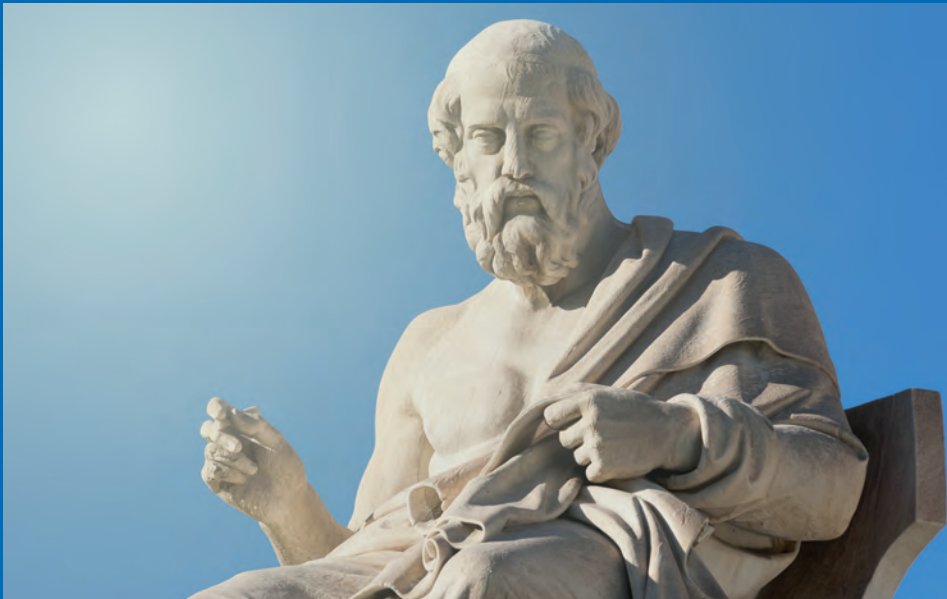


Tomasz Mróz

Plato in Poland 1800–1950

Types of Reception – Authors – Problems



ACADEMIA

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Preface for international readers

This book, which I now have the pleasure of presenting to international readers, was originally written and published in Polish (*Platon w Polsce 1800–1950. Typy recepcji – autorzy – problemy*, Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, Kęty, 2012) and initially intended for historians of philosophy researching Poland's philosophical tradition and for experts in ancient philosophy who felt the need to find out more about the history of their own research area. The book was the final outcome of a research project funded by the Polish government and carried out in the period 2008 to 2011. I then submitted the book as one of the requirements for the procedure of granting me my postdoctoral degree (habilitation) in 2014. An integral part of the research project was the publication of an anthology of texts that reflected the main trends and research areas of Polish Plato scholarship (Mróz, 2010). These texts were difficult to access at that time and some even had to be retrieved from manuscripts.

The aim of the English version of the book is to present a kind of map of the history of Polish research on Plato to international readers. I was encouraged to undertake this project on account of the more marked interest in Polish philosophy in recent decades, with works on the history of philosophy in Poland being increasingly published in English, and also in German or French. Most frequently these works have focused on the philosophers of the Lvov-Warsaw school or on specific currents of reception of foreign philosophies in Poland, such as 19th century Polish Hegelianism. A separate set of studies available in Western European languages consists of works on the history of medieval and early modern thought in Poland, but the attention of international audiences has also been drawn to some outstanding figures of Polish philosophy, *e.g.* Wincenty Lutosławski, Leon Chwistek or Władysław Tatarkiewicz, who cannot be unequivocally classified into any particular trends of their times. At the same time, it seemed to me that a presentation of the Polish reception of Plato's philosophy would be of some value for foreign researchers, especially as this reception reflects a more complex image of Poland's philosophical tradition, and in some cases includes less well-known works and figures. My intention was to supplement the general image of Polish philosophy in an important area of the history of philosophical studies on Plato and the history of the historiography of ancient philosophy in Poland,

Preface for international readers

and so to fill a gap in the literature that had been graphically brought to my attention in Anthony Kenny's excellent *History of Philosophy* (Oxford, 2007). In Volume 2 of this work, which was devoted to medieval philosophy, there is a map of 'the world of medieval philosophy' (p. X) which may appear quite striking to Polish and other East European readers because of the vast blank spaces east of Munich and north of Constantinople. Since such blank spaces also still exist in the historiographical literature and discourse on European philosophy of the 19th and 20th centuries, I saw the need to supplement this literature and fill in some of the white areas.

With the original target audience in mind, I decided to intersperse my narrative and arguments with quotations so as to provide examples of the language and style used in discussing Plato. The quotations chosen were significant, graphic and vivid, but also sometimes suggestive and earthy in character. When it came to the translation of the book, an attempt was made to ensure that the quotations remained as close to the original as possible, yet this led to numerous translation difficulties, for it was impossible to portray the sometimes archaic charm of the language to the English-speaking reader, and some of their ambiguity and the peculiarities of their style may have been lost in translation. It is to be hoped that at least some of the richness of expression and the colourful idiosyncrasy of the style can still delight non-Polish speaking readers. As for various Polish forms of the titles of the dialogues, they have been anglicised and made more uniform.

Most of the footnotes in this book, as well as in the original Polish version, refer to Polish literature, and although these are unlikely to be of use to historians of Plato scholarship or Platonism in Europe, they may be of some value for researchers in the field of Polish studies, and so they have been retained in their original form.

The present English volume, like the original Polish book, is the result of a project funded by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland, and the anonymous experts of the Ministry should be thanked, for without their positive reviews it would not have been possible to undertake the effort of rewriting the book in English as a part of the National Program for the Development of Humanities (NPRH), Uniwersalia 2.1. I am also grateful to my home institution, the University of Zielona Góra, for granting me partial exemption from my teaching duties in order to carry out the work on the text of this book. Last but not least, I owe great thanks to Mrs. Una Maclean-Hańckowiak, an essential collaborator in the NPRH project, for doing the language editing of the entire text repeatedly, which involved discussions on the structure of the text and on

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more general issues concerning aspects of linguistics and translation, all of which were, for me, very fruitful and instructive.

Finally, I would also like to draw the readers' attention to three of my recent papers published in English, where further enquiries into issues touched upon in this book are developed. Their subjects are Lewis Campbell's studies on Plato (Mróz, 2019), Campbell's relations to Wincenty Lutosławski (Mróz, 2018), and the latter's correspondence with Bertrand Russell (Mróz, 2020).

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III. Plato interwoven within the fabric of Polish philosophy

The previous sections of this study have documented Plato's presence in Polish thought, but so far this presence had its source in the Polish reception of foreign currents or the interpretation and assessment of Plato from the standpoint of the philosophers' own philosophical positions and worldviews that were not derived from Plato. The thinkers in the present chapter also interpreted and evaluated Plato in various ways, but what they had in common was that their philosophical relation to Plato was much deeper, for these philosophers linked their philosophical reflection and academic activity so closely with their research on Plato that it is often impossible to understand their inspirations, methods or results without taking into account their Platonic source. Unlike Semenenko, Limanowski, Dzieduszycy, and Jarra, who diversely interpreted and valued Platonism, and for whom Plato was not the most important field of their research, the thinkers in the present chapter incorporated Platonic material into their own philosophising, the outcomes of which would have been entirely different if deprived of their Platonic influence. Their reflections cannot, of course, simply be considered as Platonism, but the Platonic material had, over the years, taken root, and established itself as if organically interwoven within the fabric of their work.

