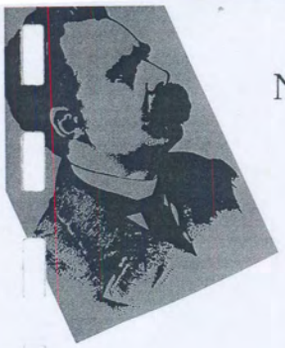

NORTH AMERICAN Nietzsche SOCIETY

NIETZSCHEANA #2

NIETZSCHE SCHOLARSHIP IN ENGLISH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY 1968-1992

compiled by B. Bryan Hilliard

with an introductory essay on

"Nietzsche in North America:
Walter Kaufmann and After"

by Steven Taubeneck

and a Foreword
by Richard Schacht

FOREWORD

Richard Schacht

This bibliography is a most welcome addition to those that have been published previously. Nothing like it has been compiled for the English-language Nietzsche literature since the 1968 Reichert-Schlechta *International Nietzsche Bibliography*; and in the interval, as this volume attests, the growth of this literature has been phenomenal. Bryan Hilliard has performed a great and remarkable service through his bibliographical labors upon it; and the gratitude owing to him is compounded by his kind willingness to permit his bibliography to be produced and distributed under the auspices of the North American Nietzsche Society, as a benefit to its members and aid to Nietzsche studies everywhere.

Errors and omissions will no doubt be found, and the literature will continue to grow; and it is our hope and expectation to produce a corrected and expanded version in the not too distant future, with occasional supplements in the interval. (Users are encouraged to inform either Hilliard or the NANS office of needed corrections and of unmentioned contributors and subsequent additions to the literature.) These are among the reasons it was decided to produce this bibliography in this simple manner, rather than having it printed and conventionally bound. Other reasons include an enormous cost difference and the greater convenience of a volume spiral-bound as this one is. (Most such reference volumes are prohibitively expensive, and awkward to use as well.)

To be sure, it would be even more helpful to have some way of knowing which items deal with which topics or aspects of Nietzsche's thought. That, however, would require vastly more time and effort than one can imagine anyone being disposed or able to expend. One is thus confronted here with a great deal of information that one may not find it easy to use if one does not know what or whom one is looking for. A decade ago (1983), Bernd Magnus made an attempt to take stock of the situation at the time in his essay "Nietzsche Today: A View from America." A good deal has transpired since then; and in a recent essay published as an "Afterword" to his English translation of Ernst Behler's *Confrontations*, Steven Taubeneck has taken a more comprehensive look at what has happened in Nietzsche studies in this country in the very period covered by the bibliography in this volume. His essay thus nicely serves as a general introduction and partial orientation to it; and while there are indefinitely many ways in which such an account could have been written (as Nietzsche would observe), Taubeneck's should be helpful to those who are in need of a guide (and would prefer one with no particular interpretive axe to grind). His essay is reproduced here by permission of the publisher, Stanford University Press, which is gratefully acknowledged.

This volume also includes a listing of English translations of Nietzsche's various published works and other writings; for they too are a part of English-language Nietzsche scholarship, in virtue of the introductions and notes they often contain, and also as the translations they are. In both respects they have themselves played no small role in the development of English-language Nietzsche studies. (This would be a good topic for a number of dissertations, and would make an interesting book.) It is greatly to be lamented that these translations do not include the Colli-Montinari critical edition of Nietzsche's writings, and that prospects for its translation remain uncertain. All of the works Nietzsche published and completed are available in good translations; but a great deal of his notebook material, early writings and correspondence remains inaccessible to those who are unable to read them in the original--which (alas) includes most students, a good many of those in academia who are interested in Nietzsche, and the vast majority of everyone else in the English-speaking world.

Needless to say, it is also unfortunate that most English-speaking readers are restricted to Nietzsche studies written in or translated into English, rendering them dependent upon the interests of translators and publishers, and subject to long time lags even in the cases of those studies that are eventually translated. But this undoubtedly is a fact of life that no amount of lamenting will change. And it is mitigated to some extent by the reflections in the English-language literature of developments in Nietzsche studies elsewhere (in French- and German-speaking areas in particular) that tend to follow soon upon them once they have begun to attract attention. But this hardly ensures that nothing of significance is being missed.

Yet there is the burgeoning English-language literature to deal with, whatever one's access to Nietzsche studies in other languages may be; and dealing with it is becoming increasingly difficult owing to its sheer quantity, the numerousness of the journals and presses now engaging in its publication, the growing number of those contributing to the literature, and diversity of the perspectives and interests among them. This bibliography, together with the essay that precedes it, should help. Other such efforts are to be hoped for; but thanks to it, we now are in a much better position than we have been previously to take stock of the development of the English language Nietzsche literature during the past quarter-century, become aware of all that is out there, and learn where it is to be found. For this we have Bryan Hilliard to thank and our gratitude for his immense labor of love is richly deserved.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

Nietzsche in North America: Walter Kaufmann and After[1, 2]

by Steven Taubeneck

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[1]This essay first appeared as the translator's Afterword to Ernst Behler, *Confrontations: Derrida/Heidegger/Nietzsche* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). It is reprinted with permission of Stanford University Press.

