

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**

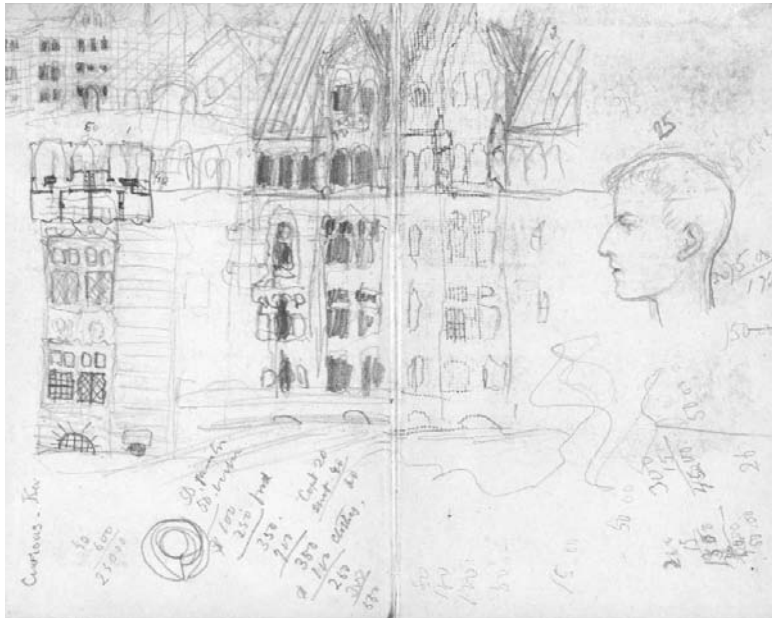
### **Volume VI, Book One**

Marianne S. Wokeck, Editor  
William G. Holzberger, Textual Editor  
Kristine W. Frost, Associate Editor  
Johanna E. Resler, Assistant Editor  
David E. Spiech, Assistant Textual Editor  
Herman J. Saatkamp Jr., Founding and Consulting Editor



---

This volume is dedicated,  
with thanks,  
to Mairi



Santayana's drawing from Immanuel Kant's *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft*  
Image used by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University  
AC9 Sa591 Zz878k

---

**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

---

© 2011 Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Introduction," John McCormick.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopy, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher. The Association of American University Presses' Resolution on Permissions constitutes the only exception to this prohibition.

Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Santayana, George, 1863–1952.

George Santayana's marginalia : a critical selection / edited and with an introduction by John McCormick.

2 v. – (The works of George Santayana ; v. 6)

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents: Bk. 1. Abell–Lucretius – bk. 2. McCord–Zeller.

ISBN 978-0-262-01629-2 (v. 1 : hardcover : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-0-262-01630-8

(v. 2 : hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Philosophy. I. McCormick, John, 1918– II. Title.

B945.S2 2011

191–dc22

2010052839

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standards for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials. ANSI Z39.48 1984. ♻️™

---

## The Santayana Edition

Marianne S. Wokeck	Director and Editor
Kristine W. Frost	Assistant Director and Associate Editor
Martin A. Coleman	Associate Editor
Johanna E. Resler	Assistant Editor
David E. Spiech	Assistant Textual Editor
Elizabeth Garmen	Graduate Intern
John Joachim	Graduate Intern

### Editorial Board

Hugh J. Dawson	Douglas M. MacDonald
Matthew C. Flamm	John M. Michelsen
Morris Grossman	Andrew J. Reck
Angus Kerr-Lawson	Beth J. Singer
John Lachs	Glen Tiller
Richard C. Lyon	Henny Wenkart

### Consultants

Herman J. Saatkamp Jr.  
William G. Holzberger



---

## The Works of George Santayana

- I *Persons and Places: Fragments of Autobiography*, 1986
- II *The Sense of Beauty: Being the Outlines of Aesthetic Theory*, 1988
- III *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*, 1989
- IV *The Last Puritan: A Memoir in the Form of a Novel*, 1994
- V *The Letters of George Santayana*
  - Book One: 1868–1909*, 2001
  - Book Two: 1910–1920*, 2002
  - Book Three: 1921–1927*, 2002
  - Book Four: 1928–1932*, 2003
  - Book Five: 1933–1936*, 2003
  - Book Six: 1937–1940*, 2004
  - Book Seven: 1941–1947*, 2006
  - Book Eight: 1948–1952*, 2008
- VI *George Santayana's Marginalia: A Critical Selection*
  - Book One: Abell – Lucretius*, 2011
  - Book Two: McCord – Zeller*, 2011

---

## Contents

### Book One: Abell – Lucretius

Introduction	xi
Editorial Practice	xv
List of Authors	xix
MARGINALIA	3



---

## 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."<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.

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

<sup>2</sup>Early 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.

<sup>3</sup>E.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, Dharendra 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  
Kallen, Horace Meyer  
Kant, Immanuel  
Keith, Arthur Berriedale  
Kettner, Frederick  
Keynes, John Maynard  
Keyserling, Graf Hermann A.  
Kinney, Mary Cyril Edwin  
Knowles, David  
Knox, H. V.  
Korean American Cultural Association  
La Batut, Guy de [Editor]  
La Fontaine, Jean de  
Lamont, Corliss  
Langstaff, John Brett  
Lecky, William E. H.  
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  
Machiavelli, Niccolo  
Macran, Frederick Walter  
Mallon, James J. and E. C. T. Lascelles  
Manacorda, Guido



- [\*\*read Python in a Nutshell \(2nd Edition\)\*\*](#)
- [\*\*read Praying Through Your Pregnancy: An Inspirational Week-by-Week Guide for Moms-to-Be here\*\*](#)
- [download online Let Them Eat Kale!: Simple and Delicious Recipes for Everyone's Favorite Superfood](#)
- [download New Perspectives on Microsoft Excel 2010 pdf, azw \(kindle\), epub](#)
- [Domestic Malice \(Murder, She Wrote, Book 38\) pdf, azw \(kindle\), epub, doc, mobi](#)
  
- <http://ramazotti.ru/library/Python-in-a-Nutshell--2nd-Edition-.pdf>
- <http://pittiger.com/lib/Revenge-of-the-Horned-Bunnies--Dragonbreath--Book-6-.pdf>
- <http://cambridgebrass.com/?freebooks/Architettura-rurale-italiana.pdf>
- <http://rodrigocaporal.com/library/New-Perspectives-on-Microsoft-Excel-2010.pdf>
- <http://weddingcellist.com/lib/Vie-du-lettr--.pdf>