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The Lvov-Warsaw School after 1950*

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Abstract: Although most historians of philosophy agree about the date of the Lvov-Warsaw School's beginning (the year 1895, when Kazimierz Twardowski was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in Lvov), the question of the end of the School's activities is an object of controversies. A few decades ago, the prevailing view was that the School ceased to exist between 1939 and 1950 as a result of World War II and its aftermath. Today, it is more and more common to say that the School also existed in the second half of the 20th century, although in a slightly different form than before. After presenting this controversy over the Lvov-Warsaw School's existence in the first part of the paper, in the second and third parts I sketch the history and main features of the School and the reasons why World War II and its consequences caused its collapse. In the fourth part, I first list the criteria of the existence of philosophical schools and then analyze to what degree the Lvov-Warsaw School fulfilled these criteria after 1950. I end with some remarks on the recent developments of the Lvov-Warsaw philosophical tradition.

Key words: philosophical schools, Lvov-Warsaw School, Polish analytic philosophy

1. The Controversy about the Frames of the Lvov-Warsaw School's Existence

Most historians of philosophy agree on the date of the beginning of the Lvov-Warsaw School (hereinafter: the School or the LWS): it is the year 1895, when Kazimierz Twardowski was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in Lvov.[1] However, the question of the end of the School's existence is the object of controversy. A few

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1 According to well-established tradition, I use the term "Lvov-Warsaw School" as the English equivalent of the Polish "Szkoła Lwowsko-Warszawska" and the term "Lvov" in reference to the city which was the cradle of the School in the years 1895–1939. In reference to the contemporary city I use the term "Lviv."

decades ago, the prevailing view was that the School ceased to exist between 1939 and 1953 as a result of World War II and its aftermath. Władysław Tatarkiewicz described the consequences of the war for Polish philosophy as follows:

> The second great war found […] [Polish philosophy] in a blooming state […]. It was destroyed by occupants between 1939 and 1944. A great part of the young generation perished in fights or was murdered in German camps.[2] 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.[3]

In 1967, Henryk Skolimowski also diagnosed the collapse of the analytic movement in Central Europe:

> 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. […] [In the early 1960s], the analytical movement become emasculated. […] Analytical philosophy is no longer a dominant trend in Poland; its strength has been diluted; its output drastically limited.[4]

In his monograph on the School published in the 1980s, Jan Woleński stated that the war stopped the development of the School as a whole. He, however, stressed that "if that School continued to exist after World War II, it did so only in the individual achievements of its surviving members, and not as a collective undertaking."[5]

Today, it is more and more common to state that the School continued its existence in the second half of the 20th century. Jacek Jadacki considered the decades from 1960 to 1980 to be the phase of restoration of the School and the 1980s – the phase of its expansion.[6] In 2006, a book edited by Jadacki and Jacek Paśniczek

[2] The text was originally published in 1950, in the Stalinist period. Today we would add: „or by Bolshevik Russians."

[3] W. Tatarkiewicz, *Historia filozofii* [History of Philosophy], Vol. 3, PWN, Warszawa 1968, p. 387. Unless stated otherwise, all translations from Polish are my own.

[4] H. Skolimowski, *Polish Analytical Philosophy: A Survey and a Comparison with British Analytic Philosophy*, Humanity Press, New York 1967, p. 260.

[5] J. Woleński, *Logic and Philosophy in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Kluwer, Dordrecht 1989, p. 24.

[6] J. Jadacki, *Polish Analytical Philosophy*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warszawa 2009.

was published, entitled *The Lvov-Warsaw School: The New Generation*, the title of which somehow suggests that the School is still an active phenomenon. We may surely say that, since 2000, interest in the School's history and tradition has been rising both in Poland and abroad.[7]

Nevertheless, the question of the continuity of the LWS after 1950 is intriguing for historians. This controversy over the time frames of the School is accompanied by a controversy over geography. In 1945, Lviv was incorporated into the Soviet Union. For philosophy in Lvov, which flourished in previous decades, it meant no perspective of further existence. For many decades, Lviv was a part of the world under extremely strong ideological pressure with no conditions for the development of scientific philosophy. Besides, almost all representatives of the School left the city forever. That is why another question arises: could the LWS continue to exist without its first and most important centre? I will come to this question later.

The aims of the paper are the following. Firstly, to give the criteria of the existence of the LWS in particular and of any philosophical school in general. Secondly, to examine whether the LWS fulfilled these criteria of existence after 1950 and thus to juxtapose the arguments for and against the continuity of the LWS in the second half of the 20th century. Thirdly, to sketch the changes in the structure and functioning of the LWS after 1950.

Before presenting these issues, I will provide the Reader with some basic information about the LWS and the ways it existed before 1939. Then, I will focus on the period 1939–1950 – namely, the time of the School's collapse. Only against this general presentation of the history of the School before 1950, the picture of its further existence may be full.

