



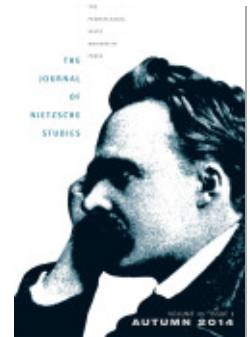
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Nietzsche's Reading About Eastern Philosophy

THOMAS H. BROBJER

There are some good reasons to believe that Nietzsche was interested in Eastern philosophy. While still at Schulpforta, he refers to it in his first philosophical essay. He thereafter became a follower of Schopenhauer, the philosopher with most interest in and similarity to Eastern philosophy. In his notebooks and books, he refers to different aspects of Asian philosophy on more than four hundred occasions, and in several of these he claims to be interested in it. In 1875, for example, he refers to his *desire* to read Indian philosophy, and he speaks of his increasing thirst to look toward India. Such an interest goes well with his interest in pessimism and cultural health. Nietzsche also assumes that many of the fundamental cultural influences on ancient Greece and on Europe had their origin in Asia. In the 1880s he frequently compares Christianity and modernity negatively to different aspects of Eastern philosophy and he chooses the saying "There are so many days that have not yet broken" from the Rig-Veda as the epigraph for *Dawn*. At the onset of his mental collapse, he even came to identify himself with Buddha: "I have been Buddha in India, Dionysos in Greece."¹

However, on the whole, this impression is deceptive. Nietzsche did have some interest in and knowledge of Eastern thought, primarily Indian philosophy, but I believe that it was less than most commentators have assumed, and less than one would expect from someone who had been philosophically brought up on Schopenhauerian philosophy (and less than that of most of his friends and acquaintances).

Much has been written about Nietzsche and Eastern philosophy, but remarkably little effort has been spent on determining Nietzsche's knowledge of and reading about different aspects of it, though this is somewhat less true for his relation to and knowledge about Buddhism.² It is my intention here to make a new attempt at discussing the extent of Nietzsche's reading about Eastern philosophy and literature. Knowledge of this seems to me to be a precondition for correctly analyzing and understanding Nietzsche's relation to, use of, and references to Asian thought. I will mention more than twice as many titles as has previously been mentioned, and will give a fairly detailed chronology of when Nietzsche read the different books. For some of the more well known works, I will also be able to show that he read them more than once, sometimes up to three times (and in several cases that he read them at all, since that has been doubted), and provide new information about the annotations he made in his copies.

Previous discussions of Nietzsche's knowledge of Eastern philosophy have missed many sources and said almost nothing about when Nietzsche read relevant works, which has prevented a closer understanding and better examination of their role and importance.

The main problems with most earlier examinations have been several:

(i) They have lacked knowledge about Nietzsche's reading and library, which have made them miss a number of relevant books and studies.

(ii) They have concentrated too much on Nietzsche's possible reading of original Indian texts and thus have paid too little attention to the secondary accounts that Nietzsche read.

(iii) They have falsely assumed that Nietzsche had not read a number of relevant books in his library that do not contain annotations (Sprung, for example, states that the books in Nietzsche's library by Böhmlink, Oldenberg, Deussen's *Sutras*, and Müller's *Essays* "bear no sign of having been opened," when Nietzsche actually had read all four of them carefully and excerpted from them in his notebooks).

(iv) They have lacked knowledge of Nietzsche's habit of rereading books, which is true for several of the books discussed here.

(v) Several of them, especially Sprung, began their examinations with too high expectations and therefore overreacted in the other direction, that is, underestimating Nietzsche's reading and knowledge of Indian thought.

In general, their conclusions have been that Nietzsche had little knowledge of, interest in, and sympathy for Indian thought and had read few relevant texts. Furthermore, that most of Nietzsche's fairly frequent discussions of (or allusions to) Indian thought, primarily Buddhism, Brahmanism, and the Laws of Manu were done for rhetorical reasons, rather than based on any close knowledge and lively interest.

On the whole, I agree with these conclusions, but they need to be modified and weakened to be correct. Nietzsche read significantly more than, for example, Sprung and Morrison assume, to mention the two latest studies in English, and read more carefully (but as a philosopher and cultural critic rather than as a scholar of Eastern thought). One needs also to be aware that Nietzsche used and trusted secondary accounts to a greater extent than is usually assumed. For example, his frequent discussions of Kant, Spinoza, and Rousseau seem to be based mostly on secondary accounts of their thinking. This was also in part true for his discussions of Indian thought.

In this essay, I will point out and briefly discuss several books that have not previously been mentioned in this context, and I have been able to date when Nietzsche read them. However, no doubt there exists a number of other books that Nietzsche read that contain relevant discussions of Eastern philosophy and Asian thought generally. To take one example, not only did Nietzsche read Schopenhauer carefully several times, but he was also well versed in Schopenhauerian literature—

works discussing Schopenhauer or works by Schopenhauerians, such as Hartmann, Dühring, Mainländer, and Bahnsen. It seems to me likely that several such texts contain relevant discussions of Eastern philosophy (even, if often, only briefly and in passing). In truth, there was a general interest in the Orient in Germany during the nineteenth century.³ Another such “overlapping” field in which it is likely that discussion of Eastern philosophy occurs is the several histories and general discussion of philosophy that Nietzsche read.⁴ Eastern philosophy is also mentioned or briefly discussed in a large number of other books that Nietzsche read, but which I will not discuss here.⁵

Below I will discuss Nietzsche's encounter with and reading about Eastern philosophy in chronological order under eighteen sections. At the beginning, each section deals with one relevant source or author; later each section will cover several sources and periods extending to several years. For the purpose of this essay, I use the terms “Eastern” and “Asian” philosophy more or less synonymously, and sometimes use “Oriental” when quoting or paraphrasing Nietzsche and his contemporaries. That having been said, the great majority of Nietzsche's sources, and most of his interest, was directed toward Indian thought.⁶

1. The first sign I have found of Nietzsche's interest in Indian thought is that in 1861 he wanted a copy of A. E. Wollheim's *Mythologie des alten Indien* (Berlin, 1856) for his birthday. We do not know why he wanted this book, but he seems not to have received it (his list that year was unusually long, so it is not surprising that he did not get everything on it).

2. His earliest known reference to Indian thought occurs as part of two important and connected essays from the spring of 1862, which signal the beginning of the young Nietzsche's independent and philosophical thinking, as well as his increasing skepticism about Christianity: “Fatum und Geschichte” [“Fate and History”] and “Willensfreiheit und Fatum” [“Freedom of the Will and Fate”].⁷ Both essays are surprisingly interesting and contain much that foreshadows his future philosophy. In the second essay, Nietzsche wrote: “The Hindu says: Fate is nothing but the acts we have committed in a prior state of our being.” This sentence is a direct quote from Emerson's essay “Fate” in *The Conduct of Life*, as are several of the other statements in the essay. Emerson, like Nietzsche, often refers to Eastern thought or culture. Since Nietzsche read Emerson so intensively, both in his youth and later, it is not unlikely that his writings could have provided an additional stimulus for Nietzsche's interest in Eastern philosophy.

3. Likely of little importance, but for the sake of completeness, it is perhaps worth mentioning a school essay by Nietzsche dated 8 December 1862 entitled “Versuch einer Charaktersschilderung der Kriemhild nach den Nibelungen.” He mentions in passing, in addition to the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and *Nibelungen*, the

Indian *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* as great epics of world literature.⁸ My guess is that Nietzsche had neither read nor had any greater knowledge of these two Indian texts.

4. Nietzsche's next known encounter with Indian thought occurred during his second semester at the University of Bonn, in the summer of 1865, when he attended a course on the general history of philosophy by Karl Schaarschmidt. The notes Nietzsche took during the course are still extant at the Goethe-Schiller archive in Weimar, but they have not yet been published.⁹ They show that Indian philosophy, although explicitly excluded, nonetheless was discussed, and these discussions cover a little more than two pages of Nietzsche's notes. Johann Figl has written several detailed and valuable articles on the importance of these lecture notes for Nietzsche's knowledge of Eastern thought,¹⁰ so I will not discuss them further here. However, there are no other independent statements by Nietzsche from this time.

5. At the end of 1865, Nietzsche discovered Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation*. He immediately became a dedicated Schopenhauerian and would remain so for the next ten years. Schopenhauer's fairly extensive discussions of Eastern philosophy, and its close similarity to his own philosophy, are surely a strong source of inspiration for Nietzsche. However, surprisingly, I have found few references to Asian thought and culture during Nietzsche's student years, 1864–69, which obviously are related to Schopenhauer's philosophy.¹¹

Nietzsche read Schopenhauer carefully several times before he broke with his philosophy in 1875, but even after that he continued to read and make excerpts from his writings until the end of his life. Schopenhauer's discussion of Eastern philosophy is obviously an important source for Nietzsche and ought to be more thoroughly evaluated.

As part of such an evaluation, an examination and discussion of Nietzsche's annotations in his copies of Schopenhauer's books ought to be undertaken. Unfortunately, his copies from the time of his early reading are no longer in his library. However, in 1875 Nietzsche bought Schopenhauer's collected works, the volumes of which are still in his library today and can be examined.¹² One would not really expect Nietzsche to pay much extra attention to what Schopenhauer says about Indian thought, for when he makes these annotations, in 1875 or later, he had already read the texts several times, and he is now primarily interested in *evaluating* Schopenhauer (and his own relation to him). In a note to himself from the summer 1875, he wrote: "thoroughly to read Dühring," a Schopenhauerian philosopher, "to see, what I have of Schopenhauer, and what not. Thereafter, read Schopenhauer yet again."¹³ I have examined his annotations, and although a few relate to Indian philosophy, none seems to be of great importance.¹⁴

6. During Nietzsche's university studies in Leipzig (and military service and convalescence after a riding accident), between 1865 and early 1869, there exist a number of minor references to Eastern thought and culture. All the ones I have found are among his detailed notes and research papers dealing with Greek antiquity. This is not surprising. It is, and was, conventional to refer to Asia and Eastern thought in discussions of early Greek culture, and especially in relation to Pythagoras, Democritus, Alexander the Great, Aristotle, and the Aristotelian school. Nietzsche makes such references.¹⁵ In several of these notes, he alludes to and affirms the belief that the Greeks learned much from the Orient,¹⁶ and little support can be found for the thesis that Bernal put forward in his *Black Athena*, that the Germans in the second half of the nineteenth century denied cultural influences from the Orient and Egypt due to racist views. That Nietzsche does not fit into this picture—that he instead strongly emphasized how much the Greeks borrowed from other cultures will become still more apparent in his notes from the time he was a professor in Basel.