[2]See, for an earlier and somewhat different account, Bernd Magnus, "Nietzsche Today: A View from America," *International Studies in Philosophy* 15, 2 (1983): 95-103.

Striking parallels exist between the reception of Nietzsche in continental Europe and the reception in North America. Just as the continental image of Nietzsche was dominated in the 1960's and 1970's by Heidegger's interpretation, the North American image was dominated by Walter Kaufmann. Moreover, in both contexts the writings of Maurice Blanchot, Jacques Derrida, Sarah Kofman, Pierre Klossowski, Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, Jean-Luc Nancy, and Bernard Pautrat played a major role in the subsequent creation of a "new Nietzsche," a writer of previously unrecognized deconstructive capacity.[3] The "other" Nietzsche is the one who, in Derrida's terms, "is no longer turned toward the origin, affirms play and tries to pass beyond man and humanism," who disrupts the coherence of the system and the center of a structure (*WD*, 292).

Yet despite the broad similarities connecting the continental European to the North American receptions of Nietzsche, which at times suggest that a single, Amero-european field has emerged, numerous differences remain. The different shape of Nietzsche's image in English is due largely to the efforts of Walter Kaufmann. Whereas Heidegger's interpretation, with its emphasis on "the will to power" and "the eternal recurrence of the same" as two sides of the same unifying principle, dominated the postwar reception of Nietzsche in Europe, Kaufmann's interpretation shaped the reception in English from 1950 to at least 1974, or for nearly a quarter of a century. In the four editions of *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist*, through his writings on the history of philosophy and literature, and especially through his translations of numerous Nietzsche texts, which still form the basis of most English readers' image of Nietzsche, he consistently developed the

[3]Cf. David B. Allison, ed., *The New Nietzsche* (cited in note 1 to the Introduction).

point he had made in 1950: "The will to power *is* the core of Nietzsche's thought, but inseparable from his idea of sublimation" (*NPPA*, xiv). His contention determined the image of Nietzsche in English until the 1970's; since then it has sparked considerable debate.

Sublimation, as Kaufmann conceived it, involves the process of self-overcoming. According to Kaufmann, Nietzsche's "intentions are singularly unequivocal, and he was not one to sit on both sides of the fence at once. Insofar as he had a 'dual nature,' he was seeking to overcome it: 'My strongest characteristic is self-overcoming.' Self-overcoming, not ambiguity, is the key to Nietzsche" (*NPPA*, 16). To a certain extent, Kaufmann's arguments arise as modifications of Karl Jaspers's work. Jaspers had seen the importance of the contradictory or "dual nature" for Nietzsche and had recognized self-overcoming as an important moment in Nietzsche's thought, but the process of self-overcoming for Jaspers became—from Kaufmann's perspective—vague, endless, and self-defeating. Nietzsche's more specific concerns, "in the sense of clearly defined questions capable of being answered, are neglected, and Jaspers may be said to revert to Stefan George's poetic vision" (*NPPA*, 16). Kaufmann situated his own work as building upon and refining Jaspers's: now, Nietzsche's central problems could be addressed and his answers given.

To understand Nietzsche's "problems and solutions," Kaufmann argued, it is necessary to see them "separately from the survey of his life, as any joint treatment will almost inevitably suggest a false notion of causal relationship between life and philosophy" (*NPPA*, 21). Nietzsche's life, including his family background, his schooling, his relations with Wagner and Lou Andreas-Salome, and finally his illness, should not be seen as having any strictly causal relation to the work (*NPPA*, 70). A clear judgment of Nietzsche's significance can be achieved only, in Kaufmann's view, "by a careful examination of his thought" (*NPPA*, 71).

At this point the similarities of Kaufmann's reading to Heidegger's can be seen: just as Kaufmann relegated the biographical information to a less prominent position, so Heidegger criticized "the psychological-biological addiction of our times" (*N*, 1: 10). For both, the biography was far less important than the thought, even if the thought emphasized the most intimate details of the life, including dental and eating disorders.[4] Heidegger and Kaufmann also agreed on the importance of the will to power theme: for both, it was a central thread running through Nietzsche's argument. Both created an image of Nietzsche organized around a central theme, and both explored the oscillations of Nietzsche's texts in relation to that center.

