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How the "True Text" Finally Became a Fable: Nietzsche's Weimar Literary Estate

by

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How the "True Text" Finally Became a Fable: Nietzsche's Weimar Literary Estate[1]

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In Memoriam, Ernst Behler, friend and collaborator

(As all Nietzsche readers recognize, my title recalls his "How the 'True World' Became a Fable at Last" in *Twilight of the Idols*.)

The essay you are about to read consists of five distinguishable parts. The first part is simply introductory. The second consists of a highly compressed and somewhat sanitized[2] synopsis of the now-completed restoration and conservation initiative of Nietzsche's writings, a project I had the privilege of initiating and facilitating from 1991 to its completion in June 1994, entirely through the generosity of a private donor, to whom this paper is dedicated. This abbreviated part of my remarks will be somewhat telegraphic, and this is for the sake of the later parts; for the third part of this paper consists of sharing with you a description of a series of 22 photographs, most of them Nietzsche's original manuscripts, which I took in February 1992 before the conservation project was begun. The 22 photos selected were chosen to illustrate points mentioned telegraphically in the first part of this presentation. The actual 5x7 photos will appear as sequential figures in the fifth and last part, creating the mistaken impression of an appendix. I apologize for this in advance, i. e., for separating description from the photos described, but this was done entirely for ease of publication.

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[1]This essay is almost precisely the invited address delivered on April 29, 1995 at a symposium "Recent Work on Nietzsche." Maudemarie Clark and Kathleen Higgins were co-symposiasts. My presentation contained 24 color slides used to illustrate the points I was making about the condition of Nietzsche's literary estate before the restoration and conservation effort was begun. Since color is a luxury beyond the means of most journals, the black and white photos included here are not as vivid, obviously, as are the color slides. Moreover, converting from color to black and white required specialists who had to work not from the slides but from the original color photographs. The quality of the photographs was unavoidably further degraded by the double photocopying of them that had to be done, first in preparation of the master for this production, and then again when copies were run. Nevertheless, I hope the points can be "seen" from the photos selected here.

This essay is dedicated to Ernst Behler, who died on September 16 1997, just as the essay was going into production. Many things conspired to delay its appearance for more than two years after its presentation; but it could not bear a more fitting dedication.

[2]By the word "sanitized" I simply mean that I ignore various uninteresting obstacles during the restoration and conservation process, including differences of opinion about the ultimate aim of the project, the problem of a Zweitarchiv, its location, etc.

The central and overarching purpose of this presentation, moreover, is the moral to be derived at its conclusion from the tale I will show and tell in part IV. The moral, as you will see, gestures toward a Nietzsche philology and scholarship of the future, for lack of a better phrase. It consists of a reflection upon and a suggestion about what a more genuinely comprehensive edition of Nietzsche's works in English would look like, since such a project would sum to more than 200 volumes, each one of which would average approximately 500 pages per volume.

Before beginning my remarks, I would like to make two unrelated observations. While I will indeed be dealing with "Recent Work on Nietzsche," I will be talking neither about past nor future publications but about a completed project which is in many ways more important than anything I have ever done in Nietzsche studies,[3] and one which can only be narrated and reflected upon: namely, the Weimar conservation and restoration project.

My second unrelated observation is even more personal. The day on which these remarks were first delivered, April 29, 1995, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of Dachau, the first concentration camp established in Germany, in March 1933. The second camp established by the Nazi regime was Buchenwald, established in July 1937 and liberated April 11 and 12, 1945. As a Shoah survivor, I confess that Weimar is to me much more than the site of Nietzsche's legacy. For it was also the cultural center of Germany for almost two centuries, the location of the enactment of the Weimar constitution, and part of a very small region, Thüringen, which produced not only Luther's translation of the Bible into the vernacular, of some of Bach's music in adjoining Leipzig and that of Franz Liszt; of the works of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and of all of Germany's great Romantic poets in the adjoining city of Jena. It is not only the place where Karl Marx studied (at Jena), but Weimar is the site of the Buchenwald camp, situated just above this small hamlet of about 30,000 souls, at almost precisely the spot where Wolfgang Goethe wrote some of the most sublime poetry ever written. This paradox--Goethe and Buchenwald--is like a specter which haunted all of my work in Weimar; indeed it continues to shadow all of my reflections, even today.

For now, however, I shall arbitrarily repress this spectral presence as is customary for most philosophical reflections. Therefore, to the task at hand.

