

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX FOR
BERTRAND RUSSELL'S *HISTORY OF
WESTERN PHILOSOPHY*

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The first edition of *A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* appeared in the United States in 1945. Following the book's publication, and while awaiting its appearance in Britain a year later, Russell continued to modify the text in minor ways.³ After publication of the first British edition in 1946, Russell continued to correct the text, partly in response to readers who pointed out errors. Such corrections appeared in almost every new British impression in his lifetime. In 1961, when the publisher suggested that the type for the book be reset for a second edition, Russell took the opportunity to shorten the chapter on Bergson and to introduce further corrections. As a result, there are, to date, three English-

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³ For example, on page 93 he substituted Cornford's translation of the passage from the *Sophist* for Jowett's, added two more notes to Cornford in the same chapter, and on page 42 inserted a note in praise of Cornford's books on individual Platonic dialogues.

language paginations for Russell's *History*.

This index is based on the third of these paginations, as used in the Unwin Paperbacks version of the second British edition, first published in London in 1979. Routledge has published the book since 1991, but it is still copyrighted 1961 by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Since the 1945 edition is widespread in North America, an appendix contains a key to that pagination.

In the *History*, Russell cites more than 450 works from an unusually broad range of sources. Given his intention to show each philosopher "as an outcome of his milieu" (*HWP*, p. 7), Russell relies upon many sources in history, literature, music and the sciences, as well as those from within the traditional philosophical canon. Quotations are often used by Russell to illustrate the tenor of the times, as well as to provide counterpoints to a subject's views, or to those of Russell himself.

Of Russell's original secondary sources, no more than a third were published between 1930 and 1942 (the latest of his citations), with most of the rest coming from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Russell's revisions for the second edition included very few new bibliographical references, and almost no works published later than the 1940s.

Not all of Russell's sources were easy to trace. For example, no source was cited for the Schopenhauer quotation ("Obit anus, abit onus") given on page 727. It turns out that Russell's knowledge of the quotation probably originated in a letter sent from Desmond MacCarthy to Russell on 16 March 1937. This letter was not published until it appeared in *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, Vol. 2 (1968). Searching for the quotation in pre-1945 sources located it in a number of biographies of Schopenhauer, and one of them was used by Russell when he made his still extant notes for the chapter. Our thanks go to Mark Dickson for pointing out Russell's private source.

Similarly, Russell often includes quotations from familiar hymns and poems without mentioning either their titles or authors. We are grateful to Roland Hall for discovering many of the sources for these and other anonymous quotations. More work remains to be done by anyone who wants to discover additional documentary sources which Russell may have listed in the notes he took while researching this book (which can now be found in the Russell Archives), but which did not find their way into the final text.

Only occasionally in a book of 848 pages did Russell's casual citation style result in genuine errors. One concerns the biography of Frederick II, which Russell incorrectly attributes (on p. 438) to Hermann Kantorowicz. The book, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, was in fact written by Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz and went through four editions from 1927 to 1936. Another error concerns one of Russell's own publications since, presumably, his reference (on p. 199) to "Architecture and the Social System" is in fact a reference to his 1933 "Architecture and Social Questions" (B&R C33.60).

Russell's sometimes inaccurate quotations, in conjunction with his frequent use of unnamed sources, suggests that at times he was quoting from memory. This may be a function of his not having all of his library with him when he wrote the *History*.⁴ In any event, Russell's lack of rigorous citation is also explained by the fact that the *History* was intended primarily for a popular audience.

The book's 1961 index is much the same as that of the 1946 edition, but the index to the 1945 edition was considerably fuller. That index included most of the authors mentioned in the current index, as well as many of their books and articles. However, the title entries were much reduced for the index contained in the 1946 edition. It is also worth noting that the 1945 index omitted reference to the Preface and Introduction, and that neither index provided bibliographical data for those works that were cited, or presented them together by author for the convenience of students of Russell's sources. In addition to providing this data, this index includes a more exhaustive list of page references than was included in both the 1945 and 1946 indexes.

In this index, unencumbered numbers refer to pages where a publication is explicitly mentioned or cited. Numbers enclosed within square brackets refer to additional pages where quotations from that publication appear, but without explicit citation. Numbers followed by "n." indicate that the main citation or reference for that page appears in a footnote. Cited books that are contained in Russell's personal library at the Russell Archives are indicated by "RL" and those formerly in his library by "ex-RL", although the editions cited are not

⁴ In his letter to R. C. Trevelyan, 22 Dec. 1939 (*Auto.*, 2: 239), written in the second of his six-year stay in the United States, Russell states that his library is stored in Oxford. Of course, this does not exclude his purchasing of additional books while in the United States.

necessarily the exact ones he used in writing the *History*. Additional books from Russell's library which themselves contain cited works, but which have not been directly cited, are listed as separate entries in square brackets. Entries without known authors are included alphabetically by title. Unconfirmed quotations are listed at the end.