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[7] Among recent monographs on the LWS published in last twenty years there are: A. Brożek, M. Będkowski, A. Chybińska, S. Ivanyk, S. Traczykowski, *Anti-Irrationalism: Philosophical Methods in the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Semper, Warszawa 2021; A. Brożek, A. Chybińska, J.J. Jadacki, eds., *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School: Ideas and Continuation*, Brill/Rodopi, Leiden 2018; A. Brożek, J. Jadacki, eds., *At the Sources of the Twentieth-Century Analytical Movement: Kazimierz Twardowski and His Position in European Philosophy*, Brill, Leiden 2022; A. Brożek, F. Stadler, J. Woleński, eds., *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School in the European Culture*, Springer, Berlin 2017; A. Chrudzimski, D. Łukasiewicz, eds., *Actions, Products and Things: Brentano and Polish Philosophy*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2006; A. Drabarek, J. Woleński, M. Radzki, eds., *Interdisciplinary Investigations into the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham 2018; Á. Garrido, U. Wybraniec-Skardowska, eds., *The Lvov-Warsaw School: Past and Present*, Birkhäuser, Cham 2018; J. Hintikka, T. Czarnecki, K. Kijania-Placek, T. Placek, A. Rojszczak, eds., *Philosophy and Logic in Search of the Polish Tradition*, Kluwer, Dordrecht 2003; J.J. Jadacki, E.M. Świderski, eds., *The Concept of Causality in the Lvov-Warsaw School: The Legacy of Jan Łukasiewicz*, Brill, Leiden 2022.

2. The LWS before 1939: Basic Facts

2.1. Kazimierz Twardowski as the Beginning of the LWS

The LWS is a Central European branch of analytic philosophy. Founded in Lvov by Twardowski at the turn of the 19th century, it was appreciated for its results in logic and its applications in philosophy. The School flourished between 1920 and 1939 when Poland regained independence after over 100 years of political non-existence. The School became famous thanks to a few of its flagship results, such as Twardowski's content/object and action/product distinctions, Jan Łukasiewicz's discovery of three-valued logic, Stanisław Leśniewski's systems, Tadeusz Kotarbiński's reism, Alfred Tarski's semantics, etc. However, the School output consists, first of all, of "small" results – namely, analyses of small problems, and conceptual specifications, providing a careful examination of philosophical argumentations.

Twardowski, a Pole born and educated in Vienna (where he studied under Franz Brentano) was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in Lvov in 1895. There, he could realize his dream of initiating a school of scientific philosophy and teaching philosophy in Polish.[8] Thanks to his didactic and organizational skills, he soon managed to establish a philosophical seminar (which was in fact an institute of philosophy) which became a real forge of talents. Twardowski was lucky to have really gifted students, only to mention Władysław Witwicki, Jan Łukasiewicz, Bronisław Bandrowski, Zygmunt Zawirski, Helena Słoniewska, Stanisław Leśniewski, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Maria Kokoszyńska, Izydora Dąmbska, and many others. Only up to 1914, Twardowski supervised about twenty-five doctors of philosophy; and in the interwar period, twenty further young scholars prepared their PhDs under his guidance.

Twardowski not only had a project of founding a philosophical school but also realized this project with steadfast consistency. His university activities were comprehensive, since Twardowski took the process of teaching philosophers extremely seriously. He introduced several "stages of initiation" in this

[8] In 1895, there were only two universities in the world where Polish was allowed as the language of instruction: the University in Lvov and Jagiellonian University in Cracow; both were located in Galicia, the Polish province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The University of Warsaw, founded in 1818, was completely Russified after the fall of the January Uprising, staged by Poles against the Russians in 1863.

process – namely, attending lectures, proseminars, and seminar meetings. He delivered lectures in all basic philosophical disciplines: descriptive psychology and logic (which he considered philosophical organon), epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, and the history of philosophy. At the proseminar meetings, students regularly prepared summaries of classical philosophical texts. At seminar meetings, a smaller group of students under Twardowski's guidance studied classical philosophical texts and then prepared their independent works. He provided his students with perfect conditions for work (full access to the seminar room and library) but, at the same time, Twardowski expected from his students not only intellectual abilities and hard work but also firm will and a good heart.

The work of Twardowski was continued by his students in Lvov and other philosophical centres and thus the School of Twardowski became the Lvov-Warsaw School.

2.2. Development and Branches of the School

In the second decade of the 20th century, a Polish university was reopened in Warsaw and Twardowski's students Łukasiewicz and Kotarbiński, joined later by Leśniewski and Witwicki, were appointed to chairs in Warsaw. The capital of resurrected Poland became the second, after Lvov, centre of Polish analytic philosophy. Thus, the period 1918–1939 is usually considered the phase of the greatest prosperity and "full existence" of the LWS.

