

NIETZSCHE'S LIBRARY

Compiled by Rainer J. Hanshe

A NOTE ON THIS DOCUMENT: The phrase “NIETZSCHE’S ‘LIBRARY’” must be taken liberally, if not expansively. This is an extensive document that traces not only the books which Nietzsche read throughout his life, but also lectures he attended as well as professorial work he was engaged in, the music he listened to and composed, and, finally, denotes when and where he wrote his philosophical works. Its primary concern though is with the books Nietzsche was reading; the most abundant references are to those books.

As far as the books which Nietzsche *read* are concerned, there are lists of these books, but they are strictly alphabetical and therefore not of much value. “NIETZSCHE’S ‘LIBRARY’” traces his reading chronologically, month by month when possible, in order to help map out the intersection between his reading and his writing. To know exactly *when* Nietzsche was reading *what* is more beneficial for gaining a deeper understanding of his relationship to other thinkers, writers, poets, etc. Whether or not there is always a direct correlation is to be discerned by each and every reader and researcher, but this document was created in order to facilitate work of this kind. For others, this may be a strict amusement or curiosity, but it does not seem that any such document exists; perhaps it will be helpful.

This statement must be qualified though, for some time after I began working on this, someone alerted me to the work of Thomas Brobjer, who has conducted the most significant and important research on Nietzsche’s reading, born of direct contact with the actual books Nietzsche owned. He has patiently, and exhaustively, documented not only Nietzsche’s reading, but the marginal notes Nietzsche made in the books he owned, in numerous articles (see the bibliography of Works On Nietzsche in the Nietzsche’s Work section of this website) as well as in *Nietzsche's Philosophical Context and Reading: An Intellectual Biography*, which is forthcoming from University of Illinois Press. In constructing this document, Mr. Brobjer’s work has proved invaluable; much of it would not have been possible without his work. But it has also been made through consulting other

articles, biographies, and, most importantly, through examining Nietzsche's letters, wherein he not only mentions what he is reading, but makes striking, insightful, or simply expressive comments on these books. This is one of the best and most accurate records of Nietzsche's reading. When pertinent, extracts from the letters are included; fragments from those which deal with Nietzsche's own writing and its affect upon his life are also quoted.

At nearly eighty pages, this document is considerable but it is far from complete; it is a work in process and, time permitting, will be updated as frequently as possible. In the future, it will include not only images of first editions of Nietzsche's works and, if possible, of the works he read, but also a correspondence to Nietzsche's own works, citing where he mentions in his publications any of the books he has read, or where there is an explicit or implicit dialogue, polemic, *et cetera* with these works.

I have benefited from the valuable and patient editorial assistance of Aaron Simon, a friend and poet, who, rather surprisingly, *joyfully* and without reservation took on the painstaking task of examining "NIETZSCHE'S 'LIBRARY'" with necessary precision and care. However, whatever mistakes or other problems that may exist in this document are mine and mine alone. In order to perfect "NIETZSCHE'S 'LIBRARY'" as much as possible, critical comments and suggestions are welcome. If anyone offers detailed criticism for discrepancies they may find in this document, please include references and in as timely a manner as possible, they will be taken into consideration; if any emendations need be made, they will be and whatever help is offered will be acknowledged. On to "NIETZSCHE'S 'LIBRARY'"!

1844

In the year of Nietzsche's birth, Arthur Schopenhauer publishes a second edition of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* [*The World as Will and Representation*], including an additional volume.

1854

Music: Nietzsche hears a performance of Handel's *Messiah* in May of this year, which inspires him to compose his own music.

1856

Music: Nietzsche composes two sonatas, one in D major, another in G Major: Sonatine Op. 11, and "Orkadal" *Trauerspiel mit Overtu für Klavier four hds* [tragedy for piano and four hands]. While in the Naumburg church, he listens to a performance of Mozart's *Requiem*. On Christmas day, he receives transcriptions of Haydn's symphonies for piano; also, he seeks out the scores of two Beethoven sonatas, Op. 49 and Op. 7.

Writing: With boyhood friend Wilhelm Pinder, Nietzsche writes his first work, a short play entitled "Die Gotter auf dem Olymp" [The Gods on Olympus]. A list of characters included Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo, Diana, Juno, and Pallas Athena; fittingly, if not presciently, Nietzsche, who later said of himself he was not a man, but dynamite, played Mars, the god of war.

1857

Music: Composes “Allegro” for piano. Hears Haydn’s *Schopfund* [The Creation]. Other musical compositions include *Geburtstagssinfonie*, *Marcia*, *2 Skizzen*, *Sonata*, *Overtur fu Streichorchester*, “Es zieht ein stiller Engel,” and 4 stimmiger satz und figuierter Choral.

Writing: Poem – “Kleine Weihnachtsgabe fur meine liebe Mutter” [A little Christmas present for my dear mother].

1858

Music: In July, hears Handel’s *Samson*. Composes *Fugen* (fragment); *Missa*; *Hoch tut euch auf*, a sketch for choir and orchestra, which Nietzsche based on Psalm 24: 7 – “Lift up your heads, O gates! And be lifted up, O ancient doors! That the King of glory may come in.” Another sketch was *Einleitung* [Introduction] for piano duet.

Writing: Makes a list of 46 poems he has written.

1859

Jean Paul

Novalis [Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr (Baron) von Hardenberg]
Hymnen an die Nacht [*Hymns to the Night*]

Sophocles

Aeschylus

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von
Faust

Schiller, J.C. Friedrich von
Die Räuber [*The Robbers*]

Lord Byron [George Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron Byron]

Manfred [*Vermischte Schriften, Briefwechsel und Lebensgeschichte* 3 vols. hg. von Ernst Ortlepp (Stuttgart)]

Music: Composes *Phantasie* for piano duet for his sister Elisabeth as a Christmas present.

Writing: Begins work on play titled Prometheus.

1860

Hase, Karl August

Das Leben Jesu zunächst für akademische Studien. [The Life of Jesus, primarily for the use of students] 1829

Nordic Sagas

Saxo Grammaticus

The Danish History, Books I-IX

Chronicles & Eddas

Music: Acquires the score to Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*; composes *Miserere*, a five part *a capella* choir; labors over his Christmas oratorium, to which he adds two *Hirtenchöre* and other parts.

1861

Hölderlin, Johann Christian Friedrich

["Moderne Klassiker" Heft 65]

Friedrich Holderlin Kurze Biographie und Problem aus seinen Werken (Leipzig 1859)

Hyperion

Death of Empedocles

"Rückkehr in die Heimat" ["The Homecoming"]

"Der gefesselte Strom" ["The Fettered River"]

"Sonnenuntergang" ["Sunset"]

"Der blinde Sanger" ["The Blind Singer"]

"Abendphantasie" ["Evening Fantasy"]

"Andenken" ["Remembrance"]

"Die Wanderung" ["The Journey"]

Note: Of Hölderlin's work, Nietzsche said in a 'fictitious' letter of October 19, 1861 (he never posted it) that "these poems spring from the purest, most susceptible sensibility; these poems, whose naturalness and originality eclipse the art and formal skill of Platen; these poems, now moving with the most sublime rhythms of the ode, now fading into the most delicate sounds of sorrow . . . his *Empedocles*, in whose melancholy tones reverberates the future of the unhappy poet, his grave of long madness, and not as you say in unclear talk but in the purest Sophoclean language and with an inexhaustible fullness of profound ideas. Also, you do not know Hyperion, in which the harmonious movement of his prose, the sublimity and beauty of the characters, made upon me an impression like that of the wave beat of a troubled sea. Indeed, this prose is music, soft melting sounds interrupted by painful dissonances, finally expiring in dark mysterious funeral songs.

. . . In the unfinished tragedy *Empedocles*, the poet unfolds his own nature to us. Empedocles' death is a death from divine pride, from scorn of man, from being sated with the earth, and from pantheism. Whenever I have read it, the whole work has always moved me profoundly; there is a divine loftiness in this Empedocles. In Hyperion, on the other hand, though he too seems to be bathed in the transfiguring radiance, all is dissatisfaction and unfulfillment; the characters which the poet conjures up are "airy images, which resound around us, awakening nostalgia, delighting us, but also arousing unsatisfied longing." But nowhere has the longing for Greece been revealed in purer tones; nowhere, either, is the kinship of soul between Hölderlin, Schiller, and Hegel, his close friend, more plain to see."

See Thomas Brobjer's "A DISCUSSION AND SOURCE OF HÖLDERLIN'S INFLUENCE ON NIETZSCHE/NIETZSCHE'S USE OF WILLIAM NEUMANN'S HÖLDERLIN" for more about this letter in *Nietzsche-Studien* 30 (2001), 397-412.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe

Work translated by Seybt (Also in Nietzsche's library there was an edition of Shelley's work translated by Adolf Strodtman: *Ausgewählte Dichtungen*.)

Lord Byron

The Two Foscari

Chamisso

Shakespeare, William

Hegel, G.W. Friedrich

Hase, Karl

Life of Jesus

Other studies include: *Karl XII* and *Athalie* in French; Dante in Italian; Virgil, Livius, Cicero, and Heraclitus in Latin; Greek; *Genesis* in Hebrew; and the *Nibelungenlied*.

Music: *Einleitung* and *Presto*, for piano. Piano for four hands: *Schmerz ist der Grundton der Natur* [Pain is the elemental tone of nature] – The title of this composition indicates that early in his life Nietzsche was cognizant of pain as an intrinsic aspect of existence; perhaps through the numerous deaths he experienced as a child he grew accustomed, or sensitive to suffering. *Weihnachtsoratorium* [Christmas Oratorium], which includes an *Einleitung* for piano and a choir work, *Huter, ist die Nacht bald hin* [Watchman, is the night over soon?]. A lieder: *Mein Platz vor der Tur* [My place before the door], with text by poet Klaus Groth. Requests scores for Schumann's *Paradies und die Peri* and *Fräulein liebt und Leben*.

1862

Machiavelli, Niccoló

Il Principe [*The Prince*]

Schiller, J. C. Friedrich von

Wallenstein's Lager [Wallenstein's Camp]

Rousseau, Jean Jacques

Emile

Die Nibelungen

Kant, Immanuel

Der Streit der Fakultäten.

Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft

Kritik der praktischen Vernunft

Kritik der reinen Vernunft

Kritik der Urteilskraft

NOTE: Not sure which of these Kant works Nietzsche read in 1862.

Music: For piano: *Heldenklage* [Her's Lament]; *Klavierstück*; *Hungarischer Marsch* [Hungarian March]; *Wilde Traume* [Wild Dreams]; *Haideschenke*; *Impromptu*; *Zigeunertanz* [Gypsy Dance]; and *Edes titok* [Sweet Secret].

Writing: Begins to write a novel whose narrator, Euphorion, a cynical nihilist in league with Lord Byron, or William Lovell (the main character of Ludwig Tieck's novel), experiences a collapse of meaning whereby life is no longer mysterious. This project is abandoned several days later.

1863

Theognis of Megara (6th Century Greek poet)

Sallust [Caius Sallustius Crispus]

Bellum Catilinae

Bellum Jugurthinum

Hettner, Hermann

History of Literature of the 18th Century

Klencke, Hermann [Philipp Friedrich Hermann]

Alexander von Humboldt *

Avh

Kosmos *

* These two books were read during Nietzsche's Schulpforta days, though it is not known exactly when – it could have been between 1858 – 1864.

Music: Late 1863 seeks score of Schumann's *Fantasia & Kinderszenen*

Writing: Essay in Latin on Theognis of Megara.

1864

Kant, Immanuel

Theognis of Megara

Plato [*Plátōn*]

Strauss, David Friedrich
Das Leben Jesu Kritiisch bearbeitet

Democritus

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim

Lichtenberg, Georg Christoph

October

Ullman
Jesus' Freedom from Sin

Music: Franz Liszt - *Consolations*; Robert Schumann – *Manfred*.

1865

April – August

Readings: University readings include: Plato; Theognis; General History of Philosophy; Archeology; Latin Grammer; Walter von Vogelweide.

Attends Ritschl's lecture, *Über den Wert und Nutzen der Philologie* [On the value and usefulness of philology], as well as a lecture by Karl Schaarschmidt on the general history of philosophy.

Music: In Bonn, Nietzsche attended performances of Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, Schumann's *Faust* and Beethoven's *Symphony in A Major*.

October

Schopenhauer, Arthur
Werke, Frauenstädt-Ausgabe (Leipzig: 1873-74):

Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung 2 vols.[The World as Will and Idea]
Die beiden Grundprobleme der Ethik
Nachlass
Parerga und Paralipomena 2 vols.
Über den Willen in der Natur

Suidas [10th century Greek lexicon]

1866

January

Writing: Presents his lecture on Theognis to Philological society, which impresses Ritschl immensely, who encourages Nietzsche to expand it into a book; Nietzsche works on this essay in March.

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Emerson, Ralph Waldo
Versuche aus dem Englischen von G. Fabricius (Hanover: 1858)
Neue Essays (Letters and Social Aims), Übersetzung und Einleitung von Julian Schmidt
(Stuttgart: 1876)

Über Goethe und Shakespeare, deutsch von H. Grimm (Hannover: 1857)

April

Endocia
Violarium [mentioned in letter of this month, but probably read earlier]

Oupnek'bat

Note: Nietzsche also mentions *Oupnek'bat* in the same letter, and again, surely read this in his youth, indicating where some of his knowledge of Eastern religion may stem from; it is

an early translation of fifty *Upanishads* into Latin by Anquetil Duperron (Strasbourg, 1801); translated into German in 1808.

Music: Schumann

Letter: To Carl von Gersdorff, April 7th: “Three things afford me relief, rare moments of relief from my work: my Schopenhauer, the music of Schumann, and solitary walks. Yesterday a magnificent thunderstorm built up in the sky. I hurried up a nearby hill. . . . The storm broke with tremendous force, gusting and hailing. I felt an incomparable upsurge, and realized that we actually understand nature only when we must fly to her to escape our cares and afflictions. What was man and his restless striving to me then! What was that endless “Thou shalt, Thou shalt not”! How different the lightning, the wind, the hail – sovereign powers, without ethics! How happy, how strong they are, pure will, unclouded by intellect!”

Summer

Lange, Friedrich Albert

Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart [*History of Materialism and Criticism of its Significance for the Present*] (Iserlohn 1882)

Note: Of this work, Nietzsche wrote to Carl Gersdorff at August’s end: “Here we have an extremely enlightened Kantian and natural scientist. His conclusions are summed up in the following three propositions.

1. The world of the senses is the product of our organization.
2. Our visible (physical) organs are, like all other parts of the phenomenal world, only images of an unknown object.
3. Our real organization is therefore as much unknown to us as real external things are. We continually have before us nothing but the product of both.

Thus the true essence of things – the thing-in-itself – is not only unknown to us; the concept of it is neither more nor less than the final product of an antithesis which is determined by our organization, an antithesis of which we do not know whether it has any meaning outside our experience or not. Consequently, Lange thinks, one should give the philosophers a free hand as long as they edify us in this sense. Art is free, also in the domain of concepts. Who would refute a phrase by Beethoven, and who would find error in Raphael’s *Madonna*?

You see, even with this strictly critical standpoint our Schopenhauer stands firm; he becomes even almost more important to us. If philosophy is art, then even Haym should submit himself to Schopenhauer; if philosophy should edify, I know no more edifying philosopher than our Schopenhauer.”

At this time, under Ritschl’s tutelage, Nietzsche also worked on an Aeschylus lexicon, studying the *Codex Medicus*, and examining the *Choephorae* very closely.

Fall (?)

