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ON PSYCHOLOGICAL AND WAR MISSION OF THE FOUNDER OF THE LVIV-WARSAW SCHOOL¹

ABSTRACT

The double mission, ideally fulfilled by Kazimierz Twardowski, the founder of the Lviv-Warsaw School, is discussed in this article. Twardowski was fulfilling his psychological mission all his life, whereas his war mission lasted three years (1914–1917) – when he was carrying out the role of the president (rector) of the Lviv University. A short biography of Kazimierz Twardowski precedes descriptions of those missions.

Keywords: founder of the Lviv-Warsaw School, psychological mission, war mission

1. INTRODUCTION

When on November 15, 1895, 29-year-old Kazimierz Twardowski (1866–1938) was appointed the head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Lviv, one would expect the professor's scientific activity to focus on philosophy. However, anyone who at that time, just like Twardowski, considered himself a modern philosopher, was also engaged in psychology – a fashionable discipline that quickly gained crowds of followers. The course of Twardowski's educational and socialization path and the people he met on that path had a significant impact on his psychological interests and undertaking a mission to spread psychological knowledge.

When, in June 1914, 48-year-old Kazimierz Twardowski was elected rector, one could expect that his organisational activity would concentrate on the matters of the university and that his scientific and didactic activity would be carried out according to rigorously followed plans. However, that was not the case. The three years of his life, marked by his being the rector of the University of Lviv and his unique mission at the time, were disrupted by the First World War.

¹ This article was originally published in Polish as Rzepa, T. (2016). O psychologicznej i wojennej misji twórcy szkoły Lwowsko-Warszawskiej. *Studia Psychologica*, 16(1), 47-69. The translation of the article into English was financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland as part of the activities promoting science - Decision No. 676/P-DUN/2019 of 2 April 2019. Translation made by GROJY Translations.

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This text deals with these two types of missions which Twardowski – from the perspective of contemporary evaluation – fulfilled exemplarily before 1918, i.e., before Poland regained its independence after the years of Russian, Prussian and Austrian partitions. Before I move on to discuss the essence and the course of these missions, a few sentences on the life story of Kazimierz Twardowski.

2. LIFE

Twardowski grew up in a catholic house in Vienna, in the atmosphere of official seriousness. He was the eldest son of Malwina Kuhn (1844–1932), daughter of a pharmacist from Przeworsk, and Pius Twardowski (1828–1906), a lawyer who came from Kamieniec Podolski and who held increasingly high official positions throughout his life. No wonder that he similarly saw his son's career and to this end, he made efforts to obtain a scholarship from the funds of the Galician National Department for him. As a result of fatherly efforts, the 11-year-old Kazimierz became a student of Theresianum, a middle school for men (with a boarding house), known for its discipline and rigour, where the boys were prepared for a career as clerks, diplomats or soldiers. Young Twardowski was a straight-A student from the beginning and at the end of his school, in 1884, he received the gold medal of the school. During his stay at the Theresianum, Kazimierz has developed a habit of discipline and internal harmony, a stoic attitude, responsible, reliable and systematic work ethics, unbroken ethical principles, a passion for logical thinking and absolute disclosure of errors in reasoning (Twardowski, 1992).

After Matura exam, passed on July 13th 1885 with a very good result, in early December of the same year, Twardowski accepted the position of home teacher in the Transnistria estate of the politician and philosopher Count Wojciech Dzieduszycki (1848–1909). It was there, in Jezupol, that he met his future wife, Kazimiera Kołodziejka (1862–1945). They got married on 9 January 1892 (Jadczak, 1992).

One year after graduation (1886), Twardowski began philosophical studies at the University of Vienna, dividing his time between the duties of student and teacher at the Dzieduszycki family. In addition to his philosophical subjects, he studied history, mathematics and biology. In the years 1889–1890, he served in the army. From the first year of his studies, his teacher was Franz Brentano (1838–1917), whose personality made the “greatest impression on Twardowski”. He soon became his “closer” student, and his relationship with the master took on an “invaluable personal nature”, giving him the right to visit Brentano's house unannounced (Twardowski, 1992). As a result of many hours of discussions, possible because of the uniqueness of this relationship, Twardowski took over most of the scientific views of his master (Brentano, 1874/1999) and focused the “personality of the scientist” on the role of a teacher rather than a “truth seeker” detached from didactics. The relationship with Brentano also strengthened the attitude of life and habits that were brought up from Theresianum: discipline, severity of customs, moral responsibility, emotional stoicism, and lasting behaviour principles. It also encouraged the belief in the power of independent thinking and in placing logical reasoning, careful descriptions and analyses above rash judgments or explaining something without a prior description of the problem. Such an approach has become the basis for the so-called semiotic method, used by Twardowski, which consists of a precise analysis of meanings and precise definition of concepts. He showed uncompromisingly and openly that the confusion of terminology, over-using symbols and

the vagueness of language testify not so much to the “wisdom” of a lecture or publication as to the entanglement and confusion of their author’s thoughts, which then deserve neither attention nor having their work read² (Twardowski, 1919–1920/1965).

During his studies, Twardowski cooperated in organizing the Philosophical Society at the University of Vienna. Between 1887 and 1889, as the Society’s vice-president, he acquired administrative and organizational experience, which he later used in Lviv, especially during his tenure as rector of the University of Lviv. The defence of his doctoral thesis took place in 1891, and his dissertation (entitled *Idee und Perzeption. Eine erkenntnistheoretische Untersuchung aus Descartes*) was published in 1892. Robert Zimmermann (1824–1898) was the formal supervisor of the dissertation, however, in reality, it was Brentano who worked at the University of Vienna as a private assistant professor and, therefore, did not have the relevant academic qualifications (Jadczak, 1991, 1995, 1997; Rzepa, 1997, 1998; Rzepa, Dobroczyński, 2009; Twardowski, 1992; Woleński, 1985).