3.1 *Christianisation of Plato by S. Pawlicki*

J. Adamski as an advocate of using Plato for the purposes of neo-scholasticism

In a paper, whose author signed himself as 'C.', but which is believed to have been written by Jan Adamski (1841–1918), direct reference is made to Plato's dialogues in the context of the purposes of neo-scholasticism.¹ Edu-

1 Kadler, 1917: 20. The arguments for identifying 'C.' with Adamski include: his previous cooperation with the journal *Warta*; certain peculiarities of his style; the authority of K. Estreicher's conclusions. The most comprehensive study of Adamski's work is the chapter titled "Jan Adamski – a priest vis-à-vis Polish »national philosophy«" (Głombik, 1988: 211–322). Adamski's article, which is discussed here, was

III. Plato interwoven within the fabric of Polish philosophy

cated by Galician Jesuits, Adamski had a philosophical background that was essentially scholastic, or Thomistic, and he had passed his exams in philosophy with flying colours.² He set his horizons higher, however, being intellectually attracted not only to what scholasticism could offer but also devoting a number of works to Polish Messianic philosophy. In the paper under discussion, along with the passages devoted explicitly to the substance of the *Euthyphro*, the author also made various remarks concerning the future of Poland and the Catholic Church, and the decline of moral values, as well as criticising the socialist and individualistic movements. The author also made several critical references to sophistry and German philosophy, especially Hegelianism.

The text opens with a declaration of the necessity of reviving philosophy in order to secure victory for the only true religion, *i.e.* Catholicism. According to Adamski, the value of Greek philosophy in this respect was twofold. Firstly, it formed the foundations of the edifice of Catholic theology, the magnificence of which was evident to readers and did not require any substantiation. Secondly, faith could not exist without reason, nor Christianity without a philosophy that could make a significant contribution to forging its future. Since 19th century philosophy had been discredited on account of its absolutist aspirations and its philosophical pluralism and ethical relativism,³ Adamski advocated a return to the principles of reason which were to be found in Greek philosophy, an insufficient knowledge of which prevented its full significance from being grasped. In order to overcome this gap in the knowledge of the origins of European rationalism, it was therefore necessary to study Aristotle and Plato.⁴

In his reconstruction of the most important issues in the *Euthyphro*, Adamski included his criticism of polytheism and pantheism. When Socrates showed that Euthyphro's definition of piety as that which pleases the gods was wrong because there was no unity on this issue among the gods, Adamski wrote: "Let us consider the illogical consequences of polytheism and, thereby, of pantheism. If everything is god and the world is composed of opposite things, then the abolishment of the differences between them will reveal god as full of contradictions. Thus, it is logic itself

not, however, included even in this work, the most competent work on the subject to date. Cf.: Głombik, 1985; Mróz, 2011c: 191–195.

2 Głombik, 1988: 247, 249.

3 Adamski, 1883/1884: 4577–4578. The very title of Adamski's paper is significant: "*Euthyphro*, Plato's First Dialogue, Analysed and Assessed according to the New Intellectual Movement".

4 Adamski, 1883/1884: 4585–4587.

3.1 Christianisation of Plato by S. Pawlicki

that leads us to one God. The same logic leads us also to the personal God.”⁵ The fundamental truths of Greek and Christian thought were, therefore, compatible, and Socrates as a philosopher was aware that all knowledge must be founded on unshakable and eternal truth. Without this, as Adamski argued, the social order would fall apart. It was for this reason that philosophical and theological knowledge in the Middle Ages was developed on the basis of eternal truth, which had been impossible in the times before Christianity. Pope Leo XIII had therefore been right in announcing a return to scholasticism. Adamski added that although neither Socrates nor Plato had discovered the existence of the personal God, they had come to a recognition of ideas that could be nothing other than the perfect, original model of the creation, equivalent to the essence and existence of God, which was at the same time the criterion of truth. In this way, according to Adamski, Plato came close to the opening words of the *Gospel of John*.

Being an opponent of all revolutionary aspirations, Adamski appreciated Socrates’ attitude towards the official religion. Although Socrates was an advocate of monotheism, he restricted his radicalism to the theoretical sphere only, and did not attempt to implement it within the practical sphere because he had no intention of overthrowing the existing religion.⁶ Adamski wrote openly: “With his method Socrates testified to the *word* from eternity, residing in the human spirit and constituting the source of all knowledge, all morals and human perfection. In this way, Plato, who illustrated and perfected the method of his master in his admirable dialogues, approached the Divine kingdom that descended to earth with the *word which became flesh and dwelt among people to transform the human race into the temple of God*, and therefore this philosophy is a *preface to the Gospel*.”⁷ Thus, the *Euthyphro* became a pretext for considerations on the complex relations between ancient culture and Christianity. Adamski’s study was probably the first Polish work devoted nominally to Plato, but actually touching on the problem of the relations between Plato’s philosophy and Christianity in the context of the encyclical *Aeterni patris*.

5 Adamski, 1883/1884: 4594.

6 Adamski, 1883/1884: 4604–4606.

7 Adamski, 1883/1884: 4618.

III. Plato interwoven within the fabric of Polish philosophy

The early works of S. Pawlicki and the development of his method in the history of philosophy

A much more important author who dealt with Plato in a similar context and with similar premises as those of Adamski, though with incomparably greater expertise, was Stefan Pawlicki. For him, Plato was much more than just one among the many ancient philosophers to be presented in a course on the history of philosophy; he was an exceptional thinker, whose legacy was still worth discussing at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Pawlicki gained a rudimentary knowledge on Plato in his gymnasium in Ostrów (Ostrów Wielkopolski), where he learned classical languages under the supervision of A. Bronikowski, a future translator of the dialogues. Nevertheless, decades later, when Pawlicki was a professor at the Jagiellonian University, he did not express a very high opinion of Bronikowski's translations.⁸ The next stage in Pawlicki's education was determined by a move to Wrocław (Breslau), and his matriculation at the university in the autumn of 1858. It was there that he developed his philological skills.⁹ An important part in his biography, which was to contribute to a transformation in his interests from philology to philosophy, was his stay in Rogalin, where he held a post as a private teacher,¹⁰ before returning to the University of Wrocław as a committed philosopher to obtain a doctoral degree in philosophy. His dissertation on Schopenhauer was given a good, and even enthusiastic reception.¹¹

Pawlicki took advantage of the prospects which opened up for him at the Main School of Warsaw, where he turned his philosophical interests to the history of ancient philosophy. He considered it impossible to do philosophy without knowing its rich history or to research the history of philosophy fruitfully without being a philosopher. The philosophers' search for truth could never be realised definitively in any particular system, but could only ever achieve partial success; yet at the same time, the truth could not be reduced to the sum of these fragmentary discoveries.¹² Appreciating the value of the creative efforts of all philosophers who had uncovered fragments of the truth, Pawlicki set out to develop a method of

8 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 279, footnote.

