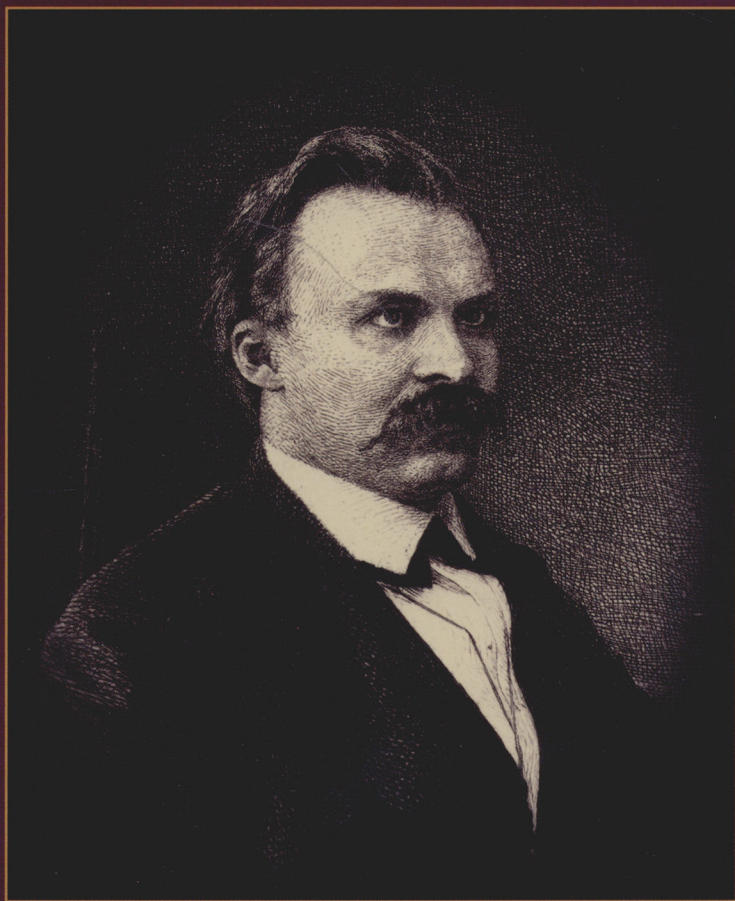


C-JS122-4287-109

NIETZSCHE

THE MAN AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

REVISED EDITION



R. J. HOLLINGDALE

8516.47

W1=2

Nietzsche

The Man and His Philosophy

Revised Edition

R. J. HOLLINGDALE

江苏工业学院图书馆
藏书章



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© R. J. Hollingdale 1965, 1999

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and
to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published by Routledge & Kegan Paul and Louisiana State University Press 1965

Revised edition first published by Cambridge University Press 1999

First paperback edition 2001

Printed in the United States of America

Typeface Ehrhardt 10.5/13 pt. System MagnaType™ [AG]

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hollingdale, R. J.

Nietzsche : the man and his philosophy / R.J. Hollingdale—Rev.
ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 1844-1900. I. Title.

B3317.H557 1999

193—dc21

[B]

98-33299

CIP

ISBN 0 521 64091 1 hardback

ISBN 0 521 00295 8 paperback

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Nietzsche

This classic biography of Nietzsche was first published in the 1960s and was enthusiastically reviewed at the time. In the years that have passed, the secondary literature on this most fertile and influential of modern philosophers has expanded enormously, and yet this biography remains the single best account of the life and works for the student or nonspecialist. Long out of print, it is now reissued with its text updated in the light of recent research.

The biography chronicles Nietzsche's evolution from the pious son of a country parson to the university professor who at the age of twenty-five had already conceived the basis of his mature philosophy. The book discusses his friendship and breach with Wagner, his attitude toward Schopenhauer, and his indebtedness to Darwin and the Greeks. It follows the years of his maturity, with his struggles with ill-health; his wanderings in Italy, France, and Switzerland; his abortive affair with Lou Salomé; and his mental collapse in 1889. The final part of the book considers the development of the Nietzsche legend during his years of madness.

Into this chronicle is integrated an account of the evolution of the philosophy from *The Birth of Tragedy* to *Ecce Homo*. The ideas are discussed in clear and straightforward language. In the biography's quotations, R. J. Hollingdale, one of the preeminent translators of this philosopher's works, allows Nietzsche to speak for himself in a translation that transmits the vividness and virtuosity of Nietzsche's many styles.

This is the ideal book with which anyone interested in Nietzsche's life and work can learn why he is such a significant figure for the development of modern thought. It is understandable for those—be they students, nonspecialists, or general readers of biography—who have only the slightest acquaintance with the vocabulary of philosophy.