Warsaw soon turned into an active centre of philosophy and logic. In Lvov, Twardowski, joined later by Ajdukiewicz and Roman Ingarden, continued his work of educating new generations of scholars. Besides Lvov and Warsaw, new centres appeared: in Poznań (Stefan Błachowski, shortly also Zygmunt Zawirski), then also in Wilno (Tadeusz Czeżowski) and finally Cracow (Zawirski).

The LWS was mainly a school of philosophy; however, it had various branches, first of all, psychological and logical.

When Twardowski was starting his career, psychology was considered a part of philosophy, and in Brentanian tradition even the basic philosophical discipline. However, Twardowski was equally interested in experimental psychology and founded a psychological laboratory in Lvov. Together with his students Witwicki, Błachowski, Mieczysław Kreutz, and Słoniewska, he formed the Lvov School of Psychology. Among its peculiarities, there are descriptive attitude, emphasis on terminological precision, humanistic traits, and distrust of testing methods.

The logical branch of the School was initiated by Łukasiewicz in Lvov and developed into the Warsaw School of Logic, whose main representatives, besides Łukasiewicz, were Leśniewski and Tarski. Representatives of this branch of the LWS provided many results in mathematical logic, which I mentioned above. However, they also used logic as a tool of philosophical investigations (see Łukasiewicz's programme of the logicization of philosophy).

Continuously with this bidirectional specialization of the LWS, two tendencies in philosophical investigations crystallized: a psychological-descriptive tendency, which evolved into the semiotic direction, and a logical-mathematical tendency. There were also such scholars as Kotarbiński, Czeżowski, or Ajdukiewicz, who balanced these two tendencies. One of the consequences of this coexistence of various trends was that formal and informal logic developed continuously within the School.

In the sphere of the School, and in particular in its "logicoidal" branch, there existed the Cracow Circle – a group of philosophers aiming at the modernization of Catholic thought. It existed very shortly (it was established in 1936 during the Third Polish Philosophical Congress in Cracow), under the patronage of Łukasiewicz; among its members were Jan F. Drewnowski, Józef M. Bocheński, Jan Salamucha (Łukasiewicz's student), and Bolesław Sobociński.

2.3. Methodological Bond of the LWS and Its Worldview Neutrality

Collectives of philosophers are referred to in various ways: there are "circles," "groups," "trends," and of course "schools." It is worth stressing that the LWS was a school in a strict sense. It means that the most essential relation in this community was the teacher–students relation. Twardowski played the main role of a philosophy teacher in Lvov.[9] His students continued this didactic activity in other centres. That is why, usually, Twardowski, his students, the students of his students (and possibly also further generations of them) are included in the LWS.

In the majority of philosophical schools, the members share some common views which are transferred from one "generation" to another. In the case of the LWS, this "transferred" element was not typical. Both members of the LWS and

[9] However, he was accompanied by other professors, first of all Mścisław Wartenberg. Later, some of Twardowski's students lectured in Lvov, for example Łukasiewicz and later Ajdukiewicz, but also Ingarden, who, admittedly, was first of all Husserl's student, but was also under Twardowski's scientific influence to some degree.

historians of its tradition stress that the element bounding the members of School was *methodological*. It consists in preserving the postulates of clarity of speech and reliable justification of judgments, application of logical tools (broadly understood), and respecting the results of other ("detailed") sciences. In philosophical investigations, the members of the School used some methods typical for analytic tradition, first of all analysis of concepts and paraphrasing of statements. In the logical branch of the School, axiomatization was considered the final step in tooling and presenting philosophical conceptions.

Besides methodological attitudes, there are some additional elements that formed the School. Twardowski was a student of Brentano, whose scientific vision of philosophy and spirit of teaching Twardowski wanted to install in Poland. Together with some elements of Brentano's programme, Twardowski brought also Aristotle and Bolzano. However, as a not-orthodox Brentanist, anti-dogmatist, and an opponent of any "isms" (which he stresses already in his introductory lecture in Lvov), he did not force any particular "objective" views on his students and encouraged them to do their own independent research.

Therefore, no set of strictly ("substantially") philosophical views was common to all members of the LWS, except for some general attitudes, summed up by one of its outstanding representatives, Ajdukiewicz, in the term "anti-irrationalism." An anti-irrationalist rejects obscure philosophical language and unjustified speculations but accepts all scientific methods (of both formal and empirical sciences) in philosophical investigations. In this critical attitude, the golden mean is found between the Scylla of scepticism and the Charybdis of dogmatism.

2.4. The LWS as an Integrating Enterprise

The programme for philosophy which Twardowski proposed in Lvov was interdisciplinary and involved psychology (first of all descriptive), logic (both formal and informal), linguistics, and humanities. Of course, 100 years ago, the borders between disciplines looked different than today, and some disciplines were still not separated from philosophy. The interdisciplinary character was one of the reasons for the diversity of directions in which the School was developing and had an impact on many areas of Polish science.