I

The importance to the humanities and to our culture of the 19th century German philosopher and writer Friedrich Nietzsche may require little motivation

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[3]This is no hyperbole, nor is it false modesty. If the Nietzsche manuscripts had not been conserved and restored--if it had not been for the dedication and generosity of an American donor--there would have been no original manuscripts to consult within a decade, and only a couple of years in the *Spezialfälle* described below. Anything I have written on Nietzsche or translated pales in importance for future generations.

or discussion.[4] He was quite simply one of the most influential modern European thinkers. His attempts to unmask the root motives which underlie traditional Western philosophy, morality, and religion have deeply affected subsequent generations of philosophers, theologians, psychologists, poets, novelists and playwrights. Indeed, one contemporary English-speaking philosopher, Richard Rorty, has characterized the entire present age as "post-Nietzschean." That is because Nietzsche was able to think through the consequences of the triumph of the Enlightenment's secularism--captured in his observation that "God is dead"--in a way that determined the agenda for many of Europe's most celebrated intellectuals after his death in 1900. An ardent foe of nationalism, anti-Semitism, and power politics, his name was later invoked by Fascists and Nazis to advance many of the very things he loathed.

It might also be useful to recall that, according to Martin Heidegger, Nietzsche is the consummation of the Western philosophical tradition, the thinker who brings metaphysics to its end; that Michel Foucault frequently regarded Nietzsche as the progenitor of his own genealogical method and its stress on discursive practices; and that Jacques Derrida frequently considers Nietzsche the deconstructive thinker par excellence. All this serves as eloquent testimony to Nietzsche's own claim, voiced in *The Antichrist* and elsewhere, that some persons are born posthumously; for that observation certainly applies to his own case.

It is no accident, therefore, that the last published edition of the *International Nietzsche Bibliography,* edited by Herbert Reiterate and Karl Schlechta in 1968--long before the recent explosion of interest in Nietzsche--lists more than 4,500 titles in 27 languages devoted to Nietzsche.

And it must not be forgotten that Nietzsche's importance has not been confined to philosophy or even to humanistic study. One much discussed critic, Allan Bloom, argued the controversial thesis that America's very cultural life--the miseducation of its citizens as well as its misguided public philosophy--is to be traced to a superficial version of (what the author considered) Nietzsche's virulently infectious nihilism.[5] Without endorsing Allan Bloom's diagnosis or thesis about Nietzsche's causal role in the "closing" of the American mind, it is no exaggeration to say that Nietzsche's influence has become uncircumventable in our culture.

Whether one reads G. Gordon Liddy's misappropriations, goes to a movie or merely turns on the television, Nietzsche seems always to be already there. For

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[4]Some of the remarks that follow on then next few pages appear in different form in *The Cambridge Companion to Nietzsche.*

[5]This is spelled out in Allan Bloom's popular book (admittedly designed for the general audience), *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students,* Forward by Saul Bellow (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), Part 2, esp. pp. 217-26.

example, Eddie Murphy quotes from Nietzsche at length in a climactic moment in the movie "Coming to America"; a rock music group names itself "The Will to Power"; and even the teen-age 'Dr. Howser' of the wretched (and now mercifully canceled) "Doogie Howser, MD." television show can be heard saying, "As Nietzsche said: 'Whatever doesn't destroy me makes me stronger.'" Could one cite illustrations of Nietzsche's co-optation more banal, more crude and pervasive than these? Nietzsche's name and epigrams are invoked everywhere nowadays, indiscriminately selling ideas as well as products.

From the mid-1890s until today, a century later, Nietzsche's name has been invoked and enlisted repeatedly in the service of every conceivable political and cultural movement and agenda--from early twentieth century emancipatory feminism to later fascism[6] and Nazism, from a Faustian modernism to recent versions of postmodernism. Nor is it the case any longer that Nietzsche's pervasive influence is confined primarily to continental European philosophers and politics, intellectuals, and American popular culture. Rather, his critique of traditional morality has become a force in the reflections of some leading Anglophone philosophers, such as Bernard Williams,[7] Richard Rorty,[8] Martha Nussbaum,[9] Alasdair MacIntyre,[10] and Philippa Foot.[11]

Paralleling this confusion about Nietzsche's meaning for our cultural legacy, and connected to it, is the confusion which surrounds Nietzsche's works, especially the controversial *Nachlass*, his literary estate, his unpublished "literary fragments." Nietzsche's unpublished *Nachlass* is almost four times as extensive as the pages he authorized for publication or published during his lifetime. These unpublished manuscripts are, in the typical case, like the marble out of which a finished statue is

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[6]See especially *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society 1890-1918*, R. Hinton Thomas (Open Court, 1983) and *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890-1990*, Steven E. Aschheim (UC Press, 1992).

