

GEORGE SANTAYANA'S
MARGINALIA
A CRITICAL SELECTION

BOOK ONE: ABELL–LUCRETIUS

Edited and with an Introduction by
JOHN MCCORMICK

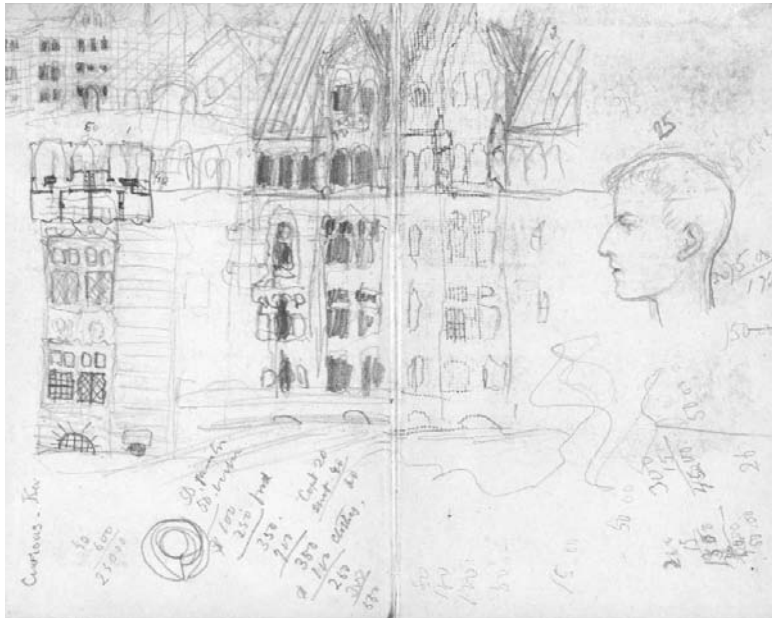
THE WORKS OF GEORGE SANTAYANA, Volume VI
KRISTINE WALTERS FROST, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

The Works of George Santayana

Volume VI, Book One

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This volume is dedicated,
with thanks,
to Mairi



Santayana's drawing from Immanuel Kant's *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft*
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George Santayana's Marginalia

A Critical Selection

Book One: Abell – Lucretius

Edited and with an Introduction by
John McCormick

Kristine Walters Frost, Associate Editor

The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England

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Introduction

John McCormick

In his essay "Imagination," George Santayana wrote, "There are books in which the footnotes, or the comments scrawled by some reader's hand in the margin, are more interesting than the text."¹ That remark might serve to define the quality of a great many of the thousands of marginalia that Santayana never scrawled, but neatly and legibly entered, in the hundreds of books he acquired over the course of a long lifetime. It is not that he was given to buying dull books, but that his comments serve to illuminate, to defy, to negate, or interestingly to expand his authors' thought in routine or surprising or frequently delightful ways. At the same time, the marginalia offer a unique way into the processes of Santayana's mind, a measure of his undoubted originality as philosopher, imaginative writer, critic, essayist, and as human being.

We look to marginalia for indications of a writer's development or changes of mind, for a relaxed statement in place of public formality, for unsuspected moods, passions, or enthusiasms, and for otherwise imperceptible traces of influence, prejudice, or omission. Santayana's comments offer all that and more, even though he often insisted in letters that his thought did not develop; his claim is borne out for the most part when one pursues the marginalia over a period of years. The process at work is accretion resulting in changes of emphasis or definition of terms (see "essence," early and late) rather than fundamental change. During his years at Harvard as student and lecturer, another kind of marginalia from the ruminative or critical occurs in passages clearly representing study or lecture notes. Such notes might be compared to a concert pianist's interpretation of a familiar score, so that we hear it anew and vividly: thus the notes on Kant's work. In another sense, the marginalia can be seen as Santayana's stylebook; they show us his daily linguistic discipline, his practice in diction that salts his cogent prose.

Santayana's marginal notes are frequently surprising as his reactions change in the course of a long text. By turns he approves (although rarely), he is quirky, always critical, sometimes slangy, literary, frivolous,

and sometimes bitchy: only that word will do. He shows full control of the American language despite his preference for British spellings. Often a generalized comment, thought, or meditation occurs on the page, set in motion by the subject at large: e.g., Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (The History of the Synoptic Tradition)* 11 p 110 (1:121). The effort here, then, has been to list alphabetically by author all the books extant that belonged to Santayana; to indicate where each book is located and how extensively annotated; and to reproduce a sufficient number of annotations to be of use to the reader or student of Santayana's thought, his art, and his life. The professional writer on Santayana will of course want to go directly to the sources listed: no simple task.