Laertius, Diogenes

Homer

Hesiod
song contest in *Euboea*

Democritus

Kant, Immanuel

Darwin, Charles

October

Letter: October 11, 1866 to Carl Von Gersdorff. Nietzsche expresses, quite early and before meeting Wagner, in this letter that he is critical of Wagner’s music and never wholly embraced it: “I’ve done little music, since I have no piano at my disposal in Kosen. Nevertheless, the piano arrangement of Richard Wagner’s *Valkyrie* has accompanied me. My feelings about it are very mixed, so that I dare not pass judgment on it. Some great beauty and power is counterbalanced by equally great ugliness and imperfection. But +a + (-a), according to Rise and Buchbinder, equals O”

January

Letter. The continued study of Schopenhauer, of who he says at this time to Carl Gersdorff: “Our Schopenhauer exalts suffering and sorrows as a glorious fate, as the *deutepos taous* to the negation of the will. You have experienced and felt also the purifying, inwardly tranquilizing and strengthening power of grief. This is a time in which you can test for yourself what truth there is in Schopenhauer’s doctrine. If the fourth book of his chief work makes on you an ugly, dark, burdensome impression, if it does *not* have the power to raise you up and lead you through and beyond the outward violent grief, to that sad but happy mood in which one sees the earthly veils pull away from oneself – then I too want to have nothing more to do with this philosophy. He alone who is himself filled with grief can decide on such things: we others in the midst of the stream of things and of life, merely longing for that negation of the will as an isle of the blessed, cannot judge whether the solace of such philosophy is enough for times of deep mourning.” Nietzsche ends this letter with “a warm farewell from Aristotle:

What is man? *Exemplum* of weakness, booty of the moment, plaything of fortune, image of mutability, balance weighing the gods’ displeasure and disaster” (*Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 610 (ed. Valentin Rose). Whether or not this is actually Aristotle is questionable.

April

Writing: At work on his essay on Laertius.

Letter. In a letter to Gersdorff, Nietzsche expresses a certain agony over his struggle to develop his own writing style: “The scales are falling from my eyes: I lived all too long in a state of stylistic innocence. The categorical imperative, “Thou shalt and must write,” has aroused me. I tried something that I had never tried except at school: to write well, and suddenly the pen froze in my hand. I could not do it, and was annoyed. And all the while Lessing’s and Lichtenberg’s and Schopenhauer’s stylistic precepts were buzzing in my ears. It was always difficult to write well, that no man has a good style by nature, that one must work

at the uphill job of acquiring one. I honestly do not want to write again so woodenly and drily, in such a logical corset, as I did, for example, in my Theognis essay, at whose cradle no Graces sat (rather there was a distant thundering, as if from Konigsgratz). It would be a very sad state of affairs not to be able to write better and yet warmly to want to do so. Above all, a few gay spirits in my own style must once more be unchained; I must learn to play on them as on a keyboard, but not only pieces I have learned by heart – no – but also free fantasies, as free as possible, yet still always logical and beautiful.”

In this letter, Nietzsche also mentions Schopenhauer’s essays “On the Professors of Philosophy” and “On the Basic Patterns of Representation” and quotes from Pindar’s well known *Pythian* ode, which he embraced and made into his own declaration: “Become the being who you are” (Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 2, 73).

Other readings for this year include: Democritus; Auguste Comte; Lessing; Lichtenberg, Lord Byron, and Schopenhauer’s *Parerga*. Also, attended a lecture of Tischendorf on paleography, which included discussions of Homer, Simonides, Menander, and Euripides. At this time, he acquires the *Rheinisches Museum*, a journal of classical studies.

Music: Sings to himself lines from Offenbach’s opera *Die schone Helena*: “Ein Biedermann muss lustig, gutter Dinge sein” [A man of honor must be merry and bright].

Writing: At work on his university prize-essay subject, *De Fontibus Diogenis Laertii*, and *Democritea* [On the Spurious Writings of Democritus], studies of the philosopher’s fragments intended for Ritschl.

August

Music: Hears symphonic poems by Hans von Bulow, *Nirvana*, and *Seligkeiten*. Other music at this festival included work by Liszt, Volkmann, Berlioz, Cornelius, and Schumann.

November – December: Naumburg

Bahnsen, P. Julius

Charakterwidersprüche (1867) [*Essays in Characterology*]

Note: Of this work, Nietzsche writes in a letter to Gersdorff: “This is an attempt to reform characterology into a science; since this is done on a Schopenhauerian basis and with great love for the “master,” and since this two-volume work contains, moreover, many good thoughts and observations, I recommend it to you as well as to all initiates of that open and yet hidden wisdom. What satisfies me least is the form: the author hurries his thoughts and observations too much and by this he spoils the line of beauty.”

Spielhagen, Friedrich

In Reih und Glied

Note: From the same letter: “The novel, of which I want to speak, is the first product of a literature that is tragic in that almost ascetic sense of Schopenhauer’s, a book whose heroes are driven through the red flame of Samsara artistic value, with a great richness of thought, and one written in a most beautiful and amiable style.”

1868

Fischer, Kuno

Geschichte der neuern Philosophie (Heidelberg: 1865)

Lange, F.A. (?)

Varro

Menippus

Laertius, Diogenes

Theognis

Simonides

“Ode an Danae”

April

Writes to Rohde of his idea for a dissertation: *Der Begriff des Organischen seit Kant* [The concept of the organic since Kant].

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Music: Performs Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*. On October 27, attends a performance of Wagner's music. On November 8th, the propitious meeting with Wagner occurs, and the esteemed composer performs passages from his *Die Meistersinger* for Nietzsche.

Note: In this extract from Nietzsche's letter to Erwin Rohde just one day after meeting Wagner, it is interesting to note that even after his initial meeting with the esteemed composer, Nietzsche had reservations about his experience, which he feels he can only clearly understand with distance; this calls to mind his aphorism 319 from *The Gay Science*, "As interpreters of our experience." Also at this time, Nietzsche proofread Wagner's biography, secretly printed in 1869/70, but not published until 1911. From the letter:

"I am introduced to Richard, and address to him a few words of respect; he wants to know exact details of how I became familiar with his music, curses all performances of his operas except the famous Munich ones, and makes fun of the conductors who call to their orchestras in a bland voice: "Gentlemen, make it more passionate here!" "My good fellows, a little more passionate!" W likes to imitate the Leipzig dialect.

Now I shall briefly tell you what this evening offered: truly enjoyments of such peculiar piquancy that I am today not quite my old self and can do nothing better than talk to you, my dear friend, and tell you "passing wondrous tales." Before and after dinner Wagner played all the important parts of *Die Meistersinger*, imitating each voice and with great exuberance. He is, indeed, a fabulously lively and fiery man who speaks very rapidly, is very witty, and makes a very private party like this one an extremely gay affair. In between, I had a longish conversation with him about Schopenhauer; you will understand how much I enjoyed hearing him speak of Schopenhauer with indescribable warmth, what he owed to him, how he is the only philosopher who has understood the essence of music; then he asked how the academics nowadays regarded him, laughed heartily about the Philosophic Congress in Prague, and spoke of the "vassals of philosophy." Afterward, he read an extract from his biography, which he is now writing, an utterly delightful scene from his Leipzig

student days, of which he still cannot think without laughing; he writes too with extraordinary skill and intelligence. Finally, when we were both getting ready to leave, he warmly shook my hand and invited me with great friendliness to visit him, in order to make music and talk philosophy; also, he entrusted to me the task of familiarizing his sister and his kinsmen with his music, which I have now *solemnly undertaken* to do. You will hear more *when I can see this evening somewhat more objectively and from a distance*” (emphasis added).

Writing: Notes on the works of Democritus, Kant, and Schopenhauer; also philological work on Hesiod, Homer, and Democritus. Publishes an essay on Diogenes Laertius, as well as one on Theognis and Simonides, “Ode to Danae.”

Other readings: Erwin Rohde’s *Aotkioe Honoe und ihr Verbaltniss zu Lucius von Patrae und den Metamorphosen des Apuleius*. He also mentions Aristotle’s *Poetics* and Goethe’s *Faust* in letters of the time and makes a list of scientific books which he wants to read - authors include: Moleschott, Lotze, Fries, Helmholtz, Oken, and Carus.

1869

January

Music: Attends premiere of *Meistersinger* in Dresden.

February

Professorial: Begins work as Assistant Professor for Classical Philology at Basel, and in March at the youthful age of twenty-four, is bestowed with the title of PhD, despite not having written a dissertation.

April – July: Basel

Professorial: Lectures include: Aeschylus – Choephoron; Greek lyricists; Padagogium: Plato, Homer’s *Iliad*, Greek drama.

Music: Attends a second performance of *Meistersinger* in April.

Writing: Private printing of *De Laertii Diogenis fontibus scripsit Friedricus Nietzsche*.

May

Professorial: Inaugural lecture: *Über die Persönlichkeit Homers* [On the Personality of Homer], which was printed privately as “Homer and Classical Philology.”

August

Reads Wagner’s *Über Staat und Religion* [On Government and Religion] while hiking in the mountains of Tribschen.

Edouard von Hartmann

Philosophie des Unbewußten [Philosophy of the Unconscious] (? Or in ’72)

Writing: “The Dionysian Attitude”

Note: On Wagner and Nietzsche’s time in Tribschen: “Once more I have spent the last few days with my revered friend Richard Wagner, who has most kindly given me unlimited rights to visit him and is angry with me if I fail to make use of these rights at least once every four weeks. You will understand what I have gained by this position; for this man, on whom as yet *no* judgment has been pronounced which would characterize him completely, shows in all his qualities such an absolute immaculate greatness, such an ideality in his thought and will, such an unattainably noble and warm-hearted humanity, such a depth of seriousness that I always feel I am in the presence of one of the century’s elect. He has recently been so happy too over finishing the third act of his *Siegfried* and proceeding in an abundant sense of his power to the composition of *Gotterdammerung*. Everything that I now know of Siegfried, from the first draft, is grandly conceived – for example, Siegfried’s fight with the dragon, the song of the forest bird, and so on. On Sunday morning in my charming room, with its free outlook over the Vierwaldstätter See and the Rigi, I looked through a quantity of manuscripts which Wagner had given me to read, strange novellas from his first Paris period, philosophical essays, and sketches for dramas, but, above all, a profound expose addressed to his “young friend,” the Bavarian King, for the latter’s enlightenment as to Wagner’s view in *State and Religion*. Never has a king been spoken to more beautifully, nobly, and profoundly; a pity that the young man has, it seems, learned so little from it. Wagner’s whole life is patriarchal; his intelligent and noble Frau von Bulow fits perfectly into this whole

atmosphere; to her, Wagner dictated his whole autobiography. . . These days spent at Tribschen during the summer are quite the most valuable result of my professorship at Basel” (August 8, 1869). At the end of this letter, Nietzsche quotes Schiller’s *Wallenstein’s Lager*.

October

Professorial: Pädagogium lecture: Latin grammar; lecture: the pre-Socratic philosophers; continues seminar on Aeschylus – *Choephoron*; Pädagogium: Hesiod, Plato.

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Euripides

Schopenhauer, Arthur
Rereads works

Goethe, J.W. von
Walpurgisnacht

Lessing, G. E.
Laokoon
Pindar

Laertius, Diogenes

Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de (gift from Wagner)
Essais: avec des notes de tous les commenteurs (Paris: 1864)
Versuche, deutsch Übersetzung (Leipzig: 1753-54)

Hoffmann, E. T. A.
The Golden Pot (read aloud at Wagner’s)

1870

January

Professorial: lecture: *Das griechische Musikdrama* [*The Greek Musical Drama*]

*

Socrates

Schopenhauer, Arthur

Michelet, Jules

La Bible de l'humanité

Kant, Immanuel

Müller, Karl Otfried

Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (History of Greek Literature, 1857)

February

Professorial: Lecture: “History of Philosophy Before Plato”; “On the Esthetics of the Greek Tragic Poets”; and *Sokrates und die Tragödie* [Socrates and Tragedy], which Wagner recommends Nietzsche make into a book. Encouraged by Wagner, Nietzsche will develop this into sections 11 – 14 of *Die Geburt des tragischen Gedankens* [The Birth of the Idea of Tragedy]. Of this lecture, Nietzsche wrote in a letter to Erwin Rohde on the 15th that it “excited terror and incomprehension.” Undeterred by such opposition, if not spurred on as in a Greek contest, Nietzsche stated further that though he had no literary ambition, he would express himself “with as much seriousness and freedom of mind as possible. Knowledge, art, and philosophy are now growing into one another so much in me that I shall in any case give birth to a centaur one day.” And to Paul Deussen he would write shortly after that his lecture had “been understood as a chain of paradoxes and has aroused hatred and anger in some quarters. Offense must come. I have, in the main, cast caution aside; to the individual human being, let us be compassionate and yielding, in the expression of our view of life as rigorous as the virtue of ancient Romans.” In the same letter to Deussen, Nietzsche spoke of the intellectual life and the sense of his own destiny: “To be hermits of intellect, having occasional converse with like-minded people, that is our lot; more than other beings, we need the solaces of art. Also, we do not wish to convert others to our way of thinking, because we feel the gulf between them and ourselves to be one established by nature. Pity becomes truly a familiar feeling to us. We grow more and more silent – there are days on which I do not speak at all except in the service of my work. Certainly I have the invaluable good fortune to possess as a real friend Schopenhauer’s true

spiritual brother, who is related to him as Schiller to Kant, a genius, to whom has been given the same terribly sublime lot of coming a century before he can be understood . . . I therefore see deeper into the abysses of that idealistic view of life; also I observe how my philosophical, moral, and scientific endeavors strive toward a single goal, and that I may perhaps become the first philologist ever to achieve wholeness. How marvelously new and changed history looks to me, especially the Greek world!”

Burckhardt, Jacob

Zeit Constantin des Großen [The Time of Constantine the Great]

Mommsen, Theodor

Römische Forschungen [Research on Rome]

Note: From Nietzsche’s letter to Peter Gast, 18 July: “Did you hear about the fire in Mommsen’s house? And that his notes were destroyed, perhaps the most huge collection of preparatory work ever made by a living scholar? It is said that he kept rushing back into the flames and, eventually, covered with burns, had to be held back by force. Such undertakings as M’s must be very rare, because there is seldom a combination, or rather cooperation, between such a colossal memory and such critical acumen and capacity for ordering such materials. The story made my heart twist around in my body, and I still suffer physically when I think of it. Is that sympathy? But what does Mommsen matter to me? I am not fond of him.”

March

Letter: To Carl von Gersdorff on Wagner as artist: “The incredible seriousness and the German depth in Wagner’s view of life and art, which well up in every note he writes, are for most people in our present age a horror like Schopenhauer’s asceticism and negation of the will. Our “Jews” – and you know how embracing that concept is – particularly hate Wagner’s idealistic cast of mind, which is what relates him most closely to Schiller: this glowing high-hearted struggle for the dawning of the “day when men shall be noble,” [a reference to Goethe’s poem “Epilog zu Schiller’s Glocke”] in brief, the knightly character which is utterly opposed to our plebeian political daily fuss. Ultimately I find even in excellent people often an *indolent* view of things, as if an independent effort, a serious and thorough study, for the

sake of understanding such an artist and such works of art, were not necessary at all. How glad I was to hear that you are so opportunely studying *Opera and Drama!* . . . It is an infinite enrichment of one's life to know such a genius really closely. For me, all that is best and most beautiful is associated with the names of Schopenhauer and Wagner, and I am proud and happy to share this feeling with my closest friends. Do you know *Art and Politics?* I can also announce to you the publication of a little work by R.W., entitled *On Conducting*, which can best be compared with Schopenhauer's essay on "The Professors of Philosophy." . . . our life is such misery: ruination and terror gape at every side. It takes much to keep a courageous mind. Ah, and how much one needs to know that there are *true friends*. Sometimes the solitude is all too comfortless" (March 11, 1870).

April

Attends Overbeck's historical lecture on the *New Testament*.

June - July

Professorial: conducts seminar on Cicero's *Academica*; overview of Greek drama: Aeschylus, Euripides, and a lecture on Sophocles, "Einleitung zu den Vorlesungen über Sophocles *Oedipus Rex*" – this was used as a preliminary draft for *Die Geburt* and contains the first reference to the forces of Apollo and Dionysus. Lecture prepared for Hesiod's *Erga*. Sends Ritschl his work on Homer and Hesiod.

Writing: *Die dionysische Weltanschauung* [The Dionysiac Worldview] – an expansion of the above lecture on Sophocles, which was further developed into sections 1 – 10 of *Die Geburt*; Nietzsche said in a letter to Erwin Rohde on November 23 that he worked on this for his own benefit, "to keep [himself] calm as the storm brewed." This essay is now available in the Cambridge University Press edition of *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* [*The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music*].