[7]In addition to his celebrated *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*, see especially his "Nietzsche's Minimalist Moral Psychology," in *European Journal of Philosophy*, volume 1, number 1, (1993), pp. 1-14.

[8]See especially his *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*. Cambridge University Press, 1989.

[9]See especially her essay "Pity and Mercy: Nietzsche's Stoicism" in *Nietzsche, Genealogy, Morality*, edited by R. Schacht. University of California Press, 1994; but also her discussions of Nietzsche in her *The Fragility of Goodness* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) and *Love's Knowledge* (Oxford University Press, 1990).

[10]See his "Genealogies and Subversions" in his *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry*. University of Notre Dame Press, 1990; also see his earlier discussion of Nietzsche in *After Virtue* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1984, second edition) in which the choice in morality reduces to Aristotle or Nietzsche, as in chapter 18, "After Virtue: Nietzsche or Aristotle, Trotsky and St. Benedict."

[11]See her "Nietzsche's Immoralism" in *The New York Review of Books*, 13 June 1991, pp. 18-22, reprinted in Schacht's op cit.

shaped and sculpted. They are essential to the published writings, but ought to be subordinated to it. They served as means to an end, as marble to the statue.

Recent investigations in Weimar by me in collaboration with Ernst Behler, through the generous cooperation of now-retired archive Director Professor Gerhard Schmid, have disclosed that less than 15% of Nietzsche's manuscripts and other effects were ever sent to publishers. Even Mazzino Montinari's rule-of thumb--namely that the ratio of published manuscripts to *Nachlass* manuscripts is about 40% published to 60% *Nachlass*--now appears to be off by as much as 25%. And yet, much of the public perception of Nietzsche's opinion on any given subject--scholarly as well as "popular"--derives not from the published writings but from the *Nachlass*. The most (in)famous example of this practice, perhaps, is the non-book *The Will to Power*, a highly selective and edited compilations from notes Nietzsche neither assembled, published nor intended to publish.

The *Nachlass* problem has been compounded by the general inaccessibility of Nietzsche's manuscripts themselves. During his sister's lifetime, until her death in 1935, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche retained ruthless control over all of Nietzsche's writings, almost a half a century after Nietzsche's mental collapse.

After World War II, so the story goes, the manuscripts were moved to the Goethe-und-Schiller Archiv, where they were made almost entirely inaccessible, since Nietzsche had been demonized by the communist regime in East Germany after World War II. The fact of the matter is that Nietzsche's manuscripts were put in boxes after the war but were NOT sent to the Goethe-und-Schiller Archiv, as popular history has it. Rather, they were sent to a damp attic of a building in Weimar, known to me only as the "golf club," where they remained until Director Hahn rescued them approximately 6 years later. Dr. Hahn, incidentally prevented their shipment to Moscow through heroism I cannot chronicle here, quite literally forcing their unloading from Russian military vehicles.

The Goethe-und-Schiller Archiv's name was changed to the "Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der Klassischen Deutschen Literatur in Weimar" (the "National Research and Memorial Site of Classical German Literature in Weimar"[12]). During the initial period of contact after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, when Director Schmid first wrote to me about the desperate condition of the Nietzsche estate late in 1991, it was still uncertain what the archive's name would be. Finally, shortly after our intervention and assistance, the archive is now named the "Stiftung Weimarer Klassik" (the "Weimar Classics Foundation"). Be that as it may, few scholars were able to consult Nietzsche's manuscripts after the war, a condition not unlike that of the Dead Sea Scrolls before Robert Schlosser was

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[12]Only a Communist Central Committee or an American Academic Senate committee could have thought of such a ludicrous name.

commissioned to photograph them, thus eventually making the Dead Sea Scrolls available to scholars through The Huntington Library.

Despite the 1989 dismantling of the Berlin Wall and all that this implies, a new inaccessibility immediately threatened Nietzsche's manuscripts, however. For Nietzsche's manuscripts had been so badly damaged and were decomposing at such an alarming and accelerating rate that virtually none of those manuscripts could be consulted any longer, even by Nietzsche experts. To attempt to consult many of them was to endanger them further.

II

Nietzsche's books and manuscripts were moved circa 1951 to the Goethe-Schiller archive from that Weimar attic I mentioned, having been removed in 1945 from the "Nietzsche Archiv" (the Villa Silberblick), which his sister had purchased for herself and for Nietzsche in Weimar in 1895, one hundred years ago. The house Nietzsche's sister purchased for him is approximately six kilometers from the Goethe-Schiller archive.