The bibliographical listings, as complete as can be ascertained, can answer with reasonable certitude when Santayana read a given text, from date of publication, from changes in his penmanship as he aged, and from secondary sources. In maturity, his habit was to order books from Blackwell's, Oxford, or from the United States through his nephew and business agent, George Sturgis, or through his publisher in the United States, Charles Scribner's Sons. He read books so ordered at once. The many books sent by aspiring writers he acknowledged courteously upon reception, so that he would not necessarily have to read them. Santayana led a wandering life from 1911, when he determined to retire from Harvard, to 1940, when he settled in Rome and where he died in 1952. As he acquired books in those peripatetic years, he would deposit them with his lifelong friend Charles Augustus Strong, first in Strong's quarters in Paris, then in his villa, Le Balze, in Fiesole, Italy. After Santayana's death, his literary executor, Daniel Cory, who had inherited the library, sold off many of the books in lots to various libraries in the United States, and one lot of some 300 to Blackwell's, Oxford, which firm in turn sold them to the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario. Because of the war and its aftermath, however, Cory had no access to Santayana's books in Strong's villa. Strong died in 1939; the Germans were believed to have occupied the villa and to have destroyed the contents. In 1979 Augustus Strong's daughter, Margaret de Cuevas de Larrain, presented the villa, its contents quite undestroyed, to Georgetown University, and Santayana's part of the library, insofar as it can be identified, has now been deposited in the Special Collections section of the Lauinger Library at Georgetown University.²

Santayana's wit is apparent in all his many kinds of writing, but his humor, his occasional outcry at a writer's folly, his concern as great for

the niceties of English prose as for the placing of Greek accent marks, these the marginalia indicate in abundance. Reputed to be isolated, anti-social, even a recluse, although he had no such attributes, Santayana nevertheless, living by choice in celibate solitude, spent a great deal of time talking to, and talking back to, a wonderful miscellany of writers, from Spinoza to Kant to J. S. Mill to Bertrand Russell and Ezra Pound.

After retiring from his Harvard professorship in 1912 and moving back to Europe, Santayana persisted in his habit of marking up the books he was reviewing or texts on subjects he was writing about. Accordingly, the present compilation might well be entitled *Santayana's Critical Marginalia*. If only the flavor of those remarks registers as they deserve it should, the edition in hand will have succeeded in fulfilling the editor's ambitions for it, and the volume will not appear as a mere compromise with the many volumes which would be necessary to publish Santayana's marginalia in their entirety.

Marginalia are customarily published in one of two ways: either in multivolume sets, faithful to every utterance and punctuation mark of the given writer; or in single volumes embracing all the marginalia of a given writer on a single work.³ The volume in hand, obviously, does neither. It is rather an attempt to accommodate the financial realities of the day, which rule out multivolume sets, without sacrificing a reasonably extensive and usable compilation. In the same vein, marginalia already published includes Paul Grimley Kuntz's edition of Santayana's Harvard dissertation, *Lotze's System of Philosophy*, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1971, Appendix, 95105, and Kuntz, "Santayana and Lotze," *Southern Journal of Philosophy*, Summer 1972, 115–21.

In a long work occupying five years' attention, the editor has committed many an undetected error, for which he alone is responsible. He is more indebted than brief mention can adequately express to Santayana's former literary executrix, Mrs. Margaret Cory, for permission to print the marginalia; to Mrs. Donna Hanna-Calvert, former Associate Editor of the Santayana Edition; Brenda Bridges, former Editorial Assistant; and Johanna E. Resler, Assistant Editor. Very particular thanks go to Nicholas Scheetz and his associates in the Special Collections Division, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University, and to Mrs. Susan Saunders Bellingham, Special Collections Librarian, University of Waterloo; to Susan Halpert, Reference Librarian, Houghton Library, Harvard University; to Mr. Bernard Crystal and his colleagues in the Rare Book

and Manuscript Collection, Butler Library, Columbia University; to the Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin; to the librarians of the University of York, Yorkshire; to the founding General Editor of the Santayana Edition, Professor Herman J. Saatkamp Jr., and not least to the tireless and precise work of Kristine W. Frost, Associate Editor of this volume.

York, U.K.
September 2007.

¹*Soliloquies in England* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 124.

²Early lists of books in the villa presumably belonging to Santayana were in fact Strong's; such is the opinion of the librarians at the Lauinger Library, and the editor's.

³E.g., George Remington Havens, *Voltaire's Marginalia on the Pages of Rousseau* (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1933).

Editorial Practice

The following enumeration of pages does not reflect the relative importance of a given work *sub specie aeternitatis*; the numeration of marginalia in each volume indicates only the degree of attention that Santayana paid to that specific work.