Nevertheless, the differences between their respective positions are more significant than the similarities. A decisive difference involves the relation of Nietzsche's texts to his philosophy. For Heidegger, Nietzsche's most important thoughts do not appear in any of the texts published in his lifetime: "Nietzsche's philosophy proper, the fundamental position on the basis of which he speaks in these and in all the writings he himself published, did not assume a final form and was not itself published in any book, neither in the decade between 1879 and 1889 nor during the years preceding" (*N*, 1: 8–9). Heidegger then privileged the fragments and aphorisms collected as *The Will to Power*. For Kaufmann, however, although the theme of the will to power is central, it can be understood only "against the background of his total literary output" (*NPPA*, 8). When the bulk of Nietzsche's texts, especially the published ones, are included in the analysis, the will to power is seen neither as a metaphysical nor as an ontological construction, Kaufmann argues, but "first and foremost [as] the key concept of a

[4] Though at least two illuminating biographies have been written in English: Ronald Hayman, *Nietzsche: A Critical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and R. J. Hollingdale, *Nietzsche: The Man and His Philosophy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965).

psychological hypothesis" (*NPPA*, 204). Thus Kaufmann, in an explicit rejection of Heidegger's argument, asserts that the will to power must be seen "as a universal feature of the human constitution" (*NPPA*, 206), and he organizes his position toward what Derrida ironically calls "the unity of human-reality" (*MP*, 115). In describing Nietzsche's view of the structures of human reality, Kaufmann provides a detailed and comprehensive, humanistic-anthropological reading.

This purpose also guides Kaufmann's editions and translations of the texts. In the translator's afterword to *The Will to Power*, for example, Kaufmann dismisses the notebooks as "of secondary interest" and emphasizes again the importance of the books Nietzsche published in his lifetime: "For all my interest in Nietzsche, I still believe as firmly as ever that the books he finished are his legacy, and that his notebooks are of secondary interest—as I explained in section I of the second chapter of my *Nietzsche*."[5] In contrast to Heidegger and Derrida, Kaufmann would overlook both the notebooks published as *The Will to Power* and fragments such as "I have lost my umbrella," or, primarily, the texts of the *Nachlass*.[6] As a result, although he translated many Nietzsche texts, Kaufmann also overlooked several, some of them very long, which have in the meantime become important in Nietzsche research, including

[5]Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Random House, 1967), 551–52.

[6]The "uses and abuses" of the *Nachlass* have frequently been a central issue in the reception of Nietzsche. Recently, Bernd Magnus distinguished between "lumpers" and "splitters" on the basis of their evaluation of the *Nachlass*: "Lumpers are drawn to Nietzsche's *Nachlass*, to his literary estate. . . . Splitters, in contrast to lumpers, tend to distinguish sharply between published and unpublished writings in Nietzsche's case." For Magnus, Kaufmann "was a special case in this taxonomy. He generally claimed to be a splitter but in practice was frequently a lumper." See Magnus, "The Use and Abuse of *The Will to Power*," in *Reading Nietzsche*, ed. Robert C. Solomon and Kathleen M. Higgins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 218–35; quotation at 220–21.

"Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense," the *Untimely Meditations*, *Human, All Too Human*, *Daybreak*, and the early *Philologica*. These particular texts avoid or resist the themes of self-overcoming and the will to power.

The translations themselves are organized to support Kaufmann's interpretation. This is most visible in some of the footnotes added to the texts, which in certain instances produce a running commentary. One example is the note to Aphorism 2, Book One, of *The Gay Science*, which uses the aphorism to reject various interpretations of Nietzsche: "Many interpretations of Nietzsche's thought are invalidated by this very important and characteristic section. Nietzsche never renounced it" (*GS*, 77). Another tendency of the footnotes is to refer often to specific pages in Kaufmann's *Nietzsche* for support, or to criticize the distortions and mistranslations of other translators. Several footnotes of both types appear, for example, in the translation of the *Genealogy of Morals* and *Ecce Homo* (*GM*, 40–41). In general, however, Kaufmann highlights the terms most central to his interpretation. One of the more pronounced instances occurs in the translation of the *Genealogy*, in the footnote concerning the phrase "sich selbst aufhebend," or "overcoming itself," as Kaufmann renders it:

> Aufheben is a very troublesome word, though common in ordinary German. Literally, it means "pick up"; but it has two derivative meanings that are no less common: "cancel" and "preserve" or "keep." Something picked up is no longer there, but the point of picking it up may be to keep it. Hegel made much of this term; his use of it is explained and discussed in Walter Kaufmann, *Hegel* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1965; Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1966), section 34—and a comparison of Hegel and Nietzsche on this point may be found in Kaufmann's *Nietzsche*, Chapter 8, section II. (*GM*, 73)

Together with the humanistic-anthropological emphasis, Kaufmann's interpretation and translations consistently emphasize the Hegelian element in Nietzsche's texts.