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- letter to Rousseau (30 August 1755) [663]
- *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) 585
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- Wagner, Robert
 — *Parsifal* (1882) 728
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- Wallace, William, *Life of Arthur Schopenhauer* (London: Walter Scott, 1890) (Schopenhauer) [727]
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- Wycliffe, John
 — "Civil Dominion" (1376) 473
- Xenophanes
 — *On Nature* [33–4, 58–9]
- Xenophon
 — *Memorabilia* (*Recollections of Socrates*) 102
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- Zeller, Eduard
 — *Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1897) (Vol. 1) 179n.
- *History of Greek Philosophy, A*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1881) (Vol. 2) [82–3, 94]
- UNCONFIRMED QUOTATIONS**
- Anonymous
 — "Great Empedocles, that ardent soul ..." [71]
- Arnold of Brescia
 — "clerks who have estates ..." [425]
- Avicenna
 — "Thought brings about the generality in forms" [418]
- Bayle, Pierre
 — "so much the greater is the triumph of faith ..." [527]
- Bentham, Jeremy
 — "What Bacon was to the physical

- world, Helvetius was to the moral ...” [693]
- Bernard of Clairvaux (Saint)
- “the law of Justinian, not the law of the Lord” [431]
 - “prince of bishops, heir of the apostles ...” [431–2]
- Burke, Edmund
- “He [Rousseau] entertained no principle, either to influence his heart, or guide his understanding, but vanity” [665]
- Carlyle, Thomas
- “[Plato is] very much at ease in Zion” [292]
- Dominic (Saint)
- “not to learn secular sciences or liberal arts ...” [442]
- Duns Scotus, John
- “Whether any sure and pure truth can be known naturally by the understanding of the wayfarer ...” [458]
- Evagrius
- “Having since the end of his life received the wages of his misdeeds ...” [370–1]
- Harvey, William
- “[Bacon] writes philosophy like a Lord Chancellor” [529]
- Hume, David
- “*Quoi, mon cher Monsieur!*” [665]
 - “He [Rousseau] has only *felt* during the whole course of his life ...” [665–6]
- Innocent III (Pope)
- “king of kings, lord of lords, a priest for ever and ever ...” [434]
- James, William
- “The prince of darkness may be a gentleman ...” [766]
- Kant, Immanuel
- “there can be nothing more dreadful than that the actions of a man should be subject to the will of another” [678] (The quotation

- appears in Russell's ms. notes for the chapter.)
- Knox, Ronald
- “There was a young man who said ‘God ...’” [623]
- Luther, Martin
- “People give ear to an upstart astrologer ...” [515]
- More, (Sir) Thomas
- “If my head should win him a castle in France it should not fail to go” [504] (The quotation appears in Russell's ms. notes for the chapter.)
- Musset, Alfred de
- “*conçus entre deux batailles*” [720]
- Nicholas (Pope)
- “The day of king-priests and emperor-pontiffs is past ...” [392] (The quotation appears in Russell's ms. notes for the chapter.)
- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm
- “How strongly I feel in all that you say and do ...” [658]
 - “If there were Gods, how could I endure it to be not God! ...” [719]
- Occam (Ockham), William of
- “Do you defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with the pen” [460]
- Pythagoras
- “Women as a sex are more naturally akin to piety” [39]
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques
- “Voltaire, in seeming always to believe in God, never really believed in anybody but the devil ...” [664]
 - “[Voltaire is] that trumpet of impiety ...” [664]
 - “No, no, Hume is no traitor” [665]
 - “Ah, Madame! Sometimes in the privacy of my study ...” [666]
 - “I believe in God as strongly as I believe in any other truth ...” [666]
 - “*Moi Monsieur, je crois en Dieu!*” [667]

APPENDIX: PAGINATION KEY FROM 1961 EDITION TO 1945 EDITION, BASED ON OPENING PAGES OF CHAPTERS

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Ch. II	44	24	XXIX	277	270	X	552	569
	49	29	XXX	289	284	XI	563	581
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	71	53	II	325	324	XIV	596	617
	76	58	III	335	334	XV	617	641
VII	79	61	IV	351	352	XVI	623	647
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XI	101	82	VII	385	388	XIX	660	684
XII	112	94	VIII	396	400	XX	675	701
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XIV	125	108	X	413	419	XXII	701	730
XV	135	119	XI	422	428	XXIII	716	746
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XVIII	163	149	XIV	455	463	XXVI	740	773
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