5. The Lvov–Warsaw School and its influence upon the Polish philosophy of the twentieth century

1. Thesis

Many factors influenced Polish philosophy of the second half of the 20th century; among those factors were philosophical traditions that had been present in Poland for a long time as well as traditions that appeared only after the II world war, with the influence of foreign ideas (mainly European and American analytic thought) and external political circumstances also playing a formative role. But it was the Lvov–Warsaw School whose influence proved decisive — in any case upon what was of the greatest value in Polish philosophy of this period

Firstly, the majority of the most respected philosophers were students of the School's representatives and many of them also declared their membership of it. Secondly, the School determined the program of scientific philosophy that held well in Poland — not without intervals of course — during the course of the entire 20th century. This was the program formulated by Twardowski at the beginning of his Lvov professorship and articulated emphatically by Łukasiewicz in Warsaw. In the second fifty–year period, the postulate of the scientific character of philosophy was strongly re–accentuated by Grzegorczyk (1989). Thirdly, in the School two complementary methods of realizing this program were present: the method of semantic analysis (Twardowski, Czeżowski) and the method of formal reconstruction (Łukasiewicz, Leśniewski). Fourthly, problems which were exposed and elaborated by representatives of the first generation of the School have remained central in the research of their successors. Fifthly, solutions obtained by the main Polish philosophers of the last fifty-year period usually referred to the results achieved in the School, either improving upon them or being counterproposals springing from reliable criticisms of those results.

We shall concentrate upon the last two matters, because their importance is not only of a historical or local character: a systematic examination of the theoretical problems and results reached in modern Polish philosophy may be of use for many philosopher–specialists in their current research and may make the actual state of Polish and, in consequence, Euro–American philosophy easier for a philosopher–amateur to comprehend (and who of us is not just an amateur in the majority of philosophical disciplines?!)

Before going into the influence of the Lvov–Warsaw School on the Polish philosophy of the second half of the 20th century, we shall briefly describe the stages 20th–century Polish philosophy went though and its institutional and publishing basis.

2. Division into periods

From the perspective of the Lvov–Warsaw School, twentieth–century Polish philosophy began ... in the 19th century (in 1895 to be precise) when Twardowski, the founder of the School, took the chair of philosophy at Lvov University. The century which has passed since that memorable year falls naturally into five twenty–year phases, preceded by the five–year prologue (1895–1900).

2.1. Phase of crystallization

During the first twenty years (1900-1920) — let us call them the phase of crystallization — the process of forming the creative personalities of the main representatives of the first generation of Twardowski's students took place; the majority of them having been born in the 1880s: Witwicki (b. 1878), Łukasiewicz (b. 1878), Bandrowski (b. 1879), Zawirski (b. 1882), Sośnicki (b. 1883), Leśniewski (b. 1886), Kotarbiński (b. 1886), Tatarkiewicz (b. 1886), Kaczorowski (b. 1888), Tennerówna–Gromska (b. 1889), Czeżowski (b. 1889) and Ajdukiewicz (b. 1890). This was a generation to which Znamierowski (b. 1888), a philosopher and jurist, and Janiszewski (b. 1888), a mathematician, also belonged. Notwithstanding the fact that they studied abroad (Znamierowski with Cornelius and Janiszewski with Poincaré), both of them found themselves in the orbit of the influences of Twardowski's School and played an important part in it. Janiszewski was one of the main initiators of the co-operation between mathematicians and philosophers, which resulted in the Warsaw Logical School. Znamierowski brought about a fusion of Petrażycki's philosophy of law with the paradigm of Twardowski's School. In the first five years of this period, the majority of the representatives of the second generation of the School came into the world: Tarski (b. 1901), Sztejnbarg–Kotarbińska (b. 1901), Poznański (b. 1901), Wundheiler (b. 1902), Wajsberg (b. 1902), Bocheński (b. 1902), Salamucha (b. 1903), Dambska (b. 1904), Łuszczewska–Romahnowa (b. 1904), Słupecki (b. 1904), Mehlberg (b. 1904), Lindenbaum (b. 1904), Presburger (b. 1904), Kokoszyńska–Lutmanowa (b. 1905), Blaustein (b. 1905), Jaśkowski (b. 1906), Sobociński (b. 1906) and Swieżawski (b. 1907). Iwanicki (b. 1902) was born at the same time. His path was similar to that taken by Twardowski's students, although he studied not in Lvov but in Strasbourg. All of them would join the group of their earlier-born colleagues: Korcik (b. 1892), Pański (b. 1894), Wallis (b. 1895), Niedźwiecka–Ossowska (b. 1896), Drewnowski (b. 1896), Ossowski (b. 1897) and Hosiasson–Lindenbaumowa (b. 1899). This period was ended by the premature death of two uncommonly talented scholars: Bandrowski (d. 1914) and Janiszewski (d. 1920), mentioned above and by the outbreak of the I world war (waged in great part on the Polish territories), accompanied — in Poland's case — by the Bolshevik invasion (luckily victoriously repulsed), which interrupted normal scientific activities.















