

DIONYSIAN AND APOLLONIAN PATHOS OF DISTANCE A New Image of World History

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No philosophy has met more confusion than Nietzsche's. This is particularly unfortunate for those sharing Nietzsche's sense for historical relativism. This essay shall demonstrate that Nietzsche's distinction between "Dionysian" and "Apollonian" offers striking insight for our picture of human history and culture. We can say without qualification: no scholar of Nietzsche has as yet discovered the full implications of these terms. But to understand their meaning, we have to consider first another fundamental term, "Pathos of Distance".

Like "Innocence of Becoming", "Eternal Recurrence", or "Will-to-Power", "Pathos of Distance" sums up all the major tendencies of Nietzsche's philosophy. It is, therefore, an untimely notion, antithetical to the sensibilities of modernity, utilitarianism, scientific progress, and cosmopolitan humanism.

As a symbol, "Pathos of Distance" points beyond a word-understanding of the fact world and draws our attention to a more primitive visual orientation of it—and beyond this to what may be the last metaphysical notion of Western Europe, the inherent formlessness of reality, the "word-less" abyss surrounding existence and formative movement, the omnipotent chaos that always suffocates the flickers of form and life.¹

This cosmic conflict has nothing to do with Hegelian dialectic, as some of Nietzsche's admirers have supposed. Nor are they categories of thought. For Nietzsche, experience itself is a clash between form and formlessness, and this is how we are to understand "Pathos of Distance".² Speaking, seeing, walking—any form of acting—are so many variations of human perception

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke in drei Bänden*. Munich: Carl Hansen Verlag, 1980 (hereafter I, II, or III), I, 880:

...der Tropfen *Leben* in der Welt [ist] für den gesamten Character des ungeheuren Ozeans von Werden und Vergehen ohne Bedeutung.

Cf. also III, 865: "es gibt kein All."

² I, 458f., III, 616.

before limitless extension, and as such so many ways of bounding and shaping it. But human perception is a manifestation of the metaphysical principle of assertion, *Ja-sagen*. Every plant preserves in root system, leaf, stem, posture, even the way it bends in the wind and scatters seed, a statement of its world order in the face of worldlessness. It relates itself to infinity. What Nietzsche took to be noble or beautiful, a zest for life surpassing life, the overflow of life, was the primal assertion of every movement into empty space. "Pathos of Distance" is the point in Nietzsche's thought where reality and consciousness of reality are identical.³

This means that human history is the Pathos of Distance as well as worldly wisdom. When Nietzsche, in a rare moment, spoke of Leibniz, Kant, or Hegel as great philosophers, he was thinking that their greatness rests not upon what they said, but on what they never said, on what they always implied unawares.⁴ They demanded without knowing it that thought for the sake of thought should move to the edge where thought ends and perception into the unknowable begins. Their reach went further than what they ever said or could say. Nietzsche resolved early on that his philosophy would be nothing but the effort towards the horizon and beyond it, to perceive as far as possible through the haze of the indefinite.⁵ His hope for the philosophers after him was the same: the arrangement of their words was to give their readers immediate access into the distant ages of both the past and the future, into the mind of the first man, before the dawn of history, and into the last man of history. Unless a philosophy can show the fathomless depths of nature or history, it is not worth having around. A philosophy which is not just a plea for sound common sense has to be a kind of evocation to look over the cliff and withstand vertigo. Zarathustra climbs mountain peaks to find an overview of space. Even an average reader of Nietzsche can hear the constant temptation to forsake final parameters to discover there are no final parameters.

Wisdom is never conceptual at bottom. It is visionary. It is the articulation of distance. Everyone's world moves by final images. In fact, a truly creative person, a genius or Superman, has only one image that serves to clarify things. Concepts are derivative, or to say the same thing, they are "light" no-

³ II, 875, and cf. also III, 824f. and 587. Nietzsche always speaks of Pathos of Distance in a context devoted essentially to morality and sociology, but as in II, 1014, this notion is only significant in such a context taken in the broad psychological sense in which we are using it here.