In January 1892, Twardowski received a government scholarship and went to study in Leipzig, where for three months he attended Wilhelm Wundt’s (1832–1920) lectures on the history of modern philosophy and took part in the work of Prague psychological laboratory, which was already then called the centre of world psychology. In his later publications, however, Twardowski did not refer to the experiences related to this period, and in his autobiography, he only mentioned the Leipzig laboratory. This proves that he was not fascinated by the experimental psychology practised there. What was more important to him was that in Leipzig he made closer and long-lasting acquaintance with Oswald Külpe (1848–1936), founder of the Würzburg school (Schultz & Schultz, 2008; Zusne, 1975). In the summer semester of 1892, Twardowski stayed in Munich, where he attended lectures and classes in philosophy taught by Carl Stumpf (1848–1936), a psychologist of music and acoustics, a famous experimenter and author of the first psychological work devoted to the perception of space (Zusne, 1975). Twardowski established a lasting acquaintance with Stumpf (just like with Külpe). On multiple occasions, he invited to his home, where they played music together (Twardowski, 1992).

From autumn 1892 to autumn 1895, Twardowski worked as an official in the mathematical office of the life insurance company of the General Association of Officials, and since the salary he received was modest, he made money on the side by tutoring and writing philosophical essays for the monthly magazine *Przełom*. At that time he prepared a habilitation dissertation, very well received and widely discussed in the scientific community³ (*Zur Lehre vom Inhalt und Gegenstand der Vorstellungen*), achieving *venia*

² Rigorously applied semiotic method, known as the “ABC of decent thinking” (Ajdukiewicz, 1959), was criticised by, among others, Roman Ingarden (1893–1970) or Tadeusz Tomaszewski (1910–2000), who believed that Twardowski paid too much attention to methodology (the context of justification) while neglecting creative activity (the context of discovery; Ingarden, 1973; Tomaszewski, 1996). During the 85th anniversary, “Tomaszewski talked about his studies in his native Lviv. [...] Twardowski’s school took a hit. *This school taught how to sharpen the knife constantly, but no one was slicing the bread with it. We were told, and it wasn’t just us, that what is being done there kills creativity*” (Pietrasinski, 2015, p. 82).

³ The dissertation received flattering reviews from such scholars as Alexius Meinong, Goswin K. Uphues, Hans Schmidkunz, Paul Natorp, Edmund Husserl, Josef Kreibitz, Theodor Ziehen, lois Höfler, Martin Anton Marty. The reviews were published, among others, in such maga-

legendi in July 1894. In the academic year 1894/1895, as a private university reader, Twardowski lectured on logic and philosophy at the University of Vienna. Since this position was not associated with either remuneration or academic rights, he was determined to seek a chair in one of the Galician universities. On October 18 1895, the Austrian Ministry of Education appointed Twardowski as associate professor of philosophy at the University of Lviv. The beginning of tenure is considered to be on 15 November, because on that day the young professor gave his first lecture in Lviv (Twardowski, 1997, vol. 1).

On October 1 1898, the 32-year-old Twardowski was nominated for the position of professor and since then, in addition to his normal scientific and didactic activity, he has held many responsible positions both within and outside the university. He was, among other things: Rector in the difficult times of World War I, Prorector, Dean and Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, spokesman of the professors' college, university senator and ministerial expert, initiator and member (also honorary) of numerous scientific societies, state examination boards for teachers, organisational committees of scientific conventions and conferences, a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Governmental Stabilisation Commission, established in 1919 to organise the professorial staff of the University of Warsaw and other Polish universities. Thanks to his efforts the university office was reformed (in 1908–1913) and the organisational structure of the departments and deans' offices was modernised (decentralized). It was Twardowski who drafted the first study regulations and regulated the entries in the indexes. He directed the work of the Universal University Lectures Committee, and – by making speeches and lectures – promoted philosophical and psychological knowledge. He was also the head of the Women Middle School (mainly due to the education of his three daughters) and was also president of the Society of Higher Education Teachers and vice-president of the Austrian High School Association. It is also known that throughout his life he was faithful to his Lviv faculty and did not leave it despite being nominated three times for positions at the University of Warsaw and despite several invitations to work at the Ministry of Education (Twardowski, 1992, 1997, vols. 1, 2). Twardowski contributed to the fact that after 1918 one of his first students – a logician and mathematician Jan Łukasiewicz (1878–1956) – became first the head of the section and then the minister of higher education and consulted Twardowski on an ongoing basis on all personnel decisions related to filling the chairs of philosophy, psychology and pedagogy departments at Polish universities.

Without a doubt, Twardowski was and is one of the most famous and respected figures in the history of Polish science. He was called: *the master, the teacher of philosophers, logicians, mathematicians and psychologists, the creator of the Lviv and Warsaw School, methodological razor*. Therefore, it is obvious that apart from many prestigious awards and due honours, in 1929 Twardowski received a diploma of an *Honorary Doctor* from the University of Warsaw. Soon after, in October 1932, he also an *honorary doctorate* again, this time from the University of Poznań at the hands of its then rector Stefan Błachowski (1889–1962), a psychologist and student of Twardowski.

zines as *Mind*, *The Monist*, *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane*, *Revue Philosophique*, *Archiv für systematische Philosophie*, *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*. The dissertation, written in Brentano's spirit and complementary to the master's reflections, is considered to be Twardowski's most important philosophical work (Woleński, 1985).

On May 10 1929, tormented by diabetes, Twardowski decided to retire. Since the authorities could not imagine the university without such a distinguished professor, they tried to postpone the decision. Finally, Twardowski parted with Jan Kazimierz University⁴ on 30 April 1930. That's what he wrote about the event:

“This is the last time I was in my office as a professor in active service. When I left the room, I took off a piece of paper with my name under the plate “Management” (of Philosophical Seminar). As of tomorrow, I am no longer its Head”. (Twardowski, 1997, 2, p. 127)

However, despite retiring, he gave lectures until April 30 1931, participated in meetings of the faculty councils, and even kept his office, because – according to the decision of the President of the Republic of Poland – from June 4 1930, he held the title of honorary professor, which was associated with many privileges.