The Goethe-Schiller archive, a.k.a. the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, contains the manuscripts and other personal effects of more than 100 of Germany's most famous writers--including Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, and Nietzsche, as well as composers such as Franz Liszt. In addition to more than 40 complete literary and musical remains, the archive contains at least 60 other partial literary estates. It is not open to the general public. Access is by special advance permission only. In 1991-92 the archive was overburdened, underfunded, and understaffed. Fewer than six full time archivists were responsible for all of these German literary treasures.

Under Germany's new emerging political arrangements, the Goethe-und-Schiller Archiv is part of a "Stiftung" (a foundation), whose support comes from three sources: the Bundesrepublik itself (50%), the Thüringen government (40%), and the city of Weimar (10%). But given Germany's desperate financial condition in 1991, 50%, 40%, and 10% of zero is still zero.

It is at this point that the donor and I intervened, in 1992.

* * * * *

Nietzsche's documents are to be found in about 40 manuscript boxes of two different sizes--approximately 16"x24" and 12"x18". These 40 boxes contain Nietzsche's handwritten manuscripts, published and unpublished (the *Nachlass*), as well as letters, musical scores, and assorted personal effects. Restoring and conserving these materials became the initiative's first and ultimately controlling priority. Nietzsche's manuscript paper was decomposing rapidly when I appeared on the scene in 1992, due as much to over-use and downright abuse as to the ravages of time and climate--although Weimar's winter air is full of brown coal soot. And it

is damp. In fact, Thüringen's valley air in the colder months resembles the Los Angeles basin's smog in appearance, during L.A.'s worst summer months. Moreover, the acid content of the paper Nietzsche used is high, thus guaranteeing rapid decomposition. The *Nachlass,* as distinct from fair copy he sent to his publishers, was in especially bad shape. Moreover, and most regrettably, before we appeared upon the scene, there had never been any form of climate control installed at the archive.

It is an irony worth pondering that if one regards the history of technology as the history of progress, precisely the reverse is the case when it comes to preserving manuscripts. With the spread of literacy during the late Middle Ages and thereafter, with the emergence of texts in the vernacular and especially after the discovery of movable type and the printing press, the demand for books increased exponentially in Europe. Cheap paper became a "must," and with it the acid content of pulp and paper also increased--virtually guaranteeing the rapid decomposition of texts and manuscripts. The greater the acid content, the shorter the "shelf life"--as a rule. Indeed, if conservation were our goal, we might be better off still using papyrus scrolls!

The contents of each of Nietzsche's manuscript boxes has been cataloged in Weimar. These contents themselves vary in size and type of folders, notebooks, folios, files, etc. The pages within these different folders and notebooks are as varied as are the boxes themselves. Each folio contains pages of different sizes and kinds, too.

Nietzsche's own file folders, too, are decomposing, due chiefly to the kind of paper (cardboard) then used by Nietzsche and his first editors--as well as to the over-use and abuse by Nietzsche's first editors and would-be editors. Nietzsche's most endangered manuscript boxes posed a condition not unlike attempting to open a box of matzos without endangering its contents. Given the degradation of Nietzsche's manuscripts over time, some boxes could no longer be opened at all without further endangering their contents.

A succession of editors and would-be editors--through Mazzino Montinari, editor of the "canonical" critical edition in German--have clearly given little or no thought whatsoever to the preservation of the manuscripts they were editing. Some actually wrote directly on Nietzsche's manuscripts (e.g., Peter Gast, and Fritz Kögel--who wrote in red ink on some of Nietzsche's text pages, Gast generally in blue-green). Some editors pasted pages together at break points in the folds with crude postage stamp type tape, thus further damaging the very pages they were trying to save. The idea seems to have been that once the pages made their way into a critical edition (or someone's Nietzsche monograph), the documents themselves were of no further use or intrinsic value.[13]

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[13]Martha Nussbaum tells me that this is not as unusual or as shocking as I think, for Plato's and Aristotle's manuscripts shared the same fate at the hands of a succession of editors.

The archive has now installed a climate control for the first time, as well as a rudimentary security system. This will mitigate if not eliminate long-term conservation worries. In the meantime, Archivdirektor Gerhard Schmid succeeded in securing the support and agreement of the state's restoration facility and team at the Staatsarchiv in Bückeburg, to restore Nietzsche's manuscripts and letters, before his retirement in 1993. In addition, for the most difficult special cases (the *Spezialfälle*), an expert restorer was identified and enlisted to accomplish those difficult restorations.