None of Nietzsche's notes seems particularly interesting or relevant in the context of our interest here. One theme that Nietzsche considered was that of ancient pessimism—surely inspired by Schopenhauer—but he did little work on it, and the few notes we have do not seem especially relevant to Eastern thought. Once he refers to the heroic content of Indian poetry, and again mentions “*Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*” (as in 1862), but this is part of a long, detailed excerpt from Valentin Rose's book *De Aristotelis librorum ordine et auctoritate commentatio* (1854).¹⁷ Among his extensive lists of titles, he also mentions three works on Eastern culture during these years, but we have no evidence that he read them. Furthermore, with one exception, I have found no reference to Asian thought in his letters of this period.¹⁸ However, unlike Nietzsche, most of his close friends made some reference to Indian thought or Oriental terms in letters to him.¹⁹ Thus there seems to be little or no grounds for assuming that Nietzsche was interested in Eastern thought for its own sake.

7. Several of Nietzsche's friends and acquaintances during his time in Leipzig were interested in Eastern thought and culture. Paul Deussen would later become a leading scholar of Oriental philosophy, and he had already become interested in Sanskrit and Indian culture. Gersdorff and Rohde also showed some interest in Indian thought. Another friend or acquaintance of Nietzsche's at this time was Ernst Windisch (1844–1918), who studied classical and Oriental philology and was, like Nietzsche, a student of Ritschl's. Windisch became more and more interested in Oriental studies and spent time in England working on Sanskrit texts. Nietzsche also spent time at the home of the Orientalist Hermann Brockhaus in Leipzig, who had married Wagner's sister. He played the piano there and subsequently was invited to meet Wagner during one of Wagner's vis-

its in October 1868. However, we have no evidence that Nietzsche learned from or shared in these friends' interest in Eastern culture.

8. In April 1869, Nietzsche accepted a position in Basel as a professor of classical philology (i.e., of ancient Greek and Roman language and literature). I have found no evidence of any interest in Eastern thought during Nietzsche's first year here, but in early 1870 he writes down the term "Buddhism" for the first time (not counting his notetaking as a student). Buddhism is listed with six other "themes" (such as the history of Christianity, Plato, Herodotus, pre-Platonic philosophers, etc.), possibly themes he wanted to work on or think about.²⁰ Six months later he seems to begin to realize this intention. In the autumn of 1870, he acquired the Orientalist Max Müller's two-volume *Essays* in a German translation, and on 25 October borrowed Carl Friedrich Koeppen's *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung* (Berlin, 1857) from the university library.²¹ This seems to be the starting point for any genuine interest in Eastern thought for Nietzsche. He seems to have read the books by Müller and Koeppen more or less simultaneously, and excerpted extensively, especially from the first volume of Müller's work, which contains fifteen essays with mostly detailed accounts of Eastern thought, but also from the second volume and from Koeppen's book.²² At this point Nietzsche acquired some detailed knowledge about many aspects of Asian thought and culture, and in particular of Buddhism.²³ His fairly frequent references to these themes hereafter is not just a question of repeating statements from Schopenhauer (and other, Schopenhauer-inspired thinkers), but also is a result of his own study of some experts. Nonetheless, Buddhism and Eastern thought remained very much a minor theme of his from 1869 to 1874. I have found no mention of it in his letters and few references to it in his lecture notes (see below). However, in his private notebooks from this time, one finds brief references to three major ancient cultures—Greece, Rome, and India—and he criticizes Indian and Sanskrit philologists for not paying enough attention to Indian philosophy. He also emphasizes that Dionysos and ecstatic cults have Asian origins. The high value he gives to Dionysos, and his stress that the highest art form, tragedy, is a synthesis of Apollo (Greek) and Dionysos (Eastern), could be regarded as a rather pro-Orient view, and this may be correct, but Nietzsche does not emphasize it. Instead, he stresses the Greek context. Most of these discussions in his notebooks are briefly alluded to in *The Birth of Tragedy*.²⁴

To my surprise, I have found less evidence that Nietzsche was interested in Eastern philosophy *and* that he related it to Schopenhauer's thinking (and pessimism) during this period, 1865–75, than I had expected.²⁵ It seems to me not impossible that Nietzsche's interest in early Greek culture (as well as to questions of language) together with his more general cultural concerns (which, of course, were strongly influenced by Schopenhauer and Wagner) were stronger

motives for his interest in Eastern thinking than to Schopenhauer's *direct* influence, as has usually been assumed.

9. A possible influence for Nietzsche's interest in Eastern philosophy, especially during the period 1869–74, is Richard Wagner. Wagner, as a Schopenhauerian, had some interest in Asian philosophy, and he may have had some effect on Nietzsche. The effect is likely to have been small, but Nietzsche occasionally refers to Eastern thought while speaking about Wagner,²⁶ and Nietzsche's very first reference to Brahmanism actually occurs in a lengthy excerpt from Wagner's book on Beethoven.²⁷

10. In 1875, Nietzsche's interest in Eastern philosophy reached its most intensive level. In January 1875, Nietzsche encourages Paul Deussen, who had written to him disclosing his plans to translate works of Indian philosophy.²⁸ Nietzsche refers to this as a noble task and says that he has a strong desire [*Begierde*] to read the works Deussen will make available.

Dear friend, you have really given me *truly great* joy with your letter. [. . .] And your plan seems still loftier, when you have set yourself, in your hard to achieve moments of free time, such a noble life-task as that of making Indian philosophy available to all of us through good translations [. . .] My praise cannot be sufficient for you, but perhaps rather my *desire* to drink from the source which you will open to all of us.

If you knew with what disgruntlement I have always thought about the Indian philosophers! What I had to feel, when Prof. Windisch [. . .] could say to me as he showed me the manuscript of a Sankhya-text: "Strange, these Indian have always philosophised, and always in the false direction! [immer in die Quere!]" This "always in the false direction" has for me become a byword for the insufficiency of our Indian philologists, and signifies their complete coarseness.

It is clear that Nietzsche at this stage (still under the influence of Schopenhauer and metaphysical philosophy) regarded Indian philosophy favorably, as can be seen in that he is critical of his friend Windisch and other philologists working with Indian texts for having little interest and understanding of Indian philosophy. Nietzsche also mentions a public lecture by Hermann Brockhaus that he attended a few years earlier in Leipzig entitled "Overview of the Results of Indian Philology," but which to his disappointment contained nothing about Indian philosophy.²⁹

In several letters to friends and his publisher Schmeitzner during 1875, Nietzsche discusses and aids Schmeitzner's plans to publish translations and discussions of Eastern philosophy. For example, in letters to Overbeck, 26 May 1875, and to Rohde, 8 December 1875, Nietzsche says he will attempt to persuade his publisher to begin a series of translations of Indian philosophy, including more specifically the Buddhist text *Tripitaka*. However, nothing seems to have come of this.

During 1875, Nietzsche also bought or borrowed and read a number of books relating to Eastern philosophy. He read F. A. Hellwald's *Culturgeschichte* (1874), which contains accounts of all the major cultures, including the Asian ones (compare the discussion below, for 1881 and 1883), and he bought two books of Chinese philosophy, Confucius's *Ta-Hio* and Lao-tse's *Der Weg zu Tugend* (1870).³⁰ He borrowed Max Müller's *Einleitung in die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft* (1874) from the university library in Basel in October,³¹ and he greatly appreciated Otto Böhlingk's three-volume *Indische Sprüche* (1870–73),³² which Gersdorff had sent him as an early Christmas present. They had read it together earlier, during Gersdorff's three-week visit to Basel in March.³³ In his letter of thanks to Gersdorff on 13 December 1875, Nietzsche writes: "I really admire the beautiful instinct of friendship—hopefully this expression does not sound too beastly to you—that right now you selected precisely these *Indian* maxims, for I have, with a sort of increasing thirst precisely during the last 2 months, looked towards India." He also borrowed and read the *Sutta Nipata*, which contains "things from the sacred books of the Buddhists" in an English translation (Elisabeth probably translated for him), and in it found, among others, a motto he was most fond of: "Thus I wander, lonely as the rhinoceros."³⁴ He adds: "The conviction of the lack of value of life and the deception of all goals often touches me so strongly, especially when I lie in bed, that I long to hear more about it."

In 1875, Nietzsche also bought, read, used, annotated, and recommended the American chemist, physiologist, and historian John William Draper's *Geschichte der geistigen Entwicklung Europas* (Leipzig, 2d ed., 1871).³⁵ This book, although primarily about European intellectual history, contains a "digression" about Hindu theology in chapter 3, pages 56–75, dealing with comparative theology in India, Vedaism, and Buddhism. Nietzsche seems to have reread the book in 1881, for in *Dawn*, 37, he quotes a longer passage from the book (but he may then only have reread parts of it).³⁶

This interest in Eastern philosophy in 1875 was probably a remnant of his earlier Schopenhauerian, pessimistic, and metaphysical thinking, rather than an intimation of the new, much less idealistic and metaphysically oriented ways of thinking toward which he was turning. At this time he also broke with Kant, Schopenhauer, and Wagner. It is not unlikely that it was the otherworldly nature and the rejection of the value of life that Nietzsche saw in Eastern philosophy that made him much less interested in it in subsequent years.

11. Nietzsche refers to Indian philosophy, mythology, religion, and culture here and there in the lectures he gave in Basel between 1869 and 1879. Nowhere have I found any longer discussions, or discussions of Eastern philosophy for its own sake. His references are either brief allusions or, by far most frequently, discussions of whether, and to what extent, Greek culture was dependent on Indian or Oriental culture.

Nietzsche's allusions and discussions occur primarily in five lecture series, which I will briefly discuss in chronological order.³⁷ The series "Lectures about Latin Grammar," held during the winter semester of 1869/70, contains fairly frequent but superficial (and probably taken directly from the sources he used for writing and preparing the lectures) references to Indian culture and language. Especially in the section "Cap. 2. Latin and its kinship to other languages,"³⁸ he makes a number of allusions to the relation between the two cultures and languages, but no direct conclusion seems to be drawn.