9 Cf.: Barycz, 1946; Głombik, 1970.

10 Miodoński, 1996: 13–24.

11 Cf.: Głombik, 1973: 63–86; Miodoński, 1996: 13–31.

12 Głombik, 1973: 115–116.

3.1 *Christianisation of Plato by S. Pawlicki*

philosophising that would not waste these valuable fragments, but recover them from the past and acknowledge their worth.¹³

Pawlicki's study on Plato dating from his Warsaw period was concerned with purely biographical issues, but in it Plato's journey to Syracuse was presented from the perspective of reflections on thought and action as manifestations of the spirit. Pawlicki remarked with regret that people tend to reduce their activity to one sphere only, either theory or practice, separating each from the other. He considered this one-sidedness as the source of human errors. Pawlicki no doubt had Plato in mind when he alleged that: "It is often the case that someone devises a beautiful new political system, filling in all the details, but when it comes to implementing it, society does not know what to do with such a gift and rejects it with aversion [...]. Almost everyone who has dreamt of human happiness, spending years mulling over how to organise it, has been given a cold reception. Such people are defeated in the struggle with the difficulties their ideas encounter when they finally come up with the fruits of their meditations."¹⁴ Undoubtedly, Dion of Syracuse can be counted among these people. He, and others like him, did not err in their thinking, but in applying their ideas, for they were simply day-dreamers, "yet these dreamers often signalled the dawn of better times: what had failed for them, stood ready for later, when better materials and more eager collaborators were found."¹⁵

This early study by Pawlicki gives us a glimpse into his method, which, while focusing on the history of philosophy, provided a rich background of ancient customs and culture. By presenting philosophy and philosophers against the social background of their times and emphasising that their ideas were not detached from reality, Pawlicki made accessible to unprofessional audiences the history of philosophy in general and knowledge about Socrates and his students, especially Plato, in particular. Dion was presented as a dreamer who attempted to realise the impossible by introducing republican rule where only monarchy was possible, and this was regarded by Pawlicki as the reason for his ultimate failure. Pawlicki's study is therefore an accessible presentation of the links between philosophy and politics, emphasising the need to avoid one-sidedness in political questions, which could lead to utopianism and chaos. Even today, this study is assessed as having been "written in a captivating manner."¹⁶

13 Dembowski, 1997: 39.

14 Pawlicki, 1867: 2–3.

15 Pawlicki, 1867: 3.

16 Brzuska, 1992: 93.

III. Plato interwoven within the fabric of Polish philosophy

In 1868, when Pawlicki failed to obtain the appointment for the position of professor in Warsaw, he began to experience serious spiritual dilemmas, and increasingly came under the influence of Catholic circles. All this, together with his acquaintance with P. Semenenko, induced Pawlicki to change his life radically and he went to Rome to join *Congregatio Resurrectionis*. This allowed Pawlicki to remain devoted to his beloved research work in the field of philosophy since the Resurrectionists regarded preaching and writing activities as their fundamental occupations. Although Pawlicki began a new stage in his life, he did not lose interest in ancient philosophy, and his interest in Plato became even more distinctive.

The direction of Pawlicki's philosophical research was not, however, unaffected by his membership of the Resurrectionists: "formerly an intellectual who presented balanced arguments and adopted a scientific approach to his research, he came to be known as an unrestrained critic of everyone and everything that originated outside Catholic sources and did not serve the Church."¹⁷ Pawlicki no longer considered philosophical problems *sub specie aeternitatis* but from the perspective of the Catholic viewpoint, for he was aware of the current threats resulting from the social situation and affecting the Church: "»Whoever is not a defender of the Church today is its enemy« – he called from Rome."¹⁸

In order to understand Pawlicki's attitude to Plato's social philosophy, it is worth noting that he did not remain indifferent to the important issues of his times, for he cooperated, with Semenenko and others on Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum*, though it is difficult to determine the precise nature of their contribution to this work. Pawlicki expressed the opinion that it was the state that was the highest form of social being, and any discussion on the question of human dignity was pointless without this. He viewed justice and proper care for the lives of workers as the solution to workers' problems and recommended concrete solutions, such as the establishment of trade unions. "Although in his publications or at the lectern Pawlicki [...] criticised the doctrine of socialism, he had the courage, in the name of truth, to acknowledge the socialists' arguments and merits in their attempts to combat and eliminate social inequality."¹⁹ Pawlicki, however, was inclined toward a different remedy for the maladies of the century. He believed that it was only the moral rebirth of indi-

17 Głombik, 1973: 130–131.

18 Głombik, 1973: 194–195.

19 Mylik, 2005: 200.

3.1 Christianisation of Plato by S. Pawlicki

viduals that would allow social tensions to be avoided.²⁰ On the other hand, “he refused to accept that the working class had any superior values, and he condemned revolutions comparing their struggle to the combat of gladiators. He also believed that the working class was lacking in patriotism, being primarily driven by class interests.”²¹ Pawlicki, however, observed that this state of affairs resulted from the conditions in which workers found themselves. His views were in harmony with the content of Plato’s *Republic*, which he subsequently related for his Polish audience: “Socrates, being convinced of the insufficient intellectual development of the working and wage earning classes, claims that it is best for them to obey the just man [...]. Such obedience is not to anyone’s detriment; on the contrary, it is of inestimable benefit to allow oneself to be guided by a divine sage [...]. The law demanding the obedience of the lower classes is, as in the case of the obedience of children, intended only for their benefit.”²²

On his return from Rome to Kraków, Pawlicki provided his Polish audience with information about the Italian editions of the dialogues translated by Ruggiero Bonghi (1826–1895). He praised these editions for their skilled translation, the quality of the research and for the commentaries, but he also recommended the introduction: “it is interesting for many reasons, but most of all because it confutes the liberal superstition that Christianity spread a veil of darkness over the world, and argues in favour of the superiority of the Christian over the pagan view. We predict that the author of such a conviction will be more and more alone among the growingly materialistic generation of the united Italy.”²³ On reading the translations by Bonghi, Pawlicki expressed his regret about the absence of Polish translations of Plato of comparable quality.²⁴ This deficiency was probably one of the reasons why Pawlicki decided to familiarise his countrymen with the personality and thought of the great Athenian.

20 Zamorska, 2007: 32–33.

21 Palacz, 1999: 262.

22 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 683.

23 Pawlicki, 1888: 173.

24 Pawlicki, 1885.

III. Plato interwoven within the fabric of Polish philosophy

The unfinished Plato in the *History of Greek Philosophy*

Although Pawlicki did not shy away from analytic studies or contributory works, he believed that the primary goal of the historian of philosophy was synthesis,²⁵ which should encompass, if not the whole history of philosophy, then at least a period or a current in the history of philosophical thought.²⁶ It has been argued that Pawlicki was a historian-philologist,²⁷ yet philological skills, though indispensable in the work of a historian of philosophy, are not in themselves sufficient for the study of the history of philosophy: “A philologist can prepare the material for the history of philosophy, but should not write history, as Pawlicki remarked.”²⁸ Nevertheless, it was the results of his meticulous philological works that were to have a significant impact on Pawlicki’s historiographical writings and his research in the field of ancient philosophy.