⁴ Cf. II, 226.

⁵ Cf. II, 943: "...dionysische Weisheit zieht auch der Erkenntnis Grenzen". Also II, 168: "Es gibt noch eine andere Welt zu entdecken—und mehr als eine".

tions, and their truth and falsity depend in the last analysis on whether or not they fit or dissolve into an image.⁶

History, the coming and going of human reality, is the same. Events, dates, cultures, migrations, individuals, dynasties, and wars are details proceeding from a perception of things. Is this idealism? No. These details are elements making up what Nietzsche once called *ein Spiegelbild*, a mirror-image, of an expanding form wresting with infinite formlessness.⁷ Both metaphysical moments are the postulates of Nietzsche's theory of consciousness: mind or awareness is this wresting, it is the result of unconscious power drives appropriating what cannot be ultimately appropriated.⁸ The life of waking consciousness—thoughts, ambitions, goals, desires, values—has no clear ideal that it is itself a battle, or a continuous *Pathos*, a suffering from the unconscious drive into distance or space and from the blind impenetrability of distance.⁹ We can at best achieve only an adequate idea of form-formless conflict by studying from an overview (*Überblick*) the varied patterns of culture. History, in every form, is nothing but Pathos of Distance.

The traditional philosopher, Nietzsche argued, has one great defect: he lacks the sixth sense, the historical sense.¹⁰ But, on the other hand, the typical historian, despite all of his feel for facts, lacks metaphysical depth. The gathering of evidence or the arranging of them in chronological order is an industry. The real task is deciphering a form which details assume across the decades, centuries, or millennia, across cultures and levels of culture. The *Birth of Tragedy* was the beginning of this philosophical task. Here "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" refer to two kinds of Pathos of Distance, two kinds of mentality or modes of perception prevailing everywhere in Classical Antiquity. At first the chief concern was artistic Athens of the 5th century. Later, however, the powerful thesis emerges stating that these two terms refer to two forms of history running parallel from pre-Homeric times down to the total eclipse of antiquity around 400 A.D. Towards the end of his career, in the unfinished work of the 1880s, these terms come to be the natural principles of all culture and history.¹¹

⁶ Cf. III, 538, 875, 909, and II, 32, "Licht wird alles, was ich fasse, Kohle alles, was ich lasse; Flamme bin ich sicherlich." Cf. also I, 51, "Die Metapher ist..."

⁷ III, 901.

⁸ "...das Bewußtwerden [ist] nur ein Mittel in der Entfaltung und Machterweiterung des Lebens." III, 587.

⁹ Cf. II, 126: "...daß es nichts Furchtbareres gibt als Unendlichkeit."

¹⁰ I, 448. Cf. also: "...alle Historiker erzählen von Dingen, die nie existiert haben, außer in der Vorstellung." I, 1191.

¹¹ Cf. III, 791.

We owe to Nietzsche that insight distinguishing a psychology making what we shall call 'World History' (though Nietzsche occasionally uses 'Weltgeschichte' in the way here intended)¹² from one bearing or enduring World History. The former is "Apollonian"; the latter "Dionysian". *The Birth of Tragedy* places upon a stage a single actor slowly moving on stilts apart from a chorus ring, delivering through a stiff mouthpiece Homeric wisdom in pompous, sing-song monotones. It comes to us later in this aesthetic treatise that "Apollonian" is responsible not only for the theater, the games, and festivals, but for almost every visible impression in the *polis*, not only for the naked statues, for the Doric temples, the forums, the marble fountains and palaces, but for the *polis* itself, for its encircling walls, the layering of society inside it, and the arrogant state politics issuing out of it. In short, the Apollonian principle is the flowering of urbanity, and as such, World History.¹³ The Dionysian, in contrast, leaves no lasting remnants behind, yet it is the bulk of the citizenry exhausting itself in carrying out the destiny of World History. It is the mentality that suffers or enjoys high urban culture, but does *not* create it. Rather it creates and continues another kind of history, one much older and longer than that of any city, that disappears before the glaring brightness of World History, but still runs underground as a countersoul to the Apollonian, and eventually reaches up to pull it down in destructive revolutions. This characterizes the complexity of the Graeco-Roman urbanity just as it does ours and every other.¹⁴