In the series *Encyklopädie der klassischen Philologie*, held during the summer semester of 1871 and the winter semester of 1873/74, Nietzsche discusses the possibility that Greek mythology had its origin in India, without drawing a clear conclusion.³⁹ However, a little later he emphasizes that Homer is not the beginning, that culture is infinitely older. And he states, somewhat provocatively, that the Greeks have taken nothing from the Orient: rather, they themselves came from there.⁴⁰

In his lectures on the pre-Platonic Greeks, held in the summer semesters of 1872 and 1876, and in the winter semester of 1875/76, he again sometimes mentions or discusses Oriental philosophy. He relates, without taking a stance, that some modern commentators regard all of Greek philosophy as an import from Asia and Egypt, and pairs them together, for example, Heraclitus-Zoroaster, the Eleatic school-Indians, etc.⁴¹ However, later in the same lecture he denies that this is correct, and briefly states that Buddha and Parmenides should not be understood as similar.⁴² But he does claim that the Greeks adopted science (mathematics and astronomy) from the Orientals.⁴³

Most about Eastern thought can be found in two lecture series that he gave during the winter semester of 1875/76, *Der Gottesdienst der Griechen* and *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, III*. In these lectures, there is a strong emphasis that the Greeks borrowed much from the Orient. In the latter he emphasized that the Greeks borrowed whatever they needed from the Orient.⁴⁴ A little later he repeats this:

In the 6th century [B.C.] came another great wave of Asian influence, the seeds of tragedy, philosophy and science came along with it. That the Greeks became more serious and profound did not come from within: for their true talent was, as Homer shows, ordering, making beautiful and more superficial, playing and *eu skolakeiv*. During the 6th and 5th centuries [B.C.] in far away India the feeling of the seriousness of life became overpowering: finally the Buddhist philosophy and religion developed out of it. The last waves of this profound movement reached Greek soil.⁴⁵

The most extensive discussion of Eastern philosophy and religion occurs in *Der Gottesdienst der Griechen*, where he makes similar claims. Nietzsche there also refers to some of his sources, including Lubbock, Bock, and Fergusson.⁴⁶

12. After 1875, especially from 1876 to 1879, we see little evidence of any concern for Eastern philosophy. When Nietzsche left his earlier, more idealist, and metaphysically-oriented philosophy behind him, that seems also to have included his still-developing interest in Eastern philosophy (at least for the time being). His waning interest in, and rejection of, Indian philosophy can, for example, be seen in his use of the concept of the veil of maya. Following Schopenhauer, Nietzsche several times in *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) refers to the “veil of maya” as a useful expression for indicating that there exists something “beyond,” but after 1874 he no longer refers to “maya” at all, with the exception of a note from 1878 in which he completely rejects it.⁴⁷ In his writing from this time there is little mention of Eastern thought. However, three observations can be made. What little is present is mostly anthropological in nature. He is frequently critical toward Eastern philosophy for not being scientific enough,⁴⁸ and he now begins to compare Christianity with Buddhism.⁴⁹

This negative or disinterested attitude toward Eastern thought is also visible when we examine Nietzsche’s possible sources and relevant reading during this time. Unlike in 1875, these are very few. In 1876, and again in 1883, Nietzsche read the pessimistic philosopher Philip Mainländer’s *Philosophie der Erlösung* (Berlin, 1876–86), which contains fairly frequent, if brief, discussions of Indian thought—but this seems not to have interested him. It also appears as if Nietzsche, Rée, Brenner, and Malwida von Meysenbug read, among many other texts, Kalidasa’s *Sakuntala* early in 1877 in Sorrento, Italy, where they lived together (Nietzsche for the sake of convalescence). Nietzsche, according to Meysenbug’s later account, seems to have shown little appreciation of it.⁵⁰ Later, in July 1877, Nietzsche received his friend Paul Deussen’s *Die Elemente der Metaphysik* (1877), a strongly Kantian and Schopenhauerian work, also containing frequent discussions about Indian philosophy.⁵¹ In the letter of thanks for the book, Nietzsche clearly expresses the philosophical changes he had undergone during the past two years: “Your book serves me strangely enough as a happy *collection of everything that I no longer hold as true.*”⁵²

In 1878 Nietzsche twice borrowed Martin Haug’s *Brahma und die Brahmanen* (Munich, 1871).⁵³ It is possible that he read or used it, but no evidence has been found. He never mentions Brahma or Brahmanism, so I hold it as more likely that he did not read it, or read it only superficially or selectively.⁵⁴

A possible minor influence or source of stimulus at this time may have been Jacob Wackernagel (1853–1938). A student of Nietzsche’s in the early 1870s who studied classical and Oriental philology, he defended his Ph.D. in classical philology in 1875 (before Nietzsche and several others), and later succeeded Nietzsche as professor in Basel in 1879. In 1876, Wackernagel held a lecture on Brahmanism. Nietzsche, who was in Italy, was unable to attend, but he may possibly have been sent the text in 1876 or 1877 (compare below, 1880). In several letters from 1879 and 1880, Nietzsche also refers to some lectures (and the text

for them) on Buddhism by Wackernagel, which he wanted to read, and attempted to help him get published. Wackernagel never published such a text, and it is not known what Nietzsche referred to, but most likely Nietzsche knew of (and possibly had read) some nonpublished text by him.⁵⁵

13. By 1880 Nietzsche had left the university; he was feeling healthier and began to read more. He may then have reread Draper (as mentioned above), and he, in July 1880, carefully read Wackernagel's thirty-five-page booklet "Über den Ursprung des Brahmanismus" (1877) and excerpted extensively from it. Marco Brusotti has examined this reading in detail and has shown that it also helped Nietzsche develop his concept of "feeling for power" (which later he would further develop in his "will to power").⁵⁶ It is with this reading that Nietzsche began to mention and discuss Brahmanism, and many of his discussions of specific Indian themes about this time have their origin in his reading of this booklet.

In 1881 Nietzsche found and picked up the figure of Zarathustra as his spokesperson while reading the cultural historian and anthropologist Friedrich von Hellwald's 839-page *Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart* (Augsburg, 1874; 2d ed., 1875).⁵⁷ The importance of this reading appears not to have been well examined, despite the fact that it probably was of immense importance to him. Nietzsche seems to have read it in 1875, more carefully in 1881, and then returned to it again in 1883. This work contains fairly extensive discussions of Indian and Chinese cultures,⁵⁸ placed in the context of general cultural development, from a rather Darwinistic and aristocratic perspective.⁵⁹ In the chapter on India, Buddhism is described as a form of "nihilism,"⁶⁰ as an egoistic striving after one's own salvation, very similar to Christianity, and Hellwald claims that the Hindus learned to control their senses and feelings, especially by "physiological" means.⁶¹ These are all also themes and questions that Nietzsche will emphasize.

That year Nietzsche also ordered Leopold Katscher's *Bilder aus dem chinesischen Leben* (Leipzig, 1881). This seems to reflect a genuine interest to learn more about China and Chinese culture, for at the time there is a marked increase in Nietzsche's references and discussions of things Chinese (though little about Chinese philosophy). However, the book is not in his library, and when I examined it, it seemed not to have been the source of Nietzsche's statements regarding China. Possibly he received another book about China.⁶²

In 1882 Nietzsche acquired, read, slightly annotated, and excerpted H. Oldenberg's *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Berlin, 1881), which is so much of a classic that it is available in bookstores even today. Nietzsche would refer to the book and apparently read it again both in 1884 and in 1888 (at the time he was working on *The Antichrist* and made fairly extensive discussions and comparisons of Christianity and Buddhism). Oldenberg's

book consists of 459 pages with an index.⁶³ Nietzsche's copy contains only two annotations (and a dog-ear on page 309/10). The first one is a marginal line along eight lines on page 62, where Olderberg discusses Atman and the necessity to liberate oneself from all worldly things. That Nietzsche reread this work (for a third time) in 1887–88 seems to be confirmed (apart from some of the detailed discussions and references to Buddhism that Nietzsche made at that time) by his annotations. The dog-ear seems to refer to the story of when Buddha transformed himself to a hare, who taught the other animals about good and evil, and who offered himself to be eaten (Meta von Salis refers to this; see chronological listing below for 1887–88). The second annotation is in the index, where under "Manu, 401fg." Nietzsche has added in pencil "386" (and on this page, the Laws of Manu are indeed discussed). We have no evidence that Nietzsche was interested in the Laws of Manu before 1888, and it is thus most likely that he made the annotation in that year.

14. One of Nietzsche's characteristic ideas is that of the eternal recurrence, which he "discovered" in August 1881. The general conception of this idea is far from unique to Nietzsche. It is present in much of ancient thinking, for example, among Heraclitus, the Pythagoreans, and the Stoics. The idea is natural in societies with a more or less cyclical view of time and it is present in Buddhism and Christianity. It was also discussed in many contemporary scientific and literary texts. One such example, which we know Nietzsche read back in 1872–73, is David Friedrich Strauss's several-page-long discussion of a cyclical universe, where he, among many others, refers to the Buddhist version of this hypothesis.⁶⁴ Nietzsche's version of eternal recurrence consists of two parts, one physical or scientific and one more existential.⁶⁵ More relevant than Strauss's and many other discussions of the physical aspect of eternal recurrence is that Hellwald, in *Culturgeschichte*, also alludes to this idea, although he emphasizes the existential aspect more. Nietzsche seems to have read the book in August 1881, at the very time he "discovered" this idea and made it his own.⁶⁶ Hellwald refers to the belief, current especially in Brahmanism, in the eternal wandering of the soul as a terrible thought under which the Hindu suffered, and from which Buddhism could give some sort of relief.⁶⁷ It is not impossible that Nietzsche's reading of this book increased his awareness of the existential crises involved with the idea of eternal recurrence, and thus aided him in his own development of the idea.

15. In 1883, when he was working on *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Nietzsche seems to have returned to and read Hellwald's *Culturgeschichte* yet again, and he copied down the name and title of H. Kern's *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1882–84), probably as intended reading.⁶⁸ More important, Nietzsche read a detailed account of Vedanta philosophy by Deussen, and read and annotated Albert Herman Post's *Bausteine für eine*

allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft auf vergleichend-ethnologischer Basis, 2 vols. (Oldenburg, 1880–81), which in the more anthropological parts frequently discusses Asian thinking and culture, both ancient and modern.

Nietzsche received Deussen's *Das System des Vedânta* (Leipzig, 1883) in early 1883 and read, annotated, and excerpted from it more or less immediately.⁶⁹ In a letter to Overbeck on 6 March 1883, Nietzsche wrote: "Deussen's work on the Vedanta is *excellent*. By the way, I am for *this* philosophy almost the evil principle."⁷⁰ Nietzsche thus appreciated this work, but regarded the Vedanta philosophy as opposite to his own. This becomes still more visible ten days later in his letter of thanks to Deussen:

Much must come together in a human being, for him to be able to reveal such a Vedanta-teaching to us Europeans [. . .] It is a great pleasure for me to learn to know the classic expression of what is for me the most alien way of thinking: your book gives me this opportunity. Everything which I have suspected in regard to this way of thinking comes in it in the most naive way to light: I read page for page with complete "malice"—you cannot desire a more grateful reader, my friend!