October - December

Late October – attends lecture by Burckhardt on historical greatness and the study of history (later published as *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* [Studies in World History]); reads manuscript of Wagner's book on Beethoven.

Professorial: Lecture: Hesiod, *Erga*; Greek metrics; seminar: Cicero, *Academica*; Pädagogium: Plato. *Agamemnon*.

Note: On university life, becoming wise, and the desire for building a community, Nietzsche wrote on December 12th to Carl von Gersdorff: “Let us drag on in this university existence for a few more years; let us take it as a *sorrowful lesson* which must be tolerated with seriousness and astonishment. This should be, among other things, a period of instruction for teaching, for which it is my task to train myself – only I have set my aim somewhat higher.

For, in the long run, I also realize what Schopenhauer's doctrine of university wisdom is all about. A completely radical institution for *truth* is not *possible* here. Above all, from here nothing really revolutionary can come.

Afterward we can become real teachers by leveraging ourselves with all possible means out of the atmosphere of these times and by becoming not only wiser but also better human beings. Here too I feel the need to be true. And that is another reason why I cannot go on breathing the academic atmosphere much longer.

So one day we shall cast off this yoke – for *me* that is certain. And then we shall create a new Greek academy. Romundt will certainly join us. From your Tribschen visit you will know of *Wagner's* Bayreuth plan. I have been quietly considering if we too should not likewise break with philology as practiced till now and with its educational perspective. I am preparing a big *adhortatio* for all who have not yet been utterly suffocated and swallowed up by the present age. How regrettable it is, though, that I must write to you about this, and that every idea has not already been *discussed* by us together! And because you do not know the whole present apparatus, my plan may seem to you like an eccentric whim. That is not the cast – it is an urgent inner need.

A recent book of Wagner's on Beethoven will give you a good idea of what I desire of the future. Read it – it is a revelation of the spirit in which *we* – we! – shall come to live.

Even if we do not find many people to share our views, I still believe that we can fairly – not without losses, of course – pull ourselves up out of this stream and that we shall reach an island on which we shall not need to stop our ears with wax any more. Then we shall be teachers to each other; our books will be merely fishhooks for catching people into our monastic and artistic community. We shall love, work, enjoy for each other – perhaps this is the only way in which we can work for the *whole*.

To show you how seriously I mean this, I have already begun to limit my needs, in order to save a little capital. Also we should try our luck in *lotteries*; when we write books, I shall demand during the coming period the highest fees. In brief, every permitted means is to be used, so that it will be physically possible to found our monastery. Thus we have our task for the next few years too. . . . Surely we should be able to bring a new kind of academy into being:

And should I not, by force of sheer desire,
Draw into life the form most singular?

as Faust says of Helena.

Of this project, *nobody* knows a thing, and it must be up to you whether or not we now give Romundt some advance notice of it.

Our school for philosophers is certainly not a historical reminiscence or an arbitrary whim – is it not an urgent inner need which sets us on this course? It seems that our plan we made as students, our journey together, is coming back again in a new, symbolically larger form.”

Music: Hears Wagner perform his *Siegfried-Idyll* for Cosima.

Note: To Carl von Gersdorff, Basel, December 12: “I am sending you Wagner's latest work, *On Beethoven*, as a symbol of the inmost community of our endeavors and thoughts under *one* flag, the one to which Wagner points in this work as the only one leading to the goal. I read it in a mood of elation and reverence. There are deep secrets in it, beautiful and terrible, as are the profoundest revelations of music itself.”

Writing: Edits and redrafts portions of Wagner's memoirs. Presents Cosima and Wagner with his manuscript copy of *Die Geburt des tragischen Gedankens* [*The Birth of the Idea of Tragedy*], a new draft of his earlier manuscript *Die dionysische Weltanschauung*.

In December, Nietzsche also read Johannes N. Czermak's *Über Schopenhauers Theorie der Farbe: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Farben lehre* (Vienna, 1870), and Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious*.

1871

January

Professorial: Announces course: "The Pre-Platonic Philosophers, with interpretation of selected fragments" and "On the Platonic Question" – the first did not run.

February – April: Lugano

Writing: While on leave from Basel University, works on his manuscript concerning Greek tragedy, thoroughly reworking earlier drafts (from January) of which he consecrates it with the title *Ursprung und Ziel der Tragödie* [Origin and Goal of Tragedy]

February 22 (Schopenhauer's birthday)

Writing: Composes the preface to Richard Wagner (?)

March

Note: On being a philosopher, and health, Nietzsche wrote to Erwin Rohde on March 29: "In addition to many depressed moods and half moods, I have also had a few quite elated ones and have given some sign of this in the small work I mentioned ["The Origin and Aim of Tragedy"]. From philology I feel exuberantly remote in a way which is quite disgraceful. Praise and blame on that side of things, even all the highest glories, make me shudder. Thus I am gradually habituating myself to being a philosopher, and already I believe in myself, I

would even be prepared for it if I were to become a poet. I have no orientation at all vis-à-vis the kind of knowledge for which I am destined; and yet, when I sum things up, everything seems to fit together, as if I had till now been following a benevolent daemon. I never thought that anyone so uncertain of his aims and completely lacking in the highest ambition as regards tenure in the profession could feel as lucid and calm as I do feel on the whole. What a wonderful sense it gives to see one's own world, a pretty ball, growing round and full before one's eyes! Sometimes I see some metaphysics growing, sometimes a new aesthetic; then at other times I ponder a new principle of education, rejecting entirely our high schools and universities. Everything that I learn now finds a good place in some corner of what I have learned already. And most of all I feel the growth of this world of my own when I contemplate, not coolly, but calmly, the so-called world history of the past ten months, and use that as a means for my good ends, without any exaggerated reverence for the means. The words "pride" and "craziness" are really too weak to describe my intellectual "insomnia." This state makes it possible for me to look upon the whole university situation as something incidental, often as a mere nuisance even, and that chair of philosophy itself attracts me, as a matter of fact, only for your sake, since I regard that too as being merely provisional.

Ah, how I long for good health! One has only to plan something that will last longer than oneself – then one is thankful for every good night spent, for every warm ray of sun, even for an orderly digestive system! But with me certain abdominal organs are disturbed. Hence nerves and sleeplessness, hemorrhoids and the taste of blood, and so on. Kindly do not ascribe the condition of mind described above to the condition of my ganglia too! Or I might fear for my immortality, for I have never heard of flatulence inspiring a philosophical state."

April – July

While in Tribschen visiting Richard and Cosima Wagner in early April, Nietzsche reads aloud from what will become his first book, *Geburt der Tragödie* [*Birth of Tragedy*], which the Wagner's find remarkable.

April 26

Sends his manuscript bearing the title *Musik und Tragödie* [Music and Tragedy] to the publisher Engelmann in Leipzig. Engelmann declines to publish the book.

Professorial: Quintillian, *Book I*; seminar: Hesiod, *Erga*; Pädagogium: the chief forms of poetry, using works by Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus.

Writing: Thirty copies of *Sokrates und die griechische Tragoedie* [Socrates and Greek Tragedy], are privately printed by G. A. Bonfantini and available on June 17. In Leipzig, this work is received with great enthusiasm.

October 12 - December: Leipzig and Basel

Around his birthday, Nietzsche meets with E. W. Fritzsche, Wagner's publisher, and gives him a draft of his work in progress, *Ursprung und Ziel der Tragödie* [Origin and Goal of Tragedy], and Fritzsche agrees to publish the book when Nietzsche sends him the finished text.

In late November, Nietzsche sends Fritzsche an illustration of Prometheus, which will eventually appear on the title page of the newly titled *Geburt der Tragödie*. When it is published, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff attacks the book in his monograph, *Zukunftsphilologie!* [*Philology of the Future!*].

Professorial: Lecture: "Einleitung in das Studium des platonischen Dialoge" – this is developed further and presented again in lectures in 1872, winter of 1873 and 1874, and summer of 1876. Latin Epigraphy. Heard Rudolf Eucken present a paper entitled "Aristotle's Meaning for the Present."

Music: Finishes musical parody on theology students, written for Overbeck's birthday, and as a Christmas gift, Nietzsche sends Cosima his new composition, "Nachklang einer Sylvesternacht" [Echo of a New Year's Eve: with a Processional Song, Peasant Dance, and

Midnight Bell”], written for piano for four hands; Wagner and his wife find the composition amusing. Alludes in a letter to a song by August von Kotzebue, “Gesellschaftslied.”

Writing: The galleys to *Geburt der Tragödie* are completed. Nietzsche begins work on *Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten* [On the Future of our Educational Institutions] – this will be presented as a series of lectures.

Quotes from Goethe’s ballad “Der Schatzgraber.” Read Wagner’s *The Object of Opera*.

1872

January

Professorial: On the 16th, gives first lecture on *Über die Zukunft unserer Bildungsanstalten* [On the Future of our Educational Institutions]; successive lectures are presented in February and March.

Writing: *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* [The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music] is published on 2 January in an edition of 800 copies.

February

Music: While in Tribschen, Nietzsche hears Wagner performs excerpts of the second act of *Götterdämmerung*.

Letter: After receiving no thoughtful, much less insightful reviews of his first book, Nietzsche wrote to Carl von Gersdorff on February 2nd stating he expected “nothing but malice and stupidity. But I’m counting on a slow, quiet journey – centuries long, I’m convinced. For some eternal truths are spoken here for the first time. They’re bound to reverberate. I’m unconcerned about myself; I want nothing for myself, least of all a career. . . .”

May

Music: Nietzsche is present for the laying of the foundational stone of Wagner's theater in Bayreuth.

June

Music: Nietzsche dedicates his new musical composition *Manfred-Meditation* to Hans von Bülow and sends him a copy of the score. Von Bülow is unsparing in his criticism, but Nietzsche is not perturbed by his comments: "Your Manfred-Meditation the most extreme piece of fantastic extravagance, the most undelightful and the most anti-musical drafts on musical paper that I have faced in a long time. Frequently I had to ask myself: is the whole thing a joke, perhaps you intended a parody of the so-called music of the future?" (KGB II 4, 347).

Professorial: Aeschylus, *Choephoren*; lecture: the pre-Socratic philosophers; seminar: Theognis; Pädagogium: Plato, Aeschylus. "Die Vorplatonischen Philosophen" – this is developed further and presented again in 1873 and 1876.

Writing: new draft of essay, "Der Florentinische Tractat über Homer und Hesiod" sent to Ritschl.

July

Westphal, Rudolf
History of Ancient & Medieval Music

Note: On 16 July, Nietzsche mentions in a letter to Erwin Rohde that this was one of the works he consulted while working on *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* [*The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music*].

Letter: July 24, 1872 to Gustav Krug: "I've fallen in love with your music; I only wish I were more of a musician, so that I could drink it in with even less effort. . . . Really, my dear friend, nothing more need come of you, for you have already become something: a first-class musician – while I make an ass of myself with "Dionysian" and "Apollonian." *How splendid it*

always is to really do something, rather than just theorizing! . . . I for my part have sworn off music-making again for the next six years. . . . Don't let your musical sensibility be contaminated, especially by the barbarous air which my own music breathes. I'm quite without illusions – right now, at least.”

October – December

Richard Wagner
On Actors & Singers

Professorial: lecture: Griechische und römische Rhetorik [Greek and Roman Rhetoric]; lecture: Homer and the so-called Homeric question; Pädagogium: Homer, *Iliad* X, Aeschylus, Sophocles. Due to scathing reviews of *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche has very few students.

Music: Nietzsche travels to Weimar to hear Wagner's opera *Lobengrin*.

1873

January

Music: Composes *Monodie à deux. Lob der Barmherzigkeit* for the wedding of Gabriel Monod and Olga Herzen (adopted daughter of Malwida von Meysenbug).

April

Begins an intensive study of natural science, which will later be employed as *but one* basis for 'proof' of the eternal return:

Zöllner, Johann Karl Friedrich
Über die Natur der Kometen. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theorie der Erkenntniss (Leipzig 1872) [The Nature of Comets] (loaned three times from Basel library)
Enzyklopadie der Physik

Kopp, Hermann Franz Moritz
Geschichte der Chemie [History of Chemistry] *

Ladenburg, Rudolf
Vorträge über die Entwicklung der Chemie [Lectures on the Development of Chemistry] *

Mohr

Allgemeine Theorie der Bewegung und Kraft [General Theory of Movement and Energy] *

Mädler, Johann Heinrich

Der Wunderbau des Weltalls [The Wondrous Construction of Space] *

Boscovitch

Philosophia Naturalis (1763) *

Cantor

Mathematische Beiträge *

Funke

Lehrbuch der Physiologie *

Helmholtz

Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen (1863) *

Pouillet

Physik (loaned twice from the Basel library) *

Mittasch

N's Naturbeflissenheit *

* These books were borrowed from the Basel library between 1870 – 1874, though some of them may have certainly been read at this time.

Spir, Afrikan

Denken und Wirklichkeit. Versuch einer Erneuerung der kritischen Philosophie. (1877) [Thought and Reality]

Writing: *Philosophie im tragischen Zeitalter der Griechen* [Philosophy in the tragic age of the Greeks].

Also, work on the first *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtung* [Untimely Meditation] is begun.

May – June

Professorial: Lecture on Greek philosophers up to Plato; lecture: Hesiod, *Erga*; seminar: on Greek elegiac poets; Pädagogium: Plato, Homer, *Iliad IX*. Some of these classes are cancelled due to low enrollment.

Writing: Nietzsche completes his first draft of what is *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtung* [Untimely Meditation] on May 5; on the 25 June, he sends the manuscript to his publisher. Due to immense strain on his eyes and excruciating migraine headaches, Nietzsche dictates his work

Über Wahrheit und Lüge im aussermoralischen Sinne [On truth and lie in the extramoral sense] and the first *Betrachtung* to Gersdorff. These manuscripts are also sent to the publisher on 25 June.

July

Turgenev, Ivan
Father's & Sons

Strauss, David

Music: Nietzsche begins composing his last musical work, *Hymnus an die Freundschaft* [Hymn to Friendship].

August

Writing: *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. Erstes Stück: David Strauss der Bekenner und Schriftsteller* [Untimely Meditations. First part: David Strauss, Confessor and Writer] is published in an edition of one thousand copies.

October - December

Professorial: Lecture: introduction to classical philology; lecture: *Über Platons Leben und Schriften* [On Plato's Life and Writings]; seminar: *Bios Sophokleous*; Pädagogium: Sophocles, Thucydides. Some of these are cancelled due to Nietzsche's ill health.

Writing: *Mahnruf an die Deutschen* [Admonition to the Germans] written for Wagner to help raise funds for the Bayreuth project, though at this time Nietzsche has already begun to sever his bond with the composer. On 22 October, Nietzsche brings a finished copy of this to Bayreuth. Wagner's patrons decline to publish Nietzsche's essay, finding it too cutting.

Other readings for the year include: Socrates; Anaximander; Heraclitus; Parmenides; Anaxagoras; Empedocles; Democritus; David Friedrich Strauss - *Der alte und der neue Glaube*

(Berlin: 1871; Leipzig: 1872) [*The Old & the New Faith*]; J.W. von Goethe; Arthur Schopenhauer; Greek literary history; Plutarch.

1874

February

Writing: One thousand copies of *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. Zweites Stück: Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben* [*Untimely Meditation. Second Part: Of the Use and Disadvantage of History for Life*] are printed by the firm C. G. Naumann in Leipzig.

March

Writing: A second edition of 750 copies of *Geburt der Tragödie* is printed by Naumann.

April

Professorial: Lecture: Darstellung der antiken Rhetorik; lecture: Aeschylus, *Choephoren*; seminar: Sappho; Pädagogium: Greek prose, Plato, Aristotle and grammar.

Writing: Begins work on third meditation.