Kazimierz Twardowski died on 11 February 1938 in Lviv. The funeral, which attracted crowds of students, graduates and employees of the Jan Kazimierz University and the inhabitants of Lviv, was – according to the will of the deceased – of a secular character. Also, according to his will, a copy of his highly regarded speech, entitled “On honours of the University”, was put in the coffin. The speech, treated as Twardowski's scientific testament, contains personal reflections on the tasks and role of the university and its place in the scholar's system of values. It also contains probably the most accurate characteristics of Twardowski as a scientist and didacticist:

“The university teacher is above all a servant of the objective truth, representative and preacher of the objective truth among young people and society. The service is noble and extremely honourable, but at the same time requires not only appropriate intellectual qualifications and relevant expertise, but also great fortitude and strong character. Whoever engages themselves under the banner of science must renounce anything that could push them out of the way specified by such a banner.” (Twardowski, 1932/1992, pp. 466–467)

According to the testament, Twardowski was “a man of science, a scholar in the fullest and most beautiful sense of the word [...] deaf to whispers of various ambitions”, who throughout his life was able to “defend himself from the temptation to play any role where it is not about the truth but power, influence, dignity, honour and title, or simply about the money!” (Twardowski, 1932/1992, p. 468).

3. PSYCHOLOGICAL MISSION

Actually, from the moment he took up a chair at the University of Lviv until the end of his life, Kazimierz Twardowski worked for both philosophy and psychology. Therefore, he can be regarded as the founder and creator of a philosophical and psychological

⁴ In honour of the founder of the university, King Jan Kazimierz (1609–1672), the change of name (Universitas-Joannes-Casimiriano Leopoliensis) was approved by the Head of State Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935), on 8 November 1919.

school of science. The School of Philosophy, whose historical and substantive continuity was guaranteed by students employed after 1918, mostly at the University of Warsaw, was called the Lviv-Warsaw School (Woleński, 1985). The School of Psychology, on the other hand, whose origins and development are exclusively related to Lviv, can be called the Lviv School. In its history, three periods in which Twardowski played the role of a master can be distinguished: (1) from the turn of 1898/1899 to 1901; (2) from 1902 to 1919; (3) from 1920 to 1939 (Rzepa, 1998, 2002).

3.1 FIRST PERIOD: 1898/1899–1901

The lectures given by Twardowski, who brought freshness and originality to Lviv and abreazeofthelatestachievementsofEuropean science, wereattendedbycrowds. Hisotherness, far from romanticism and messianism, as well as his impressive knowledge, tendency to discuss any issues, to make himself a model of rigour in fulfilling his duties, resolutions and demands, his willingness to give advice and guidance, unyielding logic and consistency, commitment and willingness to help created an extraordinary personality and quickly made Twardowski's circle of supporters. The first Polish philosophical seminar, established in 1897, was the place of scientific meetings. Students interested in philosophy, psychology, ethics and logic could take part in its works⁵. Given the clear increase in interest in psychology, Twardowski decided to give thematic lectures. First series in the winter semester of the academic year 1898/1899 concerned visual illusions, the occurrence of which every student could check on themselves thanks to special boards, demonstrated by the master. A little earlier Twardowski started the battle for the fair position of psychology in the curricula and organizational structures of the university. First of all, thanks to him lectures and classes on psychology entered the program of philosophical studies. From 1897, he gathered apparatus, considered at the time to be essential equipment for the psychological laboratory. In 1901, he obtained permission from the Galician authorities to develop several rooms for experimental research in the field of psychology. They were carried out in a phenomenological variant, used in the laboratory managed by Stumpf, paying much less attention to the repetition of experimental projects from Wundt's laboratory (Witwicki, 1921, p. XIV).

This period saw the publication of first works of Twardowski, prepared in Polish⁶ and familiarizing readers with the topic, tasks and methods of psychology and its relation to other sciences, especially philosophy and physiology (1897/1965, 1898/1965). In his extensive articles, Twardowski devoted a lot of space to terminology and definition issues. He introduced Polish names and provided definitions of the following key concepts: *im-*

⁵ The requirements set by Twardowski resulted in about 30% of the students passing the seminars (Jadczak, 1997).

⁶ There was a legal basis for this; on July 4 1871 (a year after the Jagiellonian University), the University of Lviv was granted the right to conduct lectures in Polish and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) languages (Hłowiecki, 1981). In April 1879, the Polish language was declared official; it was still possible to take exams in German and Ruthenian (Ukrainian), but only with the consent of the examiner. After three years, the Austrian authorities considered lectures in Polish as the rule and in Ruthenian as an exception. This decision ignited the long-lasting Polish-Russian "war" for national influence and significance.

pression, image, perception, representation, abstraction, mental disposition, mental act. In his works, he proclaimed that the subject of psychology is mental life, which consists of facts (phenomena, phenomena) and mental dispositions (e.g., sensitivity, memory, imagination, intelligence, will). The direct and obvious source of knowledge about mental life is the inner experience – always *someone's* and experienced *by someone* through introspection, possible by memory and imagination. A psychologist gaining knowledge about mental life is entitled both to describe processes and states taking place inside themselves, as well as to reconstruct and interpret someone else's mental life and, on this basis, to formulate the laws governing *psyche* (Rzepa, 2002; Twardowski, 1897; Witwicki, 1925).

This period of development of Lviv psychology is crowned by the date of April 14 1901, connected with the didactic and scientific success of Władysław Witwicki (1878–1948), who, on that day, defended his first doctoral dissertation in psychology in Lviv, titled *Analiza psychologiczna ambicji*. Published in 1900, the dissertation contains the basic assumptions of the theory of kratism, the first Polish psychological theory. Witwicki decided that a person lead by ambition is independent of other people and external circumstances, and thus experiences states of pleasure because of their dominance over the social environment and control over situational factors. They experience a sense of power and moral strength. This is why it perpetuates an ambitious desire to dominate, impress and guide others. They will go to great lengths to ensure that someone else does not become better, stronger, more significant, more valuable, with more life force. They will do everything to avoid unpleasant feelings like contempt, humiliation, pity, weakness or powerlessness due to the impossibility of overcoming any obstacle (Markinowna, 1935; Witwicki, 1900).

3.2 SECOND PERIOD: 1902–1919

This is the time when the School flourished and the most important theoretical and methodological ideas were born. In 1904 Witwicki (again as the first of Twardowski's students) gained scientific independence based on a dissertation entitled *Analiza psychologiczna objawów woli* and started to cooperate with the Lviv University as a private lecturer. Soon, he presented a development of the kratism theory, using its assumptions to present the genesis and typology of social feelings in an original way, announcing new areas of research on the effect of first impression and halo-effect, on the sources of comedy and on establishing and maintaining interpersonal relations (Witwicki, 1907, 1927).