The selected texts from Santayana's personal library are listed in alphabetical order by author (or by title if the work is "edited by" rather than authored) and then, most often, by date of publication. Editions of standard writers are listed by that writer, not by the editor; e.g., Lucretius, but not Munro, editor of the edition in question. Pseudonymous works are listed by pseudonym, followed by the author's authentic name. A work in two or more volumes is most often treated as one book; there are a few exceptions.

A headnote for each text includes the author's name in bold face type, the title of the work in italics, brief publication information (place and date), library location of the text, and the number of marginalia contained within the text (or by an indication of lack of importance in the editor's view). Publisher or printer is not included in the headnote. Anonymous works are listed alphabetically by title.

Not all marginalia within a given text have been selected for inclusion in this edition. Text is chosen for content and style. Paraphrase occurs to save space. Crucial phrases or entire passages are given in the original language other than English, followed by translation in a footnote. Translations, which are literal, not literary, are the editor's, unless otherwise indicated.

Each marginalia from a particular text is numbered consecutively, followed by the page number(s) and any other information regarding Santayana's markings ('marked', 'marked Z', 'underlined', etc.) or placement (top, bottom).

Santayana's spelling and usage is maintained throughout; e.g., "every thing" (two words) for "everything." He favored British spelling after his visit to Frank Russell's establishment in 1887. Slips of the pencil are reproduced. His punctuation, which he knew to be uncertain in English, caused him to use colons where correctness would indicate semicolons. Single or double quotation marks are reproduced as Santayana wrote them; he was inconsistent.

Flyleaf matter is indicated as such, but presentation messages are not considered to be marginalia.

Marginalia within Santayana's own works are not included here, since they are incorporated in the complete critical edition.

Key to location of texts:

Columbia

Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library,
Columbia University, New York City

Georgetown

Special Collections, Lauinger Library, Georgetown University,
Washington, D.C.

Harvard

Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Le Balze

Georgetown University, Villa Le Balze, Fiesole, Italy

Texas

Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin

Waterloo

Rare Book and Manuscript Room, University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario

Key to symbols and typefaces within the edition:

The reproduced text taken from a particular book is in regular ten-point typeface from margin to margin. It is not within quotation marks, but material quoted within the selected text is so marked.

Literal translations (in place of reproduced text) from another language into English are in italic typeface from margin to margin. When the text is reproduced in its original language, a translation is given in a footnote, in italic.

Text which has been paraphrased by the editor is placed within double vertical bars || ... || and aligned from margin to margin.

Editorial comments are a smaller, nine-point size text within square brackets [...] and block indented. Comments or clarifying words within the text or marginalia also are placed in square brackets and in the smaller font size.

Santayana's marginalia, which normally follow a block of text, are in bold ten-point typeface and block indented.

In the marginalia the bracketed question mark [?] indicates a questionable reading of Santayana's hand.

Footnotes immediately follow the text to which they refer within each numbered entry.

Any underlined text reflects underlining done by Santayana. A single slash through a character, as well as strikethroughs and insertions (marked by inferior carets) within the reproduced text or within the marginalia itself, reflect Santayana's markings.

The term 'marked' indicates that Santayana drew a vertical line in the margin next to the lines of text reproduced ('doubly marked' indicates two vertical lines). 'Marked X' indicates that Santayana wrote an 'X' in the margin next to the text. 'Marked Z' indicates that he drew a wavy vertical line (probably for emphasis) next to the lines of text. 'Underlined Z' indicates a wavy horizontal line drawn under a word or words.

The "List of Authors" on the following pages informs the reader of authors of books in Santayana's personal library which the editor has included in this volume, whether or not they contained marginalia. Authors of books in Santayana's library which are not included in this volume are noted at the end of the list. Book Two of *George Santayana's Marginalia* contains an appendix with a complete listing of all of the works known to have been in "George Santayana's Library."

List of Authors

Abell, Walter
Acton, Harold
Adam, Antoine
Adam, James
Aiken, Conrad
Ainger, Arthur Campbell
Alain [Emile Auguste Chartier]
Albert, Thomas
Alonso, Dámaso
Amery, L[eopold] S[tennett]
Ames, Van Meter
Archer-Hind, R. D. [Editor]
Aristotle
Asín Palacios, Miguel
Atkinson, Brooks
Babbitt, Irving
Bacon, Francis
Bailey, Cyril
Bailly, Auguste
Bainville, Jacques
Balfour, Arthur James
Barbusse, Henri
Baring, Maurice
Barnes, William
Bartlett, Alice Hunt
Bates, Ernest Sutherland
Bede, Cuthbert
Belgion, Montgomery
Benda, Julien
Benn, Gottfried
Berenson, Bernard
Bergson, Henri
Berkeley, George
Beruete, Aureliano de
Bevan, Edwyn Robert
Bewick, Thomas
Birnbaum, Martin
Bishop, Elizabeth