Letter: To Carl von Gersdorff April 1: Dear trusted friend, if only you didn't have much too high an opinion of me! I fear you may be in for a disappointment; let me give you a first taste of it. I know myself, and assure you that I have done nothing to merit your praise. If only you realized what melancholy and despair I feel, deep down, when I look at myself as a productive being! . . . There can be no talk of genuine achievement as long as one remains so burdened and shackled. Will I ever be free? Doubt begets doubt. The goal is too distant, and even if you do get pretty close to it, the long struggle has most likely consumed your energies. By the time freedom is in sight you're spent as a salmon approaching the spawning ground. That really frightens me. It's awful to be so conscious, so soon, of your destiny . . . Just now I've had it up to here.

My health, by the way, is excellent: rest assured. But I'm quite unhappy with Nature for not having given me a little more understanding, and a fuller heart. The best things keep eluding me. To know this is the greatest anguish a man can feel. . . .

My writings are said to be so dark and incomprehensible! I thought that if one spoke of dire straits, those in them would understand. Surely that's so. But where are those in dire straits? . . . ”

June

Music: On 9 June Nietzsche hears Brahms *Triumphlied* [Triumph Song] and is so struck by it he travels to Zürich to hear it again. Conducting is Friedrich Hegar; also performed is the 9th *Symphony* of Beethoven.

July

Writing: Continued work on meditation on Schopenhauer.

Stirner, Max (???)

August

Emerson, Ralph Waldo

Versuche aus dem Englischen von G. Fabricius (Hanover: 1858)

Über Goethe und Shakespeare, deutsch von H. Grimm (Hanover: 1857)

Wagner, Richard

Ring des Niebelungen (inscribed by Wagner)

Note: While traveling, both of these works were stolen from Nietzsche. Where are the copies now? If anyone locates these books, please contact us!

September - October

Professorial: “Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur” [History of Greek Literature] – this is developed further and presented again in summer of 1875; lecture: Aristotle, *Rhetoric*; seminar: Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*.

Writing: *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen. Drittes Stück: Schopenhauer als Erzieher* [Untimely Meditations. Part Three: Schopenhauer as Educator] is published in October in an edition of one thousand copies.

Letter: To Malwida von Meysenbug October 25: “There is nothing I want more than to gain insight into that whole extremely complicated system of antagonisms of which the “modern world” consists. Fortunately, I’m lacking in all political and social ambition, so that I have nothing to fear from that quarter – no distractions, no need for compromise or concern. In short, I can say what I think, and I intend to find out to what degree our friends, who are so proud of their freedom of thought, can actually tolerate free thoughts. . . . Now, confidentially, I’d like to find myself a good wife quite soon, and then I can look on my life’s desires as fulfilled.”

Spir, Afrikan
Denken und Wirklichkeit [Thought and Reality].

December

Writing: Nietzsche completes his short work *Die Philosophie im tragischen Zeitalter der Griechen* [Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks], which is never published during his lifetime.

1875

February

Adolf Vischer-Sarasin gives Nietzsche a copy of Dürer's work *Ritter, Tod, und Teufel* [Knight, Death, and the Devil]. "A local patrician gave me a substantial present in the form of genuine Dürer print; yet this picture 'Knight Death and Devil' stands very close to me, I can hardly say how. In *Birth of Tragedy* I compared Schopenhauer with this knight; I was given the picture because of that comparison" (KGB II-5, 436).

Writing: *Wir Philologen* [*We Philologists*] – an 'untimely' meditation begun but never finished.

June

Comments from the notebooks:

"Socrates, um es nur zu bekennen, steht mir so nahe, dass ich fast immer einen Kampf mit ihm kämpfe." [Socrates, just to acknowledge it, stands so close to me, that I am almost continuously locked in struggle with him.] (KGW IV-1 S. 173)

"Meine allgemeine Aufgabe: zu zeigen, wie Leben Philosophie und Kunst ein tieferes und verwandtschaftliches Verhältniss zu einander haben können, ohne dass die Philosophie flach ist und das Leben des Philosophen lügenhaft wird." [My general task: to show how life philosophy and art can have a deeper and affinitive relationship with each other, without philosophy becoming shallow and the life of the philosopher becoming dishonest.] (KGW IV-1 S. 180)

Rereads *Don Quixote*

August - December

Professorial: Lecture: history of Greek literature; lecture: Greek religious culture; seminar: Diogenes Laertius; Pädagogium: Plato, *Symposium*.

Writing: Nietzsche continues his writing of the *Betrachtung* on Wagner and his meditation on philology, but is not satisfied with either.

Other readings for the year include:

Ree, Paul

Entstehung des Gewissen (*Psychological Observations*)

Dühring, Engels

Der Werth des Lebens. Eine philosophische Betrachtung (Breslau: 1865)

Walter Scott's novels

Indian proverbs

Buddhist texts

Sutta Nipata

Letter: To Carl von Gersdorff December 13: "I marvel at the fine instinct in your friendship (I hope the expression doesn't strike you as too animal-like), at your hitting upon these Indian maxims just when for the past two months I've been looking toward India with a growing thirst. . . . The conviction that life is worthless and that all goals are delusions comes over me so strongly, above all when I'm lying sick in bed, that I long to hear more about that country, hopefully something free of Judeo-Christian phraseology. . . .

I'm working at ridding myself of the *urgency* in the will-to-know; all scholars suffer from it, and it is this that deprives them of the wonderful calm that should come in the wake of insights achieved. For the present I'm still stretched so tautly between the various demands of my occupation that I have been made to feel this urgency all too often. Gradually, I'll put things right. Then I'll have better health too, something I won't achieve until I've earned it, until . . . only that one drive, the will-to-know, remains and I've been freed of all other drives and desires. A simple house-hold, a well regulated day, no unsettling ambitions or cravings for companionship, life with my sister (thanks to which everything around me becomes wholly Nietzschean and remarkably peaceful), the knowledge that I have excellent and loving friends, the possession of forty good books from sundry peoples and times (and even more not exactly bad ones), the lasting good fortune to have found Schopenhauer and Wagner as educators and the Greeks for my daily work, the conviction that I won't be lacking good students from now on – that's my current life. Alas I cannot

omit the chronic torment which every fortnight lays hold of me for nearly two whole days, sometimes longer. Oh well, this can't last forever.

My old and true friend, we've already been through quite a bit together: youth, experience, education, liking and loathing, aspiration and hope. . . *You have a splendid capacity for sharing joy; I find this to be still rarer and nobler than the ability to feel compassion.*" (Italics added)

1876

March - April

Manzoni, Alessandro (Italian poet & novelist)
Die Verlobten

Meysenbug, Malwida von
Memoiren einer Idealistin (Stuttgart: 1876)

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth
"Excelsior"

Herodotus

Lipiner, Siegfried

Prometheus Unbound

Novalis

Voltaire (?)

Rée, Paul
Über den Ursprung der moralischen Empfindungen (Chemnitz 1876; read in 76 or 77)

Letter: To Malthide Trampedach on 11, April: "My dear Fraulein! Since you're writing something for me this evening, I want to write something for you as well.

Gather all the strength that is in your heart so that you will not be frightened by the question I now put to you: Will you be my wife? I love you, and I feel as though you were already mine. Not a word about how quickly I've fallen! At least there's nothing improper about it, so there's no need to apologize for anything. What I want to know is whether you

feel as I do – that we were never strangers, not even for a moment! Don't you share my faith that together each of us could become freer and better than we could separately, and so "excelsior"? . .

Do be candid and keep nothing back. No one but our mutual friend Herr von Senger knows about this letter and what it contains. I'm taking the 11 o'clock express to Basel tomorrow – I have to get back. My Basel address is enclosed. If you can say yes to my question, I shall write at once to your mother (whose address I'd need). If you can bring yourself to make a quick decision, a note arriving by 10 o'clock tomorrow would reach me in time.

Wishing for all that is blessed and good for ever more."

April - July

Readings include : Montaigne; La Rochefoucauld; Vauvenargues; La Bruyere; Stendhal; Erwin Rodhe - *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* [The Greek Novel and its Precursors].

Professorial: lectures: the pre-Socratic philosophers; Plato's life and teachings; seminar: Hesiod; *Pädagogium*: sources on the personality of Socrates. Attends Burckhardt's lectures on Greek cultural history.

Letter: To Erwin Rohde, 23 May: "I notice that you say so little about pederastic relations [in your book *The Greek Novel and Its Predecessors*]. Yet with the Greeks the idealizing of Eros and the purer and more ardent experience of the passion of love first grew in this soil and, it seems to me, was only subsequently carried over into heterosexual love, whose refinement it prevented from taking place any sooner. That the Greeks of the classical period founded the education of their men on this passion and, as long as they kept this practice up, looked upon heterosexual love in general with disfavor, is astonishing indeed, but appears to me to be true . . ."

Music: As guest of Hugo von Senger, hears Geneva Orchestra perform Berlioz' *Cellini Overture* on 8 April. In July, attends the rehearsals of the first act of *Götterdämmerung* and the complete *Walküre*.

Writing: Nietzsche reworks his manuscript *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks. Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. Viertes Stück: Richard Wagner in Bayreuth* [*Untimely Meditations. Fourth Part: Richard Wagner in Bayreuth*] is printed in early by July C. G. Naumann. Also, interestingly enough, Nietzsche begins work on *Der Freigeist* [*The Free Spirit*], a book he never completes; this will be the title of the second book of his projected series of four books, Revaluation of All Values, which was drafted after he abandoned the initial plan for a work to be called *The Will to Power*. A French translation of French translation of *Wagner in Bayreuth* is completed by Marie Baumgartner and published by Schmeitzner in January 1877.

September

Letter: To Louise Ott, September 22: “Dear and good friend, at first I *couldn't* write, for they were working on my eyes; and now I *shouldn't* write, for a long time to come! Still – I've read your two letters again and again, no doubt too often, but this friendship is like new wine: delightful but perhaps a bit dangerous.

For me in any case.

But also for you, when I think of what a free spirit you've run into! A man who desires nothing more than to shed daily some comforting belief, who seeks and finds his fortune in this gradual freeing of the spirit. Perhaps I *want* to be even more of a free spirit than I *can* be.

What should we do now? A spiritual *Abduction from the Seraglio*, without the Mozartian music?

Are you acquainted with the biography of Frl. Von Meysenbug, entitled *Memoirs of an Idealist*?

How's poor little Marcel doing with his teeth? We all have to suffer before we learn to bite properly – physically and morally. – To bite in order to nourish ourselves, of course, not for the sake of biting! . . .”

December

J. Burckhardt on Greek cultural history; Plato; Thucydides; Montaigne; La Rochefoucauld, Vauvenargues; La Bruyère; and Stendhal.

Spir, Afrikan
Denken und Wirklichkeit [Thought and Reality]

Ranke, Leopold von
Geschichte der Päpste [History of the Popes]

New Testament.

1877

January - June: Sorrento, Bad Ragaz

The extensive communal readings at Meysenbug's home include Voltaire, Diderot, Burckhardt, Ranke, Thucydides, Herodotus, Calderon, Cervantes, Michelet, Turgenev, Renan, and the Bible.

Also, it is not known exactly when (it is somewhere between 1876-78), but Nietzsche read George Brandes' *Die Litteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in ibrem Hauptstromungen*, which indicates that *he did* have knowledge of Kierkegaard's writings (a point previously disputed), for this work includes numerous extensive quotations and extended discussions of the philosopher's work. In particular, these works figure in Brandes' book: *Entweder-Oder* [Either/Or], *Johannes der Verfurer*, *Nachschrift zu den philosophischen Brochen*, *Stadien auf dem Lebenswege*, *Uber den BEgriff Angst*, *Uber den Begriff der Ironie*, and *Uber Mozarts Don Juan*. In Peter Gast's January 9, 1888 letter to Nietzsche, Brandes' book is noted. [Note: As Thomas Brobjer points out in his extremely valuable and fascinating essay "Notes and Discussions, Nietzsche's Knowledge of Kierkegaard," (*Journal of the History of Philosophy*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2002) 251-63), the chapter "Of the Chairs of Virtue" in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* may refer directly to Kierkegaard.

July: Music

Letter: To Malwida von Meysenbug 1 July 1877: “I can’t go on without the feeling that I’m *useful*, and the Baselites are the only people who let me feel that I am. My highly problematic reflecting and writing has so far always made me ill; as long as I was really a *scholar*, I was healthy. But then came that nerve-destroying music and metaphysical philosophy and concern with a thousand things which are none of my business. . . .”

On Wagner to Carl Fuchs: I recall that in 1870, during a study of ancient rhythmic patterns, I was in quest of five- and seven-measure phrases and counted my way through *Meistersinger* and *Tristan*. In the process I discovered something about Wagner’s own rhythmical procedures. He has such an aversion to anything mathematical, anything strictly symmetrical . . . that he is inclined to draw out four-measure phrases into five measures, six-measure phrases into seven measures. . . . At times – though this may be sacrilege – I’m reminded of the style of Bernini, who can no longer bear having seven pillars in his plain, but must enliven them (or so he thinks) from top to bottom with scrollwork. Among the dangerous aftereffects of Wagner, the will-to-enliven-at-any-cost strikes me as one of the worst because quick as a flash it becomes affectation, sleight-of-hand. . . .”

August

Letter: To Paul Deussen early August: “Dear friend, how long it’s taken me to thank you for the gift of your book! [*Die Elemente der Metaphysik*] . . .

You’ve put these last years to very good use. A strong desire to learn, an accomplished clarity, and a decided ability to communicate . . . stand out on every page of your book. For all those who wish to become acquainted with Schopenhauer, but especially those who want to test their knowledge of him, you have provided an excellent guide. Moreover, the reader will find quite a bit of your own here, for which he should be grateful (particularly in the very difficult domain of Indian studies).

Speaking quite personally, I have one regret: that I didn’t receive a book like this a number of years ago. How much more grateful I would have been to you then! But such is the fleeting nature of our convictions that, curiously enough, your book serves me as a fine

collection of everything that I no longer regard as true. How sad! But I don't want to say anymore about it, lest our differences cause you pain. Even when I was writing my little piece on Schopenhauer I was no longer very committed to any of his dogmas; although I still believe, as I did then, that there's a lot to learn from him. . . .”

On August 28, to Erwin Rohde: “Shall I tell you about myself? I'm already under way two hours before the sun is in the mountains, and at it once again in the lengthening shadows of the afternoon and evening? How I've thought a lot of things through and feel so rich now, after this year finally enabled me to climb out of the old rut of having to teach and think *on tap* every day? The way I live now I can endure the worst of my afflictions (which followed me even up here), for in between them there are so many happy peaks of thought and feeling . . .

. . . I rather dread the coming winter; things have *got* to change. Anyone who day in and day out has only a little time for his true business, and must expend nearly all his energy on duties others could perform just as well, is not harmonious, is at odds with himself, and in the end becomes sick. . . .”

September – December

Professorial: Greek religious antiquities; seminar: Aeschylus, *Choephoren*.

1878

January

Music: Nietzsche remarks in a letter on the text of Wagner's new opera, *Parsifal*: “More Liszt than Wagner, spirit of the counter-reformation. To me, who am too much used to the Greek, the generally human, all this is too Christian, temporal, limited . . . Still, the scenes and how they follow upon one another – is that not the highest poetry? Is that not the ultimate challenge to music?”

Writing: Manuscript of *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches; Ein Buch für freie Geister. Dem Andenken Voltaires geweiht zur Gedächtnisfeier seines Todestages*, den 30. Mai 1778 [Human, All Too Human; a Book for Free Spirits. Dedicated to the memory of Voltaire on the commemoration of the day of his death, 30 May 1778] is sent to Schmeitzner with Nietzsche's request (perhaps via influence of Kierkegaard?) that it be published under a pseudonym Bernhard Cron, which is rejected by his publisher.

April

Writing: *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches; Ein Buch für freie Geister* [Human, All Too Human; a Book for Free Spirits] is published.

May

Letter: 13 May to Reinhard von Seydlitz: "If you can know how it feels – it is something quite unique – to have declared your goal publicly for the first time, a goal which no one else has, which almost no one can comprehend and for which one measly lifetime will have to suffice, then you will also know why this year, as soon as I am released from my duties, I have to have solitude. I shall want no friend, no one at all then – that's so essential."

