁴

Bollack /Wismann translate: *La vie (i.e. aion, G.W.) est bien un enfant qui enfante, qui joue. A l'enfant d'etre roi.*¹⁵

The great Heraclitus-researcher Kirk translates: *Aion is a child at play, playing draughts, the kingship is a child's.*¹⁶ For good reasons Kirk does not give a translation of *aion* , but only a transliteration.

Well now, what about this unknown *aion*?

I use the above mentioned *Greek English Lexicon* by Liddle/Scott/Jones (Oxford 1968) , because the following view over the semantic field of the word *aion* also can be regarded as a short survey of the history of this concept from its

beginning in Homer up to the personification of *aion* in Heraclitus and in the later Hellenistic *aion*-theology.

Liddle/Scott/Jones give us the following spectrum of meanings:

A. *period of existence*

I.1 *lifetime, life*. Examples for this old meaning are to be found in Homer (*Ilias* 15.360 sic! G.W.) as well as in Aischylos and Herodot.

2. *age, generation*. I'll come back to the *generation* as the act of generating. 3. *one's life, destiny, lot*.

II.1 *long space of time, age*.

2. *space of time, epoch, age, world, the ages, eternity*. Think of the world-ages in Hesiod and Ovid. These world-ages were 'great years of recurrence'. *Aion* in the sense of *eternity* is common already in the 3rd. century BC and Aristotle already called the *aion* the *aei on*, the *always being*.¹⁷ About since Plato and Aristotle the *aion* was understood in the sense of *eternity*, in which the older meaning resonates. Later on, in Hellenism and Christianity *aion* means something like an extra-temporal eternity and the original meaning gets lost.

3. *Aion*, personified, as the royal child in Heraclitus' or as the son of *chronos* in Euripides.¹⁸ The *Aion* is a figure with changing outlines. Probably Zoroastrian concepts (sic! G.W.) merged with Hellenistic elements.

The Heraclitian figure of *Aion* points –on the one hand– forwards to Plato's eternity.

The Heraclitian figure of *Aion* points –on the other hand– backwards to Homer, where *aion* still had the concrete meaning of *lifetime, life, force of life*. The spectrum of meanings thus reaches from something *meta-physical* in the Platonic and Aristotelian sense of *eternity* to something very *physical*, vital in the Homeric sense of *force of life*.

There is a striking point that illuminates the latter primordial meaning.

In the Liddle/Scott/Jones is to be found a category B. There you will find a translation of *aion*, which I personally didn't understand *prima vista*. It reads:

A. *spinal marrow (Rückenmark)(sic!)*.

(Good to know: The spinal marrow was regarded as seat of life.¹⁹The ancient Greeks believed, that the sperm came from the spinal marrow.)

The well known French specialist in ancient Greek studies, Benveniste, explained:

“Chez Homère, *aion* s'entend encore dans sa pleine signification humaine; non *temps de vie*, mais *force de vie*(...). C'est bien parce que *aion* est la source de toute vigueur, et non pas seulement la durée de l'existence(...) C'est la persistance de l'*aion* qui mesurera la durée de la vie.”²⁰

I agree with Benveniste, who traces back the later meaning *eternity* to the earlier *lifetime* and then again to the original anatomic meaning *force of life, vitality*. This vitality, this 'marrow of life' is fertility, the force of *generating*, engendering life

and new *generations*. This natural process, the becoming of life, repeats itself during thirty years i.e. one generation and thus its permanent, periodical recurrence becomes the model for the later 'world-time'.

From fertility to eternity: what a development!

To sum up, I'd like to say: Heraclitus' *Aion* is the eternal (ever) living – or I'd better say – the permanent vitality or vividness in individuo. And when I say 'eternal' or 'ever', it's not to be understood in a teleological or eschatological sense, as something final post- or extra-temporal, but on the contrary as something intra-temporal, as something which periodically repeats or recurs in the course of time and life. No doubt: *Aion* did not mean anything like an unchanging eternity. It rather meant the constant change of life(time). It meant the eternal, i.e. the never ending, periodical process of generating life.

In short: *Aion* was the personified cycle of generation (and degeneration and decline); the periods of becoming of life (and going by).

So far my explanation of the key-word of Heraclitus' fragments B 52.

I suppose that Nietzsche knew most of what I just told you. He was a brilliant philologist.

No need then to explain, why B 52 fascinated him and inspired him from the early Basle-days up to his late doctrine of eternal recurrence.

It's impossible to understand Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* without the ancient Greek background. I claim that it's nearly the same with his *Zarathustra*, and especially with its leitmotif, the doctrine of eternal recurrence.