From these characterizations, it can be surmised how different Kaufmann's image of Nietzsche is from those of Foucault, Deleuze, and Derrida. Yet despite the sharp differences between Kaufmann's image and those resisting Nietzsche's "psychology," there is at least one point of intersection: the theme of masks. Especially in his later book *Discovering the Mind*, Kaufmann considers Nietzsche's "final contribution" to be his "philosophy of masks" (*DTM*, 137). Kaufmann draws particular attention to the importance of *Verstellung* ("dissimulation," "irony") for Nietzsche (*DTM*, 140) and relates these themes to that of "role playing" (*DTM*, 142). At first these themes seem closely related and would bring Kaufmann's Nietzsche close to Derrida's with its emphasis on signs, infinite play, and shifting interpretation. But Kaufmann reasserts the importance of a developmental and historical perspective for Nietzsche and places him closer to Goethe than to Heidegger: "Nietzsche thinks in terms of development, like Goethe" (*DTM*, 143).

Kaufmann's systematic and multifaceted work dominated the English-language reception of Nietzsche for nearly twenty-five years and retains a considerable impact. Its basic features are an emphasis on the completed texts published during Nietzsche's lifetime, strategies of editing and translation that highlight the themes of the will to power and self-overcoming, and a related constellation of themes including the psychological constitution of human nature, personal development, and an evolutionary historical interpretation. This perspective represses the contradictions in Nietzsche's writing in favor of coherence and avoids the problematic political statements in favor of a pervasively anthropological, nearly Hegelian humanism. Although Kaufmann's views have been prominent, they have also provoked challenges at almost every point.

The challenges to Kaufmann's perspective have emerged from two primary directions and have hinged upon a piv-

otal question, one that has been called "the question of style."[7] That is, do Nietzsche's texts, which contain different kinds of writing, develop on the basis of general principles and systematic coherence? Writers such as Arthur C. Danto, Bernd Magnus, and Richard Schacht have argued in favor of general principles and an underlying systematic coherence to Nietzsche's writing. These writers have cast an image of "Nietzsche as philosopher," to use Danto's phrase, but base his philosophical teachings on principles different from Kaufmann's.[8] The preface to Danto's book signals the change in reception most clearly:

> I shall take Nihilism as the central concept in his philosophy, and through it I shall try to show the connections, altogether systematic, among those exotic doctrines that otherwise loom so blankly out of the surrounding aphorisms and frantic obiter dicta. I shall even endeavor to show that these obiter dicta are neither the surface nor the substance of what he had to say, but rather illustrations and applications of certain general principles to particular cases. Finally, I hope to locate these general principles in the main philosophical tradition, as proposed answers to the same problems that have occupied the best attention of philosophers throughout the ages. (22)

Danto's position can be contrasted to Kaufmann's. From this perspective, Nietzsche's writing is systematic, governed by principles, and proposes answers to ancient problems, but the system and its principles are different from the will to power and the overcoming of the self. For Danto, the central concept is "Nihilism," capitalized in order to emphasize its importance. The several other themes of Nietzsche's writing, for example, art and irrationality, perspectivism, psychology, the *Übermensch*, eternal recurrence, and the will to power, are funda-

[7] Alan D. Schrift marks the "question of style" as a "focal point in the interpretation of Nietzsche's text." See his *Nietzsche and the Question of Interpretation: Between Hermeneutics and Deconstruction* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 82.

[8] See Arthur C. Danto, *Nietzsche as Philosopher* (New York: Macmillan, 1965). Cited directly in the text.

mentally related to philosophical nihilism in this "philosophy behind the philosophy, the meaning masked by the words" (231). Danto's book marked a significant turning point for the reception of Nietzsche in North America. In contrast to Kaufmann's psychological and religious treatment, Danto suggested that Nietzsche foreshadowed many of the problems and arguments of analytic, Anglo-American philosophy. It was against this suggestion in particular that Walter Kaufmann argued: "We should resist the fashionable tendency to assimilate German philosophers by claiming that they really said what some recent British and American philosophers have said, too. If we admit what is foreign and different only after showing to our satisfaction that it is not different or new after all, we gain nothing, and we destroy all incentives for studying non-English texts" (*NPPA*, 423).

But it was that very "foreignness" and "difference" in Nietzsche's writing which compelled Bernd Magnus and Richard Schacht to recommend different general principles as the organizing centers of Nietzsche's project. Bernd Magnus, in contrast to Kaufmann and Danto, emphasized the doctrine of eternal recurrence as Nietzsche's "self-confessed principal idea."[9] With the notion of eternal recurrence as the "principal idea," Magnus subsequently argues a twin thesis in his book on Nietzsche. First, "the doctrine of eternal recurrence is a visual and conceptual representation of the being-in-the-world of an *Übermensch*" (xiii). As a representation, it articulates or portrays certain attitudes toward life and even a certain form of life. These attitudes are the opposite of decadence and stress