It has now become painfully clear that virtually all of the manuscripts and musical scores of many of Germany's most celebrated writers and composers share the deteriorating fate of the Nietzsche collection. No systematic attempts at conservation and restoration were made in what used to be "East" Germany during the more than fifty years of communist rule. At the Goethe-und-Schiller Archiv, for example, between 1945 and 1994 only 1,200 pages had ever been restored (out of a total collection that must surely sum to millions of pages).

The Contents of the Nietzsche Collection

The Goethe-und-Schiller Archiv (hereafter the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik) is the repository for the vast majority of original Nietzsche materials in the world. It possesses all of Nietzsche's published manuscripts, virtually the entire *Nachlass*, as well as the bulk of his letters, compositions, and personal effects. In general, the Archiv's collection consists of the following categories:

1. All of Nietzsche's published and unpublished manuscripts, notebooks, and much of his juvenilia.
2. Letters written by Nietzsche.
3. Letters written to Nietzsche.
4. Many of Nietzsche's musical compositions and scores.
5. Some of Nietzsche's personal library, the bulk and remainder of which can be found in the Herzogin Anna Maria Bibliothek.[14]
6. Nietzsche's personal effects and family materials.
7. Unpublished *Nachlässe* of relevant persons, e.g., his sister--Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche.[15]

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[14]Nietzsche's personal library is now being conserved, again with donor assistance.

[15]I was astonished to learn on my first visit that the collected literary estate of Nietzsche's sister is much larger than that of her brother. Although she was two years younger, she lived until 1935--thirty five years longer than Friedrich, to which must be added the fact that for the last 11 years of Nietzsche's life (1889-1900) he could no longer write anything--so I suppose I should not have been surprised. But I was. I was particularly struck by Dr. Roswitta Wollkopf's observation that the Archiv contains a series of Elisabeth's monthly correspondence folders, letters written each month by Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, covering a period of 40 years (480 folders of her letters alone)!

Items #1, 2, 4, and 6 collectively equal about 40,000 *Blätter*, according to Gerhard Schmid. These are the materials that were restored or conserved. *"Blätter"* are quite simply "pages" in English, except that the English word "pages" may fail to convey the fact that pages consist of two sides, so that for purposes of reproduction a single *Blatt* may result in two duplicated pages. Some of Nietzsche's *Blätter* were written on both sides, some not. In the case of the notebooks (the *Notizbücher*) there are even blank *Blätter*. Blank notebook *Blätter* were not counted by the Archiv in arriving at the figure of 40,000 pages. In the interest of time and in telegraphic summary:

1. It was agreed that all 40 cartons of Nietzsche's materials would be restored (items #1, 2, 4, and 6 above). These constitute approximately 40,000 pages (Blätter).

2. All pages except the so-called "special cases" (*Spezialfälle*) were restored at the Staatsarchiv Bückeburg, beginning with the first ten boxes in October 1992.

3. It took approximately 19 months to complete the total restoration at Bückeburg.

4. The "special cases" were restored by Müller's Jena student and protégé, at his own facility. These special items are manuscript pages that are in such bad shape that each one required its own unique restoration technique and procedure (e.g., splitting elements of the pages before deacidification). Approximately 10% of all of Nietzsche's manuscripts required this special process.

5. Initially, it was agreed that there would be a duplicate of all of Nietzsche's handwritten materials. We agreed to exclude (for now, at least) all letters by and to Nietzsche, all his personal family effects (photos, for example), and his musical scores. Unlike the case of the manuscripts, all of Nietzsche's letters and musical compositions have been published in complete and excellent editions anyway, and they do not pose the problems posed by the manuscripts such as those that constitute the *Nachlass*. The materials duplicated during the first round summed to more than 15,000 *Blätter* out of the 40,000 *Blätter* total.

6. To be precise, what was restored during the first round was the following:

A. Nietzsche's handwritten mss. sent to publishers	[1398 *Blätter*]	1,400
B. Nietzsche's additions to these mss.	[849 *Blätter*]	850
C. *Studienhefte* (exercise books) Group III	[2986 *Blätter*]	2,990
D. *Studienhefte* (exercise books) Group IV	[4055 *Blätter*]	4,060
E. Notebooks *(Notizbücher)*	[2304 *Blätter*]	2,305
F. Collected materials *(Materialsammlung)*	[3496 *Blätter*]	3,500
TOTAL		15,088

7. The truly mind-boggling thing for me is the sheer enormity of the *Nachlass* compared to the pages Nietzsche sent to publishers. Less than 15% of the handwritten manuscripts consist of fair copy sent to publishers (approximately 2,250 pages out of a total of more than 15,000). When I discussed the ratio of published to *Nachlass* materials with Mazzino Montinari many years ago, before his death, I was under the impression that the ratio was something like 40% (published) to 60% (*Nachlass*), not 15% to 85%. And Montinari's critical edition confirms this initial impression. It now looks as if there is a lot more unpublished material than we supposed, compared to the published materials. There are many explanations for this discrepancy, which I will not go into now, but will remark upon while discussing the photographs.