In 1907, Twardowski's battle for regular grants for the functioning of the Lviv psychological laboratory, which became an integral university unit, ended. At the same time, Twardowski constantly and effectively applied for internships and study grants for his students with a view to them using the achievements of European science. He knew that the experience, knowledge, habits and skills gained abroad would be usefully transferred to Lviv. Thanks to these efforts, all psychologists who came under his wings could attend lectures of luminaries of the then psychology and learn about the organisation, methods and results of the famous psychological laboratories. Another very important initiative of Twardowski was the creation of the *Philosophical Movement* in 1911 – a magazine with a philosophical-psychological profile, which included: reports on the contents of Western journals, book reviews and abstracts or discussions of lectures, conferences and papers. Moreover, due to his extensive foreign contacts, Twardowski kept up to date with the latest publications and either translated them himself or assigned one of his students

to do it. Among the translators there were: Witwicki, Mieczysław Kreutz (1893–1971), Zygmunt Zawirski (1882–1948), Izydora Dąmbska (1904–1983), Tadeusz Kotarbiński (1886–1981). Twardowski has inspired the translation of famous works by William James, Wilhelm Wundt, Gustav T. Fechner, Alois Höfler, Auguste H. Forel or Theodule A. Ribot.

In 1911, another Twardowski's student, Stefan Baley (1885–1952), received his doctorate under his supervision, defending his thesis titled *O potrzebie rekonstrukcji pojęcia psychologicznej podstawy uczuć* [*On the need to reconstruct the psychological basis of feelings*] (1907). In the following year, 1912, Twardowski presented an original theory of activities and products, completing his earlier reflections on the structure of mental life. He assumed a simple observation. Here are some words that can be put together in verb-noun pairs, e.g., *speak–speech, reckon–reckoning, think–thought, shout–shout*. The first word of such a pair means an action, while the second one means a product of such action. Both actions and products can be divided into physical and mental as well as permanent and impermanent. Permanence is only available for physical actions and products. Among them, we can distinguish the category of psychophysical actions and products. We can talk about a psychophysical action when a given physical activity is accompanied by an impermanent psychophysical action which influences the course of the former one, thus the resulting (thanks to it) psychophysical product (e.g., letter, speech, melody, drawing, photograph, facial expression, poem, book, picture, diary, etc., that is, every psychological sign and document). Psychophysical products are observable and subject to interpretation because their observation and/or interpretation induces certain mental products in persons performing such actions, analogous to those accompanying the author during their production. Therefore, psychophysical products are external expressions (signs) of mental products. This relationship of expression discovered by Twardowski provides the possibility of reading a physical product “enchanted” in the psychophysical product, which *non omnis mortuus est*, and thus constitutes the basic condition for psychological interpretation, which appears to be a meta-objective procedure, independent of the place and time of its performance (Rzepa, 1993a, 2002).

In the following year, 1913, Stefan Błachowski, who first attended Twardowski's and Witwicki's lectures in philosophy and psychology as well as studied natural sciences at the University of Lviv, defended his doctoral thesis in Göttingen, entitled *Studien über den Binnenkontrast*. He prepared the dissertation under the direction of Georg Elias Müller (1850–1934). Shortly after the defence he returned to Lviv and became Twardowski's assistant. Shortly afterwards, on December 12, 1917, he received his postdoctoral qualifications at the University of Lviv based on his thesis titled *Nastawienia i spostrzeżenia. Studium psychologiczne* [*Attitudes and observations. Psychological study*].

This period of development of scientific psychology, initiated in Lviv by Twardowski, ended in 1919 when the effects of his intense and nearly two-year-long activity around the staffing of departments of psychology established in five university cities – Cracow, Lviv, Poznań, Warsaw and Vilnius – became apparent. First, on April 1, 1919, Witwicki was appointed the professor of psychology at the University of Warsaw. Błachowski received such a nomination on 16 July 1919 and took over the Department of Psychology at the University of Poznań. After long procedures and the establishment of a separate Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Warsaw, on 16 October 1928 it was taken over by Baley. It was Błachowski who arrived first at the Stefan Batory University in Vilnius to attend the lectures in psychology, and then, it was his

doctoral student, Fr. Mieczysław Dybowski (1885–1975). In 1935, Bohdan Zawadzki (1902–1966), a student and a doctoral student of Witwicki (Rzepa, 2000), took over the management of the Department of Psychology in Vilnius.

It should be emphasised that students of Twardowski, including psychologists, received, as part of his didactic classes and informal meetings devoted to discussions of scientific and life topics, a unique methodological “school” of developing the ability to reliably translate thoughts into words and arguments, to make insightful and logical descriptions, and to understand and interpret all products from the perspective of discovering the thoughts, feelings, and motives that are deeply hidden within them.

3.3 THIRD PERIOD: 1920–1939

At that time, due to the dispersion of students of Twardowski, the fate of the psychological school in Lviv became much more complicated. On the other hand, thanks to their distance from the master and holding managerial positions in departments of psychology, they had a chance to establish their own scientific schools. This did not happen, however, and that is why the Lviv School is a closed period in Polish psychology. For this reason, although with sadness, it can be called “a school of wasted opportunities” (Rzepa, 1998, 2002).

In 1920, Twardowski managed to create an independent Psychology Department, which he was managing – looking for a successor – until 1928. His dealings with the matter were as diplomatic as they were firm. He was aware of the inefficiency of the search for candidates outside Lviv⁷. Therefore, he brought forward the work on the habilitation thesis by Mieczysław Kreutz, who gained scientific independence in December 1927. This made it possible for Twardowski to speak to the Ministry about appointing Kreutz the head of the Department of Psychology. The decision to appoint another student of Twardowski as a deputy professor was made on June 30, 1928 (Jadczak, 1997; Rzepa, 2014).