[9]See Magnus, *Nietzsche's Existential Imperative* (cited in note 15 to Chapter 3), xiii. See also the treatments of the eternal recurrence in a number of other recent authors, including Arthur Danto, *Nietzsche as Philosopher* (cited in note 8 to this chapter), 165–213; Ivan Soll, "Reflections on Recurrence," in *Nietzsche: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Robert Solomon (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), 343–57; and Joan Stambaugh, *Nietzsche's Thought of Eternal Return* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

affirmation above all.[10] That form of life which most clearly embodies such affirmation is the *Übermensch*.[11]

Second, Magnus sees Nietzsche's doctrine of eternal recurrence in "the form of an eternalistic countermyth" (xiv). It is "eternalist" in the sense of praising, as eternality has been understood from Plato to Hegel. Nietzsche's praise is seen as the consecration of a "countermyth," or a "counterhypothesis," a position that celebrates experience or becoming: "He sought to overcome this traditional retreat from transient experience, represented by metaphysics, Christianity, and nihilism within a single formulation; the doctrine of eternal recurrence" (xiv). For Magnus, Nietzsche offers the radical affirmation of transitory human experience despite suffering and death.

By contrast, Richard Schacht, in his book on *Nietzsche* and in a later article "Nietzsche's *Gay Science*," emphasizes "human life and possibility" as his "point of departure and constant return."[12] For Schacht, Nietzsche replaces epistemology and metaphysics "by a kind of *philosophical anthropology* as the fundamental and central philosophical endeavor" (72). Nietzsche's main effort, both in *The Gay Science* and elsewhere, was to "complete our de-deification of nature" and "to 'naturalize' humanity" (76). Moreover, Nietzsche's concern with human nature is of a type related to Hegel and even Kant (79). What all three share is the intention to enhance our understanding

[10]Nietzsche's affirmative thought has consistently been an important topic in the reception. See Yirmiyahu Yovel, ed., *Nietzsche as Affirmative Thinker* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986).

[11]For more on Magnus's view of the *Übermensch*, see his later article "Perfectibility and Attitude in Nietzsche's *Übermensch*" (cited in note 14 to Chapter 3), which suggests that in some respects Magnus argues from a position close to that of both Derrida and Rorty.

[12]See Richard Schacht, *Nietzsche* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), esp. chap. 5, "Man and Men" (267–340); and "Nietzsche's *Gay Science*, Or, How to Naturalize Cheerfully," in *Reading Nietzsche*, ed. Robert C. Solomon and Kathleen M. Higgins (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 68–86; quotation at 72; cited directly in the text.

of ourselves so as to enable "further transformation" (80). They, and especially Nietzsche, remain committed to the possibility of attaining a "higher humanity" (80). This argument explicitly resists Foucault: "Far from thinking that the end of metaphysics and the critique of the disciplines Foucault scrutinizes preclude anything like a philosophical anthropology, Nietzsche writes as though they open the way for such inquiry to assume stage front and center in philosophy" (84). From Kaufmann to Danto, Magnus, and Schacht, in other words, arguments are constructed in favor of the systematic coherence of Nietzsche's writing, but in each case organized around a center of a different name. A discontinuous "series of substitutions of center for center," as Derrida might describe it, appears to have taken place (*WD*, 279).

Since the publication of Derrida's *Spurs* (1972), however, a second type of challenge to Kaufmann's interpretation of Nietzsche has emerged in response to the "question of style." The first type challenges Kaufmann with a variety of different principles, while nevertheless maintaining the search for a systematic coherence underlying Nietzsche's style; the second emphasizes the plurality of Nietzsche's style and resists the effort to establish an underlying unity.[13] Writers such as Alexander Nehamas and David Farrell Krell have explored this second direction and have reacted to a considerable extent to the swerves in the reception of Nietzsche added by Derrida, Sarah Kofman, and Pierre Klossowski.[14] In the process, a

[13] Interestingly, Danto early recognized the plural quality of Nietzsche's style: "Nietzsche's books give the impression of having been assembled rather than composed" (*Nietzsche as Philosopher* [cited in note 8 to this chapter], 19). But he criticized this plurality and saw it as ultimately resting on an underlying unity.

[14] For Nehamas, Kofman's most pertinent text is *Nietzsche et la métaphore* (Paris: Payot, 1972). For Krell, the relevant text by Klossowski is *Nietzsche et le cercle vicieux* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1969). An excerpt from the latter appears in David Allison, *The New Nietzsche* (cited in note 1 to the Introduction), 107–20.

markedly different image of Nietzsche has been constructed, namely, the image of "Nietzsche as writer."