To Peter Gast, 31 May: Dear friend, on Voltaire's centennial yesterday two things arrived, both of them very touching: first your letter, and then, sent anonymously from Paris, a bust of Voltaire, with a card attached saying simply: "*L'ame de Voltaire fait ses compliments a Frederic Nietzsche.*"

When I think of the two men who, in addition to yourself, have shown that they are genuinely pleased with my book – Rée and Burckhardt (who likes to call it "that sovereign book"), I get some inkling of what caliber of people it would take for my work to have an immediate impact. But it *won't* and *can't*, much as I regret it for the admirable Schmeitzner's sake. In Bayreuth the book has been placed under a sort of ban, and it seems that excommunication has been decreed for its author at the same time. Only they're trying to hang on to my friends while getting rid of me – you see, I hear a lot about what's going on

behind my back. Wagner has missed a golden opportunity to show greatness of character. I must not let this distort my opinion of him, or of myself.

. . . Rée says that only once before has a book afforded him such creative enjoyment – Eckerman’s *Conversations with Goethe* – and that entire notebooks of reflections have already resulted. But this is just what I’d hoped for: the stimulation of creativity in others and the “increase of independence in the world” (as Burckhardt puts it).

My health is improving; I engage tirelessly in walking and solitary reflection. I take joy in the spring and am calm, like one who can no longer be so easily pushed off the track. If only I could live like this to the end!”

June - July: Rosenlauibad

In a letter to Rée, Nietzsche claims to have taken only three books: Rée’s recent book, completed in Sorrento; Plato’s *Laws*, and Mark Twain (most likely *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*)

Letter: To Reinhard von Seydlitz 11 June: “I’m delighted that one of my friends remains on such good terms with Wagner, for in view of what he has become – an old, inflexible man – I am less and less able to give him pleasure. This pains me considerably. But in the service of truth one must be prepared for any sacrifice. Besides, if he were aware of everything inside me that militates against his art and his aims, he’d think me one of his worst enemies – which as you know I’m not.”

To Malwida von Meysenbug 11 June: “Who was it, do you suppose, who thought of me on May 30? . . . I was touched to the core – destiny of this man who even after one hundred years arouses nothing but partisan reaction seemed menacingly symbolic. It is against the liberators of the spirit that people are most implacable in their hatred, most unjust in their love. Nevertheless, I want to go my way quietly and do without everything that might hinder me. The crisis of my life is at hand: if I didn’t sense the enormous fertility of my new philosophy, I’d begin to feel horribly isolated. But I am *at one with myself*. . .”

To Mathilde Maier 15 July: “Most respected Fraulein, it can’t be helped: I have to cause all my friends distress – precisely by speaking out at last on how I overcame my own. That metaphysical befogging of everything true and simple (reason’s struggle to turn, against reason, all things into wonders and absurdities) and a correspondingly baroque art full of overexcitement and glorified extravagance – I mean Wagner’s: it was these two things that finally made me ill. . . . I’m immeasurably nearer the Greeks than before. Now in every way I live striving for wisdom, whereas before I only idolized wise men. . . .

One summer, at Bayreuth I became fully conscious of all this. After attending the first performances I fled into the mountains, and there, in a little village in the woods, I produced the first draft of my book (*Human, All Too Human*, which was originally titled *The Ploughshare* (*Die Pflugshare*). . . . Then, to please my sister, I returned to Bayreuth, this time with enough inner composure to suffer the insufferable – silently, in front of everybody! But now I’m shaking off what isn’t really mine: people (friend and foe alike), habits, comforts, books. I shall live in solitude for years to come, until, as a philosopher of life, ripened and ready, I dare risk (as I shall doubtless require) human intercourse again.

Will you, in spite of all this, remain true to me as you have been – or rather, will you be able to? You see, I’ve reached a level of honesty where I can endure only the purest of human relations. I shun half-friendships, and especially partisanships; I have no use for disciples. Let everyone be his (and her) own true follower.”

Professorial: Hesiod, *Erga*; Plato, *Apology*. Seminar: Aeschylus, *Choephoren*.

Lagarde, Paul Anton de
Über die gegenwärtige Lage des deutschen Reichs. ein Bericht, erstatter (Göttingen: 1876)

Griezbach
German Literature from 1770 On

Taine, Hippolyte
History of English Literature

Die Entstehung des modernen Frankreich, I. Bd. *Das vorrevolutionäre*, Autorisierte deutsche bearbeitet von L. Katscher (Leipzig: 1877)

Geschichte der englischen Literatur, deutsche Ausgabe bearbeitet von L. Katscher und G. Gerth 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1878-80)

Philosophie de l'art (Paris: 1865)

Vie et opinions de Monsieur Frédéric Thomas Graindorge

Réan, Ernst

Philosophische Dialoge und Fragmente, Übersetzung von Konrad von Zdekauer (Leipzig: 1877)

[*Philosophical Dialogues*]

August

Deussen, Paul

Die Elemente der Metaphysik [The Elements of Metaphysics]

Theocritus

Homer

Racine, Jean

Goethe, J. W. von

Sophocles

Romantic writers

Writing: Second printing of *The Birth of Tragedy*.

September

Letter: To Franz Overbeck: “To whom, dearest friend, would I rather unburden myself now than to you – to whom else indeed *could* I? There’s a lot going on inside me; most of what comes from outside I have to repel. Loathsome letters. I’ve also finished reading Wagner’s extremely bitter and unfortunate polemic against me in the August issue of the Bayreuther Blätter. It caused me pain, but not in the spot Wagner intended. . . .”

October – December

Professorial: Greek lyricists; introduction to Plato. Seminar: Thucydides.

January

Writing: Heinrich Köselitz (later dubbed Peter Gast by Nietzsche) assists Nietzsche with work on *Vermischte Meinungen und Sprüche* [*The Wanderer & His Shadow*], which is published in mid-March. Nietzsche receives a favorable critique of this work from Jacob Burckhardt.

May

Professorial/Writing: Nietzsche submits his official resignation to Basel University due to extenuating health concerns. No longer will his writing be second to his teaching duties, and, essentially, his ‘true life’ as a philosopher begins; over the next ten years, while wandering throughout Europe, he will write some of the most remarkable philosophical works of the modern age, all while struggling to combat and overcome the most agonizing, if not often debilitating ailments. It is all the more remarkable that, suffering as he did, he did not create a philosophy more desultory and pessimistic than Schopenhauer’s; one sees even more clearly the necessity for overcoming, and not perceiving life through one’s states of nausea and denouncing it, a curse Nietzsche called “the moral lie in the mouth of the decadent” (*Twilight of the Idols*). If Nietzsche uttered that moral lie instead of his Dionysian world view, the coming age may have been beset with an even greater weight than that of overcoming Christ!

July

Letter: To his mother, Franziska: “Vegetable gardening is wholly in line with my desires, and is in no way degrading to a prospective “sage.” You know that I favor a simple and natural way of living; I’m becoming more and more committed to it, and there is no other cure for my health. Some real labor which is tiring and time-consuming, but doesn’t strain my head, is just what I need. Didn’t my father say that some day I’d be a gardener? Admittedly I’m quite inexperienced (though not slow to learn), so you’ll have to help me get my bearings.

Eventually I'll need the water at Karlsbad for my abdominal problems. My stomach, now that I'm feeding myself in my room (milk, eggs, tongue, dried prunes, bread, and zwieback), is in fine shape. . . .

My eyes cause me great concern. They alone are not improving – and alas cannot, according to the verdict of my three specialists. Can someone be found in Naumburg who could read to me or take dictation?"

August

Martha, B.-C.

Les Moralistes sous l'empire romain, philosophes et poètes

October - December

Reading. Due to the extreme strain on his eyesight, Nietzsche's mother reads numerous works aloud to her son: Lermontov, Macaulay, Möser, Pestalozzi, Gogol, Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Edgar Allen Poe, Dante, Rousseau (?), Helvetius.

Letter: To Peter Gast on 5 October: "You won't believe how faithfully I've been putting into practice my plan to do without thinking. And with good reason, since "behind every thought lurks the devil" of a furious attack of pain. The manuscript you received from St. Moritz was purchased so dearly that perhaps no one who could have done otherwise would have written it at that price. Even now I shudder when I remember it, especially when I read the longer sections. All of it, save for a few lines, **was conceived while walking**, and outlined in pencil in six little notebooks. Reworking it was almost always torture. I had to pass up about two dozen rather lengthy trains of thought, important ones at that, because I never found time to extract them from that ghastly scrawl, - just like the summer before. And I tend to forget how my thoughts were connected. . . . Reading your transcript, I find it very difficult to understand myself. My head is so tired.

. . . Again in all honesty, I regard you as better and more gifted than I am, and hence under far greater obligation. At your age I was investigating with boundless zeal the origins of an eleventh-century dictionary and the sources of Diogenes Laertius, and had no notion of myself as someone who had any right to entertain, never mind put

forward, any far-ranging views of his own. Even now I feel like the most feckless fledgling. Being alone and ill has inured me somewhat to the “shamelessness” of my writing. But others must do it all better, my life as well as my thought. – Don’t answer this.” (bold type added)

Writing: Nietzsche’s new aphoristic work is sent to Gast to be transcribed. In early October, Nietzsche presents the manuscript to his publisher, Schmeitzner. While in Venice, Gast works on the galleys and *Der Wanderer und sein Schatten* [*The Wanderer & His Shadow*] is published in an edition of one thousand on December 20.

1880

January

Letter: To Malwida von Meysenbug: “Although for me writing is forbidden fruit, you, whom I love and respect like an older sister, must have one more letter from me. It will no doubt be the last! This frightful and almost unremitting agony makes me hunger for the end – and judging by several indications, the cerebral *coup de grace* is close enough at hand to make me hopeful. As far as suffering and self-denial go, I’ll match the lat years of my life against those of any ascetic of any age. All the same I’ve made good use of these years to burnish and purify my soul, and no longer need religion or art for this purpose. (You see, I’m proud of it; in fact, my complete isolation first led me to discover my inner resources.) I believe I’ve finished my life’s work, admittedly like one who was granted very little time. But I know I’ve helped many people, and given them a nudge in the direction of self-enhancement, serenity, and strength of mind. I’m writing you this as an epilogue; it should really be left for the very end. No amount of pain has been or will be able to betray me into bearing false witness to life *as I know it*.

. . . The two of us have followed stars whose light few of our contemporaries have seen. We hope for mankind, and bring ourselves as a modest offering, do we not?

Any news from the Wagners? It’s three years now since I’ve heard from them. They abandoned me too; I knew long ago that Wagner, as soon as he realized that our aims had diverged, would do just that. . . I am still grateful to him for having inspired me

to strive passionately for independence of spirit. Frau Wagner, as you know, is the most appealing woman I've ever met. – But I'm totally unfit for social relations, never mind reunions. It's too late . . .

To Dr. Otto Eiser: “My existence is a terrible burden. I'd long ago have chucked it were it not for my having done the most illuminating psychological and moral research in just this state of suffering and almost absolute renunciation. My joyous thirst for knowledge brings me to heights where I can triumph over all torment and despair. On the whole I'm happier than ever before in my life. And yet! – constant pain, a feeling much like seasickness several hours each day, a semi-paralysis which makes speaking difficult and, for a change of pace, furious seizures (the last involved three days and nights of vomiting; I lusted for death). To be unable to read! And barely able to write! No human contact! No music! . . .

My thoughts are my consolation. As I walk I scribble something now and again on a piece of paper; I don't write at my desk. Friends decipher my scratchings . . .”

January 15 - 22

Rémusat, Madame de
Mémoires de Madame Remusat 1802-08 3 vols. (Paris: 1880)

Note: Read to Nietzsche by Paul Ree during his visit to Nietzsche.

March – June: Venice

Spencer, Herbert
Die Thatsachen der Ethik. Übersetzung von B. Vetter (Stuttgart: 1879) [*Data of Ethics*]

Stifter, Adalbert
Nachsommer (1875)

Mill, John Stuart
Gesammelte Werke, 12 vols. hg. von Th. Gomperz (Leipzig: 1869-80)

Lubbock, John
Die Entstehung der Zivilisation und der Urzustand des Menschengeschlechtes, erläutert durch das innere und äussere Leben der Wilden. Übersetzung von A. Passow, nebst einleitendem Vorwort von Rudolf Virchow (Jena: 1875)

Siebenlist

Schopenhauer, Arthur
Philosophie der Tragödie

Overbeck, Franz
Christlichkeit

Lüdemann
Anthropologie des Paulus;

Engelhardt, Moritz von
Das Christentum Justins des Märtyrers. Eine Untersuchung über die Anfänge der katholischen Glaubenslehre (Erlangen, 1878); PURVES, *The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity* (lectures delivered on the L.P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary) (London, 1888)

Martensen, Hans Lassen
Allgemeiner Theil (**Note:** Kierkegaard is extensively discussed in this work, which Nietzsche requested his mother send to him in his letter of March 27, 1880. Again, Brobjer's fascinating essay notes that impressions of this work can be found in *Morgenrothe* [Dawn/Daybreak], specifically aphorisms 9, 192, 210, and 339 as well as at least two notes from 1880, KSA 9, 3 [67], and 5 [37].)

Summer:

Baumann, Julius J.
Handbuch der Moral nebst Abriss der Rechtsphilosophie (Leipzig: 1879) [Handbook of Morality]
Martensen, H. L.
Grundriß des Systems der Moralphilosophie [Outline of the System of Moral Philosophy]

Balzac, Honore de
Correspondance 1819-1850, in *Oeuvres complètes XXIV* (Paris: 1876)

Sand, George
Sämtliche Werke, mit einer Einleitung von Arnold Ruge (Leipzig: 1844-47)

Prosper Mérimée
The Etruscan Vase (read in July)

August

Letter: To Peter Gast: “You’re made of stronger stuff than I am, and so are entitled to forge higher ideals. I for my part suffer horribly when I’m deprived of affection. Nothing, for example, can replace Wagner’s, which the past few years have taken away from me. How often I dream of him, and always as he was in the time of our intimacy. There was never an ugly word between us, not even in my dreams, but very many buoyant and cheerful ones; and I don’t think I ever laughed as much as with anyone else. That’s all over now. What’s the use of my being right on many points? As if that could wipe this lost affection from my memory! I’ve had similar experiences before, and presumably will again. The greatest sacrifices have been required of me by my life and thought. Even now my whole philosophy wavers after an hour’s friendly conversation with a total stranger. It seems so silly to want to be right at the expense of love – and at the same time to be unable to impart what’s most valuable in oneself, for fear of destroying affection.

. . . I’m living in obscurity here at the spa. The guest list has me down as “Herr Nietzsche, instructor.” There are many Poles here and they – it’s most extraordinary – insist on taking me for a Pole, keep greeting me in Polish, and refuse to believe me when I tell them I’m Swiss. . . .”

November – December: Genoa

Stendhal [Henri Marie Beyle]

Correspondance inédites, précédée d'une introduction par Prosper Mérimée (Paris: 1855)

Histoire de la peinture en Italie (Paris: 1868)

Journal

Le Rouge et le Noir (1830)

Mémoires d'un touriste (Paris: 1877)

Racine et Shakespeare (Paris: 1864)

Rome, Naples et Florence (Paris: 1854)

Vie de Napoléon (possibly read again this year)

NOTE: Unclear as to which Stendhal books were read when.

Blaise Pascal

Gedanken, Fragmente und Briefe: nach der Ausgabe Prosper Faugère. Deutsch Übersetzung von Dr. C. F. Schwartz. Zweite Auflage (Leipzig: 1865)

Pensées, fragments et lettres: publiés pour la première fois conformément aux manuscrits originaux en grande partie inédite von Prosper Faugère (Paris: 1844)

Emerson, Ralph Waldo

January

Writing: Draft manuscript of *Morgenröthe* [*Daybreak*] is sent to Köselitz on January 25th, who Nietzsche will soon crown with the name Peter Gast.

June

Letter: To Franz Overbeck: “As far as Christianity is concerned, I hope you’ll believe this much: in my heart I’ve never held it in contempt and, ever since childhood, have often struggled with myself on behalf of its ideals. In the end, to be sure, the result has always been the sheerest impossibility. . .

I no longer have the slightest idea which of my views do good, which harm.”

