NIETZSCHE'S PUBLICATION HISTORY AS AN INSIGHT INTO THE PHILOSOPHER AND HIS WORKS

by

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I want to thank you for the opportunity to speak today although I am afraid that the program may have given you a false impression. I am not "Doctor Professor" William Schaberg but rather a businessman and a collector of philosophy books who became involved in the study of Nietzsche's publication history when I began to buy first editions of his works. This research became wider, more complicated and more interesting until eventually I found myself writing a book about Nietzsche's publication history which will be published in two months by the University of Chicago Press. Please forgive me as I attempt to compress several years of research into a very brief talk.

My task was essentially a study of the genealogy of Nietzsche's works - a method that Nietzsche himself recommends to us - although there are a number of ways to approach this simple sounding topic. I am sure no one here will be shocked if I say that in relation to Nietzsche, nothing is ever simple for very long. Frequently scholars talk about the "three phases" of Nietzsche's creative life and Nietzsche himself claimed that there were in fact three radically different periods to his development and in his writing. To some extent, this is true but I find it difficult to squeeze the entire Nietzsche corpus into three neat phases. In my book, The Nietzsche Canon, A Publication History and Bibliography, I identify four rather than three distinct cycles in Nietzsche's writings. The first of these (The Books on Genius) begins in 1872 with the publication of Die Geburt der Tragödie and ends with Richard Wagner in Bayreuth in 1876. In these five works, Nietzsche passionately espouses the cult of the Genius and envisions a great spiritual awakening brought about by the influence of such men as Schopenhauer and Wagner. The second phase (the Books for Free Spirits) begins with the publication of Menschliches, Allzumenschliches in 1878 and concludes with Die fröhliche Wissenschaft in 1882. These five "aphoristic" volumes address a different, more individual audience and carry a entirely new message: one of insightful observations and scientific/psychological skepticism. The third phase of Nietzsche's writings (the Books of the Overman and Beyond) is signalled by the publication of the first book of Also sprach Zarathustra in 1883 and extends through Zur Genealogie der Moral in 1887. The first four of these, the books of Zarathustra, are radically different in style and content and once again address a different, still more limited audience. The next two books, Jenseits von Gut und Böse and Genealogie, were intended by

Nietzsche as a matched set which according to him "say the same things as my Zarathustra - only differently - very differently" ["or esp schon dieselben Dinge sagt, wie mein Zarathustra, aber anders, sehr anders"] (Nietzsche to Burckhardt, 22 September, 1886, KGB III.3, 254). Last come "The Final Works" - five books created in an explosion of creative energy coinciding with the last nine months of Nietzsche's sanity. The subject matter and style here are similar to works previously published by Nietzsche - except perhaps in egotistical excess - and there is a strong autobiographical slant to all of these books which began with the publication of Der Fall Wagner in 1888 and Götzen-Dämmerung in 1889. The final three works of this series Nietzsche contra Wagner, Der Antichrist and Ecce homo were all published after Nietzsche's collapse in early 1889.

This is one possible perspective. There is however, a more personal, a more human and more intimate vantage point from which to view Nietzsche's writings and that is the one I intend to focus on today: Nietzsche as author. Hopefully, this historical perspective will shed significant light on the man and his philosophy - expanding our sensibility of what it meant to be Friedrich Nietzsche while broadening our understanding of the genealogy, conception, execution and inter-relatedness of his works.

First a word about Wagner. It is almost impossible to talk about Nietzsche's books without making mention of Richard Wagner. The two men met in November of 1868 and for the next eight years - and to a lesser extent in the thirteen years following that - Wagner exerted a profound influence on everything that Nietzsche wrote and on how he wrote it. This is nowhere more evident than in Nietzsche's first book.

Die Geburt der Tragödie came into being because both Richard and Cosima Wagner urged Nietzsche to expand two public lectures he had given in early 1870 into a book-length treatment. Cosima received an early version of the work on Christmas of 1870 and the next draft - which began with a "Foreword to Richard Wagner" - was written in February of 1871.