Nehamas foregrounds the question of style in the very title of his book: *Nietzsche: Life as Literature*.[15] His point is that Nietzsche's writing explores many styles and that this stylistic plurality is important: "What I claim is simply that his stylistic variations play a crucial philosophical (or, from his point of view, antiphilosophical) role in his writing" (5). Whereas Kaufmann, in his effort to find an underlying unity behind or beneath Nietzsche's aphorisms, concentrated on the aphorism as the stylistic "heart of Nietzsche's writing," Nehamas draws attention to Nietzsche's remarkable use of different forms (14). There are, for example, notes (*The Will to Power*), the scholarly treatise (*The Birth of Tragedy*), the essay (*Untimely Meditations*), the polemical pamphlet (*The Case of Wagner*), autobiography (*Ecce Homo*), the many "lyric, epigrammatic, and dithyrambic poems," and "the vast number of letters, all of which belong to his writing as surely as every one of his aphorisms" (18–19). Nietzsche demonstrates through this stylistic pluralism "that writing is perhaps the most important part of thinking" (42). Indeed, Nehamas ultimately reaches the somewhat more radical conclusion implied by his title, namely, that for Nietzsche "writing is also the most important part of living" (42).

Such an interpretation rests on Nietzsche's basically literary model, and Nehamas uses this model to introduce the other dimensions of Nietzsche's thought. The first is Nietzsche's equivocal relation to philosophy, reflected in his ambiguous attitude toward Socrates. It is especially Socrates's dogmatism, or Plato's dogmatism through Socrates, that is objectionable to Nietzsche. In reaction Nietzsche posits and enacts a thoroughgoing perspectivism, which allows him to present views without having to insist that they are more than views of his own.

[15] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985). Cited directly in the text.

Thus he is able to distinguish his own practice from what he considers to be the dogmatic practice of earlier philosophers. The combination of stylistic variation, perspectivism, and the critique of traditional philosophy occurs, Nehamas argues, "in order to prevent his readers from overlooking the fact that his views necessarily originate with him. He depends on many styles in order to suggest that there is no single, neutral language in which his views, or any others, can ever be presented" (37). Here the contrast to Heidegger and to Kaufmann becomes clear, for Nehamas suggests that Nietzsche's life plays an important philosophical role in his writing. The stylistic pluralism of his writing combines with his perspectivism and the critique of philosophy in an effort to turn, as Nehamas puts it, "his life into literature" (234).

David Farrell Krell extends these lines of investigation in his recent *Of Memory, Reminiscence, and Writing: On the Verge*.[16] Whereas Nehamas considers the "question of style" for Nietzsche in tandem with Derrida and Sarah Kofman, Krell approaches the question with Derrida and Pierre Klossowski. From this perspective, Nietzsche's stylistic multiplicity introduces a number of different preoccupations, for example, "a flux and reflux of contradictory pulsions—bitterness, laughter, and silence," or "mirth and mourning, yes-saying and promise, but also contamination and hesitation" (282–83). In addition, however, and perhaps even more important, the work with Derrida and others leads Krell to transform his own writing style quite thoroughly. No longer, as in the texts of Kaufmann, Danto, Magnus, Schacht, and Nehamas, is there writing of a straightforward, declarative type; the reflection on writing produces a web of citations from various works of literature and philosophical writings. The result is a massive assemblage

[16](Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); cited directly in the text. See also his *Postponements: Woman, Sensuality, and Death in Nietzsche* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); and the volume he co-edited with David Wood, *Exceedingly Nietzsche: Aspects of Contemporary Nietzsche Interpretation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988).

of the most disparate kinds of materials, borrowed and manufactured, from the poetic to the philosophical, and across numerous eras.

Krell agrees with Nehamas that Nietzsche attempted to turn his life into literature, but he carries the consequences of this finding one step further. The distance between the discourse of the critic and the discourse of Nietzsche is alternately maintained and overcome, then coupled with citations from other texts: "In his own way, in the dramaturgic-genealogical theater of prehistory, Nietzsche *told me the bone would have to be broken again and inside me it began to say Ah Ah Ah and I began to sweat* recreates the story of memory as typography (5, 295): 'How shall a memory be made for the human animal? How shall one imprint something on this somewhat dull, somewhat flighty intellect-of-the-instant [*Augenblicks-Verstand*] and bit of embodied oblivion, so that it will remain present [*gegenwärtig*]?'" (274) Krell incorporates Nietzsche's writing into his own reflections on writing, memory, and reminiscence, together with citations from Derrida and Klossowski, Faulkner, and many others. At this point, the writer's discourse merges with Nietzsche's so closely that it turns itself into literature. But it is a very distinctive kind of literature that displays itself as a composite of multiple layers of citation, wordplay, allusion, and analysis. Here, at the latest, one could speak of the postmodernization of the reception of Nietzsche in philosophy.[17]

It is here, over the issue of "the postmodern turn" in philosophy, that the North American debate among Nietzsche specialists in response to Kaufmann bends back upon itself and

[17]See in this regard two articles by Alan D. Schrift, "Genealogy and/as Deconstruction: Nietzsche, Derrida, and Foucault on Philosophy as Critique," in *Postmodernism and Continental Philosophy*, ed. Hugh Silverman and Donn Welton (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 193–213; and "The Becoming-post-modern of Philosophy," in *After the Future: Postmodern Times and Places*, ed. Gary Shapiro (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 99–113.

is reinscribed on a second level of discourse. On this second level, "Nietzsche" is taken as a figure instrumental in the articulation of one's own philosophy and may or may not correspond to the image constructed by specialists. Two examples will suffice to describe this other debate.