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2.2. Phase of prosperity

The second twenty-year period (1920– 1940) was also closed by violent military and political events: in 1939, Poland was attacked by its allied neighbors — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia; this time, it was defeated and lost its independence for fifty years. In philosophy — as well as in the whole Polish culture — this second period was a phase of splendid creative prosperity: talents which crystallized during the former period bore fruit in the form of original scientific work — ideas, conceptions and systems. At the same time, in the first part of the period, come



into the world the future apostles and improvers of these results, who would come to belong to the third generation of the School: Łoś (b. 1920), Ziembiński (b. 1920), Gumański (b. 1921), Mortimer (b. 1921), Lazari–Pawłowska (b. 1921), Gregorowicz (b. 1921), Grzegorczyk (b. 1922), Przełęcki (b. 1923), Kubiński (b. 1923), Stonert (b. 1923), Pelc (b. 1924), Pawłowski (b. 1924), Szaniawski (b. 1925), Giedymin (b. 1925), Augustynek (b. 1925), Pogorzelski (b. 1927), Wolniewicz (b. 1927), Czerwiński (b. 1927), Iwanuś (b. 1928), Koj (b. 1929), Malewski (b. 1929), Skolimowski (b. 1930), Kwiatkowski (b. 1930), Surma (b. 1930), Żarnecka–Biały (b. 1930), Marciszewski (b. 1930), Ziemba (b. 1930) and, just after them, Wójcicki (b. 1931), Kmita (b. 1931) and Siemianowski (b. 1932). They joined the people born in the previous ten years: Zbigniew Jordan (b. 1911), Lejewski (b. 1913), Mostowski (b. 1913), Borkowski (b. 1917), Kamiński (b. 1919) and Suszko (b. 1919).

In his remarkable *Historia filozofii* [*History of philosophy*], Tatarkiewicz characterized the situation of Polish philosophy at the threshold of the second half of our century:

The second great war found it in blooming state [...]. It was destroyed by occupants between 1939 and 1944. The great part of young generation perished in fights or was murdered in German [and Russian, let us add] camps. And the great part of scientific workshops, libraries and institutes, was devastated, robbed, razed to the ground. For Poland, much more than for other countries, these years closed an important and rampant, but short and unfinished epoch (1931–1950, t. III: 371).

2.3. Phase of destruction

The external circumstances mentioned above meant that the third twenty years (1940–1960) deserve the name of the phase of destruction. Firstly, at the beginning





Jerzy Perzanowski









Twardowski (d. 1938), Borowski (d. 1938) and Leśniewski (d. 1939) died and war devoured Wajsberg (d. 1939), Lindenbaum (d. 1941), Pański (d. 1942), Hosiasson-Lindenbaumowa (d. 1942), Blaustein (d. 1944) and Salamucha (d. 1944). Next, Zawirski (d. 1948) and Witwicki (d. 1948) passed away. Afterwards, the country was exposed to the darkest five years of communist terror. Soon after, both Łukasiewicz (d. 1956) and Wundheiler (d. 1957) died, both having earlier emigrated. It is hardly surprising that Polish analytical philosophy — which was an object of special pressure of the ideologists of the regime — went into the intellectual underground or, at best, was reduced to formal



logic. At the time, this looked like the final destruction of the analytical tradition in Poland. Skolimowski, a historian of this tradition, wrote in 1967:

The continuous development of the analytical movement [in Poland] led to its finest results in the late 1920s and in the 1930s. The war shattered this continuity. After the war, analytical philosophy never regained its previous strength; the 1950s saw its definitive decline (1967: 260). [In the early 1960s], the analytical movement becomes emasculated (1967: XI). Analytical philosophy is no longer a dominant trend in Poland; its strength has been diluted; its output drastically limited (1967: 235).