Two months after this, Nietzsche sent the manuscript of Die Geburt der Tragödie to Wilhelm Engelmann, a Leipzig publisher. Engelmann had previously offered to publish something by the Wunderkind of German philology but he was unprepared for what Nietzsche actually sent him - a manuscript with no footnotes, no scholarly apparatus and the appearance of none other than Richard Wagner right into the middle of a discussion of Greek tragedy. Engelmann procrastinated for so long that Nietzsche finally demanded his manuscript back and then in October of 1871, he submitted it to E. W. Fritzsch who was Wagner's Leipzig publisher. I am sure that anyone here who has ever had a manuscript rejected can identify with what a disappointment this

must have been and how troubled Nietzsche was by this. He began to doubt himself publicly - a very uncharacteristic Nietzschean stance - and to wonder in letters to his friends if his book would ever be published. The new publisher, Fritzsch - like Engelmann - had trouble deciding whether or not to print the book and it was most likely the written intervention of Wagner that finally decided the issue in Nietzsche's favor.

Fritzsch published a first edition of 800 copies and two years later printed a second edition of 750 copies but the second press run was definitely premature - fifteen years after the book was first published, it had sold less than 1,000 of the original 1,550 copies. Nietzsche was at first enthusiastic about the publicity that the book had generated - even though most of it was negative - and both he and his publisher anticipated a best-seller. However, Nietzsche's prediction to his friend Rohde proved to be more prophetic than he might have wished; he wrote: "The philologist won't read it on account of the music, the musicians won't read it on account of the philology and the philosophers won't read it on account of the music and the philology" ["Ich fürchte immer, daß die Philologen esp der Musik wegen, die Musiker der Philologie wegen, Die Philosphen der Musik und Philologie wegen nicht lessen wollen und bekomme"] (27 November 1871, KGB II.1, 246-48). In general, the book was contemptuously and consistently ignored by the press, the academic community and the public. Nietzsche's reputation at the University went into temporary eclipse.

It is common - but unrealistic - to think that Nietzsche wrote and published in a vacuum, not caring how many of his books were sold nor how much money he would make. On the contrary, these things were very important to him. Prior to the release of Die Geburt der Tragödie, Nietzsche was being paid 3,500 Swiss francs annually by the University of Basel. This book immediately generated revenue for its author in two different ways. First, the honorarium for the book - which was based on the total page count - came to 375 Swiss francs and was promptly paid upon publication. Secondly, the University - impressed by the immediate response to the book and worried about another job offer that Nietzsche had received - raised his annual salary by 500 Swiss francs. This gave the new author a total increase of 875 Swiss francs or a combined annual increase of 25%. For a young professor whose wants frequently exceeded his means, this extra money was very important.

For his next project, Nietzsche conceived a series of 13 short books - he hoped to issue one every six months under the title Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen. The general idea was that the series would attract an ever-increasing readership; if people enjoyed the first few essays, they would theoretically be eager to buy the latest release. If, on the other hand, readers discovered the most recent essay, they were expected to be

willing to seek out and purchase the previous ones thereby guaranteeing an ever-increasing readership as each new work came on the market. Unfortunately, this is not the way things worked out.

Nietzsche is famous for making outlines of his writing projects and the Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen are no exception. A typical early outline dated "Autumn 1873" reads:

1. The Cultural Philistine
2. History
3. The Philosopher
4. The Scholar
5. Art
6. The Teacher
7. Religion
8. State War Nation
9 The Press
10. Natural Science
11. Folk Society
12. Commerce
13. Language

The first five of these were actually written although only four were ever published in Nietzsche's lifetime. On the other eight, we can only speculate and wonder - as a businessman, I, for one, would like to read an essay written by Nietzsche on "Commerce".