R. J. Hollingdale, one of the most admired translators of Nietzsche, has widely disseminated the works of this philosopher by translating eleven of his books, three of which have been published by Cambridge University Press (*Daybreak*, *Untimely Meditations*, and *Human, All Too Human*).

Preface to the Revised Edition

As I said in the Preface to the original edition, the purpose of this book is to outline the life of Nietzsche as concisely as seems reasonable; his philosophy is considered as a part of his life, and here too the objective is conciseness. What I try to describe is the course of his existence and his thought in their essentials.

I have subjected the book to a thorough revision in which I have corrected what I now perceive as stylistic faults, removed some passages that seem to me misguided or out of date, and amended a few statements of supposed fact which later research has shown not to be factual; but in every essential respect the book has remained the work which first appeared in 1965.

I have eliminated the appendices of the original as being superannuated and have replaced them with a Postscript which in a strictly limited way surveys the changes that have taken place in the publication, reception and appreciation of Nietzsche over the past thirty-five years (part of this Postscript was first published in *International Studies in Philosophy*, vol. XXII/2, 1990). The original bibliography belongs, of course, to an older generation of Nietzsche study, and I have substituted a new one.

All the passages quoted from Nietzsche's works and letters were newly translated for the original 1965 edition: the works are cited by title or title initials (for which see the list that follows) and chapter and/or section, which are the same for all editions; the letters are cited by date so that they can be referred to in any edition.

Little Venice,
London

A List of Nietzsche's Works

In the large body of work published under Nietzsche's name during his life and since his death it is necessary to make a distinction between his genuine 'works' (i.e. those books published by him or prepared by him for publication) and all the remaining material (i.e. *Nachlass* [material left behind after his collapse and death], philologica, juvenilia): for the former group Nietzsche is responsible, for the latter he is not, since its distinguishing characteristic is that he did not offer it to the public as his 'work'. Yet, mainly through the publication of *The Will to Power*—a compilation drawn from the *Nachlass* of the 1880s—the dividing line between these two groups has become blurred and the logical and orderly development of his philosophy obscured. If we are to attempt to trace that development we must first be clear where it is to be discovered—i.e. in the 'works'. It would also be well to fix in advance the order in which Nietzsche's works appeared, since this is obviously of importance to any consideration of how his thought developed. For these reasons I give here a chronological list of Nietzsche's works as defined above. (The initials by which they are cited in the text are given on the right.)

1. *Die Geburt der Tragödie, oder Griechentum und Pessimismus* (The GT
Birth of Tragedy, or Hellenism and Pessimism). Published 1872,
under the title *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*
(The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music), and consisting
of 25 sections, with a 'Foreword to Richard Wagner'. 2nd edn.
1874 embodies some textual changes. 3rd edn. 1886 bears the
altered title given above, and is prefaced by an 'Essay in Self-
Criticism': although termed a 'new edition' it is in reality a
reissue of remaining copies of the two previous editions (with the
title changed and the prefatory essay added). The text quoted in
the present work is that of the 2nd edn.

2. *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen* (Untimely Meditations).
 - Erstes Stück: David Strauss, der Bekenner und der Schriftsteller.* UI
(First Essay: David Strauss, the Confessor and the Writer.)
Published 1873. A long essay in 12 sections.
 - Zweites Stück: Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben.* II
(Second Essay: On the Usefulness and Disadvantage
for Life of [the study of] History.) Published 1874. A long
essay in 10 sections, with a Foreword.
 - Drittes Stück: Schopenhauer als Erzieher.* (Third Essay: UIII
Schopenhauer as Educator.) Published 1874. A long essay in 8
sections.
 - Viertes Stück: Richard Wagner in Bayreuth.* (Fourth Essay: UIV
Richard Wagner in Bayreuth.) Published 1876. A long essay in
11 sections. Further 'Untimely Meditations' were planned but
not completed.
3. *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches. Ein Buch für freie Geister* (Hu-
man, All Too Human. A Book for Free Spirits).
 - Volume One.* Published 1878, comprising 638 sections ordered MA
under 9 chapters, with a dedication to Voltaire and a quotation
from Descartes 'instead of a preface'. 2nd edn. 1886 un-
changed except: (i) the dedication is removed, (ii) a newly-
written Preface replaces the quotation, and (iii) a poetic
postlude, 'Under Freunden' (Among Friends), is added.
 - Volume Two. Erste Abteilung: Vermischte Meinungen und Sprüche.* VMS
(First Division: Assorted Opinions and Maxims.)
Published 1879, comprising 408 sections.
 - Zweite Abteilung: Der Wanderer und sein Schatten.* (Second WS
Division: The Wanderer and His Shadow.) Published 1880,
comprising 350 sections enclosed within a dialogue between
the Wanderer and his shadow.
 - 2nd edn. 1886 combines these two divisions as the 2nd vol. of
MA, the only change being the addition of a newly-written
Preface.
4. *Morgenröte. Gedanken über die moralischen Vorurteile* (Daybreak: M
Thoughts on the Prejudices of Morality). Published 1881, com-
prising 575 sections ordered under 5 'books'. 2nd edn. 1887
unaltered except for the addition of a newly-written Preface.
5. *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft ('la gaya scienza')* (The Gay Science). FW
Published 1882, comprising 342 sections ordered under 4 'books'