LWS members were of Polish, Ukrainian, as well as Jewish origin. On one hand, it was natural because of the multinational character of Lvov. On the other

hand, in turbulent times and in a society full of tensions, the School was a positive example of fruitful cooperation of people of different nationalities.

The School is also famous for a relatively big number of female scholars that were its active and creative members. About one-third of doctors supervised by Twardowski were female, which is a big number given that women were permitted to study at Austrian universities in 1897. Twardowski supported the presence of women at universities and fulfilled an official role of a kind of women's rights ombudsman at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Lvov.[10] Female students appreciated Twardowski especially for his just estimation of their work, and for treating everyone equally regardless of gender.

Among female students of Twardowski who made academic careers were Helena Słoniewska, Daniela Gromska, Maria Kokoszyńska, Helena Łuszczewska, and Izydora Dąmbska. In Warsaw, Maria Ossowska and Janina Hosiasson-Lindenbaum belonged to the second generation of the School.

2.5. Institutional Basis

Let us stress once again that philosophical discussion was considered in the LWS the most important impulse for philosophical investigations. That is why the existence of the School was possible in the frames of institutions which guaranteed, first of all, the basis for the free exchange of ideas. The most important elements of this institutional basis were universities, where seminar meetings guaranteed the possibility of not only transferring knowledge and skills but also of discussing philosophical matters.

However, the institutions outside the university were of equal importance. Shortly after coming to Lvov, Twardowski started to attend, and soon also to lead, the meetings of the Student Philosophical Circle. At the meetings of the Circle, Twardowski appeared to be a real head-hunter. A telling testimony of this is that he encouraged Łukasiewicz to move from the Faculty of Law to philosophy. A student philosophical circle existed also in Warsaw (one of its presidents was Ossowska).

In 1904, thanks to Twardowski's initiative, the Polish Philosophical Society in Lvov was founded. The Society became a forum for meetings of philosophers

[10] Strictly speaking, Twardowski regularly presented issues connected with women at the meetings of the faculty members.

of all currents, and it was stressed by Twardowski that its only dogma is the lack of (other) dogmas. However, he set the tone for the Society, being its president to his death, and involved his students in its activities. The institution was very active and already in 1910 Twardowski received a glorious tableau as a token of appreciation on the occasion of the Society's 100th meeting.

Philosophical journals were another important institutional element of the School's activity. From 1897, Twardowski cooperated with Władysław Weryho, the editor-in-chief of the quarterly "Przegląd Filozoficzny" [Philosophical Review]. In 1911, a new philosophical journal was initiated by Twardowski himself in Lvov, entitled "Ruch Filozoficzny" [Philosophical Movement] – initially a monthly journal, later appearing irregularly due to financial difficulties. It included, besides original papers, reports from lectures, discussions, bibliographic information, etc. "Ruch Filozoficzny" was edited by Twardowski and his younger co-workers.

"Przegląd Filozoficzny" and "Ruch Filozoficzny" were published exclusively in Polish as one of their aims was to support the development of Polish philosophy and culture before and shortly after regaining independence by Poles. In the 1930s, the journal "Studia Philosophica" was initiated in Lvov, intended for publishing in "international" languages (German, French, and English). Unfortunately, only a few issues were published before World War II.

The most important philosophical events in Poland between 1918 and 1939 were three congresses of philosophy, which took place in Lvov (1923), Warsaw (1927), and Cracow (1936). Twardowski and Łukasiewicz were members of the organizing committees of all three events. It is significant that the inaugural lectures of the congresses were entrusted to Twardowski's pupils: Witwicki (the first), Łukasiewicz (the second), and Tatarkiewicz (the third).

Let us add that in the 1930s, members of the LWS entered into an active exchange of ideas with other centres of early analytic philosophy. Interactions with the Vienna Circle are perhaps of special importance. Moreover, those who visited Poland in this period (e.g., Karl Menger, Rudolf Carnap, Ernest Nagel, or Willard Van Orman Quine) were really impressed by the results of Polish logicians and philosophers and by the intensity of scientific life in Warsaw and Lvov.

3. The Decline of the LWS

3.1. Direct Effects of World War II

In September 1939, Poland was attacked from the west by Nazi Germany, from the east by Soviet Russia, and from the south by Slovakia, an ally of the Third Reich. For the LWS, the outbreak of World War II, its course, and its results were really tragic. The whole of Poland was occupied by aggressors, and all Polish scientific institutions were closed. During the war, over 6 million Polish citizens were murdered by the occupants, often in a cruel way.