When considering the origins of Pawlicki’s *History of Greek Philosophy*, it is impossible to overlook the non-philosophical issues that influenced the method and form of this study. Firstly, Pawlicki set himself the task of filling a gap in the national literature, and in this respect, it was a pioneering work on Polish soil, both in its aim and its implementation. Secondly, this work was commissioned by the Academy of Arts and Sciences, which financed the publication of the work, but also expected certain requirements to be met regarding academic standards and adaptation to the needs of the target readership.²⁹ Thirdly, the book appeared at a time when the fate of the Chair of Philosophy at the Jagiellonian University was being decided. The publication of Volume I of the *History of Greek Philosophy* was one of the factors that swung the balance in favour of Pawlicki. And this book, in turn, was related to the personal and philosophical conflict be-

25 The most complete list of Pawlicki’s works on the history of philosophy, including his unpublished works, can be found in the bibliography in: Mylik, 2005: 263–286. It should be noted that a number of Pawlicki’s manuscripts consist of notes on Plato’s texts, preparatory notes for future printed works and for university lectures and congress papers, or for papers delivered at academic societies, *cf.*: Bandura & Jałbrzykowska, 1971: *passim*. Some parts of his lectures, translations and conference papers concerning Plato were published posthumously as: Pawlicki, 2013.

26 *Cf.*: Głombik, 1973: 254–262.

27 This is how Pawlicki and Maurycy Straszewski were described by B. Dembowski (1997: 14); more extensively on Pawlicki’s method in the history of philosophy and the dispute over it, *cf.*: Mróz, 2008b.

28 Palacz, 1999: 260.

29 Hulewicz, 1958: 135–136.

3.1 Christianisation of Plato by S. Pawlicki

tween Pawlicki and Lutosławski, a conflict that was to be echoed even more resoundingly in the second part of Volume II of the *History of Greek Philosophy*, in which Plato's writings were discussed.³⁰

With regard to the source of the material in Pawlicki's book that was drawn from his university lectures, it should be added that these lectures were prepared for his work at the Main School of Warsaw and were based on materials he had collected at the time of his studies in Wrocław. One of the main influences on his work at that time was Christlieb Julius Braniss (1792–1873), a student of Schleiermacher, whose lectures on the history of philosophy Pawlicki held in high esteem.³¹ There were two additional sources: original Greek texts and the work by Eduard Zeller (1814–1908).³² It is little wonder, then, that there are clear traces of the influence of Schleiermacher and Zeller on Pawlicki's conclusions regarding Plato research.

Pawlicki believed in the continuity of European culture and in the mutual influences between various genres of the arts, the sciences and the practice of everyday life, so he intended his comprehensive and erudite work to help readers not only to learn Greek philosophy, but also to broaden their horizons and develop their own views on the problems of contemporary culture.³³

The concluding chapter of Volume I of the *History of Greek Philosophy* was devoted to Socrates. It also provided an opportunity for Pawlicki to ar-

30 On the relations between Pawlicki and Lutosławski and the circumstances of their conflict cf.: Tatarkiewicz, 1971c: 207–208; Mróz, 2005: 292–322; Mróz, 2005a; Mróz 2007.

31 Pawlicki, 1890: 18.

32 Głombik, 1973: 78.

33 Cf.: “[Pawlicki] wanted to produce works on the history of philosophy that would not discourage his readers with dry, abstract argument, but would rather attract them with vivid presentations and an abundance of varied content: intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, psychological, and social in the broadest sense” (Głombik, 1973: 268); “When researching the problems of the development of civilisation, Pawlicki emphasised the influence of the natural environment and the achievements of material culture on the state of spiritual culture. He was inclined to the thesis [...] that religion, legislation, literature, and fine arts flourish on the backbone of material culture, which enriches them, and that the development of spiritual culture was dependent on the satisfaction of material needs. [...] he believed that human spiritual qualities were factors exerting a decisive influence, and religious faith in particular was indispensable. [...] Pawlicki ultimately claimed that material and spiritual cultures were different forms of civilisations that interact with each other, and the »human spirit« is the sole cause of both” (Przymusiąła, 1972: 235).

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ticulate some opinions about the dialogues, which he considered to be the historical source for the information about Socrates. However, unlike previous Polish scholars, who had accepted this opinion unreflectively, for Pawlicki it was a deliberate and substantiated choice. At the same time, Pawlicki treated the historical validity of the dialogues with little criticism, and his confidence in Plato is most glaring in his assessment of the Sophists, who were said to have contributed to the eclipse of the Greek spirit by annihilating traditional authorities, and to the destruction of social bonds and the discrediting of religion as a result of their cosmopolitan outlook. Pawlicki most likely saw an analogy between the situation in ancient Greece and in 19th century Poland, where positivism, evolutionism, materialism and other anti-dogmatic views of the world were beginning to triumph. The example of the Sophists became the cornerstone of Pawlicki's argument that upbringing, as long as it was based on the authority of religion, could exert an edifying influence on society and on the state.

In reconstructing Socrates' views, Pawlicki relied on the authority of Plato: "Socrates' thought was well rendered by his great disciple."³⁴ Since Socrates successfully opposed the relativism of the Sophists, he must have had a philosophical system. Plato's Socrates, according to Pawlicki, "is a daring, profound thinker, who solves the most radical and convoluted metaphysical and theological problems in an unprecedentedly unmitigated fashion, often even to the extent of disregarding the tradition and beliefs of his own nation. In a word, Plato's Socrates is as noble as Xenophon's is apparently ordinary and shallow."³⁵ In the dispute between the two images of Socrates, Plato's and Xenophon's, Pawlicki came down firmly in favour of Plato's Socrates as equivalent to the so-called historical Socrates. He refused to recognise the value of Xenophon's testimony: "Such a Socrates would not have been poisoned by the Athenians."³⁶ It was quite obvious to Pawlicki that it was Plato who conveyed the true image of Socrates and of the Sophists: "Plato is a great devotee of the truth; the characters in his dialogues give the impression of being real portraits, as far as a portrait is capable of rendering the original. Photographic exactness should not be demanded of portraits."³⁷

For Pawlicki, then, Plato's dialogues were a reliable historical source for learning about and evaluating the views of the Sophists and Socrates. His

34 Pawlicki, 1890: 369.

35 Pawlicki, 1890: 375.

36 Pawlicki, 1890: 375.

37 Pawlicki, 1890: 378.

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admiration for Plato should not surprise readers, for it had already been voiced in the introduction to the chapter devoted to the Athenian, in which Ficino's words were repeated and commented on: "For whomsoever this praise appears to be exaggerated, let them attempt to erase just the one word »*idea*« from modern languages, and they will see how our entire spiritual culture has grown and become entwined with Platonism. [...] To confirm this truth, I will present a well-known fact: whenever we talk of Supreme Beauty, Immutable Truths, the Architect of the Universe, the Eternal Word, Divine Ideas, Transcendental Love, the Immortality of the Soul, or any other such noble subjects, the name of Plato always appears; and as long as human beings on this poor planet are interested in mysteries of this kind, they will not only continue to remember the great sage, but it may even be said that every future generation will understand him better and love him more."³⁸ As Pawlicki unambiguously stated, Plato, despite his errors, according to Pawlicki's Catholic position, has taken root in and become an integral part of European culture and Christian thought.