8. The 15,000 *Blätter* will sum to many more photos and pages than that, since many pages were written on both sides, requiring two photographs and two prints per page.

9. Professor Schmid's and Wollkopf's initial guess was that between 20,000 and 25,000 photographs will be required for the 15,000 *Blätter* conventionally associated with a critical edition of Nietzsche's works.[16]

III

In this section I shall attempt to call your attention to certain features of the photographs reproduced in black and white at the end of this essay. The photographs were selected from only 2 of the 40 cartons or containers of materials I mentioned previously. These photos will include, in the beginning, four which will show the Villa Silberblick, the original Nietzsche Archiv, and the Stiftung Weimarer Klassik.

I should also add that the photographs are somewhat more unclear than the original manuscripts--keeping in mind that these are the BEST preserved cases--primarily to protect the Weimar bequest and because of my own incompetence (I was using an idiot-proof Cannon instamatic camera). Apologies also must be made for the poor quality of the reproduction of the photographs in the present format. (See footnote 1.)

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[16]My understanding is that as a gesture of gratitude, approximately 120 volumes of Nietzsche's manuscripts are now part of a Nietzsche archive at the New York Public Library, although I am not certain of this. I regret to say that my interest flagged after facilitating the restoration and conservation effort. It is worth mentioning, however, that the donor (whose name I have not mentioned, since I have not consulted him about his wishes) is now helping to underwrite the conservation of Nietzsche's Library--an equally important undertaking, given Nietzsche's penchant for commenting on his readings in a book's margins.

The Photographs

1. Restored original Villa Silberblick (w/ Ernst Behler looking at the sign which indicates the house number [36] and the ubiquitous "Nationale Forschungs und Gedenkstätten der Deutschen Literatur in Weimar").

2. The Nietzsche archive in its restored state, the Villa Silberblick, which does not contain Nietzsche's manuscripts or personal library.

3. The Goethe-Schiller-Archiv. It is probably difficult to see in black and white, but the building bears the name "Nationale Forschungs und Gedenkstätten der Klassischen Deutschen Literatur." Notice especially the effect the coal soot has had upon the building's exterior (and interior with no climate control inside either). The contrast between the restored and cleaned original Nietzsche Archiv and the Nationale Forschungs und Gedenkstätten der Klassischen Deutschen Literature is especially striking.

4. The archive at a different angle, showing the ravages of Weimar's air.

5. Nietzsche's archive room. Note especially (a) Fr. Dr. Roswitta Wollkopf, who is the archivist in charge of the Nietzsche holding and many other archival collections besides; (b) 2 manuscript boxes--note the holes for ventilation, as if this would help, given Weimar's winter air!

6. This is a closer view of boxes and its air vents.

7. Dr. Wollkopf and Lore Woodcock-Magnus opening manuscript boxes.

8. This is a typical case of a manuscript folder in relatively good condition. One folder contains loose manuscript pages, the other a Nietzsche notebook.

9. Roswitta pulls out folders from a typical box in which Nietzsche's manuscript materials are kept.

10. Same data with a better view of the deteriorating condition of the notebook. Notice that even the notebook's cover has undergone deterioration.

11. Typical case of a *Notizbuch* in *best* shape. NB: (a) pages breaking from notebook; (b) notes, and other inscriptions on left hand page, which did not count as a text for editors. This has been a universal practice among Nietzsche's editors, as if they had immaculate perceptions which could tell them a priori what was and what was not a relevant page or entry for a critical edition! (c) note the line through the page on the right. If Nietzsche crossed out a paragraph or line, it became common not to include it in critical editions.

12. Same notebook pages: observe the line through the right hand page and the sheer diversity of inscriptions. What counts as a text here? Why not all of it? (Remember that the only reason Mazzino Montinari elected to include the note *"Ich habe meinen Regenschirm vergessen"* in his critical edition is that the sentence ["I forgot my umbrella"] was in quotation marks in the *Notizbuch*--a decision he later regretted).

13. A more vivid illustration of the plethora of materials in Nietzsche's notebooks. This, too, was not collected in editions because of the sheer profusion of materials and types: from observations to remarks on visitors, numbers, doodles, shopping lists, weather reports and complaints.