The first essay - the attack on the Cultural Philistine - was once again written as a result of Wagner's influence. Wagner had read the new book by David Strauss - an old enemy of Wagner's - called Der alte und der neue Glaube and he complained to Nietzsche about how shallow the book was. By April of 1873, Nietzsche had decided that he would write an attack on Strauss in an effort to publicly expose him as a false prophet. Wagner was enthusiastic about the project and even went so far as to visit his publisher, Fritzsch, and encourage him to publish the new work. Wagner's support was certainly needed at this point since Fritzsch had recently rejected Nietzsche's proposal to publish his latest series of lectures entitled Über die Zukunft unserer BildungsAnstalten.

The first Betrachtungen, David Strauss der Bekenner und der Schriftsteller, was written in just a few weeks. This is the first of Nietzsche's lightning-quick compositions but hardly the last - as we shall see, it was common for him to write some of his most profound and influential works in just a matter of days or at most weeks. Fritzsch published 1,000 copies of the book in August of 1873 and once again enthusiasm for an early success was high. Fritzsch predicted a second edition by the end of the year if only the public reception were to continue for the next few weeks. Unfortunately, it did not. Like Die Geburt der Tragödie, David Strauss made some slight initial impact and then quickly dropped from public view. Thirteen years after it was first released, less than 800 copies of the book had been sold.

Nietzsche quickly followed Strauss with the "History" essay, Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben in 1874 and the

"Philosopher" essay, Schopenhauer als Erzieher, later in the same year. Neither of these sold well - it took over 12 years to sell just 600 copies of each book.

At this point, Nietzsche was more or less on schedule with his intention of publishing one essay every six months but he was rapidly losing interest in the plan for two reasons. First, the series had not been a success with the public and second, he himself was beginning to exhibit a growing lack of faith in the scope of the entire project. Not only was the German book-buying public not interested in his vision of a new German culture revitalized by the likes of Schopenhauer and Wagner - neither it seemed was their author.

The fourth and last Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen was published a year and a half later. In the interim, Nietzsche had written the essay on "The Scholar" and an essay on Wagner (perhaps the "Art" essay?) but was reluctant to release either of them. At this point, Peter Gast entered Nietzsche's life and it was his enthusiasm that persuaded Nietzsche to submit the Wagner piece for publication. I suspect there was one other important consideration that led Nietzsche to release this puzzling book despite his own misgivings. The Bayreuth Festival was about to have its grand opening and Nietzsche was convinced - as was his publisher - that the release of Richard Wagner in Bayreuth at this time would make it an instant best-seller. So confident was Nietzsche's publisher that he ordered a press run of 1,500 copies - 50% more than usual - and predicted that 700 copies of the book would be sold in the first eight months. It actually took ten years to sell that many copies and Nietzsche's hopes of a best-seller were once again quashed.

It was half-way through the publication of the four Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen that Nietzsche had his first major difficulty with one of his publishers. E. W. Fritzsch - who had released Die Geburt der Tragödie and the first two Betrachtungen - experienced serious financial difficulties during the early months of 1884 which required him to close his business temporarily. This led to several protracted arguments over money and forced Nietzsche to find a new publisher for Schopenhauer - which he did with surprising ease. The new publisher, Ernst Schmeitzner of Chemnitz, had just opened his publishing house and he took on Nietzsche's series as soon as it was offered to him. However, this left Nietzsche in the precarious position of having his first three books in the hands of a publishing house that was essentially out of business and unable to distribute them. Schmeitzner negotiated with Fritzsch and after three months successfully concluded the purchase of the first two Betrachtungen but the fate of the remaining copies of Die Geburt der Tragödie was unresolved for some time and it was almost four years before Schmeitzner bought out the left-over copies of the

first and second editions.