Many representatives of the LWS were killed in this war. Let us mention some examples. In 1939, Father Salamucha, a student of Łukasiewicz and Leśniewski, a leading member of Cracow Circle, was among the professors of Jagiellonian University arrested by German occupiers (the so-called Sonderaktion Krakau) and imprisoned for over a year in the concentration camp Sachsenhausen, then in Dachau. In 1941, Father Salamucha was released thanks to the intervention of, among others, the German logician Heinrich Scholtz. He went to Warsaw, where, as a priest, he became the chaplain of the secret National Armed Forces. He was murdered during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, when he was taking care of the wounded.

Jan Mosdorf, a talented doctoral student of Tatarkiewicz, dealing with historiosophical issues, was murdered by Germans in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in 1943.

Hosiasson-Lindenbaum described her dramatic war years in a letter to George E. Moore in which she asked him for help. The help, however, did not come in time. She escaped from Warsaw to Wilno, but after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union she was arrested and killed in Ponary near Wilno.

Zygmunt Schmierer, a young assistant of Ajdukiewicz and a promising logician, was killed in a concentration camp.

These are only some examples of many.

The war also changed seriously the course of life of those who survived it. For instance, because of her Jewish origin, in 1940, Dina Sztejnbarg (later Janina Kotarbińska), a pupil of Kotarbiński, was placed by the occupants in the Warsaw Ghetto, from where she escaped thanks to the help of her "Aryan" friends. Later, she used the nickname "Kamińska." However, in 1942, she was arrested and sent to the concentration camp Ravensbrück, then to Auschwitz. She survived thanks to the fact that she agreed to be the object of medical experiments. Seweryna

Łuszczewska-Romahnowa was also sent to a Nazi-German concentration camp; she survived; however, her husband was killed there.

Many members of the LWS were forced to emigrate. Tarski went to the USA just before the war to take part in a philosophical congress, which – paradoxically –probably saved his life. Łukasiewicz, wanting to protect himself from the Russian invasion, tried to reach Switzerland in 1944, but after many turbulent events, he finally went to Ireland, where he died nine years later "far from dear Lwów and Poland" – as is written on his grave.[11] Henryk Mehlberg, Sobociński, and Henryk Hiż also found themselves in the USA.

It is worth emphasizing that the war did not kill the spirit of the Poles. In the Polish territories functioned the greatest resistance movement in Europe. Some members of the LWS took part in it. Izydora Dąmbska was a soldier of the Home Army, the biggest underground army in Europe. The Ossowskis belonged to "Żegota," the organization that helped the Polish Jews to survive the war. Czeżowski spent the war in Wilno, where he was twice arrested for his underground activities. He and his family also helped the Jews to survive the war; for this activity, he was awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations. Secret teaching in Polish was organized on all levels. Many members of the LWS, including Ajdukiewicz, Czeżowski, Dąmbska, Kotarbiński, Łukasiewicz, the Ossowskis, and others, co-created underground universities and lectured the youth.

3.2. Post-War Marxists' Attacks on the LWS's Members

Unfortunately, the war was not the end of dramatic events in Poland. In 1945, the territorial changes established in Yalta meant that Lvov could no longer be the centre of the LWS; a similar fate befell Wilno. Poland under the new borders dictated by Stalin was placed behind the Iron Curtain. Moreover, the communist regime installed in Poland seriously limited the LWS intellectual influence, since Marxism-Leninism became the only official accepted philosophy, also, and above all, at universities. In the process of creating the *homo sovieticus*, criticism and independent thinking, the hallmarks of the LWS, were revealed to be the most serious enemies of the communist propaganda.

That is why the LWS and its members became the objects of ideological attacks. Twardowski, as well as his students, were openly criticized in the press,

[11] On 22 November 2022, his remains were brought to Warsaw and laid to rest at the Powązkowski Cemetery.

officially for "idealistic" elements in their philosophy. Twardowski was attacked by Henryk Holland, who intentionally changed the legend *of* Twardowski into "the legend *about* Twardowski" in order to discredit his output and significance, trying to present him as… an obscure and clerical canvasser of bourgeois philosophy. Also Kotarbiński, Tatarkiewicz, Ajdukiewicz, and Ossowska became the objects of unjustified ideological criticism.

The members of the LWS who survived the war and stayed in Poland faced a choice: to resign from the public practice of philosophy and its didactics or to limit themselves to teaching "ideologically neutral" logic. Others (like, e.g., Tatarkiewicz, Ossowska, Dąmbska) were temporarily removed from universities by the communist authorities (based on the accusation of "demoralizing" students).

For all those reasons the condition of the LWS around 1950 was unenviable.

4. The Existence of the LWS after 1950

4.1. The School: Criteria of Existence

Given the described serious collapse of the LWS, the historical question of whether the School existed after 1950 is reasonable. In order to address this question properly, a certain ontological problem should be resolved: what does it mean for a school to exist or continue to exist?