14. I call your attention to the upper right hand corner of the right hand page. The blotch on the top is in fact a vivid red used by Fritz Kögel, a color which bleeds through pages making restoration difficult (this is only an innocuous instance, but there are many more serious ones). Peter Gast used blue markings directly on Nietzsche's manuscripts!

15. Beginning of second layer (a folder of folio quarto pages, not a notebook). Note especially the discoloration of the top page in relation to the page directly beneath it which is visible at the top. (Ravages of time and weather, again). The top page is completely discolored.

16. Breaking pages, with Peter Gast's pen markings on left side.

17. A loose page with Kögel pen marking visible in the lower left quarter of the left hand page.

18. This is a best case example of editorial indifference, simply because Kögel's and Gast's markings are confined to the upper right hand page, which--fortunately--was still blank.

19. In the middle of the left hand page we find what I have termed "Monti stains" on manuscripts. Of course, this is much more vivid in the color slide version, but what you see as blotches are in fact unmistakable brown stains. Sometimes they are brown and/or gray. The reason for this is quite simple. As many of you know, Mazzino Montinari was a member of the Italian Communist Party--which explains, in part, why he was allowed access to Nietzsche's manuscripts in East Germany during some of the darkest hours of the "cold war." Frequent travel between his Italian home and the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, where he spent much of his time, was trying and difficult enough. To have to triangulate the effort by regular visits to Weimar in the East--with all the bureaucratic hassles this entailed at the time--was often more than he could bear. So he worked out an arrangement with Director Hahn that permitted him to take whatever Nietzsche manuscripts he needed as he needed then!!

Mazzino was not an elegant man, even those of us who loved and admired him have to admit. In particular, he drank coffee in large quantities and smoked like a chimney while pouring over Nietzsche's original manuscripts in his room at the Wissenschaftskolleg. The pun is deliberate, because from time to time Mazzino would indeed "pour" over the manuscripts: coffee and cigarette ashes. Hence my rubric "Monti stains," of which this is an innocuous instance (?). I share this anecdote not to diminish the importance of the contribution of the best Nietzsche editor who ever lived, I hasten to add, but because--like all of us--he was not perfect either.

20. This is a photograph of Montinari's attempts to reorganize the contents of each folio.

21. This is the original 1882 cover page of *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* sent to Chemnitz in 1882. Please note the following interesting details: (a) there is no *"Gaya Scienza"* subtitle. That was added in the expanded 1887 edition. (b) Note the names and addresses in Nietzsche's own hand arranged virtually clockwise on the bottom of the page. This is intrinsically interesting. Just consider that in *Ecce Homo* he wrote: "This was said for the benefit of the Germans; for everywhere else I have readers--nothing but first-rate intellects and proven characters, trained in high positions and duties; I even have real geniuses among my readers. In Vienna, in St. Petersburg, in Stockholm, in Copenhagen, in Paris, in New York--everywhere I have been discovered; but not in the shallows of Europe, Germany." (EH III:2)

If we simply look at this 1882 title page of *The Gay Science*, for instance, we see the cities to which Nietzsche refers six years later in *Ecce Homo*, listed for branches of his 1887 publishing house Ernst Schmeitzner, namely, H. Schmitzdorff in St. Petersburg (5 Nevsky Prospekt), C. Klincksieck in Paris (11 Rue de Lille), Loescher & Co. in Rome (307 Via del Corso), E. Steige in New York (22-24 Frankfort Street), and Williams & Norgate in London (14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden). Yet Nietzsche's statement was meant not only to indicate that these firms affiliated with Schmeitzner were able to distribute his published writings in these cities, but to point to actual readers known to him either through direct contact or referred to him by others. (On one of my visits to Weimar, I found an admirer's "business card" or "calling card" from one of the cities Nietzsche mentioned). Those who took Nietzsche's *Ecce Homo* remark (above) as a sign of his growing megalomania, therefore, probably missed their target, at least in this case.

In his autobiographical writing *Ecce Homo* of 1888, after chiding the Germans for not understanding his notion of an *Übermensch*, for aligning him with Darwinism, and for absolutely misinterpreting his *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche entered the remark quoted above. Nevertheless, Nietzsche's claim to such a talented readership is usually dismissed as the tortured self-appraisal of an author painfully aware of the low sales and limited review success rates of his writings, or even as a sign of megalomania foreshadowing his impending mental breakdown in January 1889.[17]

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[17]This is the approach to Nietzsche by Analecto Verrecchia, *La Catastrofe di Nietzsche a Torino* (Torino: Einaudi, 1978).