“October 3, 1928 [...]. Dr Mieczysław Kreutz, at my request, is the deputy of the professor of psychology and the head of the Psychological Department since day 1. of the current month, he also takes over the entire management of the Department, and I will stop dealing with the Department in every sense. So, the long period of my work ends [...]. Dr Kreutz is luckier than I am, he gets it ready, what I had to create in every detail, step by step. So I feel sad the moment I part with it my creation, to which I devoted so much effort and time and where I was working so hard on our youth. Until now, I have been fulfilling the task of a professor of psychology alongside that of a professor of philosophy.” (Twardowski, 1997, 2, p. 44)

⁷ After the oldest students-psychologists left Lviv, Twardowski took energetic steps to transform the Department of Psychology into an independent department, even though he did not have a suitable candidate to manage it. So he was looking for a psychologist with a habilitation, although at the same time, as a member of the Stabilization Committee, he knew very well about the post-war “races”, the aim of which was to capture independent researchers by an individual – already Polish – universities, abandoned by Russian, Prussian and Austrian staff. In such a situation, he undertook a difficult task, the aim of which was to give this post to Mieczysław Kreutz (Rzepa, 2014).

In the last period, Twardowski and Kreutz managed to educate a group of outstanding psychologists. Unfortunately, most of them died during World War II, like splendidly promising Walter Auerbach (?–1944) – also Witwicki’s pupil, Eugenia Blaustein (1905–1944) or Leopold Blaustein (1905–1944), who also studied under Husserl and Stumpf and took part in Max Wertheimer’s (1880–1943) research on the knowledge of people. Andrzej Lewicki (1910–1972), a later organiser of psychology at the Nicolaus Copernicus University and a founder of the first in Poland Chair of Clinical Psychology at the Adam Mickiewicz University. Tadeusz Tomaszewski (1910–2000), Twardowski’s only successor in terms of the substantive and organisational activities, also stepped out from the same wings⁸.

For understandable historical reasons, this period was ended in 1939 due to the outbreak of World War II. Sorry to say this, but psychological theories of the Lviv school have not gained any publicity either at home or abroad, not only because of their weak “marketing” and linguistic barrier but also because of the lack of followers interested in them and unclear resistance of the authors themselves to translating theoretical statements into the “language” of practical applications. Although it is not difficult to assess “what could have happened differently” from a time perspective, as Witwicki would have said with his own sophistry, it is a pity that the founder of the Lviv School of Psychology and his students did not take care of the proper development of their own psychological concepts. It is a pity that the most promising of them, Witwicki, did not manage (like Twardowski) to establish the Warsaw School of Psychology. Admittedly, he is excused that until 1939 he did not have much time to perform such an important task, and after 1945⁹ he had no chance to do so.

4. WAR MISSION

Although Twardowski’s psychological mission marked almost his entire life, the incomparably shorter war mission, dating from June 1914 to September 1917, cost him much more effort and health. At that time, he was three times¹⁰ a rector during the war – a rector who persistently and consistently fought for the University of Lviv to maintain its status of a Polish university, while at the same time bringing any help to the academic community.

⁸ Tadeusz Tomaszewski is most valued for the fact that he brought up several generations of psychologists and, as a student of Kreutz and Twardowski, he continued the pedagogical assumptions and some ideas of the Lviv-Warsaw School in its psychological current (Rzepa, 1997; Rzepa, Stachowski, 2011). He was the creator of the psychological theory of action, initiated by Twardowski (1912).

⁹ He did not have any chance to do so not only because of his age and health status but also because of historical events which made Poland dependent on the Soviet influence for many years. The above-mentioned events refer mainly to disposal of the Polish People’s Party (Polish: *Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe*), represented by Stanisław Mikołajczyk (1901–1966), by the Communist authorities in 1947, and to have Bolesław Bierut (1892–1956) appointed as president, by the Moscow authorities and then – also by Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) – as secretary-general of (established in 1948) the Polish United Workers’ Party (Polish: *Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*).

¹⁰ The then rectors were elected for a one-year term.

According to the university's custom, deans, vice-rectors and a rector elected in June 1914 were to take over on 23 September. Twardowski and his family spent their holidays in Poronin as usual. The war found him there. As the Russian army occupied Lviv already on the night of September 3 to 4, the decision on further proceedings had to be made. For this purpose, a meeting was convened in the "Sienkiewiczówka" villa, occupied by an art historian, Jan Bołoz-Antoniewicz (1858–1922). It was attended by members of the Senate of the University of Lviv, who were staying in Zakopane as well as surrounding towns and cities. It was decided that Twardowski should move to Vienna. This was indeed what happened. Twardowski and his family left Poronin on 17 September and after two days they came to the capital of Austria-Hungary. There, according to the tradition, he formally became the Rector of the University of Lviv on September 23rd. He held this post for three war years, including in Vienna – until July 2nd, 1915.

During this Viennese period, Rector Twardowski's work consisted in taking decisions and actions that were unusual for the position held because organisational issues prevailed. Educational and scientific matters became less important. The rector's work in wartime conditions involved getting to the emigrants: university lecturers and students, as well as organizing their daily life and searching for sources of support for them. Twardowski took careful care of the academic youth, especially of the fugitives from the Russian occupation, of the students who were unable to serve in the army and who wanted to continue their studies commenced before the war, although in the meantime they were threatened with hunger, unemployment, lack of a roof over their heads or of warm clothes. Twardowski, with true rector's dignity, was able to obtain money for such purposes from various institutions and committees, as well as from private individuals. He encouraged professors in exile, as well as he gave talks and lectures, organized street collections. He soon established Fundusz Zapomogowy Polskiej Młodzieży Akademickiej [Welfare Fund for Polish Academic Youth] and, at the same time, Dom Akademicki [Dormitory] "for students from Galicia and Bukovina universities", where, only in 1915, 332 Polish students, including 177 people from Lviv, found board, accommodation and a job opportunity (Jadczyk, 1991). For the funds he had gained, Twardowski had the products purchased for a dorm kitchen, he distributed food vouchers and grants to clothing, he granted benefits and reliefs, organized medical assistance. Thanks to his affiliation to the Refugee Assistance Committee of Galicia and Bukovina, he helped emigrants in case of passport problems and difficulties in finding a job, promoted young scientists and students from the military service and took care of the possibility of continuing their interrupted studies. To this end, in cooperation with professors from the universities of Lviv and Vienna, he organised additional courses and conducted examinations that were officially recognised, including PhD oral ones (Polish: *rigorosum*), especially in law and philosophy.