3. The Doctrine of Eternal Recurrence in Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*

Eighteen years ago – in 1991 – I published a book with the title *Also sprach Herakleitos – Thus spoke Herakleitos*. The title should indicate that Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* is something like a palimpsest, one of these ancient parchments which were written on again after the erasure of the original text.

That means: if we listen properly we'll hear the echo of Heraclitus' voice in Zarathustra's speech. In this former very meticulous book of mine, I wasted 200 pages on the translation/interpretation of Heraclitus' dark fragment 52 in order to show its relevance for Nietzsche's late doctrine of eternal recurrence in his *Thus spoke Zarathustra*.²¹

My paper today is something like an abstract, a retrospective résumé of my former book.

For time reasons I'll restrict myself to the short presentation of some passages from the four chapters of the *Zarathustra*, which are most relevant for the doctrine of eternal recurrence.

Let me begin with Zarathustra's first speech *On the Three Transformations*.

I use the better translation of my colleague and old friend Graham Parkes, which appeared in 2005 in *Oxford World's Classics*. I say better, because it's better than Hollingdale's translation in *Penguin Classics* from 1961.

To give you only one example: where Hollingdale misleadingly translates the famous words from Zarathustra's prologue: "*Ich lehre euch den Übermenschen*" by "*I teach you the Superman*"²². This translation corresponds to the cover of the pocket-book.

Parkes translates correctly: “*I teach to you the Overhuman.*”²³

No time here to go into the interesting history of the term ‘Übermensch’.

3.1 On the Three Transformations

The first speech of Zarathustra begins with the words:

“Three transformations of the spirit I name for you: how the spirit becomes a camel, and the camel a lion, and the lion at last a child.”²⁴

Coming to the third and highest transformation Zarathustra asks:

“...what can the child yet do that even the lion could not do? Why must the predatory lion yet become a child? - Innocence the child is and forgetting, a beginning anew, a play, a self-propelling wheel, a first movement, a sacred Yea-saying.”²⁵

If you read this passage with Nietzsche’s earlier B 52 – interpretation in mind, it will become evident what I meant when I called his *Zarathustra* a palimpsest.

The *Zarathustra* is a polymorphic text with several ‘layers’ and the deepest and oldest one in my opinion consists of Nietzsche’s collection and collage of Heraclitus’ fragments.

Among them B 52 plays the predominant role, as I pointed out above.

Regarding *Zarathustra*’s leitmotif, the doctrine of eternal recurrence, the interpretation of B 52 turns out again in the speech *On the Vision and Riddle* and becomes absolutely clear in *The Convalescent* – we’ll come back to it - , but it is already heralded by the above quoted passage on the third transformation of the spirit: think of the *child*, the *play* and the *wheel*.

The connection between the third transformation and B 52 has been noticed by Nietzsche- scholars from the very beginning with Neumann’s old *Zarathustra*-commentary.

For time- reasons I’ll skip the details.

3.2 On the Vision and the Riddle

The first part of Zarathustra’s speech *On the Vision and the Riddle* ends with the words: “‘Was *that* life? Well then. One more time!’ But in such a saying there is much ringing play.”²⁶

The second part of the speech, in which Zarathustra introduces his doctrine of eternal recurrence, begins with the words:²⁷ “‘Stop, dwarf!’ I said. ‘I, or you! But I am the stronger of us two – for you do not know my abyss-deep thought! *That* – you would not be able to bear!’ (...)

‘Behold this gateway, dwarf!’ I continued. ‘It has two faces. Two ways come together here: nobody has ever taken them to the end. ‘This long lane back here: it goes on for an eternity.

And that long lane out there – that is another eternity. ‘They contradict themselves, these ways; they confront one another head on, and here, at this gateway, is where they come together. The name of the gateway is inscribed above it: “Moment” (Augenblick G.W.) ‘But whoever should walk farther on one of them – on and on, farther and farther: do you believe, dwarf, that these ways contradict themselves eternally?’ – ‘All that is straight lies,’ murmured the dwarf contemptuously. All truth is crooked; time itself is a circle’.”

The text speaks for itself. The riddle of the circle of time will be solved in the chapter *The Convalescent*, where Nietzsche, after having used the image of the wheel more than once in several chapters of his *Zarathustra*, returns to this image in order to expound his ‘abyss-deep thought’ of eternal recurrence.

But before I come to the relevant passages in *The Convalescent* I want to draw your attention to the *Augenblick*. Parkes translates *moment*. It is the very *momentum* in which the two *opposite* eternities of past and future *coincide* in the *twinkling of an eye*, which is the literal translation of *Augen-blick*. In the very momentum of *coincidentia oppositorum*, in this very moment, in which past and future coincide (fall in one), we overcome time.