Thirty years after Nietzsche's death, archeological research confirmed the facticity of the Apollonian-Dionysian conflict all through early antiquity. We are now aware that every high culture has had its own Pathos of Distance, its own way of organizing space and reality, beginning around 4000 B.C. with the first in the Euphrates and Nile Valleys and ending with the last, the present cities of Western Civilization, and furthermore that every high culture grew into its individual form out of underlying agrarian or nomadic cultures millennia older, cultures of different build having each their own feel for space, their own Pathos of Distance.¹⁵

¹² Cf. III, 167.

¹³ I, 35: "Ich vermag nämlich den dorischen Staat und die dorische Kunst mir nur als ein fortgesetztes Kriegslage des Apollinischen zu erklären..."

¹⁴ It has to be kept in mind that "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" are not just artistic terms to Nietzsche, but metaphysical terms and therefore applicable to human history in general. The distinction between World History and History are our deductions from these terms. Their meaning conforms to Nietzsche's description of them in both artistic and metaphysical passages.

¹⁵ Cf. II, 1104: "Einen Zustand, eine Spannung von Pathos durch Zeichen, eingerechnet das Tempo dieser Zeichen, mitzuteilen—das ist der Sinn jedes Stils."

The quickest way to see the cogency of Nietzsche's argument is to assume that most of us are Dionysian in our fundamental nature. Even though we are not peasants, blacksmiths, hunters, villagers, nomades, fishermen, or seamen, even though a world of difference separates bespectacled cosmopolitanism from the open country, we are peasant-like in this respect: what orders life is the "given" of the immediate environs, whether suburb or central city slum. We act and think in patterns and modes dictated by the immediacy of the situation. This means we imitate movements, gestures, procedures, and attitudes that may have originated before medieval Europe. No matter how sophisticated our training or developed our talents, we do what we do because "this is the way it is done—and there is no other way". To be overwhelmed by the world-around, whether that world is a primitive village or checkerboard streets and apartments is the hallmark of the Dionysiac of any society or individual: the soul is shaped by the order directly in front of the eyes.¹⁶ Most cosmopolitans, in ancient times and now, reveal aspects of a cultivated temperament, which means they bear unconsciously a great form. But it is not their essence to be greatly cultivated. Figures like Leonardo, Goethe, Frederick the Great, to use Nietzsche's examples, perceive only in the dimensions of higher culture, which means they alone have a generically different sense for distance.¹⁷ The perceptions they manifest in their most significant acts and thoughts is governed not by the constant suggestions of the near and now, the self-evident, the direct content of awareness. Apollonian perception is not imitation, not acquiring things of space by sensing their movement or rhythm and identifying with it, not pulling things close by in order to appropriate them. Rather it makes one face reality by interposing between self and the present environment a great distance, which is a specific form appropriating formless infinity. As the principle of all high cultures, it seizes a relatively small number of minds by making them perceive without notice one form which is not a given in their consciousness.¹⁸ This one form is the ultimate form of their culture, be it China, India, the West, or any of the other urban worlds.

Nietzsche left us the generality that every developed mind has two souls: the one on top, the Apollonian, produces by one form the peculiar political, scientific, technological, and artistic organism; the one below, the Dionysian, comes under the spell of these brilliant creations and even generates them, but never brings them into being. Nietzsche never elucidated to his own

¹⁶ For this section Cf. I, 582: "...das Beste an uns ist vielleicht aus Empfindungen früherer Zeiten vererbt."

¹⁷ II, 1233: III, 518.