Blanshard, Brand [Editor]
Bolaffio, Carlo
Bolton, Isabel
Bradley, F[rancis] H[erbert]
Breasted, James Henry
Buchheim, Karl A. [Editor]
Buchler, Justus
Bullett, Gerald William
Bülow, Prince Bernhard von
Bultmann, Rudolf Karl
Burgard, Raymond
Burnett, Whit and Charles E. Slatkin [Editors]
Butcher, Samuel Henry
Butler, Bishop Joseph
Butler, Richard
Caird, Edward
Callimachus
Calverton, V[ictor] F[rancis]
Campbell, Lewis
Campion, George C.
Camus, Albert
Carco, Francis
Cardozo, Benjamin N.
Carus, Paul
Castelli, Enrico
Castelnau, Jacques Thomas de
Cavalcanti, Guido
Céline, Louis-Ferdinand
Chapman, John Jay
Chaucer, Geoffrey
Chénier, André Marie
Churchill, Winston
Clemens, Cyril
Clifford, William Kingdon
Coates, Adrian
Cole, G[eorge] D[ouglas] H[oward]
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor
Collingwood, R[obin] G[eorge]
Collis, John Stewart
Colony, Horatio
Confucius
Corneille, Pierre
Corwin, Norman Lewis
Cramb, J[ohn] A[dam]
Crisógono de Jesús Sacramentado

Croce, Benedetto
Crosfield, Thomas
Cuneo, Niccolò
Dante Alighieri
Dasgupta, Surendranath
Datta, Dhirendra Mohan
Davenport, Russell W.
Delphic Club
Denifle, Henri
Dewey, John
Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes
Dillaway, Newton
Douglas, Norman
Ducasse, C[urt] J[ohn]
Dudley, Owen Francis
du Maurier, Daphne
Dunn, Robert
Dunning, Ralph Cheever
Durant, Will[iam] [James]
Duron, Jacques
Dyer, Louis
Eastman, Max [Forrester]
Eaton, Charles Edward
Eddington, Arthur Stanley
Edman, Irwin
Edwards, Jonathan
Einstein, Albert [Editor]
Eliot, T[homas] S[tearns]
English Institute
Ewing, A[lfred] C[yril]
Falconi, Carlo
Fargue, Léon-Paul
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb
Ficke, Arthur Davison
Fielding, Henry
Fisch, Max H. [Editor]
Fletcher, Phineas
Foote, Henry Wilder
Frank, Philipp
Frazer, James George
Freud, Sigmund
Frost, Robert
Fuller, Benjamin Apthorp Gould
Fülöp-Miller, René
Furon, Raymond

Garbe, Richard von
García Marruz, Fina
Gavin, Frank
Gibson, James
Gide, André
Gioberti, Vincenzo
Giraudoux, Jean
Gobineau, Joseph Arthur (Comte de)
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von
Gollancz, Victor
Goodman, J[ack] R[awlin]
Gordon, Hirsch Loeb
Gorer, Geoffrey
Gray, Thomas
Green, Thomas Hill
Gregory, Alyse
Groethuysen, Bernhard
Guénon, René
Gumpert, Martin
Guzzo, Augusto
Hadfield, James Arthur
Hamilton, William
Harcourt, Robert d'
Harnack, Adolf von
Hearst, Gerald
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich
Heidegger, Martin
Hemingway, Ernest
Henrich, Edith
Herodotus
Hersch, Jeanne
Hertzberg, Gustav Friedrich
Hilliard, A. L.
Hirn, Yrjö
Hispanic Society of America
Hogg, James
Holmes, Pauline
Holt, Edwin Bissell
Homer
Hone, William [Editor]
Hook, Sidney
Housman, A. E.
Hovelaque, Emile
Husserl, Edmund
Inge, William Ralph

Irazusta, Julio
Jackson, Henry
James, Alice
James, William
Jeans, James Hopwood
Jeffers, Robinson
Jerrold, Douglas
Jiménez, Juan Ramón
Johnson, Lionel
Juan de la Cruz
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Korean American Cultural Association
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Le Dantec, Félix
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
Le Roy, Edouard
Levy, Hermann
Lietzmann, Hans
Lindsay, A[lexander] D[unlop]
Lippmann, Walter
Locke, John
Loisy, Alfred Firmin
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth
Lotze, Hermann
Lowell, Robert
Lucian [Lucianus Samosatensis]
Lucretius [Titus Lucretius Carus]
McCord, David
McCulloch, Hugh
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Macran, Frederick Walter
Mallon, James J. and E. C. T. Lascelles
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