- and preceded by a 'Prologue in German Rhyme: *Scherz, List und Rache*' (Jest, Cunning and Revenge—the title is from Goethe) containing 63 short poems. 2nd edn. 1887 adds to the 1st edn.: (i) a 5th 'book': *Wir Furchtlosen* (We Who Are Without Fear), (ii) an appendix, *Lieder des Prinzen Vogelfrei* (Songs of Prince Free as a Bird), containing 14 poems, (iii) a newly-written Preface. A quotation from Emerson which stood as the motto of the 1st edn. is replaced by a quatrain of Nietzsche's own.
6. *Also sprach Zarathustra. Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (Thus Spoke Zarathustra. A Book for Everyone and No One). Z
Part One, published 1883, comprises 'Zarathustra's Prologue' and 22 chapters.
Part Two, also published 1883, comprises 22 chapters.
Part Three, published 1884, comprises 16 chapters.
Fourth and Last Part, comprising 20 chapters, issued privately 1885; first public issue 1892 as part of the first collected edn. of Nietzsche (ed. Peter Gast).
Parts One, Two and Three were reissued as a single vol. in 1887 without alteration or addition.
7. *Jenseits von Gut und Böse. Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft* (Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future). J
Published 1886, comprising 296 sections ordered under 9 chapters, a Preface, and a poetic postlude, 'Aus hohen Bergen' (From High Mountains).
8. *Zur Genealogie der Moral. Eine Streitschrift* (Towards a Genealogy of Morals. A Polemic). GM
Published 1887, comprising 3 essays with a Preface.
9. *Der Fall Wagner. Ein Musikanten-Problem* (The Wagner Case. A Musician's Problem). W
Published 1888. A polemical essay, with a Preface, two Postscripts and an Epilogue.
10. *Götzen-Dämmerung, oder Wie man mit dem Hammer philosophiert* (Twilight of the Idols, or How to Philosophize with a Hammer). G
Prepared for publication 1888, published 1889. 10 chapters with a Foreword and a quotation from Z, 'Der Hammer redet' (The Hammer Speaks), as an epilogue.
11. *Nietzsche contra Wagner. Aktenstücke eines Psychologen* (Nietzsche contra Wagner. A Psychologist's Brief). NCW
Prepared for publication 1888, issued privately 1889; first public issue 1895, as part of the

A List of Nietzsche's Works

2. *Gesamtausgabe in Grossoktav*, ed. Fritz Koegel. 9 short chapters, with Foreword and Epilogue.
12. *Der Antichrist* (The Anti-Christ). Prepared for publication 1888, A published 1895 as part of the *Gesamtausgabe in Grossoktav*. A long essay in 62 sections, with a Foreword.
13. *Dionysos-Dithyramben* (Dithyrambs of Dionysus). Nine poems of DD various dates, apparently arranged by Nietzsche for publication at the end of 1888; published in 1892 in the first collected edn., ed. Peter Gast.
14. *Ecce Homo. Wie man wird, was man ist* (Ecce Homo. How One EH Becomes What One Is). An autobiography in 4 chapters with a Foreword. (Between the 3rd and 4th chapters are 10 sections dealing with Nietzsche's previous works: reference in the text of the present work is indicated by initials: e.g. EH-J, EH-GM.) Prepared for publication during the last quarter of 1888 and partly printed; published 1908 (limited edn.), 1911 (unlimited edn.).

Der Wille zur Macht (The Will to Power) is cited in the text by the initials WM.

1844—1860

. . . a curiosity like mine is decidedly the most pleasurable of vices.—I beg your pardon! I meant to say: the love of truth has its reward in Heaven, and already upon earth.