¹⁸ Cf. for this section I, 48.

satisfaction the combination of the two in any history other than Classical Antiquity. The two antithetical souls could not untangle without leaving unanswered questions about his own world, the Gothic North and Latin South.¹⁹ Somewhere in the 1880's he said his major task was "...to figure out why an Apollonian Greek had to grow out of a Dionysian underground, the Dionysian Greek had necessarily to become Apollonian".²⁰ Using his own analysis of the Greeks and some outside aid, we can deduce here a more fully developed Nietzschean philosophy of history.

Among those claiming descent from Nietzsche, it has to be recognized that Spengler alone is the true inheritor of "Pathos of Distance". Nietzsche would not have disagreed with one word in the description of Apollonian man in *The Decline of the West*: Euclidian geometry, pre-Socratic metaphysics, the *polis* as the political unit, the technology of Eratosthenes and Archimedes, the nude statue in the round, the oration in the forum, the Macedonian phalanx, Caesar's movable *castra*, the slave-gold economy, even the passage from the Peloponnesian War to Alexander's conquests to Imperial Rome—all proceed from a perception that takes reality to be static, corporal substance, clearly bounded, denying the infinity of space, and moving as a consequence of a statuesquely balanced universe. It can only be a guess to say how Nietzsche would have responded to the one form, the Pathos of Distance, of the Faustian West: the art of fugue, Galileian dynamics, Catholic and Protestant dogmatics, the great dynasties of the Baroque with their cabinet diplomacy, the infinitesimal calculus, the destiny of Lear, the Gothic cathedral, rockets, and radios—all express an inner disposition yearning to actualize one-directional infinite space, a depth-experience (*Tiefenerlebnis*) wherein bodies serve merely as carriers of light and shade before an invisible, adamantine striving to break all visible bounds.²¹ In any case, Spengler followed out the Nietzschean notion that creators of world culture have one basic form by which they avoid the immediacy of the perceived, by which they push back and overlook the obvious in the great attempt, which is World History, to create high culture.

"Illusion" and "Dream" are the two words Nietzsche used most to characterize the Apollonian principle, indicating the tragic rise and fall of any high culture in realizing what cannot be realized, of forming infinity. It is the

¹⁹ Nietzsche's life-long need for a southern element is actually a northern or Gothic trait. The same holds for Goethe. But even so, Nietzsche was not yet ready to decipher in himself and in his time the deep separation of the two.

²⁰ III, 792.

²¹ Cf. Spengler's theme with Nietzsche's statement on the Western perspective: "...unser Kitzel ist gerade der Kitzel des Unendlichen..." (II, 688) and Nietzsche's commentary on Goethe's idea of Faustian Infinity.

deepest illusion that creative urbanity orients existence around one single form. Yet every dominant impression left behind by any of them is always an expression of a dream, a kind of naive playing which refuses to take seriously the urgency of the moment, daily existence, or survival.²²

The Dionysian spirit in contrast, is never dreaming, but always embracing the world as it presents itself. It is "Life-above-everything".²³ Yet the materialistic shallowness of the 19th and 20th centuries has interpreted this formulation as merely a response to the moment, in short another formulation for "survival of the fittest", "a chicken in every pot" or "land, peace, and bread". "Dionysian" refers to Life above God, Religion, Art, State, Culture, Family—above all plans, ideas, food—above happiness, above life and everything imaginable. Self-preservation is not the deepest instinct of man. Deeper instincts can throw life away—all of life. The upsurge of existence, any existence, is always a forming or shaping, but no final form, no shape, no arrangement every realized can match the apparent energy finding whatever form or outlet. No final form, not all the infinitely possible universes in God's intellect, can ever equal the value of the surge. Not Schopenhauer's *Wille*, but Goethe's *das Ewig-Weibliche* is the source of Nietzsche's Dionysus: the infinite surge that is at bottom indifferent to all possible forms, that chooses this or that form only in the end to reject it for another is the eternal feminine principle in the *Faust Tragedy*. Nothing is higher nor deeper than that nature which constantly reaches toward possibilities, but is never satisfied with what is obtained. The profoundest statement of Machiavelli was "Fate is a woman". The deepest instinct, therefore is *Amor Fati*, the love of fate, which means the strong value life not because it is here and now, but because it is fate, the "Mother of Being" to use Nietzsche's phrase, that is above and beyond all formulation and all fear of life and death.²⁴