As it happens, a manifesto of mine is at this moment being printed [*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, book I], which, with approximately the same eloquence, says Yes! where your book says No!⁷¹

In 1884 Nietzsche seems to have reread both Deussen's *Das System des Vedânta* and Oldenberg's book on Buddhism. He quotes from and paraphrases, with page references, both books in his notebooks and writes: "I must learn to think more *Orientially* [orientalischer] about philosophy and knowledge. *Oriental* [morgonländischer] *overview of Europe*."⁷²

Of less importance is that he also seems to have had several articles from the October 1883 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* translated for him. Among them is a piece by Elizabeth Robins with the title "Maenadism in Religion" (pp. 487–97), which has several references to Asian religions, as well as to Jacolliot (whom Nietzsche would read later, see below). The article deals with Dionysian ecstatic religions and relates this phenomenon to other religions, including several Indian ones.⁷³

16. By 1885 Nietzsche's mostly negative view of Eastern philosophy was firmly set. For example, in a note from 1885–86 in which he describes the planned content of the second book of *The Will to Power*, he writes: "Critique of the Indian and Chinese way of thinking, likewise the Christian (as preparing the way for a *nihilistic*—). The danger of dangers: Nothing has any meaning."⁷⁴ In the preface to *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886), he refers to dogmatism as "a monstrous and frightening grimace [*Fratze*]" exemplified by "the Vedanta doctrine in Asia."

In these years, when Nietzsche finished *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and wrote *Beyond Good and Evil*, there seem to have been few Eastern stimuli on his think-

ing. An exception was in 1885, in Sils Maria, when he was befriended by a Dutchman with experience from China, who, during “informative discussions,” told him much about life there.⁷⁵ He also copied the title of a Sanskrit edition of the *Sayings of the Buddha (Iti-Vuttaka)* by his former friend Ernst Windisch, but he cannot have read it.

After having finished *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche suddenly expressed an interest in the philosophy of Sankhya, and it is possible that he was stimulated by some unidentified reading. He also expressed this interest in a letter to Deussen, in which he also seems to suggest that he was rereading his *Das System des Vedanta*. With this letter, Nietzsche sent Deussen *Beyond Good and Evil*, and playfully writes that he is sending him his youngest and most ill-behaved child: “hopefully he will in your presence learn some ‘morality’ and Vedantesque dignity, for he has received too little of both of them from his father [. . .] For me, your book has again and again given a profound interest and knowledge: I wish there existed something equally clear and dialectically worked through also for the philosophy of Sankhya.”⁷⁶

17. In August 1887, Nietzsche received yet another massive volume from Deussen, his translation, *Die Sûtra’s des Vedânta oder die Cârîraka-Mîmânsâ des Bâdarâyana nebst dem vollständigen Kommentar des Cankara: Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt* (1887), xxiv and 766 pages. The copy in Nietzsche’s library contains no annotations (but several dog-ears and several slightly torn pages), and he discusses and praises the work in several letters, and possibly used it for *On the Genealogy of Morals*,⁷⁷ so there can be little doubt that he read it. To his mother, on 19 August 1887, he acknowledged that he had received “an impressive new work by Dr. Deussen [. . .] about Indian philosophy (a field in which Deussen today is the first authority: by chance it so happened that I myself am strongly occupied with it [Indian philosophy], so that the book comes as an *a propos*, so rare for a dedicated book.”⁷⁸

Shortly thereafter, on 2–3 September, Deussen and his wife, on a walking tour, visited Nietzsche in Sils Maria for two pleasant days and, it seems, extensively discussed Indian philosophy.⁷⁹ Deussen also told Nietzsche that he was translating the Upanishads and probably discussed them with him.

This year Nietzsche also read and annotated at least one booklet by the historian and anthropologist of law Joseph Kohler, “Der chinesische Strafrecht: Ein Beitrag zur Universalgeschichte der Strafrechts” (Würzburg, 1886), 51 pages, and possibly also “Das Recht als Kulturerscheinung: Einleitung in die vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft” (Würzburg, 1885), 29 pages, and used their contents in *On the Genealogy of Morals*.⁸⁰ He also seems to have reread Post’s *Bausteine für eine allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft auf vergleichend-ethnologischer Basis*, for he used the information in the book extensively in *On the Genealogy of Morals*.⁸¹

18. In 1888, Nietzsche's last active year, he seems to have reread Oldenberg's book on Buddha yet again and used it for *The Antichrist*, especially sections 20–24, which compare Christianity and Buddhism.⁸²

Nietzsche had already encountered the Laws of Manu in a number of books, but it is his reading of Louis Jacolliot's *Les législateurs religieux Manou, Moïse, Mahomet* (Paris, 1876), 480 pages, together with his own project of attacking and reevaluating Christian and modern morality and values, that led to his interest in, and extensive discussions of, this ancient Indian law book. Nietzsche seems to have bought, read, and annotated his copy of the book in May 1888.⁸³ His relation to and view of the Laws of Manu has often been misunderstood as one of affirmation and approval. That is how it can appear in *Twilight of the Idols* and *The Antichrist*, but this is because Nietzsche's intention there is to criticize modern morality and Christianity. A more careful analysis, especially including Nietzsche's notebooks, shows that the situation is more complicated, and that on the whole he was severely critical of these rules and of Manu.⁸⁴ For example, in the letter to Gast where he speaks of his reading of Jacolliot, he refers to the Laws of Manu as "a priestly code of morality based on the Veda."⁸⁵ In *Ecce Homo*, "Zarathustra," 6, written immediately after *The Antichrist*, Nietzsche says: "the poets of the Veda are priests and are not even worthy to unloose the latchet of the shoes of a Zarathustra." Both the fact that Nietzsche emphasizes their priestly nature and that they are based on the Veda (which Nietzsche saw as nihilistic) shows that to him the origin of these laws is far from ideal. In his notebooks his critical distance becomes still more obvious.⁸⁶ The context and the rhetoric in these notes are not as clearly shaped by his need in the *Antichrist* text to construct a contrast to Christianity. For this reason, it is easier to see Nietzsche's views and values there (which is often the case with his notes).

Most distinctly, three notes from early 1888 have variants of "A Critique of Manu" in the title.⁸⁷ In these notes he strongly criticizes the Laws of Manu for being built on a lie, for the fact that they only use obedience and punishment as means, for only using metaphysical motivations (the "beyond") and for making people and society numb and dumb. In the first of these notes, he writes: "*Nature* is reduced down to morality: a state of human punishment: there are no natural effects—the cause is the Brahman. [. . .] It is a school *which blunts the intellect* [. . .] Including the *in-breeding* within the castes. . . . Here nature, method, history, art, science—is lacking." This note is immediately followed by one in which Nietzsche claims that the spirit of the priest is worse in the Laws of Manu than anywhere else.

The third note with a critique of Manu in the title—"Toward a Critique of the Lawbook of Manu"—contains hash expressions like: "The whole book rests on the holy lie: [. . .]—we [there] find a sort of human being, the *priestly sort*, which regards itself as norm, as peak, as the highest expression of man: from themselves they take their view of 'improving.'" This note ends with the words: "the

Aryan influence [i.e., the pattern of the Laws of Manu] has ruined the whole world.”

It has generally been assumed that Nietzsche was influenced by, and praised, the Laws of Manu, and this view reinforces for him the importance or relevance of Indian thought. However, as I have argued, this is a misconception. Nietzsche *used* the Laws of Manu and other aspects of Eastern philosophy as points of contrast to what he did not like in Western thought and values. This fits a general pattern that I have indicated throughout this essay: overall, we can see that Nietzsche had a better and more detailed knowledge of Asian—and particularly Indian—thought than has previously been assumed, but also that his interest and sympathy for these traditions was not as great as we have sometimes believed.

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NOTES

1. Letter to Cosima Wagner, 3 January 1889.
2. For Nietzsche's relation to Buddhism, see, for example, Freny Mistry, *Nietzsche and Buddhism* (Berlin and New York, 1981); Graham Parkes, ed., *Nietzsche and Asian Thought* (Chicago, 1991; 1996), and Robert G. Morrison's *Nietzsche and Buddhism* (Oxford, 1997). These and several other studies, especially Mervyn Strung's "Nietzsche's Trans-European Eye," which appeared in at least three different publications, have mentioned a fairly limited number, and more or less the same titles, and thus give the impression that the question of the sources of Nietzsche's knowledge of Buddhism has been adequately answered. For example, the most recent extensive study, Morrison's, claims that only five sources for acquaintance with Buddhism exist: Oldenberg, Müller, Koeppen, Coomaraswamy, and Schopenhauer. However, a number of important sources have been missed.
3. See, for example, Gregory Moore, "From Buddhism to Bolshevism: Some Orientalist Themes in German Thought," in *German Life and Letters* 56 (2003): 20–42, and several of the contributions in Parkes, ed. Recently, much information appears in Alexander Lyon Macfie's *Eastern Influences on Western Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 2003).
4. I mention and briefly discuss these, but with no reference to Eastern thought, in my forthcoming monograph, *Nietzsche's Knowledge of Philosophy*.
5. There are some brief discussions of Eastern philosophy in the following works that Nietzsche read: Gustav Teichmüller, *Die wirkliche und die scheinbare Welt: Neue Grundlegung der Metaphysik* (1882), which Nietzsche read in 1883, 1884, and 1885, contains brief references to Brahman, Brahmanism, Buddha, and Buddhism. Friedrich Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie von Thales bis auf die Gegenwart*, 3 vols. (1867). There is a brief discussion, paragraph 6, pages 13–14, in vol. 1 about "the so-called Oriental philosophy." Eduard von Hartmann's massive *Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins: Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Ethik* (1879), which Nietzsche read in 1879(?), 1883, and 1885, discusses Vedanta philosophy. Victor Brochard, *Les sceptiques grecs* (Paris, 1887), which Nietzsche read in 1888,

contains discussion of the Indian influence on early Greek philosophy. John William Draper, *Geschichte der Konflikte zwischen Religion und Wissenschaft* (1875), which Nietzsche read in 1875, contains some relevant discussions. J.-M. Guyau, *Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction* (Paris, 1885), which Nietzsche read in 1884 and 1885, and *L'irreligion de l'avenir: Étude sociologique* (Paris, 1887), read in 1887; both contain brief relevant discussions. Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilisation in England* (1857–61), which Nietzsche read in 1887, contains discussions, especially about the relation between climate and thought, in India. John Lubbock, *Die Entstehung der Zivilisation und der Urzustand des Menschengeschlechtes* (1875) contains relevant information, which Nietzsche also used; see, for example, *Human, All Too Human*, 111, and in his lectures on the *Gottesdienst der Griechen*. Theodor Poesche, *Die Arier: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Anthropologie* (Jena, 1878), which is in Nietzsche's library, contains some general discussions and a short chapter on "Die Inder," 149–54. The works of anthropologist O. Peschel, which Nietzsche at least planned to read (*Völkerkunde* and *Atlas*, in 1875, 1879, and perhaps 1883), contain a fair amount of relevant information. I have not examined them but find it likely that books by Nietzsche's acquaintances Romundt and Widemann, whose books he owned, also contain some relevant material.