Writing these words, Skolimowski could not know, of course, that in this period the future representatives of the fourth generation of Twardowski's successors were born and that they would give the analytic direction to the Polish philosophy in the last ten years of the 20th century. Herbut (b. 1933), Batóg (b. 1934), Stanosz (b. 1935), Majdański (b. 1935), Bryll (b. 1935), Zwinogrodzki (b. 1935), Zamecki (b. 1936), Nowaczyk (b. 1936), Leszko (b. 1937), Chwedeńczuk (b. 1938), Kiczuk (b. 1938), Bronk (b. 1938), Pietruska–Madej (b. 1938), Nieznański (b. 1938) and Prucnal (b. 1939) were born before the war. Then, successively: Zamiara (b. 1940), Woleński (b. 1940), Wybraniec–Skardowska (b. 1940), Żabski (b. 1940), Kałuszyńska (b. 1941), Omyła (b. 1941), Zdzisław Kowalski (b. 1942), Leszek Nowak (b. 1943), Perzanowski (b. 1943), Jacek Hołówka (b. 1943), Schrade (b. 1943), Górnicka-Kalinowska (b. 1943), Wajszczyk (b. 1944), Teresa Hołówka (b. 1944), Grzegorz Malinowski (b. 1945), Zygmunt (b. 1945), Życiński (b. 1948), Żegleń (b. 1949), Patryas (b. 1949), Grobler (b. 1949), Murawski (b. 1949), Strawiński (b. 1949), Tuchańska (b. 1949), Czelakowski (b. 1949), Jodkowski (b. 1950), Kleszcz (b. 1950), Buczkowski (b. 1950), Muszyński (b. 1951), Grabowski

(b. 1951), Paśniczek (b. 1951), Pogonowski (b. 1951), Czarnowski (b. 1952), Sady (b. 1952), Jonkisz (b. 1953), Judycki (b. 1954), Pietruszczak (b. 1954), Gorzka (b. 1955), Rosiak (b. 1956), Jedynak (b. 1956), Czerniawski (b. 1957), Szubka (b. 1958) and Andrzej Wiśniewski (b. 1958).

2.4. Phase of restoration

The fourth twenty years (1960–1980) constitute a phase of the restoration of the Lvov-Warsaw School's influence on Polish philosophy. This phenomenon occurred even though three important representatives of the first generation of Twardowski's School passed away: Ajdukiewicz (d. 1963), Sośnicki (d. 1971) and Tennerówna-Gromska (d. 1973), as well as Znamierowski (d. 1967). Also some members of the second generation died: Ossowski (d. 1963), Jaśkowski (d. 1965), Korcik (d. 1969), Kaczorowski (d. 1971), Ossowska (d. 1974), Drewnowski (1978) and abroad - Poznański (d. 1974) and Zbigniew Jordan (d. 1977). It was especially poignant that three pillars of the third generation died: young Malewski (d. 1963) together with Mostowski (d. 1975) and Suszko (d. 1979), both being in the prime of their creative life. On the other hand, within this period fall the dates of birth of the representatives of the fifth generation of successors of the School-tradition: Placek (b. 1960), Biłat (b. 1960), Krysztofiak (b. 1963), Bigaj (b. 1964), Wojtysiak (b. 1967), Wójtowicz (b. 1967), Rojszczak (b. 1968), Odrowąż-Sypniewska (b. 1971), Tałasiewicz (b. 1973).



Halina Mortimer

2.5. Phase of expansion

In the period of the fifth twenty years (1980–2000) we witnessed the phase of expansion. True enough, the last representatives of the first generation of the School passed away: Tatarkiewicz (d. 1980), Czeżowski (d. 1981) and Kotarbiński (d. 1981). After the death of Sobociński (d. 1980), Kokoszyńska-Lutmanowa (d. 1981), Dambska (d. 1983), Tarski (d. 1983), Bocheński (d. 1995) and Kotarbińska (d. 1997), Swieżawski is the only active member of the second generation, being the unquestionable senior of the School. The third generation was decimated as well, for the following philosophers died: Mortimer (d. 1984), Kamiński (d. 1986), Słupecki (d. 1987), Szaniawski (d. 1990),

Stonert (d. 1992), Mazierski (d. 1993), Giedymin (d. 1993), Borkowski (d. 1993), Rasiowa (d. 1994), Lazari-Pawłowska (d. 1994), Iwanuś (d. 1995), Pawłowski (d. 1996), Ziembiński (d. 1996), Gregorowicz (d. 1998), Pszczołowski (d. 1999) and

Augustynek (d. 2001). At the same time, however, the activity of their students and the students of their students increased dramatically.