Book sales were not going well and Schmeitzner complained to Nietzsche about the poor sales of the Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen series in almost every letter. But Nietzsche was preparing a new book, one that was radically different from anything he had ever written and in which he had great confidence. In May, June and July of 1876 - just before the Bayreuth Festival - Nietzsche dictated many pages of notes to Peter Gast. Then - after the disaster of the Festival itself and the beginnings of Nietzsche's break with Wagner - he wrote the balance of the book while on sabbatical leave from 1876 to 1877. Nietzsche originally intended to call the book Die Pflugschar - a title he thought of using on more than one occasion and an apt description for all his writings during the aphoristic phase - but in December he finally settled on the title Menschliches, Allzumenschliches.

Nietzsche was an incredibly secretive man and this is nowhere more evident than in the publication of Menschliches, Allzumenschliches. Because of his strained relationship with Wagner and the affront that the book so obviously represented to Bayreuth, Nietzsche decided that it should be published using a pseudonym. He went so far as to invent the name "Bernhard Cron" and to devise a biography for this fictitious character. His publisher would not allow it. Schmeitzner knew that the book would trigger a confrontation between Wagner and Nietzsche and he looked forward to the sales that the scandal and the publicity would generate. Nietzsche finally agreed to forgo the pseudonym but only if his requests for absolute secrecy prior to the release of the book were honored - even going so far as to refuse to let Schmeitzner advertise the book before publication.

The book was published in early 1878 and because of its size - the original edition was 377 pages long - it earned Nietzsche an honorarium of 875 Swiss francs - an instant 20% increase in his annual income. The book represented a complete break from his "Wagnerian" past and as such it was almost universally vilified by his former supporters when first published. Perhaps the most telling and painful comment came from Nietzsche's best friend Rohde who claimed:

> My astonishment was complete... I felt as if I had been led from the hot to the cold room in a Turkish bath! I have to say quite frankly, my friend, that this astonishment is not without some degree of pain. How can a man strip off his own soul like that and put on another..?
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> [Meine Überraschung über dieses neueste Nietzschianum war, wie du denken kannst, die allergrößte: so muß esp sein wenn man direct aus dem caldarium in ein eiskaltes frigidarium gejagt wird! Ich sage nun ganz aufrichtig, mein Freund, daß

> diese Überraschung nicht ohne schmerzliche Empfindungen war. Kann man denn so seine Seele ausziehen und eine andre dafür annehmen?] (KGB II.6.2, 895-96)

Similar comments came from other friends. Wagner and the entire Bayreuth contingent were silent on the subject of the book. Wagner told Cosima after skimming Menschliches, Allzumenschliches that he would not read it and that the day would most likely come when Nietzsche would thank him for that.

One thousand copies were printed. Unfortunately, the groundswell of scandal and interest that Nietzsche's publisher had foreseen did not materialize. Eight and a half years later, less than 450 copies of the book had been sold.

Nietzsche published four more aphoristic volumes in the next four years: Vermischte Meinungen und Sprüche in 1879, Der Wanderer und sein Schatten in late 1879, Morgenröthe in 1881 and Die fröhliche Wissenschaft in 1882. Each of these had a press run of 1,000 copies and each failed to generate significant sales. By late 1886, - seven years later - Nietzsche had sold only 324 copies of Meinungen und Sprüche, less than 200 copies of Wanderer, and a little over 200 copies each of Morgenröthe and Die fröhliche Wissenschaft. Even the banning of Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, Meinungen und Sprüche and Der Wanderer in Russia failed to capture the attention of the German book-buying public. Schmeitzner had small banners attached to the front covers of the books proudly proclaiming "In Russland Verboten" but it did no good. The books simply did not sell.