This transitory moment is the ‘lifetime-knot’, in which the ‘time-line’ from the past to the future is tied back into itself and moves – contrarotating – into a circle. In this ‘Augen-Blick’ the ‘flow of time’ momentarily ‘*hält an*’, in the double contradictory sense of the German word: it *lasts* and at the same time *stops*.

In the chapter *At Midday*, in my opinion the most profound depiction of Nietzsche’s ‘abyssal thought’, occurs the expression *Über-Zeit*, which reminds, not purely by chance, of the *Über-Mensch*, the *Over-Human*. (Parkes translates *Über-Zeit* by *Over-Time*, which is not to be misunderstood in the sense of *Über-Stunden*.) I’ll come back to the *Over-Time* in a minute.

Now, first to *The Convalescent*, where the connections between the doctrine of eternal recurrence and Nietzsche’s B 52 interpretation are most evident.

3.3 *The Convalescent*

In the first part it says:

“I, Zarathustra, the advocate of life, the advocate of suffering, the advocate of the circle – you I summon, my most abyss-deep thought!”²⁸

In the second part it continues:

“Everything goes, everything comes back, eternally rolls the wheel of Being. Everything dies, everything blooms again, eternally runs the year of Being.(...) In every now, Being begins; around every here rolls the ball of there. The centre is everywhere. Crooked is the path of eternity.”²⁹

And at the end of the chapter it says:

“For your animals know well, O Zarathustra, who you are and must become: behold, *you are the teacher of eternal recurrence* – that is now *your fate*. (...) Behold, we too

know what you teach: that all things recur eternally and we ourselves with them, and that we have already been here an eternity of times, and all things with us. You teach that there is a Great Year of Becoming, a monster of a Great Year, which must like an hour-glass turn itself over anew, again and again, that it may run down and run out ever anew...”³⁰

Zarathustra finishes his speech with the words:

“I come again, with this sun, with this earth, with this eagle, with this serpent – not to a new life or a better life or a similar life: I come eternally again to this self-same life, in the greatest and smallest respects, so that again I teach the eternal recurrence of all things-³¹ so that again I speak the word of the Great Earth- and Humans- Midday, and again bring to human beings the tidings of the Overhuman.”

Thus spoke Nietzsche.

This is his metaphysics which tries to overcome metaphysics.

And that his metaphysics in nuce is an ‘artist-metaphysics’ becomes clear in the chapter *At Midday*.

3.4 *At Midday*

This chapter is my favourite chapter in the *Zarathustra*. It was this chapter which inspired me, when I together with a former friend, founded twenty years ago our ‘Académie du Midi’ in Southern France, *Midi* like *Midday* and *Mittags*.

(By the way: Nietzsche never was in the ‘Midi’ but he knew the Mediterranean aura from Italy. If you read *At Midday*, you can hear the –sit venia verbo – ‘cry of silence’, the silence after the cicada’s cry during a Mediterranean summer midday. Nietzsche’s ‘intuitio mystica’³² – to use his own words, his aesthetic experience was genuine, authentic.)

Well: I think that the chapter *At Midday* is the apex of Nietzsche’s theory of eternal recurrence, and – as such – the culmination of his philosophy of life which is an ‘Artists-metaphysics’. It is not purely by chance that ‘*Great Midday*’ are Zarathustra’s last words at the end of the book.³³

The midday-moment or instant of ‘sudden eternity’, the Augenblick ‘plötzlicher Ewigkeit’, as Nietzsche calls it elsewhere³⁴, this mystical moment in which the world and my own life become perfect is an aesthetic peak-experience.

Let us listen to Nietzsche’s depiction of the ‘hour of perfect midday’:

“Still! Still! Did the world not just become perfect?³⁵ But what is happening to me? (...) Happiness! Happiness! Would you perhaps sing, O my soul? You lie in the grass. But this is the secret solemn hour, when no shepherd blows his flute.- Forbear! Hot midday sleeps upon the meadows. Do not sing! Still! The world is perfect.- Do not sing, you grass-wings, O my soul! Do not even whisper! Just look – still! The old midday sleeps; he moves his mouth: is he not just now drinking a drop of happiness - , an old brown drop of golden happiness, golden wine? It flits away over him, his happiness laughs. Thus – laughs a God. (Pan ? G.W.) Still! (...)Precisely the least, the softest, lightest, a lizard’s rustling, a breath, an instant, a moment’s glance (Augenblick G.W.) – a *little* makes for the *best* happiness. Still! What happened to

me :hearken! Did time just fly away ? Am I not falling? Did I not fall – hearken! Into the well of eternity?(...) –What? Did the world not just become perfect? Round and ripe? (...) Still - (and here Zarathustra stretches himself and felt that he was sleeping).- ‘Up!’ he said to himself, ‘you sleeper! You midday-sleeper! Well then, come now, you old legs! It is time and over-time...’³⁶

The ‘Augen-blick’ of sudden eternity, this ‘Augen-blitz’(lightning-glance) (Nietzsche probably picks up this word from Goethe or Jean Paul), this Augen-blick into the ‘well of eternity’ is a moment of happiness, a special happiness.