3. INSTITUTIONAL AND PUBLISHING BASIS

The theoretical efforts of the philosophers would not have been fruitful without the great organizational work of the environment of Twardowski's students and their successors. Let me present the most important organizational enterprises.

In the phase of restoration: the Department of Praxiology at the Polish Academy of Science (1965) was established on Kotarbiński' initiative (1965). At Kotarbiński's, Suszko's and Pelc's suggestion the Polish Semiotical Society (1967) was founded. Yearly Conferences on the History of Logic initiated at the beginning of this period (1959) by Czeżowski became a customary phenomenon in Polish philosophical life. The conference



on the analysis of the notion of justification (1961) organized by Ajdukiewicz and the Winter Formal Logic School inaugurated ten years later (1970) were of the utmost significance. The pressure on the political regime was so great that during the second Congress of Polish Science (1953) the communists were forced to put into their ideologists' mouths a declaration of the reintroduction of logic teaching in universities and other academic schools. The quarterly Ruch *Filozoficzny* founded by Twardowski (appearing in 1911–1914, 1918–1939 and 1948–1950) and revived in 1958 and the annual (initially) Studia Logica founded by Ajdukiewicz (1953; since 1974 — a quarterly in English) were joined by further periodicals: Prakseologia (Polish version) (1962), Studia Metodologiczne (1965), Studia Semiotyczne (1970), Bulletin of the Section of Logic (in English) (1972), Reports of Mathematical Logic (in English) (1973), Zagadnienia Filozoficzne w Nauce (1978), Zagadnienia Naukoznawstwa (1978) and Reports on Philosophy (in English) (1977). Important series appeared: Poznań Studies in the Philosophy of the Science and the Humanities (in English) (Amsterdam 1975, Rodopi - the initiative came from Leszek Nowak) and Poznańskie Studia z Filozofii Nauki (Polish version) (Poznań 1976, UAM; since 1994 as Poznańskie Studia z *Filozofii Humanistyki*). *Mała encyklopedia logiki* [*Small encyclopedia of logic*] (1970) edited by Marciszewski and Mała encyklopedia prakseologii i teorii organizacji [Small encyclopedia of praxiology and the theory of organization] (1978) written by Pszczołowski were published. Collected works of coryphaei

of the Lvov–Warsaw School were published: Kotarbiński's writings, published during the previous period (1957–1958), were joined by Ajdukiewicz's writings (1960–1965) as well as those of Łukasiewicz (1961), Twardowski (1965), Ossowski (1966) and Tatarkiewicz (1971). Their valuable handbooks were also re–edited: Łukasiewicz's *Elementy logiki matematycznej* [*Elements of mathematical logic*] (1929/1958) and Kotarbiński's *Elementy teorii poznania, logiki formalnej i metodologii nauk* [*Elements of the theory of cognition, formal logic and methodology of science*] (1929/1961). Pawłowski's antology *Logiczna teoria nauki* [*Logical theory of science*] (1966) and Pelc's antology *Semiotyka polska. 1894–1969* [*Polish semiotics. 1894–1969*] (1971) were important editorial events, too.