Not all of this failure can be laid at Nietzsche's feet since Schmeitzner bears significant responsibility for the lack of sales of Nietzsche's books. The first organized eruption of modern anti-Semitism swept through Germany in 1882 and Schmeitzner became an active and enthusiastic member of "The Movement". As a publisher, he had released books by anti-Semitic writers like Eugen Düring with great success. The first International Anti-Semitic Congress was held in Dresden in September of 1882 and by the time the Second Congress was held in Schmeitzner's home town of Chemnitz just six months later, he was completely neglecting the publishing business for his anti-Semitic activities. Nietzsche complained bitterly to friends that his books were buried in an "anti-Semitic pit" but there was little he could do to force his publisher to make greater efforts to market his works. Once again, he found himself with a publisher who would not properly distribute his books.

Because we are focussed on Die fröhliche Wissenschaft at this Colloquium, I thought it appropriate to bring along a first edition copy from my own collection. Actually, this is sort of a home-coming for this book since the inscription reads: "Sils Maria, August, 19, 1887" and is signed by either Meta von Salis

or her friend, Hedwig Kym. Von Salis was a friend of Nietzsche's who spent time with him here in Sils over several summers. It is important to note that the book contains only four chapters rather than the five that we are discussing at this conference. Nietzsche claimed that he always intended to have five chapters in this book but he was frustrated in completing it in 1882 by his recurring health and eye problems.

Shortly after the publication of Meinungen und Sprüche in 1879, a major change occurred in Nietzsche's life when he resigned his position at the University of Basel due to poor health. From this point on he was unemployed and unemployable and financial insecurity became an ever-present problem. Nietzsche spent most of his life in genteel poverty and in the years following 1879, he was supported by three separate pensions provided by the University and the State which paid him two-thirds of his former salary. The balance of his income was made up from book honorariums which became more and more important to his economic survival. The pensions were originally granted for a period of six years and Nietzsche immediately began to plan his retirement with every good intention of saving as much of the pension money as possible. He was tremendously fearful of what would become of him when the money ran out in 1885. Unfortunately, Nietzsche was never at his best with budgeting money or trying to "save for a rainy day". Actually, the pension money was saved - and given to his publisher Schmeitzner for investment - for over a year but after that he began to spend the money almost as quickly as it came in.

Nietzsche's next book was Zarathustra but rather than appearing in the familiar single volume that we see today, it was published as four separate books between 1883 and 1885. The last of these was not even released to the public at this time but appeared as a privately printed book that was jealously guarded and given away only to the most trusted of friends.

Once again there was a major style change and a shift of content with Zarathustra - a book which is more poetry than prose, more vision than reasoned insight, more didactic exhortation than playful intellectual fencing, more prophesy than psychological observations. The four books of Zarathustra are an elaborate riddle seamlessly blending elements of Nietzsche's philosophy, his psyche and his personal life into a seductive invitation to dance. This is radically different from the style and the content of everything that had come before. It is claimed that Wagner once again influenced the direction and tenor of this work. Certainly, Nietzsche was profoundly affected to learn that the first book of Zarathustra was completed on the very day that Wagner died and he never recovered from this fateful coincidence. It is, I think, rightly said by Roger Hollinrake that Zarathustra was "planned as a whole and from the outset as a reply to Wagner, embodying just those qualities Nietzsche believed that Wagner,

the artist, theorist, and messianic leader, had betrayed" (Nietzsche, Wagner and the philosophy of pessimism, p. ix).

One question that occurred to me while researching my book has to do with the style that Nietzsche selected for Zarathustra: Namely, was it written as what he called "poetry" because he knew he would be paid more money for it? Nietzsche was actually paid one third more per page for the Zarathustra books than for anything else he had ever published. Certainly, Schmeitzner was not rewarding him for being a best-selling author by raising his honorarium and there were no major shifts in economic conditions to justify the raise. What seems to have occurred is this: Eight months before he wrote Zarathustra, Nietzsche submitted eight poems to Schmeitzner to be printed in a magazine that Schmeitzner published and he was promptly paid his honorarium. I strongly suspect that Nietzsche realized that he had been paid on a different pay scale - call it the "poetry pay scale" - and that he conceived of producing an entire work that would qualify as poetry and therefore earn him more money. This is supported by the letter that Nietzsche sent to Schmeitzner when he submitted the manuscript of Zarathustra I to him in February of 1883 in which he made special note to refer to it as a "poem" claiming that it must be printed in a format that was "worthy of poetry". Schmeitzner - who published the first three volumes of Zarathustra - paid 40 marks per press sheet rather than the traditional 30 marks for each of these books. The only explanation for this is that the book was treated as poetry and paid on the "poetry scale" that had been used for the Schmeitzner magazine.