(J 45)

Contents

<i>Preface to the Revised Edition</i>	page vii
<i>A List of Nietzsche's Works</i>	ix
PART I: 1844–1869	
1. The Child	3
2. The Schoolboy	18
3. The Student	28
PART II: 1869–1879	
4. The Professor	47
5. Wagner, Schopenhauer, Darwin and the Greeks	56
6. Basel and Bayreuth	86
7. Sorrento and an End in Basel	107
PART III: 1879–1889	
8. The Turning-Point	115
9. The Wanderer	125
10. Lou Salomé	148
11. Zarathustra	158
12. The Solitary	169
13. The Year 1888	193
14. The Revaluation	217
15. The Poet	228
16. The Collapse	237

Contents

PART IV: 1889-1900

17. Nietzsche's Death	243
Postscript 1999	255
<i>Selective Bibliography</i>	263
<i>Index</i>	267

I

1844–1869

We are . . . *good Europeans*, the heirs of . . . millennia of the European spirit: as such we have outgrown Christianity, and precisely because we have grown out of it, because our forefathers were Christians of the ruthless integrity of Christianity, who for the sake of their faith gladly sacrificed their goods and their blood, their station and their country. We—do the same. (FW 377)

Nietzsche's views have always seemed so strikingly different from the background of opinion against which he grew up that they have often been thought to owe their origin to a violent reaction against his upbringing. His entire philosophy even has been seen as no more than a calculated antithesis to the tradition in which he was raised. He was the heir of a line of Lutheran pastors going back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, his father and both grandfathers were Lutheran ministers, and he lived the first five and a half years of his life in a parsonage and later in an equally pious home; and it has been argued that his subsequent irreligion is to be explained by reference to these facts. There are two main reasons for rejecting this view as an adequate explanation of the genesis of Nietzsche's thought. In the first place, no serious student today would be inclined to exaggerate the differences between his outlook and that of Christianity: the tendency today—a justified tendency, as I think—is to emphasize the conventional elements in his philosophy and its connection with that 'Protestant' tradition of inquiry of which the whole of German philosophy may be said to be a part. Secondly, the need to account for the irrationality supposed to characterize Nietzsche's thought is disappearing with the growing recognition that it is not irrational at all. The notion that his philosophy was a reaction to his environment presupposed it was founded on emotion rather than on reason; the background of emotional rebellion was called on to account for the irrationalism, the irrationalism held responsible for the violence and radical nature of the rebellion. Here again the conventional picture has had to be modified, and the temptation now is to ignore

1844-1869

*We are... good Europeans, the heirs of... millions of the European
 spirit as such we have outgrown Christianity and precisely because we
 have grown out of it because our forefathers were Christians of the
 religious integrity of Christianity, who for the sake of their faith gladly
 sacrificed their goods and their blood, their women and their country.
 We—do the same (RW 377)*

The Child

The Protestant pastor is the grandfather of German philosophy. (A 10)

1

Nietzsche's views have always seemed so strikingly different from the background of opinion against which he grew up that they have often been thought to owe their origin to a violent reaction against his upbringing. His entire philosophy even has been seen as no more than a calculated antithesis to the tradition in which he was raised. He was the heir of a line of Lutheran pastors going back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, his father and both grandfathers were Lutheran ministers, and he lived the first five and a half years of his life in a parsonage and later in an equally pious home; and it has been argued that his subsequent irreligion is to be explained by reference to these facts. There are two main reasons for rejecting this view as an adequate explanation of the genesis of Nietzsche's thought. In the first place, no serious student today would be inclined to exaggerate the differences between his outlook and that of Christianity: the tendency today—a justified tendency, as I think—is to emphasize the conventional elements in his philosophy and its connection with that 'Protestant' tradition of inquiry of which the whole of German philosophy may be said to be a part. Secondly, the need to account for the irrationality supposed to characterize Nietzsche's thought is disappearing with the growing recognition that it is not irrational at all. The notion that his philosophy was a reaction to his environment presupposed it was founded on emotion rather than on reason: the background of emotional rebellion was called on to account for the irrationalism, the irrationalism held responsible for the violence and radical nature of the rebellion. Here again the conventional picture has had to be modified, and the temptation now is to ignore

rather than emphasize the element of rebellion which is undoubtedly present in his work and to emphasize rather than ignore its strong links with the past.