Pawlicki painted vivid pictures of Plato's contemporaries and other students of Socrates, as well as describing Plato's political views and his growing aversion to democracy. As for Plato's life after the death of Socrates, Pawlicki argued for the view that Plato had stayed in Megara with Euclid, who warmly welcomed disciples of Socrates. He rejected the hypotheses concerning Plato's long journeys to the East, though he accepted the possibility that Plato had stayed in Egypt and Cyrene. A visit to Egypt would not have affected Plato's philosophy deeply, because philosophy was unknown to the Egyptians, but more positive results could have accrued from his acquaintance with Archytas of Tarentum and his trips to Syracuse. The exact chronology of the journeys was unknown, yet what was most significant for Pawlicki was that by the time Plato returned from his travels, he had reached intellectual maturity: "he departed a student but he returned a master [...] and it can be stated without exaggeration that no-one had crossed the threshold into their *Meisterjahre* with a richer store of knowledge and more stable views on earthly issues and perpetual truths. He felt within himself the creativity of genius and the divine need to put into practice all the ideas that he had discovered with his spiritual eye, and that he had pondered over silently in solitary reflection or aloud in dispute with others. But from his birth he had had a theoretical disposition, which

38 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 108. John N. Findlay would probably agree with Pawlicki, because he considered all the attempts to dehellenise and deplatonise Christianity to be essentially attempts to barbarise it (Findlay, 2002: 288).

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directed him [...] to live for the truth alone within a select circle of young and old companions, of loving friends devoted to philosophy.”³⁹ It was all this that was to result in the founding of the Academy, which the erudite Pawlicki described by sketching for his readers Raphael’s fresco of *The School of Athens* and Plato’s position within it: “he alone among those present points his hand to heaven as a sign that he has illuminated his research into mundane phenomena with the light of eternal ideas, and that he has directed all the enthusiasms of the human spirit to the love of the Supreme Good, as to a goal shining afar.”⁴⁰ The Academy was intended as a place for such research. Pawlicki presented it, though on the basis of scarce source materials, as a kind of religious brotherhood, similar to the Pythagorean community, because, as he argued, this form was best-suited to Plato’s aim, as opposed to political parties or casual meetings among friends. This provided the Academy with autonomy and a number of legal benefits, such as the protection of its properties. Shortly after founding the Academy, Plato wrote the *Symposium* to commemorate the first Academic *symposion*.⁴¹

One of the chapters of Plato’s book was devoted to a polemic against the common image of Plato, or the more generally accepted image of the philosopher as an impractical individual, out of touch with the problems of everyday life. Pawlicki argued that Plato, in addition to being a philosopher, was also “an ethician and politician, and as such he diligently scrutinised human issues and longed with all his heart for his principles to prevail. He might have been a utopian from time to time (but which reformers were not?), but utopians, more than other people, work tirelessly for the realisation of their ideas.”⁴² Pawlicki believed that the essence of Pla-

39 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 150–151. The initial parts of the chapter devoted to Plato’s biography up to the foundation of the Academy was published as Pawlicki, 1892.

40 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 152. Pawlicki frequently supplemented historical considerations with memories and observations from his own journeys and visits to museums.

41 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 152–183; during one of his public lectures in the City Council Hall in Kraków Pawlicki presented an outline of the Academy and of Plato as a historical figure, without reference to his philosophical works (“Odczyt X. Dra Pawlickiego”, 1892). A little prior to this, M. Jeżeniecki had presented the Academy to Polish readers (Jeżeniecki, 1900).

42 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 183–184. Pawlicki regarded Plato as the philosopher *par excellence*, and identified allegations against him as being against philosophers in general, but he disciplined himself, writing, for example: “We are not supposed to be defending philosophers here, but only Plato” (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 207).

to's philosophy was 'reformatory ethics,' to which all other branches were subordinated, and whose ultimate goal was social revival.

Although not essential for non-professional readers, considerable space in the book was given over to the question of the authenticity and chronology of the dialogues. As Pawlicki argued, "instead of a short chapter, I should have had to write a thick volume if I were to try to summarise all that has been written, wise or unwise, by learned people concerning the *authenticity, relations and chronological order of Plato's writings*."⁴³ Given that the turn of the 20th century was a period of intense research into the chronology of the dialogues, it is not surprising that Pawlicki touched on this subject, as his book could not have been seen as a serious work if he had ignored this. For this reason, Pawlicki traced the views regarding the authenticity and chronology of the dialogues from the scholars of antiquity up to the most important contemporary English and German scholars of his time. Ultimately he adhered to the opinion that the entire catalogue of titles, as listed by Thrasyllus, should be considered authentic because the evidence against their Platonic origin, whether external or internal, was weak and doubtful. For the reader's convenience, however, Pawlicki prepared a list of essential dialogues based on Zeller.⁴⁴

The *Laws* were beyond doubt the last of Plato's dialogues, but the exact chronological sequence of all the other dialogues was not, for Pawlicki, a necessary condition for the reconstruction of Plato's views. He believed it was sufficient to establish the relation of the most important dialogues to the *Republic*. The *Timaeus* and *Critias* were considered to have followed the *Republic*, and together with the *Laws*, they all constituted the main body of Plato's philosophy. The *Republic* was preceded by the *Philebus*, *Phaedo*, *Meno* and *Gorgias*, while the *Parmenides* and the *Sophist* were prior to these, the latter being considered to be a continuation of the *Theaetetus*. The

43 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 219.

44 The list encompassed, the *Protagoras*, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, *Gorgias*, *Theaetetus*, *Republic*, *Phaedo*, *Timaeus*, *Philebus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Parmenides*, *Cratylus*, *Laus*, *Critias*, *Meno*, *Euthydemus*, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Lysis*, *Charmides*, *Laches*, *Hippias minor* and *Euthyphro*. The figure of Thrasyllus himself and his tetralogical arrangement of the dialogues, though insignificant from the philosophical point of view, was to provide the first opportunity for Pawlicki to take issue with Lutosławski (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 223–225, note 2); earlier he had devoted a separate study to this problem (Pawlicki, 1893). Pawlicki valued Zeller for his 'decent conservatism' (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 237), but this, together with his rejection of more recent research, was to contribute eventually to Pawlicki's failure as a Plato scholar (Gajda-Krynicka, 1993: 12, note 20).

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most important chronological conclusions were quite remote from those presented by W. Lutosławski in his works. In his earlier lectures, Pawlicki had remarked that Plato researchers could be divided into the followers of two great systems: 1) mathematical or aprioristic; 2) historical or historical-evolutionary: “according to the first theory, Plato’s works resemble one huge edifice, the complete plan of which had been outlined in advance by Plato and then laboriously pursued throughout his life; according to the second theory, each of Plato’s works arose from his experience, so they were, in a sense, unintentional monuments to his internal development.”⁴⁵ It was the latter view that Pawlicki believed to be true.