Whatever Nietzsche's motivation for the stylistic changes, he was aflame with creative energies. He wrote Zarathustra I in ten days in January of 1883, Zarathustra II in less than two weeks in July of 1883 and Zarathustra III in 10 days during January of 1884 - a truly remarkable achievement - three masterpieces in one short year!

Zarathustra I was released in 1883. The standard press run of 1,000 copies was printed but Schmeitzner was almost completely ignoring his distribution responsibilities so that less than 80 copies were sold in the next three years. Zarathustra II was printed in September of 1883 but was most likely not made available to the public until early 1884 when Zarathustra III was also printed and published. By 1886, only 90 copies of Zarathustra II and only 60 copies of Zarathustra III had actually been sold.

Nietzsche was devastated by this lack of acceptance. He railed against Schmeitzner in letter after letter and loudly proclaimed to his friends that the publisher was ruining him.

In early 1885, Nietzsche wrote the fourth part of Zarathustra but

his relationship with Schmeitzner had deteriorated so significantly that he began to look for another publisher. This search was, of course, complicated by the fact that Schmeitzner still held the stock of the first three volumes of Zarathustra making it all but impossible for another publisher to bring out the fourth book alone. Nietzsche toyed with the idea of renaming the new book and making it the first volume of a new three book series. Nietzsche had always planned to write six books on Zarathustra, but he eventually dropped this idea when negotiations with three other publishers completely failed. Nietzsche decided to have the fourth book privately printed so that he could distribute it to friends. He contacted the printer, C. G. Naumann, - who had printed the last two Zarathustra books - and placed an order for 40 copies of Zarathustra IV. The books were delivered to Peter Gast in Venice in April of 1885 and it cost Nietzsche 285 marks - 12% of his annual income - to print these forty copies. This printing signaled a radical change in Nietzsche's publication history - with this move from working with an established publisher to printing his own works, Nietzsche's writings suddenly became a financial liability rather than a income producing asset. Despite all his hopes for success, this move would prove to be an economic disaster for Nietzsche.

Nietzsche's relationship with Schmeitzner continued to deteriorate. While he had given up any hope of Schmeitzner publishing any more of his works, he was now concerned that the monies that Schmeitzner held in trust for him were in jeopardy. Nietzsche always did a poor job of handling his money and he acknowledged this freely. When the pension money from Basel first began to arrive, he had made arrangements to have it sent to Schmeitzner whose talents as a businessman Nietzsche very much respected. Schmeitzner invested the money for Nietzsche and this arrangement worked well for a few years but by September of 1883, Nietzsche had begun to worry about his money - why hadn't he received any reports regarding his savings? The total amount of money involved was 5,000 marks - over two years living expenses - and Nietzsche was desperate to get the money out of Schmeitzner's hands. After much argument, the publisher agreed to pay the money back by January 1, 1885, but that date came and went without any transfer of funds. Nietzsche became desperate and contacted his Uncle Bernhard who started legal proceedings against Schmeitzner. This began a ten month comedy of errors which eventually involved several lawyers, Schmeitzner's father, Nietzsche's uncle and his sister Elisabeth. It culminated in Nietzsche authorizing the seizure of the publisher's entire business. During these confusing months, Schmeitzner attempted to sell all of Nietzsche's books to raise money and at one time it looked as if Nietzsche would have to bid at auction in order to buy back his own books. When the issue was finally resolved, Nietzsche received his money but Schmeitzner was still in possession of all of Nietzsche books - and Schmeitzner was now more reluctant than ever to make any attempt to market them.