6. Nietzsche's interest in and knowledge of Chinese philosophy seems to have been minimal, though he was not without an interest in Chinese culture and way of life. His interest in and knowledge of Japanese culture and thought also was minimal, much less than that of Chinese. Most of Nietzsche's references to Japan and Japanese culture occur between 1884 and 1887, but they are so few that I have given them little attention. For Nietzsche's view of Chinese thought, see Adrian Hsia and Chiu-Yee Cheung's "Nietzsche's Reception of Chinese Culture," in *Nietzsche-Studien* 32 (2003): 296–312, and my forthcoming article "Nietzsche's Reading about China and Japan" in *Nietzsche-Studien* 34 (2005). I have not included ancient Egyptian, Arabic, and Persian thought in this study, although Nietzsche refers to all three with some frequency.

7. KGW I.2, 13[6] and 13[7], pp. 431–40, also published in *BAW* 2, 54–62. Compare George Stack's "Nietzsche's Earliest Essays: Translation of and Commentary on 'Fate and History' and 'Freedom of Will and Fate,'" *Philosophy Today* 37 (1993): 153–69.

8. This comment is not included in the text published in *BAW* 2, pp. 129–34. The school essay can be found in the Goethe-Schiller archive (GSA) in Weimar. The text reproduced in *KGW* and *BAW* is the almost identical text Nietzsche wrote in October that year for the cultural society *Germania*. The commentary at the end of the volume, p. 445, gives the slight differences between the two versions. See also Figl's articles for a discussion of this school essay.

9. These papers are in the Goethe-Schiller archive (GSA) in Weimar with the classification number GSA 71/41.

10. Johann Figl in "Nietzsches frühe Begegnung mit dem Denken Indiens," *Nietzsche-Studien* 18 (1989): 455–71, gives a short outline of the content on pages 458–59. See also his "Die Buddhismus-Kenntnis des jungen Nietzsche: Unter Heranziehung einer unveröffentlichten Vorlesungsnachschrift der Philosophiegeschichte," in *Das Gold im Wachs*, ed. E. Gössmann and G. Zobel (Munich, 1988), and his "Nietzsche's Early Encounter with Asian Thought," in Graham Parkes, ed., *Nietzsche and Asian Thought* (1991, 1996), 51–63 (which contains material from the second essay).

11. Nietzsche's statement in a letter to Gersdorff, 7 April 1866, quoted below, is the one where Schopenhauer's influence seems most noticeable.

12. The annotations in Nietzsche's copies of *Arthur Schopenhauer, Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1873–74), edited by Julius Frauenstädt in six parts (though actually in nine volumes since parts I and IV are divided into several volumes), which he bought during the summer of 1875, show his increasing distance from and critique of Schopenhauer.

Only three of these volumes contain annotations. The first volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* contains a few annotations in the fourth book, paragraph 54 (and one annotation in

paragraph 55), while the second volume is fairly heavily annotated throughout. The second volume of *Parerga* contains a few annotations in the chapter “Ueber Schriftstellerei und Stil.” Nietzsche’s annotations confirm that he is primarily concerned with evaluating Schopenhauer, for they frequently express value judgments of the type: “aber das ist kein Einwand” (page 46 of the second volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*), “ecce” (222), “folglic?” (260), “im gegentheilig!” (278), “folglic!” (421), “falsch” (438), “falsch” (439), “falsch” (440), “also umgekehrt”/ “ist Unsinn” / “also” (441), etc.

Nietzsche’s library contains one other book by Schopenhauer, also edited by Frauenstädt, *Aus Arthur Schopenhauer’s handschriftlichem Nachlaß: Abhandlungen, Anmerkungen, Aphorismen und Fragmente* (Leipzig, 1864), 479 pages. It is not known when he acquired this book, but it contains annotations (including exclamation marks) throughout. I have not examined them, although they may be of special interest since they may have been made before 1875.

Sprung has briefly noted three annotations in the second volume of *The World as Will and Representation* without giving page references (p. 82 in his essay “Nietzsche’s Trans-European Eye,” in Graham Parkes, ed., *Nietzsche and Asian Thought* (1991, 1996)), but he seems to me to have misrepresented their relevance.

13. *KSA* 8, 8[4]. Compare also 8[3] and 9[1].

14. I have examined Nietzsche’s annotations and have found five places where he has annotated discussions about Indian thought and six where he has annotated text near such discussions (my search of the latter category was very superficial and much more probably can be found). None of them seems to be of much importance.

In the first volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, there are annotations on pages 324, 326, and 333, near discussions of Siva, Vishnu, and Veda, and on page 335 Nietzsche made a marginal line by a reference to Bhagavad Gita and an account of Krishna and Arjuna. In the second volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, there are annotations on page 576 (where Schopenhauer, among others, discusses Koeppen, whom Nietzsche had read), pages 582 and 583 near discussions of Asian philosophy and religion, Veda, Samsara, and Nirvana. On pages 523, 558, 693, and 700, Nietzsche annotated discussions of Veda, Indian spirit, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Nirvana-Samsara. In the first volume of *Parerga* there are no annotations, and near the few in volume two I found no discussion of Indian philosophy.

A closer examination of these annotations is unlikely to yield much more relevant information. However, a closer examination of Schopenhauer’s importance for Nietzsche’s views of India before 1875, including Nietzsche’s excerpts and possibly annotations in *Aus Arthur Schopenhauer’s handschriftlichem Nachlaß* (Leipzig, 1864) is likely to be of more relevance.

15. *KGW* I.4, 52[2+32+34+41], 54[1], 58[4] and *BAW* 5, pp. 40 and 162. The seemingly most interesting note is one in which Nietzsche lists three themes, “The pre-Socratic ethics. / The ancient Oriental philosophers. / The great literature of Hermes.” *KGW* I.4, 52[34], dated to 1867 (this note has also been published as *BAW* 4, p. 118, but then dated later (in 1868) and placed in another context, near discussions about pessimism in antiquity).

16. For example, *KGW* I.4, 52[32], 54[1] and *BAW* 5, 162.

17. *KGW* I.4, 52[2], p. 168f. = *BAW* 4, 561f.

18. In a strongly Schopenhauerian letter to Gersdorff, 7 April 1866, Nietzsche writes: “Neulich sprach ich einen, der als Missionair in Kürze ausgehen wollte—nach Indien. Ich fragte ihn etwas aus; er hatte kein indisches Buch gelesen, kannte den Oupnekhat nicht dem Namen nach und hatte sich vorgenommen, mit den Bramanen [sic] sich nicht einzulassen—weil sie philosophisch durchgebildet wären. Heiliger Ganges!” Note that Schopenhauer frequently refers to and quotes from the *Oupnekhat*, and also used the expression “Heilige Ganga.”

Another possible exception—but Nietzsche seems here only to repeat what he encountered (possibly with a Schopenhauerian touch)—is a letter to Gersdorff, 1 December 1867, in which he tells him of his visit to a “Musikfest” in Meiningen, where modern music by von Bülow, Liszt,

and others was played. Nietzsche comments that they were strongly influenced by Schopenhauer (they printed aphorisms from Schopenhauer in the program) and that Liszt "in einigen seiner Kirchencompositionen den Charakter jenes indischen Nirwana vortrefflich gefunden, vor allem in seinen 'Seligkeiten' 'beati sunt qui etc.'"

19. Nietzsche had gotten all of his friends interested in Schopenhauer (although Deussen showed the least interest at this early time). And Deussen, Gersdorff, and Rohde, inspired by Schopenhauer or from other sources, all make references to Oriental thought in letters to Nietzsche. Deussen, already in February 1866, asks Nietzsche to copy and send him the titles of university courses in Bonn, including those about Sanskrit and other "Orientalia"—"for the ancient Indians have really caught my interest." Shortly afterward, in March 1866, Gersdorff writes to Nietzsche and says that he hopes that Nietzsche will soon begin to work on pessimism in antiquity, and mentions that Koeppen's book on Buddhism (a work Schopenhauer refers to and recommends), which he had ordered, will arrive next week (Later, in 1870, Nietzsche would borrow this book from the university library in Basel). Rohde, in a letter from August 1868, playfully refers to both Brahma and Buddha. Gersdorff (and I believe Deussen as well) also makes some brief playful references to Buddha or other Indian concepts in a letter to Nietzsche written between 1866 and 1874. In a letter of 27 June 1869, Gersdorff tells Nietzsche that he has become a vegetarian, to test the possibility of a Buddhist diet. In the next sentence he recommends that Nietzsche read the first volume of the Orientalist Albrecht Weber's *Indische Streifen*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1868). I do not believe that it has been examined whether Nietzsche read this work. Gersdorff is still a vegetarian in October, and then refers to himself, in this sense, "as Buddha."

20. KSA 7, 3[67], winter 1869/70—early 1870.

21. Luca Crescenti has published a fairly detailed list of the books Nietzsche borrowed from the library in Basel, "Verzeichnis der von Nietzsche aus der Universitätsbibliothek in Basel entliehenen Bücher (1869–1879)," *Nietzsche-Studien* 23 (1994): 388–442.

Nietzsche also borrowed several other possibly relevant books near this time (which I have not examined); for example, on the 3 November 1869, August Schleicher, *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Weimar, 1866), and Theodor Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und Orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts mit einem Rückblick auf die früheren Zeiten* (Munich, 1869). On 7 November 1869, Julius Braun, *Studien und Skizzen aus den Ländern der alten Kultur. Vierzehn Vorlesungen* (Mannheim, 1854), and Georg Gerland, *Altgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie* (Magdeburg, 1869). On 17 November 1869, Max Müller, *Vorlesungen über die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, trans. and ed. von C. Böttger (Leipzig, 1863–66).

22. More than ten notes have been identified as excerpts from Müller's *Essays*, all but one from the first volume and three from Koeppen, see KSA 14.

Max Müller's *Essays*, vol. 1, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1869), contains the following essays: 1. "Vorlesung über die Veda oder die heiligen Bücher der Brahmanen" (1865); 2. "Christus und andere Meister" (1858); 3. "Der Veda und Zendavesta" (1853); 4. "Das Aitareya-Brahmana" (1864); 5. "Ueber das Studium des Zendavesta in Indien" (1862); 6. "Die Fortschritte der Zendphilosophie" (1865); 7. "Genesis und Zendavesta" (1864); 8. "Die heutigen Parsis" (1862); 9. "Ueber den Buddhismus" (1862); 10. "Buddhistische Pilger" (1857); 11. "Die Bedeutung von Nirvana" (1857); 12. "Chinesische Uebersetzungen von Sanskrittexten" (1861); 13. "Die Werke des Confucius" (1861); 14. "Popol Vuh" (1862); 15. "Der semitische Monotheismus."