July – September: Recoaro

Nietzsche requests a copy of Gottfried Keller’s *Grunen Heinrich*

Hellwald, Friedrich von
Culturgeschichte and *Die Erde und ihre Bewohner* [*The Earth and its Inhabitants*];

Fisher, Kuno
(on Spinoza).

NOTE: In a letter of July 30, 1881, Nietzsche speaks ecstatically of his discovery of Spinoza: “I am absolutely astonished and quite enraptured! I have a *precursor*, and what a herald he is! I was practically ignorant of Spinoza that I am *now* hankering after him was the result of “instinct.” Not only is his over-all objective like mine – to raise knowledge to the *mightiest* effect – but, in five of the main points of his doctrine I find myself. The most abnormal and the loneliest of thinkers is closest to me especially in *these* things: He denies freedom of will, purposes, a moral world order, whatever is non-egoistic, and evil. Of course, the differences also are tremendous, but they lie more in the difference of age, culture, and science. *In summa*. My solitude which, as on very high mountains, often, very often caused

me to be short of breath and the oozing of blood, has at least for the time being become the isolation of two. – Strange!”

Nietzsche asks Overbeck to send books from the Basel university library: the neo-Kantian Otto Liebmann - *Kant und die Epigonen* and *Analysis und Wirklichkeit*.

Writing: *Morgenröthe Gedanken über die moralischen Vorurtheile*. [Dawn. Thoughts on moral prejudices.] is published on 8 July. Originally, Nietzsche was to dub this work “Die Pflugschar” [The Plowshare], but after Gast sent him the inscription from the *Rig Veda*, Nietzsche was provoked to change the title.

Of particular note this year is what George Bataille would refer to as Nietzsche’s *inner experience* - while walking through the mountains of Switzerland, Nietzsche came upon “a mighty pyramidal block of stone,” which gave birth to the idea of the Eternal Return. In *Ecce Homo*, Nietzsche recounts this experience in the section on *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*: “The fundamental conception of the work [*Zarathustra*], the *thought of eternal return*, the highest formula of affirmation that can ever be attained - belongs in August of the year 1881: it is jotted down on a piece of paper, with the inscription: “6000 feet beyond man and time.” Nietzsche also remarked that the “whole of Zarathustra might perhaps be reckoned as music; - certainly a rebirth of the art of *hearing* was a precondition of it,” stressing the importance of the sense of hearing and his passion for music. In *Zarathustra*, two of the ways in which one can reach eternity is through both the sense of smell and hearing; Joan Stambaugh explores this in her essay, “The Other Nietzsche”, which can be found in *Nietzsche & Asian Thought*, ed. by Graham Parkes.

Music: Attends performance of Bizet’s *Carmen* at Politeana Theater on November 27th

January – March: Genoa

Writing: A new manuscript of aphorisms is sent to Köselitz, now Peter Gast, in Venice, which Nietzsche states is a “continuation of *Morgenroethe*.” This work will become *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft* [*The Gay Science*].

March

J. R. Mayer

Mechanik der Wärme [Mechanics of Heat, first edition 1867]

“Über Auslosung” [“On Energy Discharge”]

Letter. To Peter Gast on the 20th: “I have read in Robert Mayer’s book. Friend, he’s a great specialist – and nothing more. I am amazed to find how coarse and naïve he is when it comes to more general constructions. He always thinks he is being wonderfully logical, but in fact he is just being obstinate. If something has been well and truly disproved, he says it is due to the “material” prejudice – even if the disproving comes not from an idealist but from a mathematician – Boscovitch. Boscovitch and Copernicus are the two greatest opponents of optical observation. With effect from him [Boscovitch] there is no “matter” any more – except as a source of popular relief. He has thought the atomistic doctrine through to the end. *Gravity* is certainly not a “property of matter,” simply because there *is* no matter. The *force of gravity* is, like the *vis inertiae*, certainly a manifestation of force, simply because force is all there is! Now the *logical* relation between these phenomena and others – for example, heat – is still not at all clear. But if one goes along with Mayer in still believing in matter and in solid corporeal atoms, then one cannot decree that there is only *one* force. The kinetic theory must attribute to atoms, besides motional energy, the two forces of cohesion and gravity. And this is what *all* materialist physicists and chemists do! – and Mayer’s best adherents as well. *Nobody* has abandoned the idea of gravity! Ultimately even Mayer has a second force in the background, the *primum mobile*, God, - besides motion itself. And he certainly needs God!

April: Messina, Sicily

Writing: *Idyllen aus Messina* [*Idylls of Messina*], a small group of poems is composed while in Italy and sent to Schmeitzner, and is published in June. Work on *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft* [*The Gay Science*] continues, which Nietzsche finishes; he travels to Berlin at the end of June to present this new work to Lou Salome, but when Nietzsche reaches his destination, Lou has already left. See the letter below (July) on these poems, Lou Salome, and her poem “An den Schmerz”.

June: Naumburg

Letter. To Lou Salome on the 10th: “At present, I badly need mountains and forests – not only my health, but also *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft*, are driving me into solitude. I want to finish. . . . When we are together I shall write something in the book [*Daybreak/Dawn*] I am sending.”

July: Tautenburg – Letters on writing

Letter. To Lou Salome on the 2nd: “Now the sky above me is bright! Yesterday at noon I felt as if it was my birthday. *You* sent your acceptance, the most lovely present that anyone could give me now; my sister sent cherries; Teubner sent the first three page proofs of *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft*, and, on top of it all, I had just finished the very last part of the manuscript and therewith the work of six years (1876 – 82), my entire *Freigeisterei* [*Human, All-Too Human, Daybreak, and The Gay Science*]. O what years! What tortures of every kind, what solitudes and weariness with life! And against all that, as it were against death *and* life, I have brewed this medicine of mine, these thoughts with their small strip of *unclouded sky* overhead. O dear friend, whenever I think of it, I am thrilled and touched and do not know how I could have *succeeded* in doing it – I am filled with self-compassion and the sense of victory. For it is a victory, and a complete one – for even my physical healthy has reappeared, I do not know where from, and everyone tells me that I am looking younger than ever.”

Letter. To Peter Gast on the 13th: “Do you know the harmless little poems I wrote in Messina? (*Idyllen aus Messina* [*Idylls of Messina*]) Or have you said nothing about them out of politeness toward the author! No, nevertheless, as the woodpecker says in the last

poem, my poetry writing is not going very well. But what does it matter! One should not be ashamed of one's follies; otherwise one's wisdom has little value.

That poem "An den Schmerz" ["To Pain"] was *not* by me. It is among the things which quite overpower me; I have never been able to read it without tears coming to my eyes; it sounds like a voice for which I have been waiting and waiting since childhood. This poem is by my friend Lou, of whom you will not yet have heard. Lou is the daughter of a Russian general, and she is twenty years old; she is as shrewd as an eagle and brace as a lion, and yet still a very girlish child, who perhaps will not live long. . . . She is most amazingly well prepared for *my* way of thinking and my ideas . . . what is more, she has an incredibly definite character, and knows herself exactly what *she* wants without asking all the world or troubling about the world."

Letter. To Erwin Rohde on the 15th: "It is no use – I must prepare you today for a new book of mine; you still have four weeks at the most before it disturbs your peace! (*Die Frohliche Wissenschaft*. Previously, Rohde had received a copy of *Morgenrote* but had not acknowledged it.) One comfort is that it will be the last for many years, for in the autumn I am going to the University of Vienna, and starting again as a student, after the somewhat abortive earlier student years with their one-sided emphasis on classical philology. Now I have my own study plan and behind it my own secret aim, to which the rest of my life is *consecrated* – it is too difficult for me to live unless I do it in the grandest style. I tell you this in confidence, my old comrade. Without an aim, which I thought to be indescribably important, I would not have kept myself up in the light and above the black torrents! This is actually only an excuse for the kind of things which I have been writing since 1876; it is my prescription and my home-brewed medicine against weariness with life. What years! What wearisome pain! What inner disturbances, revolutions, solitudes! *Who* has endured as much as I have? – certainly not Leopardi. And if I now stand above all that, with the joyousness of a victor and fraught with difficult and *new* plans – and, knowing myself, with the prospect of new, more difficult, and even more inwardly profound sufferings and tragedies and *with the courage to face them!* – then nobody should be annoyed with me for having a good opinion of my medicine. *Mibi ipsi scripsi* [I have written for myself] – and there it stands; **and thus everyone should do for himself his best in his own way – that is my morality, the only remaining morality for me.** If even my physical health reappears, whom have I to thank

for that? I was in all respects my own doctor; and as a person in whom nothing stands separate, I have had to treat soul, mind, and body all at once and with the same remedies. Admittedly, others might perish by using the same remedies; **that is why I exert everything in warning others against me.** Especially this latest book, which is called *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft*, will scare many people away from me – you too perhaps, dear old friend Rohde! There is an image of myself in it, and I know for sure that it is *not* the image which you carry in your heart. So, have patience, even if only because you must understand that with me it is a question of *aut mori aut itta vivere* [‘To live thus or die].” (Bold type added)

Letter. To Lou Salome on the 20th: “As for Bayreuth, I am satisfied not to *have* to be there, and yet, if I could be near you in a ghostly way, murmuring this and that in your ear, then I would find even the music of *Parsifal* endurable (otherwise it is not endurable). I would like you to read, beforehand, my little work *Richard Wagner in Bayreuth*; I expect friend Rée has it. I have had such experiences with this man and his work, and it was a passion which lasted a long time – passion is the only word for it. The renunciation that it required, the rediscovering of myself that eventually became necessary, was among the hardest and most melancholy things that have befallen me. The last words that Wagner wrote to me are in a fine presentation copy of *Parsifal*: “To my dear friend, Friedrich Nietzsche. Richard Wagner, Member of the High Consistory.” At precisely the same time he received from me my book *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* [Human, All-Too Human] – and therewith everything was perfectly clear, but also at an end. How often have I experienced in all possible ways just this – everything perfectly clear, but also at an end!”

August

Writing: *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft* [*The Gay Science*] is published in an edition of one thousand and Nietzsche receives his on the 20th of this month.

Letter. To Jakob Burckhardt: “I hope, mein hochverehrter Freund – or how should I address you? – that you will accept with goodwill what I am sending you – with a goodwill decided in advance; for, if you do not do that, you will have nothing but ridicule for this book, *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft* (it is so personal, and everything personal is indeed comic). Apart from this, I have reached a point at which I *live* as I *think*, and perhaps I have

meanwhile learned really to express what I think. In this respect I shall regard your judgment as a verdict; in particular, I would like you to read the “Sanctus Januarius” (book 4), to see if it *communicates itself* as a coherent whole.”

Music: While in Tautenberg, Lou Salome presents Nietzsche a poem of hers, “Lebensgebet” [Life Prayer]. Nietzsche is so struck by this poem he sets it to a melody from an earlier composition of his, “Hymnus an die Freundschaft” [Hymn to Friendship]. *Gebet an das Leben* will be the sole composition Nietzsche publishes, and by none other than Wagner’s publisher, E. W. Fritsch. One wonders what Wagner thought . . . Nietzsche himself said to Lou Salome that “the daimon of music came over me again – I have composed a setting of your “Prayer to Life”; and my friend from Paris, Louise Ott, who has a wonderfully strong and expressive voice, will one day sing it to you and me.”

September: Leipzig

Letter. To Lou Salome, around the 16th: “As regards your “Characterization of Myself” – which is true, as you write – it reminded me of my little verses from *Die Frohliche Wissenschaft* with the heading “Request.” Can you guess, my dear Lou, what I am asking for? But Pilate says: “What is truth?”

Yesterday afternoon I was happy; the sky was blue, the air mild and clear, I was in the Rosenthal, lured there by the *Carmen* music. I sat there for three hours, drank my second glass of cognac this year, in memory of the first (ha! how horrible it tasted!), and wondered in all innocence and malice if I had any tendency to madness. In the end I said *no*. Then the *Carmen* music began, and I was submerged for half an hour in tears and heart beatings. But when you read this you will finally say yes! and write a note for the “Characterization of Myself.”

December: Rapallo:

Heinrich von Stein posts a copy of his *Helden und Welt* [Heroes and the World] to Nietzsche.

January – February: Rapallo

Writing: Nietzsche completes writing the first chapter of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, then finishes the first chapter.

Letter. To Franz Overbeck on February 11th: “I will not conceal it from you, I am in a bad way. It is night all around me again; I feel as if the lightning had flashed – I was for a short time completely in my element and in my light. And now it has passed. I think I shall inevitably go to pieces, unless something happens – I have no idea *what*. Perhaps someone will drag me out of Europe – I, with my physical style of thinking, now see myself as the victim of a terrestrial and climactic disturbance, to which Europe is exposed. How can I help having an extra sense organ and a new terrible source of suffering! Even to think thus brings relief – it saves me from accusing people of causing my own misery. Though I *could* do this! And all too often I *do* do it. Everything that I have indicated to you in my letters is only by the way – I have to bear such a *manifold* burden of tormenting and horrible memories!

Not for a moment have I been able to forget, for instance, that my mother called me a disgrace to my father.

I shall say nothing of other examples – but the barrel of a revolver is for me now a source of relatively pleasant thoughts.

My whole life has crumbled under my gaze: this whole eerie, deliberately secluded life, which takes a step every six years, and actually wants nothing but the taking of this step, while everything else, all my human relationships, have to do with a mask of me and I must perpetually be the victim of living a completely hidden life. I have always been exposed to the cruelest coincidences – or, rather, it is I who have always turned all coincidence into cruelty.

This book, about which I wrote to you [TSZ], the work of ten days, now seems to me like my last will and testament. It contains an image of myself in the sharpest focus, as I am, *once* I have thrown off my whole burden. It is poetry, and not a collection of aphorisms.”

Music: On 13 February, Wagner dies. Nietzsche, in a letter to Meysenbug: “Es war hart, sehr hart, sechs Jahre lang Jemandem Gegner sein zu müssen, den man so verehrt und geliebt hat, wie ich Wagner geliebt habe” [It was hard, very hard, for six years to have to be the opponent of someone one has honored and loved as I have loved Wagner].

This is an extremely stirring coincidence: as Nietzsche gives birth to one of his most significant works, as Zarathustra leaves his cave and comes into the world, Wagner, his artistic mentor, dies. At last, Nietzsche is free, free from a man he so loved and admired, but who ultimately failed him through failing himself and not living up to Nietzsche’s conception of the great artist, nor recognizing Nietzsche’s own greatness, but always expecting him to praise and serve him. Suddenly, Nietzsche was ready to pave the way for the new dawn where his son, Zarathustra, would give birth to the Overman, and the great noontide begin.

Letter. To Peter Gast on the 19th: “The enormous burden which lies on me as a result of the weather (even Etna is beginning to erupt!) has transformed itself into thoughts and feelings whose pressure in me was *terrible*; and from the sudden *shedding* of this burden, as a result of ten absolutely clear and fresh January days, my “Zarathustra” came into being, the most *liberated* of all my productions. Teubner is already printing it; I made the fair copy myself. Incidentally, Schmeitzner reports that during the past year *all* my writings have sold better, and I am hearing all sorts of things in the way of growing interest. Even a member of the Reichstag and Bismarck supporter (Delbruck) is said to have expressed his displeasure that I do not live in *Berlin* but in Santa Margherita.”

Letter. To Franz Overbeck on the 22nd: “I mean to find my health by the same means as before, in complete seclusion. My mistake last year was to give up solitude. Through ceaseless contact with intellectual images and processes I have become so sensitive that contact with present-day people makes me suffer and forgo incredibly much; eventually this makes me hard and unjust – in brief, it does not suit me.

Wagner was by far the *fullest* human being I have known, and in this respect I have had to forgo a great deal for six years. But something like a deadly offense came between us; and something terrible could have happened if he had lived longer.

Lou is by far the *shrewdest* human being I have known. But and so on and so on.

My *Zarathustra* will be getting printed now.

I wrote to Cosima as soon as I could – that is to say, after some of the worst days in bed that I have ever spent.

No! *This* life! And I am the advocate of life!

As soon as the time of year allows, I mean to go into the mountains, the southern slopes of Mont Blanc.