"Dionysian" refers to the primal currents of existence, but how does this stand with the phenomena of World History? Consider Nietzsche's final definition:

...a drive to unity, a reaching over person, everyday, society, reality, the abyss of disintegration: the passionate-painful overflowing into darker, fuller, more unsettled states; an ecstatic yea-saying to the total character of living in which all change as equals, equal powers, equal blessing; the great pantheistic rejoicing and compassion

²² For Nietzsche's understanding of the Apollonian as interposition of space see I, 129: "...an einer dazwischen sichtbaren Mittelwelt..." Cf. also I, 129: "...rettet vor dem Einssein..."

²³ For the following see I, 333: "...jenes Fundament aller Existenz..."

²⁴ I, 88. For the equation of *das Ewig-Weibliche* with the Dionysian, see II, 1105; with the "people", see II, 914.

which names as good and blesses the most fruitful and questionable properties of life; the eternal will to procreation, fruitfulness, to recurrence; the feel for the necessary unity of creating and destroying.²⁵

To appreciate how these words unlock secrets of history, it helps to recognize that between 1848 (Nietzsche's birth) and 1936 (Spengler's death), or thereabouts, about the same time the theoretical images of nature were being completed, the West satisfied for the most its craving for age-old historic facts through archeological digs, philology, and ancient studies. From this century of research, we now know that in the three millennia before Homeric times the wide landscape between Malabar and Etruria, between the frontier of Scythia and legendary Tartessus, between Crete and Bohuslan experienced, what Nietzsche once called a "horrible mixture", both a merging and interbreeding and a clashing and destroying. It is no small matter that these nameless tribes and clans of pre-Classical times found everywhere their proper expression in ecstatic feminine cults worshipping Dionysian-like figures. Unlike Apollonian Greece after Homer, this early world was dominated by the immediate images of plow and seed, mother and child, rain and drought, field and harvest, bull and cow. Within this teeming amorphous culture, agrarian peasantry diversified itself into different regions expressing its psychology in the lingam worship of Shiva cults, copulation of divine consorts, or in the veneration of pregnancy.

The discovery of this ancient Dionysian world provides us the structure of another kind of history leading to, but opposed to World History inside high urban centers. The pathos of Dionysian distance is a history of the open convergence of diverse peoples into new clusters, whether in the Pacific Rim, the forests of North Eurasia, or the cities of the Americas. To have a depth-experience that ends by pulling things close to the eye manifests a kind of history that pulls together over a period as much as five, six, maybe seven millennia, unrelated peoples into a wide area. "Convergence" indicates a mind that is forever astonished at reality, at the rush of infinite diversity coming upon it.²⁶

Before the appearance of World History of Apollonian-type Cultures that drive underground the history of Dionysian Cultures, art could be nothing other than the close 2-D ornamentation or crude imitation of immediate movements in the surrounding environment, religion the inseparability of visible nature and numenal powers, economy mostly barter, and communication innumerable and mutable dialects of less than 5,000 words. Even today

²⁵ III, 791.