Vol. 2, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Mythologie und Ethologie* (Leipzig, 1869), contains the following relevant essays: 16. "Vergleichende Mythologie," 1–127; 25. "Ueber Sitten und Gebräuche," 223–55; 27. "Kaste," 265–332; Index. Volume 1 is missing from Nietzsche's library

today, and there are no annotations in the second volume. Some of the pages have not been cut open, including the latter parts of the long sixteenth and the twenty-seventh essays.

23. For Nietzsche's reading of Koeppen, see B. Spannake's long, detailed examination of this work and its relation to *The Birth of Tragedy*, "Umwertung einer Quelle: Vergleichende Anmerkungen zur Buddhismus-Interpretation des jungen Nietzsche," in *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* and in der Studie Carl Friedrich Koeppen über *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*," *Nietzsche-Studien* 28 (1999): 156–93. The essay also contains a number of relevant bibliographical references to and discussions of other works on Nietzsche and Buddhism. Unfortunately she does not relate Nietzsche's reading of Koeppen to his notebooks, which would have been less speculative than the references to *The Birth of Tragedy*.

24. See the brief allusions to Indian thought in *The Birth of Tragedy*, 7, 18, 21, and 23.

25. For example, in *Schopenhauer as Educator*, 8, Nietzsche states that "Indian antiquity is opening its gates, yet the relationship of those who study it to the imperishable works of the Indians, to their philosophies, hardly differs from that of an animal to a lyre: even though Schopenhauer considered its acquaintance with Indian philosophy the greatest advantage our century possessed over all others" (Hollingdale's translation). As a dedicated Schopenhauerian, one would have thought Nietzsche would have followed him in this view more than seems to be the case.

26. See, for example, *Richard Wagner in Bayreuth*, 4 and *KSA* 8, 11[4+18]. See also *The Gay Science*, 99.

27. *KSA* 8, 13[1], summer–autumn 1875.

28. Deussen's letter to Nietzsche, 17 January 1875 is published in *KGB* II.6/1, pp. 17–20, and Nietzsche's answer from a few days later in *KSB* 5, p. 10. Deussen, who was a Kantian, writes to Nietzsche extensively about his plans and views. He writes that he believes that all philosophers, including the metaphysicians of religion (except the materialists, i.e., the natural scientists), are essentially saying the same thing and are in agreement with Kant. Thereafter he writes: "aber für meine litterarische Arbeit habe ich mir, seit mehr als einem Jahr ein andres Gebiet ausgesucht, und die Motive, die mir die Kraft geben, bis jetzt mit unermüdlicher Ausdauer, ja mit Fanatismus daran zu arbeiten [. . .] dies Gebiet ist: die indische Philosophie. Sie, die allein ebenbürtige Schwester der griechischen und deutschen, sie deren Sohn mehr als es je jemand denkt der aller Verehrung unerreichbare Schopenhauer ist, sie liegt als ein noch völlig ungehobener Schatz in eben erst publizirten Handschriften und fast allgemein unzulänglichen Übersetzungen da. Sollte es mir gelingen, sie dem Occidente würdig und genügend bekannt zu machen, so dürfte ich hoffen, nicht umsonst dagewesen zu sein. Dazu aber muß man sie kennen wie ehemals ein indischer Pandita und verstehen, wie ein Schüler Kants und Schopenhauers. Darum habe ich seit 1 1/2 Jahren fast nichts als Sanskrit getrieben, und jeden neuen Morgen treibt es mir mit unversiegbarem Jugendeifer zu dieser schweren Sprache, bis ich darin zu Hause sein werde wie in Griechischen und Lateinischen."

29. Letter to Deussen, shortly after 17 January 1875.

30. The former is the *Great Learning (Daxue)*, one of the "Four Books" in the Confucian tradition; the latter is Laozi's *Daodejing*. I have found no evidence that Nietzsche read these works, and they are no longer in his library. It is possible that he bought them for the sake of giving them away as gifts. The Confucius volume he lent to Marie Baumgartner in 1875.

Nietzsche's only references to Confucius occur late, once in a note, *KSA* 11, 36[48], June–July 1885, in *Twilight of the Idols*, "Improvers," 5, and *The Antichrist*, 55. His two references to Lao-tse occur even later, in *KSA* 13, 11[368], winter 1887/88, and in *The Antichrist*, 32.

31. This work of 353 pages consists of four lectures on comparative religion and two added essays, "Ueber falsche Analogien in der vergleichenden Theologie" and "Ueber die Philosophie der Mythologie." It contains references and discussions of Eastern religion and philosophy,

including also a critical discussion of Jacolliot (whom Nietzsche would read later, see below) and about Zarathustra.

32. The three massive volumes of this work are still in his library but contain no annotations. However, Nietzsche had excerpted some passages from it. The work consists of 7,613 aphorisms in Sanskrit and German translation.

33. See Gersdorff's letter to Nietzsche, 22 May 1875.

34. Letter to Gersdorff, 13 December 1875. Nietzsche writes the epigram in German: "Ich entlieh von dem Freunde Schmeitzners Hr. Widemann die englische Übersetzung der Sutta Nipata, etwas aus den heiligen Büchern der Buddhaisten; und eine der festen Schlußworte einer Sutta habe ich schon in Hausgebrauch genommen 'so wandle ich einsam wie das Rhinoceros.'" This letter contains a number of relevant statements by Nietzsche.

The work Nietzsche borrowed appears to have been Coomara Swamy's abridged translation in English of the *Sutta-Nipāta*. Nietzsche's knowledge of English was extremely limited, but his sister, who lived with him in Basel at this time, knew English, and it is possible that she translated it for him. She certainly frequently read aloud to him.

35. The original English title is *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*. This work expresses a strong belief in progress and science. The main theme argued the case that history, including intellectual history, is determined by laws and not mere chance events. Nietzsche bought this and another work by Draper, *Geschichte der Konflikte zwischen Religion und Wissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1875), in 1875 as shown by book bills in the GSA. He also recommended Draper to Gersdorff, from whom we have a letter to Nietzsche, 25 April 1875, mentioning it: "Endlich ist auch Draper eingetroffen und ich sage dir nun vorläufig besten Dank dafür, dass du mir zu guten Büchern verholfen hast." Much later, in a letter to Overbeck, 24 March 1887, Nietzsche criticizes Draper (and Lecky): "Lecky habe ich selbst in Besitz: aber solchen Engländern fehlt 'der historische Sinn' und auch noch einiges Andre. Das Gleiche gilt von dem sehr gelesenen und übersetzten Amerikaner Draper."

36. Nietzsche's copy contains many dog-ears and a few annotations, but they are all later in the book.

37. The chronology of Nietzsche's lecture notes is not certain, since he gave most of them several times. I will assume that he wrote the notes the first time he gave the lectures. However, for our purpose here, this assumption, even if incorrect, changes little. Due primarily to illness, but also to a decreasing interest in philology, Nietzsche is unlikely to have added much to the lectures (which he repeated) after the winter semester 1875/76.

38. *KGW* II.2, 188–94.

39. *KGW* II.3, 410.

40. *KGW* II.3, 428.

41. *KGW* II.4, 211.

42. *KGW* II.4, 295.

43. *KGW* II.4, 232.

44. *KGW* II.5, 302.

45. *KGW* II.5, 310f.

46. *KGW* II.5, 395.

47. *KSA* 8, 33[11], autumn 1878: "NB. The true *maya*.—disoriented and insubstantial values."

48. For example, *Human, All Too Human*, 265: "Europe has attended the school of consistent and critical thinking, Asia still does not know how to distinguish between truth and fiction and is unaware whether its convictions stem from observation and correct thinking or from fantasies."

In some notes from 1876, Nietzsche's attitude is still positive (*KSA* 8, 17[53+55]), but from 1877 he begins to criticize Eastern philosophy, among others, for its passive "rice-eating morality" (*KSA* 8, 22[90] + 23[154]).

49. There are many discussions of (or allusions to) Buddhism in the chapter “The Religious Life,” sections 108–44, in *Human, All Too Human* (sections 110, 111, 114, 139, and 144).

50. “At times we also managed to read together a little, for example, one day the *Sakuntala*, which Nietzsche did not yet know. He had many criticisms of the first four acts, first of all, finding the tragic motivation too easy and the author’s merits too slight, since the whole background of flowers, animal life, and penitents’ groves etc., belong to India and not to him. But would it not rather be an error for a dramatic work to lack local background, to have no local colour? [. . .] Secondly, Nietzsche found the guilt motif too easy. But does it not express precisely the deep, delicate soulful feeling of the Indians?” *Conversations with Nietzsche* by Sander L. Gilman (New York and Oxford, 1987), 87 (p. 330 in the original German edition of Gilman’s book).

51. Deussen’s first book, *Die Elemente der Metaphysik* (1877), deals extensively with Kant and Schopenhauer, and its Kantian and Schopenhauerian stance is reflected in the preface: “Diesen *Standpunkt der Versöhnung aller Gegensätze* hat, wie wir glauben, die Menschheit der Hauptsache nach erreicht in dem von Kant begründeten, von Schopenhauer zu Ende gedachten Idealismus.” Deussen also attempts to show the kinship of their thinking with that of “insbesondere der Brahmaidja der Inder, der Ideenlehre des Platon und der Theologie des Christenthums.”

52. Letter to Deussen, early August 1877. Compare also the letter to Meysenbug, 4 August 1877, in which he writes with references to Deussen’s book: “Much Indian [material] in it” (possibly with reference to their mutual reading of *Sakuntala* earlier that year).

53. He borrowed it from the university library in Basel on 9 July and 26 August 1878.

54. This ought to be examined more carefully.

55. See *KGB* II.7/3.2 (2001) and Brusotti’s article in *Nietzsche-Studien* 22 (1993): 223 (see note 56).

56. M. Brusotti, “Opfer und Macht: Zu Nietzsches Lektüre von Jacob Wackernagels “Über den Ursprung des Brahmanismus,”” *Nietzsche-Studien* 22 (1993): 222–42. See also the discussions in his *Die Leidenschaft der Erkenntnis* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997). Nietzsche’s reading of Wackernagel and about Brahmanism is unlikely to have been *essential* for his view of will to power.