Nothing helps; I must help myself, or I am finished.”

March – June

Writing: Typesetting begins for *Zarathustra* after Gast makes editorial corrections. While in Rome in June, *Also sprach Zarathustra. Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* [*Thus Spoke Zarathustra. A Book for All and for None*] is published.

April: Genoa

Letter. To Peter Gast on the 6th: “As I read your letter, a shudder ran through me. If you are right, then my like would not be a mistake? And least of all precisely now, when I was thinking it most?”

On the other hand, your letter gave me the feeling that I now have not long to live – and that would be right and just. You would not believe, dear friend, what an abundance of suffering life has unloaded upon me, at all times from *early* childhood on. But I am a soldier – and this soldier, in the end, did become the father of *Zarathustra*! This paternity was his hope; I think that you will now sense the meaning of the verse addressing Sanctus Januarius: “You who with the flaming spear split the ice of my soul and make it thunder down now to the sea of its highest hope.”

Also the meaning of the heading “Incipit tragoedia.”

Enough of that, Perhaps I have never in my life known greater joy that that which your letter brought.

. . . This summer I mean to write a few prefaces to new impressions of my earlier writings: not that there is a prospect of new editions, but simply to get done in good time

what has to be done. I would also very much like to clean up and clarify the style of my older writings; but that can only be done within certain limits.

...

It disgusts me to think of *Zarathustra* going into the world as a piece of literary entertainment; who will be serious enough for it! If I had the authority of the “later Wagner,” things would be better. But now nobody can save me from being cast among the writers of belles lettres. Hell!”

June

Letter. To Carl von Gersdorff on the 28th: “I have a long, difficult period of intellectual asceticism behind me, which I took upon myself willingly and which not everyone might have expected of himself. The past six years have been in *this* respect the years of my greatest self-conquest – which is leaving out of account my rising above such matters as health, solitude, incomprehension, and execration. Enough – I have risen also *above* this stage of my life – and what remains of life (little, I think!) must now give complete and full expression to that for which I have endured life at all. The time for silence is *past*: my *Zarathustra*, which will be sent to you during the next few weeks, may show you how *high* my will has flown. Do not be deceived by this little book’s having a legendary air: behind all the plain and strange words stand my *deepest seriousness* and my *whole philosophy*. It is the beginning of my disclosure of myself – not more! I know quite well that there is nobody alive who would do anything the way this *Zarathustra* is –

Dear old friend, I am now in the Upper Engadin again, for the *third* time, and again I feel that here and nowhere else is my real home and breeding ground. Ah, how much there is still hidden in me waiting to be expressed in words and form! There is no limit to the quiet, the altitude, the solitude I need around me in order to hear my inner voices.

. . . I have brought a large basket of books up with me, and the next three months are taken care of. Here *my* muses live: in “The Wanderer and His Shadow” I was already saying that this region was “blood kin to me and even more than that.”

Well, I have told you something of your old friend, the hermit Nietzsche – a dream I had last night prompted me to do so.”

July – December: Sils Maria

Writing: Nietzsche completes the second book of *Zarathustra*. In August, the first book of *Zarathustra* is published in an edition of one thousand copies. Nietzsche begins work on the third book, and completes it in January of the next year. To Franz Overbeck, August 28: “What pleases me is to see that even this first reader gets the feeling of what it is all about, that is, the long promised “anti-Christ.” Not since Voltaire has there been such a *murderous attempt* against Christianity and, to tell the truth, even Voltaire never had an inkling that one could attack it in *this way*.”

Professorial: Nietzsche attempts to gain a position as lecturer at Leipzig University, but due to his stance on Christianity, is rejected.

*

Other readings throughout the year include:

Bourget, Paul
Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine (Paris: 1883)

Hartmann, Edouard von
Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins. Prolegomena zu jeder zukünftigen Ethik (Berlin: 1879)

1884

January – April: Nice

Writing: The second book of *Zarathustra* is printed and not long after, the third follows. Of these books, Nietzsche said to Erwin Rohde in his letter of February 22: “It is a sort of abyss of the future; something gruesome there is especially in his [Zarathustra’s] beatitude. All that you find in it is my own, without prototype, comparison, precursor. Whoever has once *lived* in it returns into this world, his countenance changed. . . I fancy that with this Z. I have brought the German language to perfection. After *Luther* and Goethe a third step had to be taken. Look and see, my old bosom comrade, whether or not strength, suppleness and euphony, have ever been found together in our language as they are here. Read Goethe after a page and you will find that the quality of “undulating” which is Goethe’s as a draftsman, also is not foreign to the language creator. I am superior to him in the more severe, masculine line without, however, winding up with Luther among the uncouth. My style is a *dance*, a play of symmetries of various kinds and a leaping over and mocking of these symmetries. This extends right into the choice of vowels.-”

October: Zurich

Music: Hears Beethoven and Bizet performed.

Druscowicz, Helene
Three English Poetesses

Miss Glogau
novels

November: Mentone

Writing: Fourth book of *Zarathustra* is completed, but Schmeitzner refuses to publish it.

December: Nice

Emerson, Ralph Waldo

Other readings throughout the year include: Flaubert - *Temptation of St. Anthony*

January – April: Nice

Writing: Nietzsche publishes the fourth book of his *Zarathustra* at his own expense. However, *Zarathustra* will not be published *in toto* until 1892. In a letter to his sister, Nietzsche mentions that he wants to send her a copy of his “*Zarathustra* – in the colorful Persian edition – you can set it up as a fetish somewhere in some American jungle.” In the same letter he also states that his son Zarathustra *does not* voice his opinions – “he is one of my preparations and an interlude.” What was to come?

Montaigne

Rolph, William Henry

Biologische Probleme, zugleich als Versuch zur Entwicklung einer rationellen Ethik (Leipzig: 1884)

Bismarck, Otto von

Ausgewählte Reden (1882)

Stendhal

Le Rouge et le Noir (1830)

Sainte-Beuve, Charles-Augustin

Causeries du Lundi (Paris: 1851-62)

Les Cahiers suivis de quelques pages de littérature antique (Paris: 1876)

Renan, Ernest

Histoire des origines du Christianisme (Paris: 1883)

Philosophische Dialoge und Fragmente, Übersetzung von Konrad von Zdekauer (Leipzig: 1877)

Mérimée, Prosper

Lettres à une autre inconnue (Paris: 1875)

Galiani, Ferdinando

Lettres à Madame d'Épinay (Paris: 1882)

Keller, Gottfried

Das Sinngedicht (1882)

Taine, Hippolyte

Vie et opinions de Monsieur Frédéric Thomas Graindorge

Brosses, Charles de
Mémoires (1858)

Augustin
Confession der heilige Augustin (1878)

Bourget, Paul
Nouveaux Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine (1885)

Teichmüller, Gustav
Die wirkliche und die scheinbare Welt: Neue Grundlegung der Metaphysik (1882)

Note: Nietzsche read this book in 1883, 1884, and 1885; as Thomas Brobjer points out in his article “Nietzsche’s Reading About Eastern Philosophy”, this book contains brief references to Brahman, Brahmanism, Buddha, and Buddhism.

Mainländer, Philipp
Die Philosophie der Erlösung (1876)

Widemann, Paul Heinrich
Erkennen und Sein, Lösung des Problems des Idealen und Realen, zugleich eine Erörterung des richtigen Ausgangspunktes und der Prinzipien der Philosophie (1885)

Dühring, Eugen
Cursus der Philosophie als streng wissenschaftlicher Weltanschauung und Lebensgestaltung (Leipzig: 1875)

Gregorovius, Ferdinand
Korsika (1878)

June – September: Sils Maria

Writing: Nietzsche begins work on new aphorisms, which will figure in his next book, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [*Beyond Good and Evil*]. A friend of Köselitz’, Louise Röder-Wiederhold, transcribes many of these as Nietzsche dictates them to her. It is interesting to note that Nietzsche did not actually *write* most of his books, but *spoke them aloud*, which is a sign perhaps of but one reason for the striking immediacy or rather, *imminence* of Nietzsche’s tone, which many other philosophers and writers lack. In *Ecce Homo* Nietzsche advises that when writing one should “*sit* as little as possible; credit no thought not born in the open air and while moving freely about – in which the muscles too do not hold a festival. All

prejudices come from the intestines” (Clever, 1). He also stated that while writing *Zarathustra* he had “very great bodily elasticity and fullness” (April 10, 1888); it is interesting to note that *Zarathustra*, Nietzsche’s penultimate work, is primarily a book of *speeches* and *songs*, most of the chapters ending *Thus Spoke* or *Thus Sang* Zarathustra.

Nietzsche also considers rewriting sections of *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* [*Human, All Too Human*] and ruminates over writing a new meditation on Wagner.

October

Rée, Paul
Entstehung des Gewissen

Salomé, Lou von
Kampf um Gott [Struggle About God]

Förster, Bernhard
Deutsche Kolonien im oberen Laplata-Gebiete mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Paraguay (1886)

Le Japonisme

Emerson, Ralph Waldo

Lefebvre
Essai l'influence française (1885)

Sainte-Beuve, Charles-Augustin
Les Cahiers suivis de quelques pages de littérature antique (Paris: 1876)

Kant , Immanuel
Kritik der reinen Vernunft

Drossbach
Über scheinbaren und wirklichen Ursachen (1884)

Lange, Friedrich Albert
Geschichte des Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart (Iserlohn 1882)

Dargenty , G.
Eugene Delacroix par lui-même (1885)

Semper, Karl
Die natürlichen Existenzbedingungen der Thiere (Leipzig: 1880)

Spencer, Herbert

Die Thatsachen der Ethik. Übersetzung von B. Vetter (Stuttgart: 1879)

Hartmann, Eduard von

Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins. Prolegomena zu jeder zukünftigen Ethik (Berlin: 1879)

Note: Nietzsche may have read this in 1879, but did read it in 1883 and 1885 ; in it, there are discussions of Vedanta philosophy.

Rée, Paul

Über den Ursprung der moralischen Empfindungen (Chemnitz: 1877)

Guyau, Jean-Marie

Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction (Paris: 1885)

Spir, Afrikan

Denken und Wirklichkeit. Versuch einer Erneuerung der kritischen Philosophie. (1877)

Teichmüller, Gustav

Die wirkliche und die scheinbare Welt (1882)

Baker, Samuel White

The Albert Nyanza

Wellhausen, Julius

Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels (Berlin: 1883)

Reste des arabischen Heidentums (Berlin:1887)

Skizzen und Vorarbeiten (Berlin: 1887)

Note: It is unclear which of these Nietzsche read and when.

Lagarde, Paul Anton de

Über die gegenwärtige Lage des deutschen Reichs. ein Bericht, erstatter (Göttingen: 1876)

Dühring, Eugen

Sache, Leben und Feinde (Karlsruhe und Leipzig: 1882)

Windisch, Ernst

Iti-vuttaka

1886

January – April: Nice

Writing: Work on aphorisms for *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* [*Beyond Good and Evil*].

May - June: Venice, München, Naumburg, Leipzig

Writing: While in Leipzig, Nietzsche brings complete manuscript of *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* to Naumann for typesetting.

July – September: Sils Maria

Writing: *Jenseits von Gut und Böse. Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft* [*Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude of a Philosophy of the Future*] is printed at July's end in an edition of six hundred copies. A new preface and concluding poem for the first volume of *Allzumenschliches* is sent to Fritzsich. The first three books of *Zarathustra* are bound and, for the first time, appear as a single volume. Nietzsche also writes his famous *Versuch einer Selbstkritik* [*Attempt at a self-criticism*] and sends it to Fritzsich for the new printing of *Geburt der Tragödie* [*Birth of Tragedy*]; this preface is more insightful and perceptive in its assessment of the faults of the book than any of those leveled against Nietzsche by his critics. Clearly, Nietzsche truly embodied his dictum of hardness, and that one have “the courage for an attack on one's own convictions.” He was as unsparing and critical of himself as he was with others.

October: Genoa, Ruta Liguria

Writing: Preface to the second volume of *Allzumenschliches* is completed; Nietzsche refines *Morgenröthe* and *Fröhliche Wissenschaft* for their second printings. Jacob Burkhardt sends Nietzsche a tepid letter regarding *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*.

November – December: Nice

Writing: More work on the fifth book of *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* [*The Gay Science*]. Completes new prefaces for *Morgenröte* [*Dawn*] and *Fröhliche Wissenschaft* [*Gay Science*]. As the

notorious *Versuch einer Selbstkritik* [*Attempt at a self-criticism*], the preface to *Morgenröthe* [*Dawn/Daybreak*] expresses a similar need for distance and circumspection in relation to reading, a kind of caution which is not only necessary, but vital, for only such reading will reveal what is hidden in the texts.

Readings for the year include:

Nägeli
Mechanisch-physiologische Theorie der Abstammungslehre (1884)

Lippert
Christentum, Volksglaube und Volksbrauch (1882)

Théo
La Corse à travers les Mâquis (1883)

Bunge
Vitalismus und Mechanismus (1886)

Bleibtrübe
Revolution der Litteratur

Bourget, P.
Un crime d'amour (1886) GM III-26;

Harnack
Dogmengeschichte (1886) - prob. not read;

Lippert, J.
Christentum, Volkstum ... (1882) - FN rec's to Overbeck;

Fuchs
Die Zukunft der musikal. Vortrages 1884

Augustinus
De musica - rec's to Fuch

Alfieri, Filippo
Litteratur-Kalender von (1885)

Nägeli
Mechanisch-Physiologisch ... 1884

Ratzel, F.
Anthropo-Geographie (1882)

Daudet
Le Nabab (1878)

Paul Deussen
Das System des Vedânta (1883) - FN makes comments on to Deussen

Stendahl
Le rouge et le noir

Goncourts
Idées et sensations (1877)

Doudan, X.
Pensées et fragments ... (1881)

Schérer, E.
Études litt. contemp. VIII (1885)

Lucretius
De rerum naturae

Sainte-Beuve
Causeries du Lundi (1854)

Manzoni
Conte di Carmagnola (1820)

Stifter

Keller, G.

Stendhal
Vie de Napoléon

Ziegler, Th
Geschichte der Ethik 1881-86

Rée, Paul
Ursprung der moral. Empfindungen (1877)

November – December

Sybel

Geschichte der Revolutionszeit 1789-1800 [History of the Revolutionary Period 1789-1800]

Montalembert

Moines d'Occident [Monks of the West]

Renan

1887

January – March: Nice

Writing: Receives proofs on February 8th for the preface of *Fröhliche Wissenschaft* [Gay Science]; and on March 5th, for “Lieder des Prinzen Vogelfrei” [“Songs of Prince Free-as-a-Bird”]. The fifth book, including forty new aphorisms Nietzsche has been working on, numerous which further clarify and expand upon the death of God, will be added to *Fröhliche Wissenschaft*.

Music: Hears Wagner’s *Parsifal* and is struck by it.

Heinrich von Sybel

Histoire de la Période Révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1795

April – June: Cannobio, Zurich, Chur, Lenz

Writing: Works on galleys of *Fröhliche Wissenschaft* [Gay Science].

June – September: Sils Maria

Writing: In early June, new editions of *Morgenröte* [Dawn] and *Fröhliche Wissenschaft* [Gay Science] are published. In July, Nietzsche sends his publisher Naumann the manuscript to a new work, *Zur Genealogie der Moral* [On the Genealogy of Morals].

July

d'Aurevilly, Jules Barbey
Le XIXe siècle. Les Œuvres et les hommes, vol. 8 (Paris, 1887)

Bourget, Paul
André Cornélis

September – October: Venice

Writing: Nietzsche and Gast work on the galleys for *Zur Genealogie der Moral* [*On the Genealogy of Morals*].