My proposal for answering this last question is a formula that uses Tatarkiewicz's idea of idealization (or typological) definition.[12] It is often difficult to indicate both necessary and sufficient conditions of schools' existence; however, it is possible, I believe, to indicate the criteria that should be fulfilled if the school exists "fully." In reality, there are schools that do not meet some of these criteria or meet them only to some degree. Still, such an idealization indicates some determinants for estimating the symptoms of schools' existence.

The proposal of definitions is as follows (the verb "exist" can be replaced by "continue to exist" if necessary).

Philosophical school *S* exists at time *t*, iff:

(i) members of *S* exist as philosophers at time *t*;

(ii) (personal and academic) relations between members of *S* hold;

[12] It was used, for instance, in Tatarkiewicz's definition of happiness.

(iii) (previous) geographical centres of *S* exist at time *t*;
(iv) institutional framework of *S* exists at time *t*;
(v) members of *S* are convinced that *S* exists;
(vi) people from outside *S* (in particular, historians of philosophy) are convinced that *S* exists.

Let us notice that conditions (i)–(iv) are "objective" while (v) and (vi) are "subjective" (as they refer to someone's convictions). We may examine (i)–(iv) by establishing historical facts. Determining whether criteria (v) and (vi) are met is more difficult – and in the case of (v), sometimes even impossible. It is obvious that objective conditions may be fulfilled while subjective ones may not and vice versa.

Let us supplement the definition of a school's existence with the following definition of the membership of a (philosophical) school, of a typological-inductive character. Let us assume the following one:

A is a member of *S*, iff:
(a′) *A* is the founder of *S* or (a″) *A* is a student of a member of *S*;
and
(b) *A* realizes the programme of *S*;[13]
(c) *A* considers *A* to be a member of *S*;
(d) *A* is considered (by others) to be a member of *S*.

Also here, both objective and subjective criteria can be taken into consideration and thus there are more and less typical representatives of a philosophical school.

Let us now examine all the criteria mentioned above in the case of the LWS after 1950.

4.2. People

Although many outstanding representatives died during World War II, the majority of them lived and continued to work after 1950. Even some of the coryphaei of the School, like Kotarbiński, Tatarkiewicz, Czeżowski, or Ajdukiewicz, were still active in philosophy for a few more decades.

Paradoxically, the careers of women of the LWS could develop only after World War II (it was one of the very few positive changes in these political circumstances).

[13] In the case of the LWS, point (b) consists in the realization of the methodological postulates of the LWS.

None of them were appointed to academic chairs before the war (only Ossowska habilitated), while in the 1940s and 1950s Ossowska was appointed to the Chair of the Theory of Morals in Łódź and then in Warsaw; Kotarbińska – in Łódź and then in Warsaw (logic); Kokoszyńska – in Wrocław (logic); Łuszczewska-Rohmanowa – in Poznań (logic); Dąmbska – (for a short period, admittedly) in Cracow (philosophy); Słoniewska – in Wrocław (psychology).

Regardless, in a slightly different political situation, the members of the School continued their scientific and didactic work, bringing up a new generation of scholars.

In Warsaw, this new generation of the LWS was composed of, among others, Roman Suszko (PhD student of Ajdukiewicz when he was still in Poznań), Marian Przełęcki (PhD student of Kotarbińska), Henryk Stonert (PhD student of Kotarbiński), and Klemens Szaniawski (PhD student of Ossowska); soon, their own students joined them, including Barbara Stanosz (PhD student of Suszko) and Adam Nowaczyk (PhD student of Przełęcki). In Toruń, they were Czeżowski's PhD students: Leon Gumański and Bogusław Wolniewicz (who eventually moved to Warsaw). In Opole, Jerzy Słupecki's PhD student was, among others, Urszula Wybraniec-Skardowska, and in Wrocław, Kokoszyńska's PhD student was, among others, Ryszard Wójcicki. In Cracow, as already mentioned, the authorities did not allow Dąmbska to have official doctoral students, but, among others, Jerzy Perzanowski attended her philosophical *privatissimum*.

It is interesting that the main historians and chroniclers of the School, as well as prolific continuators of its intellectual achievements, that is, Jerzy Pelc, Jan Woleński, Jacek Jadacki, and Ryszard Jadczak, were not PhD students of the LWS representatives. All of them, however, were under the personal influence of the School's members, attended their lectures, or cooperated with them. Among Pelc's mentors, there were Kotarbiński and Tatarkiewicz; Woleński attended Dąmbska's seminars and wrote his master's thesis under her supervision; Jadacki was a participant in classes of Przełęcki, Szaniawski, and Pelc; Jadczak was influenced by Czeżowski. *Nota bene*: probably all or almost all contemporary Polish formal logicians are "genetically connected" to the School.

4.3. Relations

Schools are more than mereological sums of people. The second important factor of schools' existence are the intellectual relations between their members. As said

before, the relations essential for the LWS were teacher–students relations and the relation of cooperation between the members.