In the phase of expansion: the Polish Society of Logic and Methodology of Sciences (1993) was called into being by Wójcicki and Kabziński. Perzanowski inaugurated The Logical-Philosophical Workshops (1994). Conferences devoted to the Application of logic in philosophy and foundations of mathematics started taking place. Wójcicki organized The Summer School for Theory of Knowledge (1998). During the sixth Polish Philosophical Congress (1995), Pelc contrasted literary philosophy with scientific philosophy; only the latter did he recognize as academic philosophy. Kwartalnik Filozoficzny (1990; it appeared in 1923–1938 and 1946–1950) and Przegląd Filozoficzny (1992), founded by Weryho (it appeared in 1898–1939 and 1946–1949), were resumed. New periodicals were started: Studies in Logic, Grammar and Rhetoric (in English) (1982), Biuletyn Komisji Logiki Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego (1991), Praxiology (English version) (1992) and *Filozofia Nauki* (1993). Valuable series appeared: *Realizm* — Racjonalność – Relatywność (Lublin 1984, UMCS), Logika i zastosowania logiki (Warsaw 1985, PWN), Studies in Logic and Theory of Knowledge (in English) (Lublin 1985, KUL), Znak – język – rzeczywistość (Warsaw 1990, PTS), Logic and Logical Philosophy (in English) (Toruń 1993, UMK), Filozofia – logika – filozofia logiczna (Toruń 1995, UMK), Dialogikon (Cracow 1995, UJ), Foundations of Science (in English) (Dordrecht 1998, Kluwer - series edited by Wójcicki), Polish Analytical Philosophy (in English) (Amsterdam 1999, Rodopi - sub-series of Poznań Studies in the Philosophy of the Science and the Humanities). Marciszewski edited *Dictionary of logic as applied in the study of language* (English version) (1983) and Logika formalna. Zarys encyklopedyczny [Formal logic. Encyclopedic outline] (Polish version) (1981/1987) and Kmita, Szaniawski et al. edited Filozofia a nauka. Zarys encyklopedyczny [Philosophy and science. Encyclopedic outline] (1987). The enterprise of publishing collected papers of the representatives of the first two generations of the Lvov-Warsaw School was continued: the writings of Ossowska (1983), Czeżowski (1989), Kamiński (1989–1998), Kotarbińska (1990), Kotarbiński (1990–2003), Bocheński (1993a), Tarski (1995), Drewnowski (1996), Salamucha (1997) and Łukasiewicz (1998) saw the light of the day. Ajdukiewicz's classic handbook Zagadnienia i kierunki filozofii [Problems and orientations of philosophy] (1928a/1983) and Łukasiewicz's famous monographs O zasadzie *sprzeczności u Arystotelesa* [On the principle of non–contradiction in Aristotle]

(1910a/1987) and Sylogistyka Arystotelesa z punktu widzenia współczesnej logiki formalnej [Aristotle's syllogistic form the standpoint of modern formal logic] (Polish version) (1951/1988) were re–edited.

It is worth adding that many representatives and sympathizers of the Lvov– Warsaw School (i.e. Dąmbska, Lazari–Pawłowska, Kubiński, Szaniawski, Iwanuś, Leszek Nowak and Perzanowski) became involved in the *Solidarity* movement, though the slogan of non–intervention in political controversies belonged to the program of the School.

The activity of Polish philosophers was accompanied by an increasing interest in Polish analytical philosophy abroad. At the beginning of the phase of expansion (1989) yearly *Philosophical Lectures* devoted to Twardowski were inaugurated in Lvov (which since the II world war has been within the borders of Ukraine). Then, conferences started: *Stanisław Leśniewski aujourd'hui* (Grenoble 1992), *The Lvov–Warsaw Philosophical School and Contemporary Philosophy* (Lvov– Warsaw 1995), *Łukasiewicz in Dublin* (Dublin 1996) and *Alfred Tarski and the Vienna Circle* (Vienna 1997).

This growth in interest was certainly stimulated to a great extent by the promotional activities of the Poles, themselves. Even before the war the state of Polish analytical philosophy was described in French by Zawirski (1935) and in German by Kotarbiński (1933) and Ajdukiewicz (1934a/1935). After the war, new works were written: in English by Zbigniew Jordan (1945, 1963a), Skolimowski (1967), Ingarden (1973/1974), Pelc (1973) and, most importantly, Woleński (1985/1989); in French by Bocheński (1947), Kotarbiński (1956c; 1959) and Ostrowski (1971). Analytico– historical texts by foreigners were also of great importance: in German by Franzke and Rautenberg (1972); in English by Simons (1992) and Smith (1996).

Of course, publishing original texts in English translation was crucial here. The fundamental works of Kotarbiński (1929/1966), Łukasiewicz (1970), Tatarkiewicz (1947/1976), Twardowski (1894/1977, 1999) and Leśniewski (1992), Czeżowski (2000), Salamucha (2003) as well as McCall's (1967), Pelc's (1971/1979) and Krajewski's (2001) anthologies began to appear.

SYNCHORNISM		
YEAR	BORN	DEAD
1866	Kazimierz Twardowski	
1867	Leon Petrażycki	
1868	Władysław Weryho	
•••		
1878	Władysław Witwicki	
	Jan Łukasiewicz	
1879	Bronisław Bandrowski	
	Marian Borowski	
1882	Zygmunt Zawirski	