Pawlicki’s response to the question of Plato’s first work was related to his own experience of spiritual breakthrough, namely his turn from philology to philosophy. He believed that the first dialogue stemmed from an ideological struggle in the young Plato’s mind: “having entered philosophy, Plato may have burnt his dramatic works, but it was beyond his power to stop creating. [...] Dramas of the imagination were superseded by real, personal dramas, in which, instead of tragic characters, no less tragic ideas began to accumulate in the soul of the lad. Like every true and original philosopher, he had to experience the profound upheaval and great suffering that accompanies birth, and the child of these pains, and at the same time the hope for prospective development, was the *Phaedrus*, a frail but beautiful organism, shining with a strange light, but with unskilled movements and untrained muscles. The firstborn child was premature, and hence weak, but displayed, in its beautiful features, an indelible likeness to its ingenious parent. He would later give birth to more resourceful and intelligent sons, to such as he himself had been in his prime, when he had carried away his astonished students with the power of his thoughts. Yet none of his descendants would have the adorable and genuinely youthful coquetry of the *Phaedrus*, nor his naïve but profound views. For the *Phaedrus* was the child of his first love.”⁴⁶

45 Pawlicki, BJ2: 192–193.

46 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 259; cf. a similar expression in Schleiermacher, 1919: 47. Pawlicki had expressed his opinion on the issue of the chronological priority of the *Phaedrus* before his main work on Plato saw the light of day. During the 5th Congress of Catholic Scholars in München in 1900, he delivered a lecture on the date of this dialogue. The Plato scholars who had earned Pawlicki’s approval included Schleiermacher and several of those scholars who referred to him. He was particularly critical of language statistics, attaching the greatest significance to the premises from ancient sources (Pawlicki, 1901); cf.: “Anyone who only reads the *Phaedrus* out of all the works of Plato, as long as they internalise it properly, can

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For Pawlicki, the *Phaedrus* was a unique dialogue, its position in the chronological order being the factor upon which the overall image of Plato depended. On the basis of extra-textual facts, and at the same time rejecting the relation between the dialogue and Isocrates' *Encomium of Helen*, Pawlicki established that the *Phaedrus* had been written in 402 BC.⁴⁷ This dialogue provided another opportunity for a dispute with Lutosławski, who was reproached by Pawlicki for his overbearing opinions on the authors of the secondary literature. He did, however, agree, with Lutosławski that German scholars were not familiar with research done in other languages, but added: "I have ceased to marvel at this negligence or disregard since I discovered that there are even many German works that have gained little recognition in their homeland."⁴⁸

It was only after he had laid the cornerstone of his exposition on Plato, that is, after determining the priority of the *Phaedrus* as the starting point, that Pawlicki reported on the difficulties to be faced in presenting Plato's philosophy. These resulted from the nature of his work, which made it impossible to arrange a system of philosophy on the basis of the dialogues. Having at his disposal two methods for setting out Platonism to his readers, *i.e.* either summarising individual dialogues or systematically discussing Plato's views in particular areas of philosophy, Pawlicki chose to take the middle way. He analysed the most essential dialogues, but also expounded the most important parts of the system. The need to provide summaries of the dialogues was justified on the grounds of the absence of good translations into Polish,⁴⁹ but at the same time Pawlicki also attempted to reconstruct and interpret Plato's system.

Plato's turn to philosophy was a dramatic act, yet from the very beginning philosophy had revealed its erotic nature. This resulted from the na-

solve all life's problems in Platonic spirit, and in this sense, Schleiermacher's thesis that the whole of this great philosopher's system is sketched in the *Phaedrus*, can be accepted" (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 375). A lecture on the *Phaedrus* was later delivered by Pawlicki for the members of the Görres-Gesellschaft in Bonn (Bandura & Jałbrzykowska, 1971: 242).

47 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 259–274; Pawlicki also suggested 403 BC as the most probable date of this dialogue (Pawlicki, 1901, 182).

48 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 273, note 1.

49 It should be remarked that the translations of Plato which had already appeared in Polish were not Pawlicki's special subject of interest. Admittedly, he listed the names of the most important translators (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 279–280, note), but in his previous letter to Lutosławski he confessed: "Mr. [Kazimierz] Morawski has sent you a few lines about our publications on Plato – I neither know nor care much about them" (Mróz, 2005: 319).

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ture of the subject to which the philosopher turned his attention, and from the necessity of carrying out his analyses in the company of others, which Plato, as one of Socrates' students, must have been accustomed to. "Plato therefore not only had the right, but also the dialectical duty to start with the idea without which the love of knowledge would be incomprehensible, and if we consider that he wrote for his companions, who were most strongly convinced of the impossibility of examining eternal truths without love for those with whom such a great task was to be fulfilled, then we will understand that it was necessary that his first work, in which he opened up the secrets of his heart and spoke out his views on human destiny, should be, at least partially, devoted to love.⁵⁰ Pawlicki considered the tale of the nature of the soul from the *Phaedrus* to be one of the most beautiful passages in Plato and he paraphrased and partially translated large parts of it.

The whole depiction of the fall of human souls, along with the outline of the road to human redemption through philosophy, which detaches spirits from mundane human affairs and reminds them of their divine origin, was described by Pawlicki as follows: "All the attributes of Plato's genius, both positive and negative, contributed to this youthful work: his lofty imagination, flying beyond the furthest stars, together with his complete lack of attention to plausibility in the details and the absence of logic in his conclusions. Yet exceptional thoughts, revealed to contemporary society by truly divine intuition and rich with meaningful consequences for posterity, lose their strength and significance in the face of flaws in their application to the great social problem."⁵¹ While Plato had indicated the path to human redemption, Pawlicki the clergyman, prevailing over Pawlicki the historian of philosophy, criticised the young Plato for denying the masses the possibility of reaching divinity since the philosophical road to redemption was not accessible to all. Human misery is ubiquitous, yet according to Plato, only the few can find their way out of it because only the few have time to practise philosophy. The elitism of Plato's idea of salvation, with its disastrous results for the greater part of humanity, could not escape Pawlicki's attention and criticism.

Further critical remarks appear when Pawlicki discusses Plato's contempt for the written word. Socrates in the *Phaedrus* says that preparing speeches and writing them down should become *psychagogy*, "the art of

50 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 282.

51 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 290.