After 1950, some of the LWS representatives became great teachers, and so new instantiations of the teacher–student relation appeared. These new generations were educated in the spirit of anti-irrationalism. Unfortunately, because of the political situation, the conditions of didactic work were essentially different than in the truly independent Poland of the interwar period. There was also ubiquitous censorship and drastic limitations on the freedom of publishing.

Interpersonal contacts became perhaps more complicated because the LWS members were treated differently by the newly established authorities. As mentioned earlier, some members of the LWS were officially attacked or temporarily lost their academic positions. Others were supported or at least tolerated by the communists. It is understandable if we remember that the LWS was a group of people with different political and worldview orientations. In any case, some controversies had to appear over how to behave in these political circumstances. Dąmbska was an example of the strongest resistance against the restriction of university freedom. She paid a big prize for it, since she was removed from university twice. Others decided to compromise, at least in some respects.

4.4. Centres

Let us now consider the centres of the LWS after 1950.

After the change of borders brought on by the Yalta Conference, the LWS lost Lvov and Wilno as academic centres but new centres appeared in which the members of the LWS played an essential role.

Although Warsaw was completely destroyed during the war and lost the majority of its inhabitants, it never lost its position as the main LWS centre. Twardowski's followers played an essential role at the Faculty of Philosophy (and Sociology) after 1950. This was evidenced by the fact that more and more lecture rooms in the building of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Warsaw (located at Krakowskie Przedmieście 3) were named after the LWS representatives. First, there was the room of Ossowski (Chair of Sociology in 1947–1952 and 1956–1962), then the room of Ajdukiewicz (Chair of Philosophy in 1925–1928 and Chair of Logic in 1955–1961), the room of Kotarbiński (Chair of Philosophy in 1918–1939 and Chair of Logic in 1951–1961), the room of Tatarkiewicz (Chair of Philosophy in 1915–1919, 1923–1939, 1945–1949 and 1957–1960) and

Tarski (who lectured in Warsaw as a docent between 1925 and 1939). Finally, the assembly hall of the faculty was named after Ossowska (Chair of Ethics in 1948–1952 and 1956–1966). Another great tribute to LWS members in Warsaw is the colonnade of philosophers and logicians (Twardowski, Leśniewski, Łukasiewicz, Tarski) in the building of the University of Warsaw Library, as well as restoring the rector's portrait of Łukasiewicz in the Kazimierzowski Palace, the seat of the rectors of the University of Warsaw.

Shortly after World War II, Kotarbiński was elected the president of the newly established University of Łódź. He was joined by Kotarbińska, as well as the Ossowskis. Although they moved back to Warsaw after a few years, it was enough to educate a new generation of scholars and to establish there a new centre of analytic philosophy. Ajdukiewicz became a lecturer and the rector in Poznań and, together with Łuszczewska-Rohmanowa, played an essential role in organizing philosophy and logic studies and research in the reconstructed university in this city. Dąmbska cooperated successfully with Ingarden (earlier: antagonist of the logical branch of the LWS) – to the extent that Perzanowski identified the phenomenon of Lvov-Cracow School. Czeżowski co-created the Toruń philosophical centre. A Polish university was also organized in Wrocław, where Kokoszyńska lectured logic, while Słoniewska created the new centre of psychological research. In Lublin, Stefan Swieżawski (Lvovian assistant of Ajdukiewicz) played an important role in shaping the local centre of the history of philosophy.

Generally, one may state that despite some losses (among which Lvov, the cradle of the school, was particularly painful), the number of LWS centres increased around 1950. However, in these centres, the School was not as influential as it was in the interwar period in Lvov and Warsaw. The ideas of the LWS became perhaps more "widespread" but also more "diffused."

One may also identify some new phenomena as "satellites" of the LWS: the Warsaw School of Praxeology (Tadeusz Pszczołowski, Wojciech Gasparski), inspired by Kotarbiński, and the Poznań School of Methodology (Jerzy Kmita and Leszek Nowak), inspired partly by Ajdukiewicz. The latter school is an extremely interesting phenomenon inasmuch as it is a testimony to the victory of the "power of reason" demonstrated by the LWS over the "power of ideology" (or rather the "power of politicians") that was attempted to be implanted in Poland. Kmita, a student of Jerzy Giedymin (a close associate of Ajdukiewicz), and Nowak, a graduate student of Kotarbińska, initiated the analytical metamorphosis

of a certain part of communist ideology into an original concept of the philosophy of the humanities, corresponding to the standards of the LWS.