It is the *happy* moment of forgetting ourselves and ‘sacred Yea-saying’ – remember the third transformation of the spirit - , in which we say yes to whatever *happens* next. It is the rare moment in which the over-human overcomes himself and his ‘human all-too-human’ anxieties and enjoys life as a transitory *happening*.

It is this ‘high-time’- moment in which we *realize* our life, *realize* in the double sense of the word: ‘to become aware of’ and ‘to translate into action’.

Sometimes there comes such a moment in which we become aware of ‘a little’, a lizard’s rustling and all of a sudden we know: this is it.

This instant of ‘over-time’ is the rare instant of fulfilment of life.

Isn’t this orgiastic moment the sublimation of orgasm?

Ist es nicht die Voll-Endung und Aufhebung – im doppeltem Sinne des Wortes – der Zeugungskraft des Lebens?

Well, I hope this is no over-interpretation.

Notes

- ¹ Nietzsche , *Kritische Studienausgabe* (KSA) 1, 758.
- ² Cf. *Diogenes Laertii de clarorum philosophorum vitis...* IX, 1 and 3.
- ³ Cf. U. Hölscher , *Die Wiedergewinnung des antiken Bodens. Nietzsches Rückgriff auf Heraklit*, in *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* 15/16 : *Aktualität der Antike*, Göttingen 1979, 164.
- ⁴ E. Fink, *Nietzsches Philosophie*, Stuttgart 1960, 40.
- ⁵ KSA 1, 917
- ⁶ R. Oehler, *Friedrich Nietzsche und die Vorsokratiker*, Leipzig 1904, 72.
- ⁷ KSA 6, 75.
- ⁸ KSA 7, 118.
- ⁹ KSA 6 313.
- ¹⁰ E. Fink, loc.cit. 41.
- ¹¹ KSA 1.830.
- ¹² KSA 1. 830/1.
- ¹³ Hippolytus, *Refutationes* , IX, 9, 3f.
- ¹⁴ *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, hg. von Diels/Kranz, Berlin 1934, Bd. 1, 162.
- ¹⁵ J. Bollack/H. Wismann, *Héraclite ou la separation*, Paris 1972, 182.
- ¹⁶ G.S. Kirk, *Heraclitus, The Cosmic Fragments*, Cambridge 1954, XIII.
- ¹⁷ Aristotle, *De coelo*, 279a 23ff and 283bb 26ff. Gr. *Aion* is etymologically related with *aei*, *always*.
- ¹⁸ Euripedes, *Heraclidae* 900.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Homer *Ilias*, 19.27.
- ²⁰ E. Benveniste, *Expression Indo-Européenne de l'Éternité*, *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris*, 38, 1937, 107ff.
- ²¹ G. Wohlfart, *Also sprach Herakleitos, Heraklits Fragment b 52 und Nietzsches Heraklit-Rezeption*, Freiburg/München 1991.
- ²² Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Penguin Books, London 1961, 41.
- ²³ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Oxford World's Classics , Oxford 2005, 11.
- ²⁴ G. Parkes, 23.
- ²⁵ Loc.cit. 24.
- ²⁶ G. Parkes, 135.
- ²⁷ Loc.cit. 136.
- ²⁸ Loc.cit., 188.
- ²⁹ Loc.cit., 190.
- ³⁰ Loc.cit., 192/3.
- ³¹ Loc.cit., 193.
- ³² KSA 11, 232 Fragment 26(308): „Eigentlicher Zweck alles Philosophierens die intuitio mystica“.
- ³³ Loc.cit., 287.
- ³⁴ KSA 14, 338.
- ³⁵ In an annotation Graham Parkes reminds correctly of an early letter of Nietzsche's to his friend Carl v. Gersdorff, where he mentions Ralph Waldo Emerson Cf. G. Parkes , loc.cit., 318, note 241 as well as KSA 14, 338.
- ³⁶ G. Parkes, loc.cit. 241/2 This impressive picture probably was inspired by Emerson, as a letter to Carl v. Gersdorff shows.