Allan Bloom marks the first position in the debate over Nietzsche with his *Closing of the American Mind*. Undoubtedly Bloom's most polemical statements are directed against Nietzsche, whom he sees as one of the great prophets of contemporary life but an example of the dangerous potential everywhere visible today. Bloom does not reject Nietzsche out of hand, however; rather, he admires him in a contradictory way.

For Bloom, Nietzsche was an outstanding thinker, but Americans have been too quick to forget the political consequences of his thought. The hidden danger of Nietzsche is that Americans have naively accepted his "value relativism," while forgetting the horrors of Nazism involved. "We are like the millionaire in *The Ghost (Geist) Goes West* who brings a castle from brooding Scotland to sunny Florida and adds canals and gondolas for 'local color'" (*C*, 153). Nietzsche's pessimism in particular is too difficult for Americans: "A very dark view of the future has been superimposed on our incorrigible optimism. We are children playing with adult toys. They have proved too much for us to handle" (*C*, 195). What seems to disturb Bloom above all is the ironization of Nietzsche's thought that occurs, for example, in Derrida's *Spurs*.

Despite these cautionary evaluations of the political moment, Bloom sees Nietzsche's principal contribution in the same general terms as Kaufmann. For Bloom, "Nietzsche opened up the great terrain explored by modern artists, psychologists, and anthropologists, searching for refreshment for our exhausted culture in the depths of the darkest unconscious or darkest Africa" (*C*, 200). His work, though unfortunately political, was mainly humanistic, psychological, or cultural. Ultimately, it was rehabilitative as well: "Nietzsche restored something like the soul to our understanding of man by pro-

viding a supplement to the flat, dry screen of consciousness" (*C*, 207).

Certainly, Bloom's image of Nietzsche is incomplete. It lacks a thorough consideration of many of the texts, major themes, and the secondary literature. But this incompleteness arises because Bloom's argument is not principally about Nietzsche. It deals, rather, with the "educational crisis" in American schools today and uses Nietzsche as an instrument of diagnosis. Bloom's Nietzsche is not only part of the sickness but also part of the cure.[18] The image of Nietzsche he projects is highly ambivalent from the outset. He combines the features of Kaufmann's with those of other critics who have emphasized the politics.[19] Nevertheless, it is indicative of Nietzsche's growing importance that his writings would be used for such an analysis, as Richard Schacht has pointed out: "Bloom has probably done more to convince more people in this country that Nietzsche somehow *matters* in an important way than have all of us in the Nietzsche business, from Walter Kaufmann to the present company, put together" (*NANS*, 18).

Quite in contrast to the high seriousness of Bloom's Nietzsche, Richard Rorty's "has a sense of humor" (*NANS*, 13). To be sure, Rorty admits, there is a Nietzsche—"one of the worst of the various Nietzsches"—who seeks to legitimize the importance of philosophy for history (*NANS*, 13). But Rorty's Nietzsche is "less professionally deformed"; that is, he takes himself and his profession less seriously (*NANS*, 14). He has both a sense of his own uniqueness and "a rueful appreciation of blind contingency" (*NANS*, 14). He knows, for example, that the Americans might have had a successful revolution

[18]See Werner J. Dannhauser, "Remarks on Nietzsche and Allan Bloom's Nietzsche," *NANS*, 3.

[19]See, for example, Stern, *A Study of Nietzsche*; Sokel, "Political Uses and Abuses of Nietzsche in Walter Kaufmann's Image of Nietzsche" (both cited in note 20 to Chapter 3); and Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 234–21.

even if Locke or Rousseau had never written a line or that with Plato, "very weird and unlikely things can happen," such as philosophers becoming kings (*NANS*, 14). Rorty's comments provide a model of his image of Nietzsche *in nuce* and demonstrate some of the ways in which he uses this image to support his larger argument. For Rorty, like Bloom, seems compelled to enlist Nietzsche in his cause. Whereas Nietzsche may have until recently been avoidable, he seems to have become a pivotal figure for understanding where we, in this case English speakers, have come from and where we may be headed.[20]

Rorty's most extended treatment of Nietzsche appears in *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (*CIS*). Although this book has not had the mass-market appeal of Bloom's, it has touched off considerable debate in the humanities. Its image of Nietzsche could perhaps be described as a composite of features derived from both Kaufmann and Derrida: on the one hand, Rorty's Nietzsche is important as a "self-creationist" or, in Kaufmann's vocabulary, as someone arguing for "self-overcoming," but on the other hand, this "selfhood" is purely a result of "blind contingency," a centerless, changeable assemblage of desires and beliefs. Both the concept of a centerless self and the irony Rorty uses to describe its qualities parallel Derrida's treatment.[21] Above all, Rorty's Nietzsche will, like "William James, Freud, Proust, and Wittgenstein," be used to illustrate what Rorty calls "freedom as the recognition of contingency" (*CIS*, 46). Rorty's Nietzsche will be taken seriously not for his politics, as was Allan Bloom's, but for his

[20]On a similar topic in terms of recent politics, see Robert Eden, "To What Extent Has the World of Concern to Contemporary Man Been Created by Nietzschean Politics?," in *Nietzsche heute* (cited in note 11 to Chapter 3), 211–25; see also Peter Heller, "Concerning the Nietzsche Cult and Literary Cults Generally" (cited in note 22 to Chapter 3).