57. “Beiträge zur Quellenforschung mitgeteilt von Paolo D’Iorio,” *Nietzsche-Studien* 22 (1993): 395–97.

58. The book (in the 1875 edition) begins with five chapters on early and primitive cultures; chapter 6 is “Das Reich der Mitte im Alterthume,” 72–93, a short chapter 7, “Das Inselreich des Ostens,” 94–97, then chapter 8, about ancient Indian culture, “Aryavarta,” 98–124. Chapter 9, “Die alten Culturvölker Vorderasiens,” 125–62, begins with a discussion of Zarathustra, and it is from here that Nietzsche took his figure (*KSA* 9, 11[195]). Nietzsche thus read and excerpted this chapter during the first half of 1881, probably in August. The book also gives much bibliographical information, some of which Nietzsche noted.

59. Hellwald strongly emphasizes the importance of power, of survival of the fittest, and the book was dedicated to the great German Darwinist Ernst Haeckel.

60. *Ibid.*, 118.

61. For an account of Nietzsche’s discussion of physiology in relation to Buddhism, see Richard Brown’s “Nietzsche: “that profound physiologist,”” in *Nietzsche and Science*, ed. Gregory Moore and Thomas H. Brobjer (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2004), 51–70.

62. Nietzsche seems to have viewed the Chinese critically, as mostly passive and satisfied. For example, he writes in his notebook in the winter 1882/83: “(the last man: a sort of Chinese).” *KSA* 10, 4[204]. Nietzsche used the expression “last man” in the first book of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883) to represent the opposite of *Übermensch*.

63. The book consists of five parts: Einleitung. 1. Indien und der Buddha, 1–16; 2. Der indische Pantheismus und Pessimismus, 17–61; 3. Asketenthum. Mönchorden, 62–72.

Part I: Buddha's Leben; 1. Die Beschaffenheit der Tradition. Legende und Mythos, 73–96; 2. Buddha's Jugend, 97–114; 3. Anfänge der Lehrthätigkeit, 115–39; 4. Das Wirken Buddha's, 140–99; 5. Buddha's Tod, 200–207.

Part II: Die Lehren des Buddhismus; 1. Der Satz vom Leiden, 208–27; 2. Die Sätze von der Entstehung und Aufhebung des Leidens, 228–91; 3. Der Satz vom Wege zur Aufhebung des Leidens, 292–337.

Part III: Die Gemeinde der Jünger Buddha's, 338–98.

Excuse: 1. Ueber das geographische Verhältniss der vedischen und der buddhistischen Cultur, 399–418; 2. Bemerkungen und Belege zur Geschichte von Buddha's Jugend, 418–32; 3. Zusätze und Belege einige Gegenstände der buddhistischen Dogmatik betreffend, 432–53; Register.

64. Strauss writes in *The Old Faith and the New*, while discussing the modern conception of the universe in close connection to Kant (whom he praises but also differs from): "He here [Kant in his *General History and Theory of the Heavens* (1755)] calls the world 'a phoenix, which but consumes itself in order to rise rejuvenated from its ashes.' [. . .] Neither, as already hinted, is any destruction final. Even as the order of Nature, such as it now exists, has evolved itself out of Chaos, so likewise can it again evolve itself out of the new Chaos occasioned by its destruction [. . .] At bottom this was the Cosmic conception of the Stoics; only they extended this view to the whole Cosmos, and conceived of it in harmony with their pantheism. [. . .] According to Buddhism, also, there never has been a time when worlds and beings have not been evolved in endless revolutions of birth and decay: every world has arisen from a former ruined world [. . .] These auguries of religion and philosophy have in recent times gained scientific probability, owing to two discoveries in physics. From the gradual diminution of the orbit of Encke's comet has been inferred the existence in space of matter, which [. . .] must gradually [. . .] narrow the orbits of the planets, and produce finally their collision with the sun. The other discovery is that of the conservation of energy" (trans. J. Fitzgerald, 174–81).

65. Paolo D'Iorio discusses the natural scientific origin and component of this idea in "Cosmologie de l'Éternel Retour," *Nietzsche-Studien* 24 (1995): 62–123.

66. *KSA* 9, 11[141], early August 1881.

67. Friedrich von Hellwald's *Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart* (Augsburg, 2d ed., 1875), 116: "Unter solchen Umständen musste der durch das Klima der warmen Länder, [. . .] daher die Gelegenheit zu inneren Vertiefungen viel reichlicher sind, geförderte Hang des Nachdenkens zur wahren Folterung der Gemüther werden bei den Indern, denen ein endloses Echo von Wanderungen der Seele zu drohen schien. Auf dem Hindu lastete als Judasqual die Vorstellung einer rastlosen Erneuerung, ohne Rettung, dass sie jemals stille stehen könnte, und seine geängstigte Phantasie sah in schrecklichen Zahlenausdrücken eine Zeit vor sich ohne Grenzen, die mit jedem Schritte in ihre Tiefe auch ihren Horizont um einen Schritt vorwärts schob. Wohl mögen wir uns denken, dass vielen bedrängten Herzen wenigstens eine Lehre als wahre Erlösung erschien, welche ihnen die Möglichkeit einer Pause, einer Beendigung, vielleicht sogar das gänzliche Erlöschen—Nirvâna—verhiess, mag man sich nun darunter eine ewig gültige Vernichtung oder nur eine zeitweilige Erstarrung mit allen Süßigkeiten des Todes denken.[Footnote: Peschel] Diese Lehre war der *Buddhismus*, welcher um 600–500 Jahre v. Chr. ebenfalls im Gangâthale entstanden und sich mit unvermeidlicher Nothwendigkeit aus der Vedalehre der Brahmanen entwickeln musste."

68. *KSA* 10, 15[60]. There is no evidence that he read this work and it is not in his library, but I am not aware of any serious attempt to examine Nietzsche's possible reading of it.

69. This work is 535 pages. Nietzsche's copy contains a large number of dog-ears and a few annotations in the middle part of the book. For a short discussion of the relationship between Nietzsche and Deussen, with special emphasis on Vedanta and Indian thought, see Hans Rollmann, "Deussen, Nietzsche, and Vedanta," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39 (1978): 125–32.

70. Letter to Overbeck, 6 March 1883: “Deussens Vedanta-Werk ist *ausgezeichnet*. Übrigens bin ich für *diese* Philosophie beinahe das böse Princip.”

71. Letter to Paul Deussen, 16 March 1883.

72. KSA 11, 26[317], summer–autumn 1884.

73. For a discussion of Nietzsche’s reading of this journal, see S. L. Gilman, “Nietzsches Emerson-Lektüre: Eine unbekannte Quelle,” *Nietzsche-Studien* 9 (1980): 406–31.

74. KSA 12, 2[100].

75. See letter to Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, 21 August 1885.

76. Letter to Deussen, 20 September 1886. Nietzsche’s only explicit references to Sankhya, apart from this one, are in an early note from the early 1870s, KSA 7, 30[2], and then three times in late writing; *On the Genealogy of Morals*, III.27, *The Antichrist*, 32, and KSA 13, 11[368], November 1887–March 1888.

77. He seems to have used it for *On the Genealogy of Morals*, III.17 and possibly for section six of the first essay and the eighth of the third essay.

78. In the letter to Gast, 8 September 1887, Nietzsche expresses his appreciation more fully. “Der Fall ist historisch: Deussen ist der erste eingeständliche Schopenhauerianer, der eine Professur in Deutschland erhalten hat,—und daß D<eussen> Schopenhauers glühendster Verehrer und Verkündiger ist (übrigens eminent *rationell*), daran bin *ich* schuld: er hat mir auf emphatische Weise für die Hauptwendung seines Lebens gedankt. Das Wesentlichere (in *meinen* Augen) ist, daß er der erste Europäer ist, der von Innen her der indischen Philosophie nahe gekommen ist: er brachte mir seine eben erschienenen Sutras des Vedanta, ein Buch raffinierter Scholastik des indischen Denkens, in dem der Scharfsinn der modernsten europäischen Systeme (Kantismus, Atomistik, Nihilismus usw) einige Jahrtausende früher vorweg genommen ist (es sind Seiten darin, die wie ‘Kritik der reinen Vernunft’ klingen und nicht nur klingen) Das Werk ist auf Kosten der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften gedruckt; ich nehme an, daß D<eussen> bald genug ihr Mitglied sein wird. Er ist eine Spezialität; auch die sprachgelehrtesten Engländer (wie Max Müller), die ähnliche Ziele verfolgen, sind gegen D<eussen> Esel, weil ihnen ‘der Glaube fehlt’, das Herauskommen aus Schopenhauer-Kantischen Voraussetzungen. Er übersetzt jetzt die *Upanischad*’s: was würde Schopenh<aue>r für eine Freude haben!!!”

79. Meta von Salis, a friend of Nietzsche’s, who was staying in Sils at the time, writes in her later account, *Philosoph und Edelmensch* (Leipzig, 1897), published in English in Sander L. Gilman, *Conversations with Nietzsche* (New York and Oxford, 1987), 200 (p. 577 in the German edition): “The professor from Kiel [Paul Deussen] and his wife—he had recently married—came to Sils for a few days while on a trip to Greece. Nietzsche showed the liveliest interest in his Indian studies and spoke much in those days about the unique brotherly people on the Ganges. The story of how Buddha, to provide food for a hungry lion, changed himself into a rabbit; the fakir, sitting still and radiating benevolence, with his glass button; the theosophic movement’s link to the Eastern religions—all this and much more was the topic of discussion in those days. And the transferral of these alien things into modern life was very fascinating.”

80. Both booklets are in Nietzsche’s library, the former with some annotations, the latter with extensive annotations, including comments on many pages.

81. Nietzsche also wrote down the name and title of Cremer’s *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, together with five other titles, in his notebook, KSA 12, 5[110], probably as planned reading. He probably did not read any of them, and this work by Cremer seems to be more about Arabian culture than Asian cultures.

82. See Andreas Urs Sommer, *Friedrich Nietzsches “Der Antichrist”: Ein philosophisch-historischer Kommentar* (Basel, 2000), and his article “Ex oriente lux? Zur vermeintlichen ‘Ostorientierung’ in Nietzsches *Antichrist*,” *Nietzsche-Studien* 28 (1999): 194–214.

83. See the long discussion of this work in Nietzsche’s letter to Gast, 31 May 1888. The book deals only with Manu; the Moses and Mohammed in the title are dealt with in other volumes.

Nietzsche has annotated about fifty pages, mostly with underlining and marginal notes (he also corrected spelling errors but made no direct comments), from page 4 to 479.

84. For a discussion of Nietzsche's relation to Manu, see my "The Absence of Political Ideals in Nietzsche's Writings: The Case of the Laws of Manu and the Associated Caste-Society," *Nietzsche-Studien* 27 (1998): 300–318.