Twardowski's scarce notes (1997, 1), dated February and March 1915, contain information concerning the organizational activities described above: from those aimed at gaining funds, visits to ministries and other offices or at wealthy friends, through ordering beds, bedticks, mattresses and food, as well as conducting negotiations on university classes and exams, to participating in debates on the future of Europe and Poland. The fact that Twardowski treated himself with dignity and appropriate distance in the role of rector is clearly shown by the fact that it was only during the period of performing this function when he referred to himself using this name, which was written with a capital

letter in the *Journal*. For instance: “6 February [1915]: Deputation of the Rector and deans to the Galician Minister, Dr Zdzisław Morawski¹¹, with the wishes [...]” (p. 15).

On 20 June 1915, the Russian army left Lviv. Twardowski immediately decided to return and on 5 July he arrived in his town (Jadczak, 1991). He immediately began to rebuild university life, acting in still uncertain war conditions, under constant threat of lack of literally everything and the pressure of sudden evacuation. He was well aware that if under these circumstances he intended to perform the function of a rector in such a way as to preserve the autonomy of the university, rebuild academic life, teach, defend employees and students from harassment by the authorities and from the ambitions of various committees and political organizations, he should be guided by prudence and serenity, maintain a stoic attitude, and, above all, apply diplomacy. Therefore, with his characteristic dignity – as in Vienna and Lviv – Twardowski strived to ensure appropriate social conditions for academic personnel and students returning from the army. He helped families in their efforts to get hostages and prisoners of war associated with the University of Lviv out of captivity. Young people returning from emigration were granted special leaves for preparing for overdue exams. He made no secret of the fact that in solving particularly difficult problems he was provided with the necessary support from his brother, Juliusz Twardowski (1874–1945), who was originally [15] a Deputy Minister, and from 23 June 1917 to 25 July 1918 he managed the Ministry for Galicia under the imperial government (Twardowski, 1997, 1).

Following the approach proven in Vienna, Twardowski – in agreement with the Polish War Archive – initiated an action of “war readings”, carried out by Lviv professors. It aimed to raise funds “for Polish documents and war memorabilia”. Besides, he established Senacka Komisja Opieki nad Młodzieżą Akademicką [the Senate Care Commission for the Academic Youth], whose main tasks were to provide students with healthcare and welfare care and to expand the range of student houses and academic kitchens. He also moved from Vienna to Lviv and there he successfully multiplied the Academic Youth Provident Fund for a few years, which he managed until 1920. The funds raised – in agreement with the student organization Bratnia Pomoc [Fraternal Help] – were used to support gifted and poor students, including their treatment and stay in health resorts. Since the autumn of 1915, the Fund’s finances were used to maintain the staff and to purchase food for student kitchens in the Potocki Academic House. It is worth noting that the organization of work in the kitchen was managed voluntarily by professors’ wives (Twardowski, 1997, 1).

Despite the stoic attitude, which for example involved keeping an appropriate distance from politics (Rzepa, 1993b), Twardowski was constantly in its vicinity. After all, the rector’s position required the representation of the university’s community towards the military, civil and church authorities of Austria and Galicia. Therefore, Twardowski participated in thanksgiving and mourning services (e.g., masses for the Governor of Galicia, Andrzej Potocki¹²), funerals (mainly of workers and students of the University

¹¹ Zdzisław Morawski (1859–1928), a lawyer, a ministerial counsellor at the Ministry of Galicia, since 30 January 1915 a minister of Galicia.

¹² Andrzej Kazimierz Potocki (1861–1908), Emperor Franz Joseph’s ordnance officer, then a very famous politician, due to misunderstandings between the Ukrainian Club and the Polish Circle (i.a. concerning the University of Lviv) was shot dead on 12 April by a philosophy student and

of Lviv, who died in the war), audiences hosted by the authorities, performances and academies for the benefit of various funds (e.g., for widows and orphans of Austrian soldiers, but also of Józef Piłsudski's legionnaires), meetings of university bodies, student and non-university organisations. At the same time, he hosted numerous delegations, coming with matters of both minor and national importance. For instance: "18 March, Saturday [1916]: Brigadier Piłsudski pays a visit to the Rector at the University in the company of an aide-de-camp, PhD Długoszowski. An evening in Kasyno Miejskie [Municipal Casino], a rout in honour of Piłsudski. Rector also present" (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 21).

As a member of various committees, Twardowski took part in the national project for the care of the disabled, in the celebration of anniversaries (e.g., January Uprising, Constitution of May 3), unveilings of monuments (e.g., *Żelazny Rycerz Miasta Lwowa* [Iron Knight of Lviv]), collections of donations and gifts for soldiers and their families. He resolved conflicts and national antagonisms, mitigated intrauniversity disputes and pacified – by "suspending lectures" – manifestations of excessive "politicization" of students and some of the professors "who had an impact on young people, undermining their trust in the Academic Senate and the Rector". There was no shortage of reasons for that. The outrage was caused because of both the "lack of a formal position" and the insufficient "manifestation of solidarity" with the Polish Circle¹³ operating in Vienna and with students striking in Warsaw regarding the "general Polish policy" project, as well as because of "the attack on Piłsudski and the interference of a foreign power in our internal affairs"¹⁴. Regarding the most sensitive issues, Twardowski (1997, 1, pp. 29–40) he followed a stoic attitude and undertook diplomatic efforts aimed at preventing "the predominance of the paedocracy in the alliance with demagogy". He claimed that: "the principle of everything or nothing often leads to nothing rather than to everything." He referred this principle mainly to politics and dealing with it, not to university matters; some of the academic staff were in opposition to his actions and his apolitical attitude:

"I have even more strongly rebuked those [...] who immediately condemn anyone who is of a different opinion, separate from Polishness. I have said that this walking all over people and suspecting them of God knows what, only because they do not support the politics of screaming, manifestation and platitudes, but are in favour of the politics of real work, that proves the weakness of the position of those. Whoever has arguments does not need to use nicknames." (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 45)

Ukrainian, Miroslaw Siczyński (1887–1979).

¹³ The Polish Circle, as a grouping comprising 50–70 members of the Parliament of Galicia, which is a part of the Austrian Parliament, was established in the 1960s. From 1879, it was part of the government majority and had its representatives in the Austrian cabinet. During World War I, it played an important role in helping refugees from Galicia and Bukowina, and from 1917 it took an unequivocal position on the full independence of Poland.