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guiding human souls by means of words,”⁵² a kind of pastoral guidance. Pawlicki, on the other hand, emphasised that the written word, especially that written by an unknown author, had none of the disadvantages of the living word, which depended on a number of subjective factors. Pawlicki, therefore, unlike Plato, recognised that it was in writing that the source of gravity and authority lay. Nevertheless, he praised Plato for drawing attention to the problem of the author’s responsibility for the word: “It should be remembered that every word, spoken or written, falls into the human soul in the form of a seed which can sprout and yield good or poor crops, depending on the conscientiousness of the seedsman, who may throw a handful of tares with the wheat.”⁵³

For Pawlicki, the youthful character of the *Phaedrus* was confirmed by Plato’s attitude to Socrates and his rather disharmonious fusion of Heraclitean, Pythagorean, Eleatic and Orphic ideas. In the footnotes Pawlicki added critical remarks concerning the conclusions drawn by Lutosławski, who had argued for the mature character of the *Phaedrus*. Pawlicki believed that linguistic criteria could not prevail over philosophical premises, and remarked that those who did research on writing style could, at best, only collect raw data, and it would be premature to treat their conclusions seriously because they were neither philosophers nor specialists in style.⁵⁴

According to Pawlicki, the content of the *Phaedrus* indicated that the popularly held view of ‘Platonic love’ as “a sentimental dream, without tangible benefits,”⁵⁵ was in fact mistaken. While it is true that, among the many kinds of love, due place was given to its lofty, essentially Platonic version, this did not in fact embrace all people, and it was this lack of compassion for individuals that Pawlicki emphasised. Plato’s theory of love also rested on another pillar, namely on the metaphilosophical claims of the *Symposium*. Pawlicki was in no doubt that this dialogue had been intended by Plato as a model for the Academic *symposia*, therefore it must have been chronologically connected with the founding of the Academy.

Taking into account his audience, Pawlicki omitted the anatomical details from his summary of Aristophanes’ speech, referring to the speech unambiguously: “it is offensive in its complete tolerance of pederasty. Our first impressions are usually very adverse and the perfunctory reader frequently regrets that so much imagination and literary artistry has been

52 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 304.

53 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 313.

54 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 298–299, note 2; 299–300, note 3.

55 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 321.

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wasted on such an ugly matter. On closer inspection, however, it becomes more tolerable and in the end it is impressive.”⁵⁶ To be fair, Pawlicki did remark that these descriptions of love served a certain purpose, namely that through love the unity and harmony that humans had lost could be rediscovered. He added that in Aristophanes’ speech profound substance was disguised in the ‘coarse-convivial’ form of a farce, as befits a great comedy writer. This speech, while certainly indecent, was not immoral.

Pawlicki translated extensive passages from Diotima’s speech as it had been retold by Socrates. In comparison with all the preceding speeches, this one seemed to be a sober discussion. Pawlicki commented on the idea of immortality, conceived as the spiritual heritage of humanity: “it would seem that this idea could not have been elevated more highly at a time when so little was known about God and human destiny,”⁵⁷ but Plato’s genius, towering above his contemporaries, went even further. Another sign of this genius, for Pawlicki, was the fact that it was a woman, as the most important of the dialogue’s figures, who exposed to the assembled men their ignorance about the true essence of love.

Reading this speech was an amazing experience for Pawlicki, as it had been for other Plato scholars, including Lutosławski, though his motives may have been different: “The speech as a whole, especially in Greek, makes a great impression on the reader, overshadowing not only all of the previous speeches, but everything that the ancients had ever written on the theory of love. The amazing ideas rise so high above the level of the mentality of the times that it is not until we enter the Christian era that something similar can be found.”⁵⁸

According to Pawlicki, the introduction of the drunken Alcibiades at the end of the dialogue was an excellent stylistic device that allowed Plato to present the previously outlined theory of love in a different light. Alcibiades’ example of Socrates’ behaviour was intended to provide evidence of the validity of the theory. “The whole passage is beautiful and lofty, though modern readers may not like the graphic description of a certain temptation which Socrates was able to resist. Nevertheless, the impression of this paragraph is strong.”⁵⁹

Pawlicki admitted that he had left out everything in the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* that he considered unsuitable for readers at the turn of the 20th

56 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 336.

57 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 345.

58 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 347.

59 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 350.

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century. In comparing the two dialogues, he saw that in the former the road to achieving the concept of love almost inevitably involved a fall in the form of a surrender to sensual temptation, and so in order to achieve the ideal goal it was therefore necessary to break off social relations, which meant that the philosopher was unable to work for others. In the case of the *Symposium* the task advocated by Plato appeared to Pawlicki to be even more arduous, and therefore all the more worth undertaking. While analysing the *Symposium*, Pawlicki placed more emphasis on the ideal goal rather than on the path leading to it. The most significant difference between the two dialogues was the active and creative character of love on the pages of the *Symposium*, which ceased to be a kind of mania, but was instead turned into the various ways of procreation. The fact that the ideal aspect of love was in accordance with natural phenomena and that it explained sexual drive, seemed to Pawlicki to confirm its higher theoretical perfection. "And even at this highest level, where the soul unites with the idea most perfectly, its development is not yet finished, but it begins to produce truth itself, real virtue, rather than producing images and semblances of truth, as before. This is how the soul attains immortality, not by contemplating beauty, but by identification with truth and virtue through autonomous deeds."⁶⁰ Thus, in Pawlicki's interpretation, the virtuous deed forms the basis of immortality because thanks to good deeds human beings can overcome the passiveness of contemplation.

The most important issue, however, was the answer to the question concerning the validity of Plato's theory of love. For Pawlicki its lasting value, as the pursuit of immortality and the drive for procreation, lay in the fact that it explained a number of diverse phenomena, from mating among animals, through social activity, to doing philosophy. "For a Christian, however, Plato's theory is not sufficient, because even its shining veneer fails to cover up its inadequacy with regard to the development of the soul in this life and the happiness awaiting it in the future. What is most striking is, above all, that the ultimate object of love is always something, and never someone."⁶¹ Pawlicki's premises were clear. Just as the individual person, as a transient object on the path of love, is initially only a beautiful body, so the idea, being incorporeal and universal, cannot be deemed a personal object of love. "Despite the crowd, every spectator is isolated because there is no reciprocity between them and what they see. They love the ideas because they feel happy to see them, and seeing them, they derive

60 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 363.

61 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 369.

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strength for further perfection. But do the ideas love them? Even if they wanted to, this would be totally improbable because they do not exist as persons. [...] they do not help, because any personal relation to them is unlikely. The spectator will be in love with his models and will live according to them, but unloved by anyone, and knowing in advance that he will never meet any reciprocity. [...] It is undoubtedly a happiness to know that one is working on one's own improvement, but this happiness would be doubled if it were accompanied by the conviction that there was someone demanding this work from us, praising and helping us with it."⁶² Pawlicki argued that at this stage of the development of Plato's thought there was no God, and human perfection was equivalent to 'ideification'. Being isolated, human beings could not count on any help, and they had to achieve salvation on their own. The position of Christians, according to Pawlicki, is much better, because it is through love that they are redeemed, and their relationship with God is a personal love, something which is absent from Plato's theory.

The Christian love of one's neighbour could not in any way be incorporated within Plato's theory. "This is a sorrowful fact, which, though it cannot be concealed, can at least be condoned."⁶³ In this sentence Pawlicki directly expressed his ambivalent attitude to Plato. For Pawlicki, the Resurrectionist, Plato's incompatibility with Christianity was a source of sorrow, for not everything in Plato's captivating work, in the work of the most perfect philosopher of antiquity, could be saved and incorporated into the Christian outlook. As if to justify having pointed out some imperfections in Plato, Pawlicki continues: "Having raised some details from Plato's views which either oppose Christian sentiments or do not completely satisfy them, I did not want to diminish any of his merits."⁶⁴ Morally, Plato far surpassed his contemporaries. His undeniable merit was that he diverted human eyes away from earthly affairs, seeking a goal to aspire to, and that goal proved to be the idea. In spite of the unavoidable errors he made due to the circumstances of his epoch, his quest for an object of love was directed towards a heavenly being. This, for Pawlicki, confirmed the value of his thought even though the object of his love was not the personal God.