Nietzsche was desperate. As he wrote to his friend Overbeck:

> I have come to the conclusion that my writings must be liberated... as quickly as possible... I am in need of followers during my lifetime and if my published works cannot be used as fishing rods then they have missed their calling.
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> [Inzwischen habe ich begriffen, daß ich meine Schriften so schnell als möglich von Schmeitzner erlösen muß, dh. daß er gezwungen werden muß, dieselben jetzt zu verkaufen. (Denn ich habe, kurz gesagt, noch bei Lebzeiten Jünger nöthig: und wenn meine bisherigen Bücher nicht als Angelruthen wirken, so haben sie "ihren Beruf verfehlt".] (6 November 1884, KGB III.1, 553-54).

Nietzsche tried to negotiate a price for the books with the intention of selling them back to another distributor but Schmeitzner demanded an unreasonable amount of money. I suspect that he did this more in the hope of taunting Nietzsche for all the problems he had caused over the lawsuit than for any other reason. At this same time, Nietzsche happened to meet his old publisher, E. W. Fritzsch, on the streets of Leipzig and that chance occurrence led to Fritzsch entering into negotiations with Schmeitzner for the purchase of the books. In August of 1886, a price was agreed upon and Fritzsch took possession once again of Die Geburt der Tragödie, and the two Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen that he had previously sold to Schmeitzner and, along with them, the ten other books by Nietzsche that Schmeitzner had published. After fourteen years of writing and publishing, almost two-thirds of Nietzsche's books still sat in a Leipzig warehouse - unsold and unread.

Nietzsche was elated that his books would finally receive proper circulation and he conceived a grand project which would include the addition of new prefaces to all of his older works. In the next few months, he wrote introductions for Die Geburt der Tragödie, the two volumes of Menschliches, Allzumenschliches, Morgenröthe, and Die fröhliche Wissenschaft. It was at this time that Die fröhliche Wissenschaft received not only a new preface but also a new chapter of 75 pages - the one Nietzsche claimed he had been forced to leave out by his poor health - and the addition of several poems. This is the edition that we are discussing at this conference and I have brought a first edition copy of that expanded edition from my personal collection if anyone is interested in seeing it. At the same time, the four Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen and the three books of Zarathustra were reissued without any additions. Despite Nietzsche's hopes that Fritzsch would do a better job than Schmeitzner of selling his books, the results were basically the same. Very few copies were actually sold in the next five years.

For his new writings, Nietzsche conceived a bold scheme. He decided to publish the books himself. This meant that he would pay for the printing and distribution in the hope of selling enough copies to recoup his investment and perhaps even make some money. The first book to be released in this way was Jenseits von Gut und Böse in 1886. Naumann - acting as a "vanity publisher" - printed 600 copies and Nietzsche felt certain that he would break even on his investment if he could just sell 300 of these. This was a risky venture for Nietzsche who was living on a pension of 2,400 marks a year. The printing bill from Naumann came to 881 marks which equalled over 36% of his disposable income.

This time Nietzsche personally took control to insure that his book was properly advertised, distributed and reviewed and all of this actually went according to plan. For example, the book received a particularly favorable review in Der Bund under the title "Nietzsche's Dangerous Book" but even this could not persuade people to buy it. Eight months after its release, only 114 copies of Jenseits von Gut und Böse had been sold while an additional 66 copies had been given away free.

Nietzsche was not defeated by this. He went on to write Zur Genealogie der Moral and to have it self-published in November of 1887. He claimed that this book was nothing more than an extension of his last book, Jenseits von Gut und Böse, and the back side of the title page of the original edition referred to it as "a supplement and a clarification" of that book. Nietzsche asked the printer to use the same paper, page layout and type so that it would appear to be a continuation of Jenseits on the outside as well as on the inside. The book cost Nietzsche 589 marks - almost 25% of his annual income.