The more closely one studies Nietzsche's work, the less inclined one is to look outside it for an elucidation of its meaning or an explanation of its origin. The need is no longer felt to psychologize it away or to find in an oppressively orthodox home the ground from which it sprang; and when this need is no longer felt it becomes possible to take a more realistic view of what that home was like. It then becomes clear that the conventional picture is founded on a misconception here, too. The Nietzsche home was certainly an orthodox one; but the quality of that orthodoxy has been rather misunderstood. To an outsider, the Lutheran Church resembles the Anglican more than any other: it is not fundamentalist or fanatical, and not puritan. It holds a special place in the history of German culture and education: the *Pfarrhaustradition*, as it is called—the preservation and advancement of cultural enlightenment in the Lutheran parsonage—is one of the few unbroken threads in the fabric of German historical development over the past three hundred years. Those brought up in that tradition, whether they entered the church themselves or not, have played a disproportionately large part in the cultural and intellectual life of Germany, and when Nietzsche wrote that the Protestant (i.e. Lutheran) pastor was the grandfather of German philosophy he was telling the strict truth. His own home was constructed on the conventional Lutheran pattern. There is no question but that he was happy there, and he never said he had 'rebelled' against an environment which he found insupportable. Apart from his father and mother the most influential figure of his childhood and youth was his maternal grandfather, Pastor David Oehler, with whom he and his sister spent many holidays. Grandfather Oehler was a hunting parson of the old type; he possessed a large library and was musically gifted; his parsonage resembled a farm and for most of his working week he was more of a farmer than a clergyman. He was a very robust gentleman, had eleven children, died in harness at 72, and strikes one as being about as devout and other-worldly as Laurence Sterne. Like the Anglican Church, the Lutheran offered the lower orders one of the few routes to social and cultural betterment: the fact that Nietzsche's forebears took it is not evidence of exceptional piety (or necessarily of any piety at all). If the English-speaking reader thinks of the Anglican Church of the eighteenth century, in which a Swift could become dean of a cathedral, a Berkeley a bishop and even a Sterne not lose his living, he will have a fair idea of the climate of tolerant orthodoxy in which Nietzsche grew up.

Nietzsche's ancestry has been traced back to the sixteenth century. Over 200 forebears are known, all of them Germans. Few were peasants or farmers

(none were aristocrats); mostly they were small tradesmen: hatters, carpenters, butchers and the like. But by the eighteenth century the families that finally converged in the philosopher were all in the Lutheran Church.

The earliest Nietzsche to enter the church was the philosopher's grandfather Friedrich August Ludwig (1756–1826), who rose to the rank of superintendent, the equivalent of a bishop. Friedrich August's mother's family were Lutheran pastors for five generations (1600–1725) and his wife's father and great-grandfather had also been in the church. He was the author of two polemical defences of Christianity in the French Revolutionary period, one of which advanced in its subtitle the belief that Christianity would endure forever. This difference of opinion notwithstanding, there is something about the grandfather that reminds us of the grandson: the extreme assertion of a threatened tradition is common to both, and there is some similarity of polemical style in their writings, although the grandfather has little of the grandson's wit and rhetorical brilliance.¹

Friedrich August's son, the philosopher's father, Karl Ludwig Nietzsche, was born in 1813. He was destined for the church from the first and became pastor of the village of Röcken, near Lützen, and of the neighbouring hamlets of Michlitz and Bothfeld, in 1842. The following year he married one of the daughters of the pastor of Pobles, a village an hour's journey away. Franziska Oehler, the philosopher's mother, was the sixth of Pastor Oehler's eleven children. Born in 1826, she was 17 when she married Pastor Nietzsche; her education is said to have been faulty, but there is plenty of testimony to her gaiety and good sense. These may sound prosaic virtues, but they were not very much in evidence at the Röcken parsonage before she went there. Pastor Nietzsche's establishment was a quieter one than that of the farming and hunting Pastor Oehler. It was dominated by the incumbent's widowed mother, and also in residence were his two step-sisters, Augusta and Rosalie, a pair of elderly oddities, amiable, well-meaning, unmarried and mildly neurotic: they achieved posthumous fame as 'Nietzsche's aunts', the embodiment of the provincial stuffiness against which the whole Nietzschean philosophy is supposed by some commentators to be a reaction.

The new Frau Pastor was so much younger than the other members of the household it must have seemed to her she was moving from one parental home to another less agreeable, of which, far from being the mistress, she was the most junior member; when her children came along they were more her

¹Friedrich August Nietzsche's books are: *Gamaliel, oder die immerwährende Dauer des Christentums* (1796), and *Beiträge zur Beförderung einer vernünftigen Denkensart über Religion, Erziehung, Untertanenpflicht und Menschenliebe* (1804). They afford us the only glimpse we have of an intellectual quality out of the ordinary in the Nietzsche family before the birth of the philosopher.