Let us mention, last but not least, that because of the emigration of some LWS representatives, the LWS had more impact abroad than before the war. In the USA, Tarski supervised twenty-two doctorates in logic, by which the LWS spirit has been present in the USA up to now. Łukasiewicz worked for a few years in Dublin, influencing Irish logicians (such as Carew A. Meredith). Czesław Lejewski, a pupil of Łukasiewicz, worked in Manchester (where he taught, among others, Peter Simons, Barry Smith, and Kevin Mulligan).

4.5. Institutional Framework

The institutions created by Twardowski appeared to be extremely durable and survived both World War II and the post-war ideological pressure.

The Polish Philosophical Society has existed continuously since 1904, although it was "concealed" during World War II and "dormant" during the Stalinist period. Presently, there are sections of the Society in all Polish academic centres. The journal "Ruch Filozoficzny" was closed in the early 1950s but later reopened by Czeżowski in Toruń. The journal is still issued today. On the front cover, it is recalled that it was founded by Twardowski. Until the death of Gumański, a student of Czeżowski, and the editor-in-chief after him, "Ruch Filozoficzny" kept the content structure given to it by Twardowski.

Moreover, some new philosophical institutions, promoting the scientific ethos of the LWS, appeared. Firstly, Ajdukiewicz realized Łukasiewicz's idea and started to publish "Studia Logica" in 1953. In 1970, the journal "Studia Semiotyczne" [Semiotic Studies] began to be issued, referring through its founder and editor, that is, Pelc, to the ideals of the LWS; in 1993, Jadacki, founded the general philosophical journal "Filozofia Nauki" [Philosophy of Science], which serves the same aim.

What is more, in 1968, Pelc initiated the Polish Semiotic Society, which continued the tradition of the LWS. In 1994, the Polish Association for Logic and Philosophy of Science was established, declaring that it is a continuation of the Polish Logical Association, founded by Łukasiewicz and his pupils, active in the years 1936–1939. Polish Philosophical Congresses were renewed in 1977. Earlier, Ajdukiewicz initiated a series of conferences on logic (organized in Osieczna and Jabłonna).

4.6. Self-Identification and the View from Outside

The memory of Twardowski and of the spirit of the LWS was strong among the school members also after 1950. However, could the members of the LWS have a feeling of the continuity of the School shortly after 1950? It was hardly possible. Most members of the LWS were strongly emotionally bound to Lvov and the loss of this center was painful. Also, the political situation, and lack of academic freedom made it difficult to "feel" the spirit of the School.

Woleński recollects that when he asked about the continuity of the LWS in the 1980s, even such a "natural" member of the LWS as Przełęcki did not admit to belonging to the School, although, from an objective point of view, he was a member of the LWS in a strict sense: he was a student of Twardowski's students and applied the LWS ideals to the greatest degree. He simply considered the School as a closed chapter of the history of Polish philosophy.

However, this situation gradually changed. In the recent decades, more and more scholars have admitted to being in the sphere of the School's influence. A decisive role in this process is played by historians of philosophy who identified, explored, and described the phenomenon of the LWS and the scale of its impact on Polish (and not only Polish) philosophy. After the intensification of the research about the history and tradition of the LWS, and together with recognition of the international prestige of the School, also the process of self-identification reappeared. It is, incidentally, an example of the influence of the research on the researched object.

5. Final Diagnosis and Closing Remarks

As mentioned at the beginning, various historians of philosophy have different opinions about the School's existence after 1950. These differences are probably caused by the fact that they consider different criteria crucial for the School's continuity.

I would like to end with two comments.

Firstly, we naturally compare the period after 1950 to the period before World War II. However, it is not the case that the School was ideally "integral" before the war and fulfilled all the mentioned criteria completely and to the highest degree. Remember that, until 1920, only the Lvov centre existed (called the "Lvov

School," "Twardowski's School"). The mathematical-logical direction appeared also only after 1920. The term "Lvov-Warsaw School" was coined in the 1930s. There were deep differences inside the School, and many controversies among its members. Let us mention, for instance, Witwicki's criticism of the "Triumvirate" of Warsaw logicians (Łukasiewicz, Leśniewski, and Tarski), Twardowski's reservations towards the "symbolomania" of some of his students, Twardowski's students' reservations towards some points of their teacher's programme, etc. From the perspective of 100 years, we see more similarities and integrity than they saw themselves.

Secondly, some recent developments in the LWS tradition should be mentioned. Above all, numerous thorough monographs on the School have been edited and published, and translations of classic works of the LWS representatives have appeared. Two additional dates should be mentioned in this context. In 2016, the Kazimierz Twardowski Philosophical Society in Lviv was established thanks to the effort of Stepan Ivanyk and his Ukrainian colleagues. Thus the School symbolically came back to its cradle. In 2020, at the University of Warsaw the Lvov-Warsaw School Research Center was established, which closely cooperates with the Lviv Society and aims to integrate those who follow the tradition of the School. It seems that this presence of Twardowski's spirit in contemporary Lviv removes the last barrier in thinking about the School's continuity.

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