[21]For Rorty, the mediating figure for these dual predecessors was Alexander Nehamas: "My account of Nietzsche owes a great deal to Alexander Nehamas's original and penetrating *Nietzsche: Life as Literature*" (*CIS*, 27).

nearly Freudian awareness that "progress results from the accidental coincidence of a private obsession with a public need" (*CIS*, 37).

Admittedly, Rorty's Nietzsche resembles Bloom's as a figure caught between two conflicting demands. For Bloom, Nietzsche's "value revolution" is both part of the sickness of contemporary culture, in that it seeks to overthrow Enlightenment rationality, and part of the cure, for it allows one to see how dangerous such a revolution can be. But Rorty gives the opposite evaluation to the two sides. Nietzsche for Rorty is marked by both a "boundless sense of humor"—namely, at the point when he is aware of the effects of contingency—and a snobbish sense of his own world-historical importance (*CIS*, 108). Whereas Rorty would want to keep that sense of humor, he would prefer that Nietzsche "*privatize*" his world-historical project (*CIS*, 197).

In short, recent North American readings of Nietzsche have sought to modify Kaufmann's picture in many different directions. Just as, in French and German, Heidegger's massive yet oscillating systematization of Nietzsche has been modified or refined, English-language readings have sought to alter Kaufmann's interpretation in varying ways. In the process, the contributions of Deleuze, Foucault, Derrida, Kofman, and Klossowski have been adapted or criticized according to the demands of the argument. Danto, Magnus, and Schacht, each with his own suggestions, offer principles different from Kaufmann's as alternative bases for understanding Nietzsche. Nehamas and Krell highlight to differing extents the roles of Nietzsche's many styles. Bloom, among those who use Nietzsche for other arguments, retains the humanistic-anthropological emphasis and adds a critique of the politics; Rorty downplays the politics and drops the belief in a foundational human nature. But for all of these writers, and Heidegger was one of the earliest to recognize this feature, Nietzsche is a major provocation. My point is that far from seeking a "final" or "definitive" image of Nietzsche, it may be more use-

ful to provoke further debate. "Philosophy has made no progress? If somebody scratches where it itches, does that count as progress? If *not*, does that mean it wasn't an authentic scratch, or not an authentic itch? And couldn't this reaction to the irritation go on for a long time before a remedy for itching is found?"[22]

[22]Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Vermischte Bemerkungen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), 165–66.

NIETZSCHE SCHOLARSHIP IN ENGLISH
A BIBLIOGRAPHY
1968-1992

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Nietzsche's thought is enjoying a new found popularity, at least in the English speaking world. There is now little or no dispute that Nietzsche is an important thinker whose ideas, concepts, and myriad methods and styles of communicating deserve critical scrutiny. There is, however, considerable dispute over just how much importance to attribute to certain of Nietzsche's ideas, how to interpret those ideas that are considered important, and who (what academic department) is the proper and legitimate arbiter of Nietzsche's thought. Such are the pitfalls of popularity.

Another drawback of this popularity, at least for the scholar or interested lay reader, is related to the vast amount of literature generated about Nietzsche: his life, texts, ideas and concepts, the consequences of these ideas and concepts, and the relationship of his thought to that of other thinkers. Much of this commentary on Nietzsche is significant and deserves a careful and critical reading, while some of the literature is worthless and not helpful at all in understanding Nietzsche's thought. Of course, each individual scholar or lay reader must make and defend any such assessments as to merit. In any event, a great deal of material is available. So much material exists, in fact, that just knowing about it becomes a formidable task.

The purpose of this bibliography is to assist interested readers in their efforts to understand Nietzsche's philosophy. This assistance is two-fold. First, the reader is made aware of the vast amount of literature available. Second, the reader may find direction for particular interests or research projects.

The following bibliography lists only those materials written in or translated into English during the period 1968-1992 (only a small number of references for 1992 are listed). There are 1,280 citations arranged in alphabetical order by author. The list includes books, articles, book reviews, and Ph.D. dissertations. Very few abbreviations are used so that each listing is self contained. Although this bibliography is not complete, it does contain a great deal of the literature written on Nietzsche. I have tried to make this bibliography the best of its kind now available.

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