²⁶ We are translating Nietzsche's *Drang zur Einheit* ('Drive to Unity'), as 'Convergence' to emphasize the spatial dimension of the term 'Dionysian'.

this form of history steadily continues inside the complex, sophisticated world cities. But for Nietzsche, nothing reveals more a pathos of convergence than Shamanism, Phrygian-Syrian sacred prostitution, and Maedanic cults, which is not in import unrelated to the ritual practices of Tibetan Buddhism, Negro, Indian, or "Folk" dancing, Polynesian drumming, and drug induced ecstasies—all are ways to escape the bewildering world of impressions, inner or outer. They are the *drive to primordial unity*—efforts to lose the pluralistic influx in order to discover a felt, dark cosmic unity of things. This is the reason the young Nietzsche put such emphasis on music among the arts. It alone intoxicates without light's impressions.²⁷

However, the great feature of all Dionysian history and culture, which has yet to find elucidation in a serious study, is the unfathomable willingness "...to accept the most questionable properties of life..." which means to succumb to the spectacles of influence, to court disaster in reaching out beyond safe possibility and pulling in a mode of living that can destroy social identity overnight. No one but Nietzsche could be the source of such an idea.²⁸ The subjugation of peoples by foreign prestige or conquest or migrations leave the natives downtrodden, but at this level, history which is far above anyone's decision, is a standing invitation to break into new clusters and races. Apollonian World History, in contrast, cannot be altered by influence. On the contrary, it influences others, but is not influenced. Nations that do not have their own strong imaginary-space are overwhelmed by those that do. The recent histories of Japan or Russia present prime example of suffering the influx of the omnipresent, omnipotent West, which means adopting, but not really creating Western patterns. Today their cities are Westernized, but not Western.

Our conclusion is: the difference between World History and History, High Culture and Culture, Urban society and Urbanized, Peasant, or Nomadic peoples, is the difference between Apollonian and Dionysian distance. According to Nietzsche, the psychology of the latter makes every expression of the individual, and the individual himself, an unconscious expression of a "We", while the former makes every significant expression of the individual a statement of an "I" in opposition to a cosmic "We", of an "I" alone

27 I, 92: "...erst aus dem Geiste der Musik heraus verstehen wir eine Freude an der Vernichtung des Individuums."

28 The reader is to understand that Nietzsche is the source though not the announcer of this thesis. Given that imitation of rhythm is blind existence of Dionysian nature and that unity of nature is the same tendency, but never realizable (Einheit ist in der Natur des Werdens gar nicht vorhanden—III, 685), it follows that influence, loss of social identity, and diversity (pluralism) proceeding from this drive to unity characterize history as Dionysian and Apollonian cultures.

and apart from the "All".²⁹ This is the underlying difference between folk and popular art, on the one hand, and the art of styles or schools on the other, between proverbial wisdom and systematic philosophy, between religious feeling and scholastic theology. Finally, it is the underlying difference between the great clashes of nationalities, race hatred, pogroms, peasant uprising, reformations, and the people's revolution on the one hand, and state or dynastic wars on the other. Though Nietzsche never drew this antithesis as we do, it is the same as his great division between the slave ethic of democratic brotherhood and the master ethic of aristocratic honor, as well as history as "mass-security" and as "genius-daring".³⁰

This brings us to a feature of Nietzsche's private life, a feature important because it is a perfect picture of modernity. Deeper than the break with Wagner was the realization that the Franco-Prussian War was not akin to the Napoleonic campaigns, a quest for color, glory, and nobility, but a victory for "German boorishness", which translates in our idiom to "progressive civilization". He was realizing what is now more obvious to us in our time. Events of the first half of the 20th century culminating in the two world wars revolved around the political question, which Western life-style would prevail, Prussian Socialism or Anglo-Saxon Capitalism? This was the last issue inside the Apollonian history of Western Civilization. Yet neither of the wars can be understood simply as such. The Dionysian side shows a continuation on all fronts of the stone-age conflicts between broader, more amorphous streams of being, in particular that of the many colored peoples striking at the ever unfriendly white race rooted in northern Europe. The whole of this era is a demonstration of World History giving way to History, of the West losing its grip over the destiny of the world's regions in a manner reminiscent of Classical history gradually disappearing two or three centuries after Christ before the fermentation of the Near East and the Germanic North.