¹⁴ This involved the arrest (14 July 1917) and imprisonment of Józef Piłsudski in Magdeburg fortress after he refused to take an oath of allegiance to the emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Twardowski activated his diplomatic efforts when Ukrainian politicians and university employees of Ukrainian nationality undertook another, neatly constructed intrigue, the aim of which was to make the university bilingual¹⁵. The dispute over the University of Lviv, which Poles considered to be their “national treasure”, had a difficult, long-standing history. Since the middle of the 19th century¹⁶: the Polish public was afraid that the Ruthenians¹⁷ would want to gradually transform the Polish University of Lviv into a Ruthenian one; hence the reluctant, suspicious approach to new Ruthenian cathedrals and genetically-jealous guarding of the Polish language exclusivity in all activities of the university. (Koneczny, 1906, p. 225, as cited in Ryba, 2014; Polak, 2011)

At the same time, Poles had nothing against the Ruthenians establishing their own university, with the Ruthenian language of instruction. However, they preferred a different solution and rejected arguments about the Polish genesis and tradition of the University of Lviv, excellent Polish staff and students, even about taxes and donations made by Poles to this university. The Ukrainian dailies, which had long pursued an aggressive policy against any moves that emphasised the Polish character, tradition and genesis of the university, became clearly active during the war. “20th January [1916], Thursday: 255. anniversary of the University’s foundation by Jan Kazimierz. The Rector announced an appropriate reminder of this anniversary on the blackboard. Lviv’s dailies [...] released occasional articles.

For this reason *Diło* from January 21st, 1916, issue 19/8918, attacked the Rector” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 17). This is not the first time Twardowski has found out that “the Prussian press is waiting for every opportunity to contrast John Casimir’s ‘disloyal’ celebration with the loyal statement that the University is a foundation of the Austrian emperors.” His position on this issue was unchanged and based on the conviction that it was only right to “solve the issue of nationality in our country” by preserving the “national autonomy” of organizations, associations and education (Twardowski, 1997, 1, pp. 36–37).

In August 1917, the Ukrainian community launched a real “attack” on Polishness of the University. For this purpose, there was an audience organised with the general-the-governor of Lviv, Karl G. Huyn (1857–1938), during which they tried to convince him of the Ukrainians loyalty and devotion, as opposed to the perversity of the Poles. Twardowski learned about it directly from Huyn during a long conversation in person and that is how he reported his statement:

¹⁵ The Polish term *utrakwizacja* means bilingualism that is formally binding and approved by the authorities, mainly in state institutions and education. In this case, it was about Polish-Ukrainian bilingualism at the University of Lviv.

¹⁶ At that time, Austrians – in accordance with *divide et impera* principle – granted Ruthenians a privileged position by introducing lectures in Ruthenian (Ukrainian) both in the departments of law and theology. In addition, Poles obtained permission to establish the Cathedral of Polish Language in 1856, while the Cathedral of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Literature had already existed since 1849.

¹⁷ In the Polish and Russian nomenclature the term *Ruthenians* was then commonly used to refer to Ukrainians.

“He wants us to preserve our position in the country that belongs to us, that we deserve to own [...] and is against any tendency to divide the country. After all, the Poles in Eastern Galicia form a very strong minority and are an element that is economically and culturally dominant. But on the part of the supporters of the division of the country, there is such an argument: “So you want the non-Polish population of eastern Galicia, which faithfully wants to stand by Austria, submit to the rule and political influence of the Poles, who [...] clearly disobeyed the Austrian state?” And to that argument, Huyn said, I have no answer.” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 44)

In this difficult situation, Twardowski used the available diplomatic channels, including fraternal ones, to preserve the University’s eternal Polish nature. This is what Witwicki wrote about Twardowski’s merit:

“He did not interfere with politics and did not run for legislative bodies [...]. As a rector, he was able to save the University of Lviv from bilingualism on the part of the Austrian government. It was his political act. [...] No political party could say about him: “He is our man”. But every enlightened Pole has to say that about him.” (1938, p. 1)

Despite so many actions that cannot be overestimated due to the difficulties related to the war circumstances, Twardowski did not receive the words of appreciation or due acknowledgement soon. This was due to a certain set of events which brought him a lot of unpleasantness and ardent criticism. The starting point was the proposal, approved by the Senate of the University of Lviv, of “a group of professors of the Faculty of Philosophy” to grant “His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Archduke Frederick¹⁸, the title of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa*” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 20). The awarding of the diploma – which was done by rector Twardowski – took place in Cieszyn on 10 May 1916. Although Twardowski strongly emphasised the rights of Poles to the University, which were conditioned by the national tradition, Twardowski was remembered more for the fact that he spoke about the future of the University with hope and faith in the “imperial protection and care” (p. 23). In June 1917, Twardowski learned from his brother Juliusz that he was to be awarded the imperial decoration. Immediately, he reacted negatively and, in a letter sent by messenger, asked his brother to abandon this intention. However, it turned out otherwise. Thus, on 26 June 1917, the press reported that Twardowski – allegedly in return for honouring Archduke Frederick with a doctorate in philosophy – received the Commander’s Cross of the Order of Francis Joseph with war decoration. After this event, which was virulently commented by the press, the Lviv community widely acknowledged that Twardowski should be attributed with the name of an Austrophile.

¹⁸ Friedrich Maria Albrecht Wilhelm Karl of the House of Habsburg (1856–1936), the last Duke of Teschen, the commander-in-chief of the imperial-royal territorial defense, the Inspector General of the Austro-Hungarian army; in 1914–1916, its commander-in-chief and field marshal. He received a honorary doctoral degree not only at the university of Lviv, but also at the universities of Vienna, Prague and Brno.