Readings for the year include:

Guyau, Jean-Marie
L'Irréligion de l'avenir (1887) [the most annotated book from 1887]

Höfdding, Harald
Psychologie in Umrissen auf Grundlage der Erfahrung. Aus dem Dänischen überg. v. F. Bendixen (Leipzig: 1887) [Nietzsche also read and annotated heavily either in 1887 or 1888]

Gebhart, Emile
Etudes Méridionales: La renaissance italienne et la philosophie de l'histoire (Paris: 1887)

Simplicius
Kommentar zu Epiktetos 1867

Brosses, President de
Memoires
Italian Journey (mentions in November letter, but probably read earlier)

Dostoyevsky, Fyodor
Humiliés et offensés [The Injured and the Insulted]
Junger Nachwuchs
L'esprit souterrain [Notes from the Underground]
La Maison des Morts [The House of the Dead]
Les Possédés. Traduit du russe par Victor Derély (Paris: 1886) [The Demons/The Possessed]

NOTE: This is the year of another propitious discovery for Nietzsche – his accidental stumbling upon Dostoevsky, who, along with Schopenhauer, is an instrumental cultural figure in Nietzsche's life; later, he would say that Dostoevsky was “the only psychologist from whom he learned anything.” Contrary to popular understanding, and of great interest,

Nietzsche actually *was* familiar with *Crime & Punishment*; in a letter from October of 1888, he mentions the French theatrical adaptation of this work, though it is unknown whether or not he actually read the novel, which was translated into French during this time.

On Nietzsche's relationship to Dostoevsky, see C. A. Miller's essay, "Nietzsche's "Discovery" of Dostoevsky" in *Nietzsche Studien*.

Letter. From Nietzsche's letter to Peter Gast, March 7, 1887: "Dostoevsky happened to me just as Stendhal did earlier, by sheer accident: a book casually flipped open in a shop, a name I had never even heard before—and the sudden awareness that one has met with a brother. . . . four years in Siberia, chained, among hardened criminals. This period was decisive. He discovered the power of his psychological intuition; what's more, his heart sweetened and deepened in the process. His book of recollections from these years, *La maison des morts*, is one of the most "human" books ever written. [...] I first read [...] two short novels ["The Landlady" and *Notes from Underground*]: the first a sort of strange music, the second a true stroke of psychological genius—a frightening and ferocious mockery of the Delphic "know thyself," but tossed off with such an effortless audacity and joy in his superior powers that I was thoroughly drunk with delight. [...]"

Renan, Ernst
Les Origines du Christianisme 1863

Sybel
"Hauptwerk," in French translation

Taine, Hippolyte
Die Entstehung des modernen Frankreich, I. Bd. *Das vorrevolutionäre*, Autorisierte deutsche bearbeitet von L. Katscher (Leipzig: 1877)

Montalembert, Charles Forbes Rene
Les moines d'Occident

Lecky, William Edward Hartpole
Sittengeschichte Europas von Augustus bis auf Karl den Grossen, deutsche Übersetzung von H. Jolowicz, 2 vols. (Leipzig-Heidelberg: 1879) – Also read earlier

Draper
Three issues of anti-Semitic journal - severely critical of

Bleibtrve, Karl
Revolution der Litteratur 1886

d'Aurevilly, Jules Barbey
Les oeuvres et les hommes, Bd. 8: *Sensations d'histoire* (Paris: 1886)

Buckle, Henry Thomas
Geschichte der Civilization in England

Gozzi
Das laute Geheimniß

Stein , Heinrich v.
Geschichte der Anfang Ästhetik 1886

Taine, Hippolyte
"Napoleon" *Revue des deux mondes* (May)

Tertullian
Two works

Deussen, Paul
Die Sûtras des Vedânta (Leipzig: 1887)
Das System des Vedânta (Leipzig: 1883)

Spitteler, Karl
Ästhetische aufsätze
Theater und theatralisches (read winter)

Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de
Essais: avec des notes de tous les commenteurs (Paris: 1864)
Versuche, deutsch Übersetzung (Leipzig: 1753-54)

Galiani, Ferdinando
Lettres à Madame d'Epinaay (Paris: 1882)

Goncourt, Edmond/Jules de
Idées et sensations (Paris: 1887)
Le Journal des Goncourt (Paris: 1887) vols. 1-3
Manette Salomon (1867)

Brandes, Georg
Die romantische Schule in Deutschland (Leipzig: 1887)
Emile Zola
Moderne Geister. literarische Bildnisse aus dem neunzehnten Jabrbundert (Frankfurt am Main: 1882)

Pougin, Arthur
Die erste Anfänge der fran. Oper

Gury, Jean-Pierre
Compendium theologiae Moralis Ratisbonae (1862)

Bouvy, P.E.
Poètes et Mélodes

Meyer, Wilhelm
Anfang Ursprung lateinisch und griechisch Rhythmen (München: 1884)
Spinoza, Benedict de (Baruch)
Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione
Ethica

Feuerbach, Ludwig
Grundsätze Philosophie der Zukunft

Fischer, Kuno
Spinoza-Biographie

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
Essais de theodicée

Kant, Immanuel
Der Streit der Fakultäten
Kritik der Urteilskraft
Die Religion innerhalb
Kritik der praktischen Vernunft

Nägeli, Karl Wilhelm von
Mechanisch-physiologische Theorie der Abstammungslehre (Munich: 1884) (Nietzsche uses similar arguments)

Post, Albert Herman
Bausteine für eine allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft auf vergleichend-ethnologischer Basis 2 vols. (Oldenburg: 1880-81)

Mill, J. S.
A. Comte und der Positivis. 1869
Über Aphorismen
Gesammelte Werke, 12 vols. hg. von Th. Gomperz (Leipzig: 1869-80)

Joly, Henri
Psychologie des grands hommes (1883)

Liebmann, Otto
Gedanken und Tatsachen 1882

Albert, Paul
La littérature française au XIX siècle (Paris: 1876)

Herrmann, Emmanuel
Cultur und Natur 1887

Brunière
Études critiques ... litt. fran. 1887

Arthur Schopenhauer
Welt2
Welt1
Parerga

Reuter, Hermann
Augustinische Studien (listed possibly not read)
Religiöse Aufklärung des Mittelalters (same)
Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve
Port-Royal 1840-59 (same);

Teichmüller, Gustav
Historia philosophiae Graecae (same)

Pascal, Blaise
Gedanken, Fragmente und Briefe: nach der Ausgabe Prosper Faugère. Deutsch Übersetzung von Dr. C. F. Schwartz. Zweite Auflage (Leipzig: 1865)

Wellhausen, Julius
Skizzen und Vorarbeiten III 1887

Stendahl
Vie de Napoléon

Bible
Das neue Testament

Kempis, Thomas à
De Imitatione Christi 1858

Guyau, Jean-Marie
L'ir religion de l'avenir (Paris 1887)

Fouillée, Alfred
La science sociale contemporaine (Paris: 1880)

Löwenfeld, Leopold
Die Moderne Behandlung der Nervenschwäche, der Hysterie und verwandter Leiden (Wiesbaden: 1887)

Autumn

Hoffding, Harald
Psychologie in Umrissen auf Grundlage der Erfahrung

Note: Again, here is another work Nietzsche read in which Kierkegaard figures; in particular, as Brobjer notes, as “the proclaimer and psychologist of “repetitions” and “returns” – *could Kierkegaard’s conception of temporality have influenced Nietzsche?*

December

George Brandes

“Goethe und Danemark” (article which includes Soren Kierkegaard’s disdain for Goethe).

Note: This could also have been read in early January of 1888. Other works of Brandes’ which Brobjer notes Nietzsche read between December of 1887 and October of 1888 and which include discussions of Kierkegaard are *Die romantische Schule in Deutschland*, *Moderne Geister*, “Emile Zola,” and the aforementioned essay on Goethe.

1888

Readings for this year are extensive, with, as Brobjer notes in another essay on Nietzsche’s reading, the books about religion being the most thoroughly annotated, spurring voluminous notes by Nietzsche. During this year, Nietzsche also rereads many of his own works, most likely in preparation for his ‘autobiography’, *Ecce Homo*.

January – April: Nice

Plutarch
Caesar 1827/61

Baudelaire, Charles
Les Fleurs du Mal
Oeuvres posthumes et Correspondance inédites, précédées d'une étude biographique par E. Crépet
(Paris:1887)

Dostoevsky, Fyodor
Les Possédés. Traduit du russe par Victor Derély (Paris: 1886) [The Demons/The Possessed]

Renan, Ernst
Origines I: Vie de Jésus

Tolstoi, Count Lev Nikolayevich
Ma religion (1885) [*My Religion*]

Wellhausen, Julius
Skizzen und Vorarbeiten (Berlin: 1887)
Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels (Berlin: 1883)

April – May: Turin

Writing: Works on and completes *Der Fall Wagner* [*The Case of Wagner*].

Victor Hehn
Gedanken über Goethe (Berlin: 1888) [Thoughts on Goethe]

Jaccoliot, Louis
Les Législateurs Religieux:
Manou, Moïse, Mahomet (Paris: 1876)

June – September: Sils Maria

Stendhal
Rome, Naples et Florence (Paris 1854)

Nohl, Ludwig
Das Leben Wagners [Richard Wagner's Life]

Writing: Posts initial manuscript of *Der Fall Wagner* [*The Case of Wagner*] to publisher Naumann, and will follow with numerous additions, which confuse the typesetters. Nietzsche then drafts a new manuscript, which he posts to Naumann on 16 July. At July's end, Nietzsche adds a pair of post-scripts and his epilogue, and the book is at last complete.

In August, Nietzsche chooses to publish another work also, *Müßiggang eines Psychologen* [Idleness of a Psychologist], which will be followed by a projected four volume work,

Umwertung aller Werthe [Revaluation of All Values]. *Der Antichrist* [*The Antichrist*] is to be the first volume of this series, originally conceived as *The Will to Power*. However, Peter Gast objects to Nietzsche's title, and suggests *Götzen-Dämmerung* [Twilight of the Idols] instead, as a parody of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* [Twilight of the Gods], which Nietzsche adopted. The book's subtitle was to be *Umwertung aller Werthe* [Revaluation of All Values], but Nietzsche chose to substitute that for the more provocative and stinging *Fluch auf das Christentum* [Curse upon Christianity].

Der Fall Wagner. Ein Musikanten-Problem. [*The Case of Wagner. A Musician's Problem.*] is then published in Leipzig by Verlag von C. G. Naumann at September's end.

September – December: Turin

Utopia in Reality: A Novelle of Peace (Die Utopie in der Wirklichkeit: Eine Friedensnovelle)

Reuter

Augustin und die religiöse Aufklärung des Mittelalters [*Augustine and the Religious Enlightenment of the Middle Ages*]

Letter. On Dostoevski: In a letter to Peter Gast on October 14, Nietzsche mentions that the French have staged a version of “Dostoevski's principal novel”, though he does not state whether or not he attended the production; it could simply have been something he read of in a newspaper. But what is interesting is that it indicates that he was aware of, or had some knowledge of *Crime and Punishment*. Whether or not he read this seminal work of Dostoevski's is unclear, but difficult to believe, for he surely would have commented on a character such as Raskolnikov, who could not be a more perfect evocation of the criminal type Nietzsche remarks upon in *Twilight of the Idols* and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

Writing: Nietzsche first mentions *Ecce Homo* [Behold the Man] in a letter to Peter Gast on October 25. He began writing this work on his birthday, then announced it to his publisher in early November, posting it at the end of the month once he finished it. However, Nietzsche recalled this work and made numerous revisions throughout December and much controversy surrounds the history of this book and what can be considered the ‘final’ manuscript. At December's end, he sought to add a concluding poem to the work, “Ruhm

und Ewigkeit” [Fame & Eternity]. The first edition of *Ecce Homo Wie man wird, was man ist.* [*Ecce Homo. How one becomes who one is.*] did not appear until 1908.

During this time, due to criticism Nietzsche received on *Der Fall Wagner*, he decided to compile *Nietzsche Contra Wagner* to refute claims that he had suddenly ‘defected’ from the Wagner circle. In this work, which is comprised of passages from earlier books, Nietzsche would illustrate that he had always been circumspect in regards to Wagner and his artistic project. It was finished by the 15 of December, though Nietzsche was hesitant to publish it as he felt *Ecce Homo* clearly expressed his position towards Wagner. In the end, he decided to publish this work and it appeared in a limited edition in 1889 with an Intermezzo and concluding poem.

Although, primarily, *Ecce Homo* is known as Nietzsche’s final work, his *Dionysos-Dithyramben* [*Dithyrambs of Dionysus*], a series of nine short poems, comprise his last completed text, finished before his collapse in the square in Turin.

Other readings for this year are numerous and include:

Laws of Manu

Roberty, Eugene de

L'ancienne et la nouvelle philosophie: Essai sur les lois générales du développement de la philosophie (Paris: 1887)

Brochard, Victor

Les Sceptiques Grecs (Paris: 1887)

Hartmann, Eduard von

Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins. Prolegomena zu jeder zukünftigen Ethik (Berlin: 1879)

Philosophie des Unbewussten (Berlin: 1869) (Berlin: 1872)

Luther’s Bible

Renan, Ernst

La Vie de Jésus (Paris 1863)

Brandes, Georg

Emile Zola (1888)

“Goethe und Dä nemark”

Goethe-Jahrbuch (1881)

Moderne Geister. literarische Bildnisse aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert (Frankfurt am Main: 1882)

Die romantische Schule in Deutschland (Leipzig: 1887)

Schopenhauer, Arthur

Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung 2 vols.

Desbordes-Valmore, Marcelline

Poems

Spitteler, Karl

Die Ästhetik des französische Drama

Theater und theatralisches

Über Schubert

d'Ercole, Pasquale

Notizja ... filosofico

Stendhal

Journal

Knortz, Karl

Amerikanische Gedichte der Neu Zeit

Walt Whitman

Hehn, Victor

Gedanken über Goethe (Berlin 1888)

Goncourt, Edmond/Jules de

Le Journal des Goncourt vol. 1-3 (Paris: 1887)

Hillebrandt, Karl

Frankreich und die Franzosen [notes this is the best German book on France]

Meysenbug, Malwida von

Memoiren einer Idealistin (Stuttgart: 1876)

Riemann/Fuchs

Die Zukunft der musikalisch Vortrages (1884)

Wagner, Richard

Gesammelte Schriften 9 vols. 1871/73

Strindberg, August

Les Mariés

Père: tragédie en trois actes [The Father]

Novelle: Remords (1885)

Galton, Francis

The hereditary genius (1869)

Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development (London: 1883)

Desprez, Louis

L'évolution naturaliste (Paris:1884)

Sand, George

Lettres d'un Voyageur

Sämtliche Werke, mit einer Einleitung von Arnold Ruge (Leipzig: 1844-47)

Carlyle

unknown bio

Hartmann, Eduard von

Philosophie des Unbewussten (Berlin: 1869) (Berlin: 1872)

Rebecque, Benjamin Constant de

Adolphe

Quelque réflexions sur le théâtre allemand (Paris-Genève: 1809)

Hugo, Victor

Notre-Dame de Paris 1482

Loti, Pierre

Pêcheurs d'Islande (1886)

Lobeck, Christian August

Aglaophamus 1829

Féré, Charles

Dégénérescence et criminalité. Essai physiologique. (Paris: 1888)

Goncourt, Edmond de

La Faustine 1882

Teichmüller, Gustav

Wirkliche, scheinbare Welt 1882

Spir, Afrikan

Denken und Wirklichkeit 1877

Müller, August

Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland (Berlin: 1885-87)

Sainte-Beuve
Port Royale

Pougin, Arthur
Les vrais créateurs de l'opéra français
Die erste Anfänge der französischen Oper

1889

January: Turin, Basel

Reading & Writing: Nietzsche writes what will be his final letters, often referred to as the 'madness' letters. When Overbeck arrives in Turin after consulting Jacob Burckhardt, he discovers Nietzsche on his sofa reading over the galleys of *Nietzsche Contra Wagner*. Is the last book Nietzsche read his own work? Nietzsche in contest with Wagner, as he was Dionysus against the Crucified? In one of his last 'sane' moments, he sits with a book that is a signal of his contest with the world, which he will shortly leave behind for it has not yet lived up to his task. Overbeck will bring him to Basel and take him to the clinic; from there, Nietzsche is brought to Jena, then cared for privately by his mother and sister. He will not write again and on August 25, 1900, pass into oblivion, though live on in his work, which has informed the art, philosophy, music, literature, and psychology of our epoch and will surely continue to shape that of future epochs.

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