This clarifies also a heretofore obscure trait of Nietzsche's thought: great tragedy is over, yet it will reappear: "...glaubt mit mir an das dionysische Leben und an die Wiedergeburt der Tragödie".³¹ Of course, it is not the art form, but the way of life, the perspective one inherits and lives with naturally that is in question. The fact is the West has lost its supernatural creativity, and not all of the quantitative force of cosmopolitanism can save it from itself. Even though there was by the 1880's a general awareness of "Europe-the-mu-

²⁹ Cf. I, 1117: "...so entreißt uns das Apollinische der dionysischen Allgemeinheit und entzückt uns für die Individuen."

³⁰ II, 772; cf. 866.

³¹ I, 113.

seum", Nietzsche alone put it in the center of his philosophy.³² His aristocratic taste, which was studied and not natural, derived from the negative ground that the West cannot be saved through "scientism" from "Once here, gone forever". Why then dream of the rebirth of a tragic style? Nietzsche once posed the question whether Dionysian stands to the Apollonian as means to an end.³³ The question was a literary device, for nothing was so obvious to Nietzsche as understanding history, in part or whole, to have no final end. There exists only priority of facts. Dionysian history precedes Apollonian, but not *vice versa*: Convergence moves eventually to intensive concentration in the cramped corners of a city or the narrow areas of a broad landscape, out of which proceeds for 30 to 40 generations a single Apollonian dream-form unconsciously saying, "...so soll es immer sein...".³⁴ Nietzsche's optimism comes from the expected re-emergence of Dionysus. Despite spineless religiosity and the democratic *Pöbel* everywhere, there is a noble element that cannot be taken away by glittering modernity and flabby conservatism: *Amor Fati*. The love and tempting of fate is the bottom line of all historical reality. Love and Fate are the same thing.³⁵ This is the meaning behind the Dionysian statue placed centered stage in all Classical tragedies.

It is a fact that the collapse of high cultures drags everything good and bad, strong and weak in its fall, leaving behind weak, degenerate, disoriented populations. Because of the planetary reach of Western Civilization, it can be imagined that a vacuum will be left behind much more extensive than that of any previous demise the globe has experienced. But even if the West takes the earth with it to its grave, an idea perhaps Nietzsche never entertained, even if this is the price of its 11 or 12 centuries, it will be, according to Dionysian philosophy, worth it. There are no values, until there is life, that is, until there is risk, and the greater the life, the greater the risk.³⁶

Therefore, Apollonian and Dionysian history are two forms of fate, or two forms of "consequencelessness", or two forms of tragedy, that is, two movements of human reality that say, "In spite of". They are like everything else moving in the universe of time, a Yea-Assertion in the face of death and the unwieldy chaos of infinity. Nietzsche could never answer the question

³² I, 210: "...der historische Sinn unserer Zeit..."; cf. II, 1141, III, 484.

³³ I, 118: "Was vermag nicht..."

³⁴ Cf. I, 31, 32, 117 for *apollinische Täuschung* and *Traum*.

³⁵ III, 834 and 1181.

³⁶ Cf. III, 521: "Die *Ausgleichung* des europäischen Menschen ist der grosse Prozeß, der nicht zu hemmen ist: man sollte ihn noch beschleunigen. Die Notwendigkeit für eine *Kluftaufreißung*, *Distanz*, *Rangordnung* ist damit gegeben: *nicht* die Notwendigkeit, jenen Prozeß zu verlangsamen." Cf. also II, 788.

why a Dionysian Greek became an Apollonian Greek. It was another rhetorical question posed to sense movement, forming, transforming, circumscribed by infinity, which is to say, to sense happiness in the swiftness of reality though it comes to nought. For us who read Nietzsche, "Pathos of Distance" is another angle of approach from abstraction to the irrevocable facts. It behooves us to follow out what he began. The treatment of distance will give us regulative ideas and concrete impressions of historical reality, which is the only reality.

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