22. This final photograph is a beautifully legible page of the 1882 *The Gay Science*. It could be read by anyone, even today. It also contrasts sharply with the growing deterioration of his handwritten manuscripts, especially from 1887 on.

Finally, and regrettably, Colli and Montinari never bothered to include Nietzsche's audience clues found on the title page of GS, either in the KGW or in the DTV (*"Studienausgabe"*). Paradoxically and quite ironically, the less complete and far less accurate Musarionausabe did include the names and addresses mentioned above in reproducing the title page of *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*. This was not the only and by no means the most glaring deficiency of the Colli-Montinari edition. For example, the very best edition of Nietzsche's works yet produced, the Colli-Montinari, contains not the final but the penultimate version of *Ecce Homo*.

IV

If there are no immaculate perceptions, then this applies with a vengeance to editors of critical editions. This fact helps to explain why there is perhaps as much as 25% more material--excluding Nietzsche's letters, letters to him, and personal effects--than exists in even the very best edition of Nietzsche's works, the monumental Colli-Montinari edition. The reasons for this apparent discrepancy may include the following facts.

1. Many editors, sometimes including Montinari, often did not produce the pages and the notations Nietzsche himself crossed out in his handwritten manuscripts.

2. Montinari specifically excluded from his by far superior edition matters he considered "personal." But what could this mean, especially for a writer such as Nietzsche for whom--in a sense--everything is personal?

3. As far as I can tell, every editor has a preconception about what counts as "a text" as distinct from marginalia. Perhaps the most famous case is Montinari's decision to include from Nietzsche's *Nachlass* the sentence *"Ich habe meinen Regenschirm Vergessen"*--"I forgot my umbrella"--which had never been included in previous editions. His principle of inclusion, as I already mentioned and as is widely known, is that Nietzsche put quotation marks around this remark which was sufficient to persuade Mazzino that this was a text, not a "personal" remark. Nevertheless, in general, too many editors have excluded all marginalia (whatever that means) including number sequences,[18] many sentence fragments, drawings, comments on letters, visitors, weather and the like. But why are these not considered "texts"?

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[18]This is especially regrettable in the case of the numerology one finds in the pages of the notebooks of the Zarathustra period. As Laurence Lampert has argued, convincingly in my opinion, numbers play a critical role in that particular work, and perhaps in many more.

4. There is a distinct possibility that some of Nietzsche handwritten *Nachlass* materials have been lost in transit or still remain in private hands.

5. There is abundant evidence that Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche moved some of quarto pages from one folio to another, making it all the more difficult--if not impossible--to be confident about the periodization of Nietzsche's literary estate.

Given what I have said, what would a genuinely comprehensive edition of Nietzsche's legacy look like? Or to put the matter differently, what is wanted in the remote future? What is wanted at a minimum, it seems to me, is a precise reproduction of the original handwritten materials, some of which I have shown you, each with its own page. This would sum to about 25,000 photostatic pages. One would then want facing pages of translations, annotations and variants. Assuming a 1:1 correspondence of photo to text translation and annotation, this would result in another 25,000 pages. A total of 50,000 pages at 500 pages per volume would give us a Nietzsche edition of 100 volumes--excluding the letters, musical scores, etc. Including the latter would more than double the numbers.

Nothing of this scope has ever been undertaken before. The complete Dante edition, for example, has the original language on one page but not the original mss. from which these derive, with facing translation pages. The variorum editions of Shakespeare and Milton contain all printed versions, variants, and commentaries; but they do not include the original mss. pages either. Perhaps the closest approximation to what I have in mind in the Ellesmere edition of Chaucer--the only photostatic text of original mss., including marginalia. But there's the rub. A single copy of the Ellesmere Chaucer costs $16,000. How much more would Nietzsche's volumes cost, since these also would entail translations, annotations and variants. The answer is clear. It would cost far too much to be of practical use.

What, then, am I proposing as the Nietzsche philology and editorial scholarship of the future? My guess is that the future will see the marriage of archival skills and computer technology. Specifically, there is already in research and development a CD-ROM scanner which reproduces scanned images that are indistinguishable from the original. Scanning and down-loading Nietzsche's literary legacy would thus become feasible and affordable. Such materials could then be distributed on disks, and a major translation and commentary project could then be undertaken, if desired, taking advantage of precisely the same technology.[19]

That is the future--however distant--of critical Nietzsche editions, as I see it, the results of which, I am utterly convinced, will render most of our generation's interpretations of Nietzsche's works highly questionably if not downright obsolete--including my own.

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[19]One reason for retaining "hard copies" is the emergence of some evidence that even CD-ROMs deteriorate over time.