As Nietzsche entered his final year of sanity, he continued to write at a tremendous pace. One of the reasons he was so prolific near the end of 1888 was that he suddenly found he had the money to expand the self-publication of his works. This came about because he had received two contributions from friends totalling 2,800 marks - the equivalent of more than one year's living expense - which was given to him explicitly for his printing expenses. In addition, these two gestures of faith in his writing bolstered his confidence and gave him the much needed encouragement to continue his work.

In the last nine months of 1888, Nietzsche wrote five books. Wagner again played a prominent role in the conception and execution of these works. Der Fall Wagner and Nietzsche contra Wagner are self-evident in their influence and their purpose while Der Antichrist is yet another attempt to harass and refute the author of Parsifal. Götzen-Dämmerung - with its blatant play on the title of the last opera of Wagner's Ring cycle - and Ecce homo are desperate cries for recognition; the kind of worldly recognition so generously heaped upon the composer yet completely

denied the philosopher. Nietzsche was jealous and bitter over the fact that his works were unread and unknown while Wagner's reputation and influence continued to grow daily. These final works by Nietzsche are cries of pain and anger protesting his own anonymity and castigating the world for its adulation of Richard Wagner.

Der Fall Wagner was published in September of 1888 and it touched off Nietzsche's last battle with his last publisher. Fritzsch published an unfavorable review of the book in his own weekly newspaper which grievously offended Nietzsche who immediately sent off a letter demanding that Fritzsch sell him all the remaining copies of his books. The letter was signed: "With sincere contempt, Nietzsche" ["In aufrichtiger Verachtung, Nietzsche"] (KGB III.5, 477). This unsuccessful and farcical attempt to buy back all of his unsold books took up what little remaining time there was in the last few months of Nietzsche's sanity. Whatever other time he had left was spent writing. In late 1888, he wrote four more works - all of which appeared after his collapse in Turin in early January of 1889. But all of these books were printed and released from manuscripts that Nietzsche had actually prepared and sent to Naumann before his collapse.

Nietzsche's fame was just beginning to blossom when he went insane and although his books began to sell much better after his collapse, he never knew of the notoriety that finally came to the man who wrote twenty-one books in his lifetime but sold very few copies of them. As the 1890's progressed, more editions of Nietzsche's books were required. By 1900 - when Nietzsche died - there were more than 137,000 copies of his books in print. By the end of the first World War, more than a quarter million copies of his most popular work, Zarathustra, had been printed. Fame had come at last to the man who was forced to pay a vanity publisher just to get his last five books into print.

I believe that it is essential to understand Nietzsche's publication history if we are to grasp the full importance of his philosophy. Nietzsche can be read indiscriminately or in snippets, but his philosophy demands an organic approach and this organic approach - to be most fruitful - must be made in the context of his publication history. This applies to all of his books but just a few examples should suffice. How - for instance - can we properly evaluate Richard Wagner in Bayreuth without considering Nietzsche's passion to have a best-seller and how it seduced him into publishing this work? Or how can we properly analyze Also sprach Zarathustra without taking into account the plans, the difficulties and the changes that happened in the two years while Nietzsche was writing these books? How important is it that Nietzsche saw Zur Genealogie der Moral as an addendum to and continuation of Jenseits von Gut und Böse rather than as an independent work? Finally, how can we fully appreciate what Nietzsche was saying in Die fröhliche Wissenschaft without

reference to the fact that the preface and the final 20% of the book was written five years after the first four chapters and must necessarily reflect the changes he had gone through during that time period? Nietzsche considered in a vacuum is Nietzsche robbed of his context, his historical reality and his humanity - while a reading of his works with an eye judiciously cast on his publication history provides us with each of those things thereby allowing us to greatly expand our understanding of the man and of his philosophy.