85. Letter to Peter Gast, 31 May 1888. Compare also *KSA* 13, 11[228] and 14[25] where Nietzsche speaks of the Vedanta-philosophy and Brahmanism as nihilistic and as phenomena of decline.

86. Nietzsche's reading of Jacolliot is reflected in a large number of notes, for example: *KSA* 13, 14[106+175–78+189+190+191+193+195+196+198–204+212–18+220+221+223+224+225], 15[21+24+42+44+45+47+62+109], 16[53+60], 18[3] and 22[10].

87. *KSA* 13, 14[203], with the title "Critique of Manu," *KSA* 13, 14[216], with the title "Critique of the laws," and *KSA* 13, 15[45], with the title "Toward a Critique of the Lawbook of Manu."

Chronological Listing of Nietzsche's Reading About Eastern Philosophy

The first column lists the authors and titles. A left bracket signifies that Nietzsche may not have read the work (or not read it in the year discussed). The second column (BN) lists whether the book is available in Nietzsche's private library, with a "Y" for yes. Stars after the Y indicate few (*), some (**), and many (***) annotations that Nietzsche made in his copy. The third column gives short comments about Nietzsche's reading of and response to the book. The fourth column gives the reference to the critical German editions *KSA* and *KSB* where Nietzsche mentions, or discusses, the book (a two- or three-digit number for letters and a number containing brackets for his notebooks).

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1861 [Wollheim de Fonseca, A. E., <i>Mythologie des alten Indien</i> (Berlin, 1856)	—	List of books N wanted for his birthday 1861.	<i>BAW</i> 1, 251
1865 Schaarschmidt's lec- ture on the history of philosophy	—	Nietzsche's lecture notes have not yet been published.	<i>GSA</i> in Weimar

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1866 [Friedlein, Gerbert, <i>Die Geometrie des Boetius u. die indis- chen Ziffern</i> (1861)]	—	Listed.	KGWI.4, 42[11]
1867 Rose, Valentin, <i>De Aristotelis liborum</i> (1854)	—	Nietzsche makes a detailed excerpt from this work.	KGWI.4, 52[2] = BAW 4, p. 552–65
1868 [Weber, A. Fr., <i>Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Litteraturgeschichte</i> (Berlin, 1852)]	—	List of books to read. Nietzsche seems to have read most of the titles on the list, but probably not these two.	BAW 4, p. (561)+630
[Lassen, Chr., <i>Indische Alterthumskunde</i> , 4 vols., (Bonn, 1844–62)]	—	List of books to read. Nietzsche seems to have read most of the titles on the list, but probably not these two.	BAW 4, p. (561)+630
[Windisch, E., Indian philosophy]	—	Nietzsche and Windisch had studied philology together in Leipzig. Windisch had written a catalogue of 300 Indian works.	418
Brockhaus, “Rektoratsrede über indische Philologie”	—	Nietzsche had earlier attended Brockhaus’s lecture “Overview of the Results of Indian Philology,” probably in the late 1860s.	418

Title	BN	Comment	Ref.
1869			
Benfey, T., <i>Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und Orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts mit einem Rückblick auf die früheren Zeiten</i> (Munich, 1869)	—	Borrowed from the university library in Basel, November 1869.	
Müller, M., <i>Vorlesungen über die Wissenschaft der Sprache</i> , übersetzt und bearbeitet von C. Böttger (Leipzig, 1863–66)	—	Borrowed from the university library in Basel, November 1869.	
1870			
Koeppen, C. F., <i>Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, 1857–59)	—	Borrowed from the university in Basel, 25 October 1870. Paraphase. It is not clear if he borrowed and read both volumes or only the first.	KSA 7, 5[31+44]+13[3]
Müller, M., <i>Essays</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1869): vol. 1: <i>Beiträge zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft</i> ; vol. 2: <i>Beiträge zur vergleichenden Mythologie und Ethologie</i>	Y*	Referent, quotations, and page reference.	KSA 7, 5[30+31+37+40+c. 50–65+71]+Encyklopädie—lectures, KGW II.3, p. 410

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1875			
[Confucius, <i>Ta—Hio</i> (1875)]	—	N bought this book in 1875.	Bücherrechnungen
[Lao—tse, <i>Der Weg zur Tugend</i> (1870)]	—	N bought this book in 1875.	Bücherrechnungen
[Translations of Indian Philosophy]	—	Nietzsche advised and helped his publisher, Schmeitzner, who wanted to publish books on Oriental philosophy. Nietzsche suggests, among others, Deussen and Windisch.	448+494
[<i>Tripitaka der Buddhisten</i>]	—	Nietzsche attempts to find a publisher for the translation of this work.	494
<i>Sutta Nipata</i> , translated into English by Coomara Swamy (London, 1874)	—	N borrowed this book from Widemann, which contains “things from the sacred books of the Buddhists” and quotes from it.	495+Schmeitzner to N, 26 July 1875
Böhtlingk, O., <i>Indische Sprüche: Sanskrit und Deutsch</i> , 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1870–73)	Y	An early Christmas present from Gersdorff. N thanks him with appreciation. Quotation and page reference. They had also read the book together earlier, in March.	495+KSA 8, 2[1]+3[1]

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Hellwald, F.A., <i>Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart</i> (Augsburg, 1874)	—	Referent and reference. N will read the work again in 1881 and 1883.	KSA 8, 5[58]
Müller, M. F., <i>Einleitung in die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft</i> , (Straßburg, 1874)	—	Borrowed from the university library in Basel, October 1875.	
1877			
Kalidasa, <i>Sakuntala</i>	—	Read in Sorrento, Italy. Nietzsche skeptical.	Gilman, p. 330
Deussen, P., <i>Die Elemente der Metaphysik</i> (1877)	Y	N thanks Deussen for the book. “Your book serves me strangely enough as a happy collection of everything that I no longer hold for true. [. . .] Already when I wrote my small study about Schopenhauer I no longer held on to almost any of all the dogmatic aspects.”	642+644
1878			
Haug, M., <i>Brahma und die Brahmanen</i> (Munich, 1871)	—	Borrowed from the university library in Basel, 1878.	

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1879			
[Gutschmid, A., <i>Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients: Die Assyriologie in Deutschland</i> (Leipzig, 1876)	—	List of books to read.	KSA 8, 39[8]
Wackernagel, J., Buddhismus- Vorträge	—	N has talked with his publisher about pub- lishing the text to Wackernagel's lectures on Buddhism.	894
1880			
Wackernagel, J., <i>Über den Ursprung des Brahmanismus</i> (Basel, 1877), 35 pages	Y	Quotation with refer- ence+paraphrase.	KSA 9, 4[180+186+192+ 224]+ M, 96+113+130+ GM III.10
Wackernagel, <i>Buddhismus</i>	—	N wants to borrow from Overbeck.	33+41
[Post, <i>Bausteine für allg. Rechtswissenschaft</i>	Y***	N orders book.	118
Draper, J. W., <i>Geschichte der geistigen Entwicklung Europas</i> (1871)	Y*	Nietzsche quotes a longer section from Draper, probably a sign of his rereading of the books this year.	M, 37
1881			
[Katscher, <i>Bilder aus dem chinesis- chen Leben</i>	—	Nietzsche orders book. It is not known if he received it. More prob- ably read another work about China.	118

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Hellwald, F. A., <i>Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart</i> (Augsburg, 1874)	—	Referent and reference.	KSA 9, 11[195+267+299]
1882			
Oldenberg, H., <i>Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde</i> (Berlin, 1881)	Y*	One word, “Metteyya,” and paraphrase.	KSA 10, 2[1]+4[184]+5[1]219
1883			
Hellwald, Fr. A. <i>Culturgeschichte</i> 1885	—	Reading.	406
Deussen, P., <i>Das System des Vedânta</i> (Leipzig, 1883)	Y*	Short comment+thank-you letter. Quotation and short discussion.	386+389+KSA 10, 7[34]
Post, A. H. <i>Bausteine für eine allgemeine rechtswissenschaft auf vergleichend—ethnologischer Basis</i> , 2 vols. (Oldenburg, 1880–81)	Y**	Paraphrase, quotation, and page references.	KSA 10, 7[247–48], 8[5–9]
[Kern, H., <i>Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien. Eine Darstellung der Buddhistischen Kirche</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1882–84)	—	List of planned reading?	KSA 10, 15[60]

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1884			
Oldenberg, H., <i>Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde</i> (Berlin, 1881)	Y*	Discussion, paraphrase, quotation, and page ref- erences.	KSA 11, 26[220+221+225]+ GM III.7
Deussen, P., <i>Das System des Vedanta</i> (1883)	Y*	Discussion, paraphrase, quotation, and page ref- erence.	KSA 11, 26[193+194+ 198+199+201]
Robins, E., “Maenadism in Religion,” in <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> (October 1883)	Y*	N apparently had the essay translated for him.	Annotations
1885			
[Windisch, E., <i>Iti- vuttaka</i>	—	Mention/A title.	KSA 12, 1[245]
1886			
[Deussen, P., <i>Das System des Vedanta</i> (Leipzig, 1883)	Y*	N comments on Deussen’s book. Possibly rereading it now.	752+GM III.17
1887			
Post, A.H. <i>Bausteine für eine allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft auf vergleichend— ethnologischer Basis</i> , 2 vols. (Oldenburg, 1880–81)	Y**	Paraphrases and uses.	KSA 12, 8[6]+JGB, 194+ GM II. 3+4+9+10+13+14+1 7+19 +GM III.9+14
[Gury, <i>Compendium theologiae Moralis Ratisbonae</i> (1862)	—	List of six titles.	KSA 12, 5[110]

<i>Title</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
Deussen, P., <i>Die Sutra's des Vedanta</i> (Leipzig, 1887)	Y	Mention, recommend.	895+899+903+913+ <i>GM</i> III.17
Kohler, Joseph, <i>Der chinesische Strafrecht</i> (Würzburg, 1886)	Y*	Nietzsche uses.	<i>GM</i> II.5+13
1888 Jaccoliot, L., <i>Les législateurs religieux. Manou—Moïse—Mahomet</i> (Paris, 1876)	Y*	Praise+discuss+quote.	1041+ <i>KSA</i> 13 14[106+ 75–178+ 190+196+198+200+ 202+212+214+ 216]+16[60]+ <i>GD</i> , “Improvers” <i>AC</i> , 56–57
Oldenberg, H., <i>Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde</i> (Berlin, 1881)	Y*	Nietzsche probably reread Oldenberg at the time of working on <i>AC</i> or in 1887.	<i>AC</i> , 20–24