Since then, he became a “bad Pole, a traitor of the homeland”. On 25 July 1917 he recorded with bitterness:

“on the same page of *Kurier Lwowski* there is a note [...]: “Because of the high distinction of His Magnificence Rector Twardowski for his patriotic activity – the Polish academic youth gives 45 crowns”. This is the note. – Whoever remembers the justification for awarding me the medal [...] will understand the pinprick that the youth gave me anonymously [...].” (p. 43)

With this stigmatization, numerous and real merits of Twardowski were forgotten, and no attention was paid to the fact that he received the honorary badge of Red Cross Class II with war decoration for helping those in need during the war. The greater sensation was the repetition of “confidential” information for many years about Twardowski’s austrophilian activities during World War I. No wonder that we can rarely find such words in his journal:

“The meeting with Professor Włodzimierz Łukasiewicz¹⁹ that took place there. I have heard many warm and cordial words from him about my Rector’s activity. He has a full understanding of my difficult situation, and at the same time, he has an absolute appreciation for my acts as Rector, avoiding becoming involved in any non-university policy.” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, pp. 37–38)

Twardowski, on the other hand, found out about himself much more often: “He was accused [Twardowski]: 1) of being a mason belonging to the Masonic lodges (*sic*) and 2) of being an atheist and [...] of harming the church” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 130). After the first post-war inauguration of the academic year, on 25 October 1919, in *Resurrected Poland*, Twardowski wrote bitterly:

“a part of the report concerning my triennium (1914–17) was delivered to him [vice-rector Wais²⁰] by myself at his request [...]. I did not mention anything about myself in it; instead of saying “The Rector did this and that”, I always wrote, “The academic authorities did this and that”. Nor did I mention anywhere about the fact that I was elected three times in the row, nor about the fact that, when I resigned, the Academic Senate solemnly said goodbye to me and awarded me a ring. And Fr. Wais did not mention it. [...] he did not mention a word about my, after all, exceptional rectorate. I did not expect anything else [...].” (1997, 1, p. 135)

At this point, it should be noted that this exceptionally difficult period of rector Twardowski’s war mission was appreciated only in eulogies. On top of that, there was still an issue concerning the honorary doctorate for Archduke Frederick Habsburg. Well, on 6 December 1918 members of the Faculty of Philosophy passed an application

¹⁹ Włodzimierz Łukasiewicz (1860–1924), a professor of dermatology and venereology, university lecturer in Innsbruck and Lviv, member of the Austrian Supreme Health Council.

²⁰ Kazimierz Wais (1865–1934), a priest, professor of Christian theology and philosophy, rector of the University of Lviv in 1917–1918.

for “cancelling the honorary doctorate of Archduke Frederick at that time” (1997, 1, p. 74). On March 17, 1919, the Senate committee was deliberating on this issue and called on Twardowski to present the genesis and history of this doctorate:

“Although I smelled a bit like “hearing” to me, I have decided to comply with the wishes of the Commission, so for two and a half hours, I was giving precise information about the whole background of the case, its genesis, course and my participation in it. For the first time, I disclosed the matter [...] of the demand that I should resign from the Rectorate [...], the denunciations that went from here against me to Vienna. I also gave reasons why I thought it was impossible to prevent this doctorate, although I was not enthusiastic about this project at all.” (1997, 1, pp. 92–93)

On May 23, during the council of the Faculty of Philosophy, a “letter of the Academic Senate on the cancellation of the honorary doctorate of Archduke Frederick was read out. This writing made the worst possible impression on all members of the Faculty” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 104) and it was therefore decided to set up a special committee to draft a new letter instead of the negative document formulated by the senators. On May 30, the content of the new letter constructed by this committee was accepted, and it was decided that the faculty delegation “is to make the Senate reassess its resolution and withdraw the letter. If the Senate agrees to it by 7. June 1919, a letter from the Faculty, which has been enacted today, is to be sent to the Senate and the Ministry” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 106). On 12 June, a discussion was held concerning the conflict with the Senate by the members of the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy once again. The Faculty did not withdraw its original letter. In the end, the validity of the May 30 resolution was voted down thus the Dean “had to send the letter, which was then enacted, to the Ministry and the Academic Senate” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 108). The unfortunate sequence of events was closed thanks to the professor of law, a rector at that time, Alfred Halban (1865–1926), who invited Twardowski to the conference on 25 November 1919:

“he is discussing with me the issue of finalizing the matter of the honorary doctorate of Archduke Frederick was read out I advise that this matter should not be touched at all, but as regards the exceeding of its competence by the Academic Senate, I advise to elicit a revoking resolution of the Academic Senate.” (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 139)

And this is what happened. On 21 September 1917, Twardowski presided over the Senate’s meeting at the University of Lviv for the last time. It lasted from five to nine. At the end of the meeting, prorector Jaszowski²¹ spoke warmly to me on behalf of the Academic Senate and he handed me, from members of the Academic Senate, a steel ring with the university coat of arms and inscription inside: “For Rector (1914–1917). Senate”. I thanked them in my long speech. (Twardowski, 1997, 1, p. 49)

²¹ Błażej Jaszowski (1856–1921), a priest, professor of church law, rector of the University of Lviv in 1911–1912.

Only Twardowski's passing his position on a new rector, father Kazimierz Wais, and, above all, the fact that Poland regained its independence, as well as Polishness of Lviv and the University, created safe and convenient conditions for undertaking interrupted scientific and educational activity, as well as organizational one, and made it possible to continue the life mission of developing a scientific school, known today as the Lviv-Warsaw School. In conclusion, it is worth noting that the three most important trends in science – philosophical, logical and psychological – initiated in Lviv by Kazimierz Twardowski are linked by scientific ideology, which consists of rationalism in the sense of anti-irrationalism, faith in the power of science and the role of reason, the postulate of clarity of thoughts in words expressed, and intellectualism (Jadczak, 1995; Rzepa, 1998; Woleński, 1985).

Over the then dominant experimental psychology, the psychologists from Twardowski's School preferred descriptive psychology, considered to be one of the basic sources of humanistic psychology. This gave the psychology they practised a humanistic character because they emphasized the phenomenological basis of cognition and its unique, subjective nature. They emphasized the functional properties of the *psyche* and recognized the differences between consciousness and psychicity, as well as took an interactive attitude towards the soul-body relationship. Although they valued introspection as a method of psychological cognition, to objectivize this process they also used psychological analyses and interpretations of observable (permanent and impermanent) manifestations of mental life, emphasizing the value of knowledge and intuition in psychological research. The psychology derived from the Lviv School is also distinguished by its effective opposition to the then "testomania," justified by the requirement of a holistic approach to human. It is also distinguished by its specific style of scientific writing, characterised by a clear and distinct, yet elegant, language and picturesque examples derived from meticulously collected "life observations". That is why, Kazimierz Twardowski, as the founder of the Lviv School of Psychology, and his students-psychologists should be given priority in forming the humanistic paradigm in Polish psychology.

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