Thus the method of 'scientific criticism,' to which Pawlicki subjected Plato's theory of love ultimately boiled down to showing Plato's incompat-

62 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 370. Pawlicki's emphasis on the 'vertical dimension of love' attracted the attention of W. Stróżewski (Stróżewski, 1963: 388, note 40).

63 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 372.

64 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 374.

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ibility with Christian thought. Plato did not accept the personal character of the supreme object of human love, that is God, so the idea could not reciprocate this love. Nor was there a place in Plato's theory for the disinterested love of one's neighbour.

Rather than merely summarising the *Phaedo*, Plato's dialogue on the soul, Pawlicki provided a systematic lecture on Plato's views on this subject. He argued that Plato understood the soul as a source of movement. His concept of the soul was supplemented with religious dogma that spoke of the soul's eternal sin and the need for redemption, and with ideas of pre-existence and metempsychosis. The concept of the soul was developed in the *Timaeus*, and in his discussion of this dialogue Pawlicki repeatedly remarked that the creation of the world and the soul took place in time. The soul in the *Timaeus* was the pillar of cosmic harmony, with the soul joining the body, not as a punishment but as a means of actualising its harmony. "The soul, therefore, is not banished to the Earth, nor is it imprisoned in the body, as long as it faithfully fulfills its mission, and this is possible because it comes, like the biblical Adam before the fall, equipped with all the necessary spiritual and corporeal qualities."⁶⁵ The *Timaeus* therefore marked an evolution in Plato's concept of the soul. Pawlicki added the following remark concerning one of the most important premises of Plato's theory of nature: "It could be called reverse evolutionism or degeneration. Instead of starting from small, imperfect creatures germinating in the primeval silt in order to ascend to the level of birds and vertebrates, Plato puts the superlative form at the start, and derives the lower forms from it by degeneration. At first there was a man whose soul descends from heaven; and if during his lifetime he disobeys the Creator's orders, his soul at its second birth enters a female body; and when during this pilgrimage new offences are committed, he has to live in the body of a bird, a reptile or even in some lower organism. Whether this theory will be accepted by physiologists, I do not know, but they may note the interesting claim that the female is basically an imperfect version of the male."⁶⁶

Pawlicki claimed that in the whole of Plato's work the soul is always autonomous and complete, nothing is missing, but at the same time he was aware of the difficulty in understanding it as an inexhaustible source of both physical and intellectual movements. How could the soul, as an incorporeal being, move the body if there were no points of contact between them. Plato himself argued for the necessity of the union of the soul and

65 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 381.

66 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 382.

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the body: “If the soul can transfer its movement onto matter and, with its presence, transform a dead lump into a living organism, then there must be a propensity in the soul to do so, and in this way its union with the body will not be something contrary to its nature, but rather a complement to it; it will not be a punishment, but a perfection.”⁶⁷ Another difficulty was the question of the place of the soul in Plato’s dualism. Although it did not belong to the world of ideas, it was significantly related to the idea of life; moreover, as the *Phaedo* revealed, the soul, not being an idea, was similar to an idea, to that which is “accessible only to the intellect, and not available to the senses.”⁶⁸

Although Plato’s conviction of the relative independence and completeness of the soul was consistent with Christianity, Pawlicki believed, in the light of the above-mentioned difficulties, that it was not until Aristotle that a theory of the soul which correctly grasped the relation between the soul and the body was produced; he invented the ‘true formula’ that the soul is a form of the body. Plato’s theory, in contrast, destroyed the human being’s unity by granting autonomy to the soul, which is contrary to experience: “According to an apt remark by St. Thomas, the soul could join and disjoin the body at will, but since this contradicts experience, then it is obviously the theory itself that must be at fault.”⁶⁹ Pawlicki thus concluded that Thomas Aquinas had done the right thing by drawing on Aristotle.

Another problem that Pawlicki raised in connection with Plato’s psychology was the soul’s unity and its concurrent partition into its separate functions. Pawlicki considered the soul’s duality, its rational and non-rational parts, to be consistent with tripartition, “in which the charioteer represents the rational part of the soul, and the horses – the non-rational part, the latter being further divided into the lustful (*ἐπιθυμητικόν*) and the bold or courageous (*θυμοειδές*).”⁷⁰ In this regard, Plato’s philosophy had not changed significantly, for the essence of the myth about the chariot in the *Phaedrus* reappeared in the *Timaeus* dressed in a more scientific robe. One

67 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 390–391.

68 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 389, note 1; this is how Pawlicki rendered the Greek *νοητόν*, and took the opportunity to chide Schleiermacher, who rendered *άνόητον* as *unvernünftig*, while in the discussed passage of the *Phaedo* (80b) things cannot be described as unreasonable, irrational, but as inaccessible to reason. The Italian, French and English translators were praised in this regard, along with F. A. Kozłowski, who translated *νοητόν* as “fathomable only by thought” (Plato, 1845: 289).

69 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 392.

70 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 395.

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slight modification was that the two lower parts of the soul appeared only when the soul joined the body (*Tim.* 69c–d), and as a consequence these parts were mortal. The very term “mortal soul” was, for Pawlicki, an oxymoron, which, against the background of the whole of Plato’s psychology should be regarded only as a metaphor. “The soul’s emotions, which are brought about by every fluctuation of blood circulation and heartbeat, can be called, in poetic language, the mortal part of the soul, or even the mortal soul, because they cease to exist with the final beat of this extraordinary muscle, which for centuries has been used as an apt symbol for bravery and passion, anger and love.”⁷¹ Plato’s psychology can be counted among those parts of his system where terminology had not been established, hence Pawlicki justified speaking about parts, functions, forms, as well as types or natures of the soul, for all the detailed issues connected with the soul were secondary in comparison with Plato’s conviction of its immortality.

“Of all the works of Plato, the one which shakes us to the core is the one that takes up the subject of the soul’s fate after death. It is not the subject alone that gives this work its unique power, nor is it the carefully expounded arguments that captivate our attention. After all, thousands of books »on immortality« rot in libraries, and yet even today, it is the *Phaedo* that everyone reaches for. Most books on the subject tend to consist of erudite research, while the *Phaedo* introduces us to the world of living individuals.”⁷² The actual arguments for immortality in the *Phaedo* were of little significance for the work in its entirety, and were, in fact, easy to refute, unlike Socrates’ incontestably convincing argument, which provides “the most powerful evidence, because it is based on the long, virtuous life and serene death of a martyr.”⁷³ In the *Phaedo*, far from being mere background or decoration, the setting and context against which the minute philosophical issues are presented take on the utmost importance. The first part of the *Phaedo* aroused Pawlicki’s enthusiasm, especially the contempt for carnality which is stressed there. Pawlicki commented on this as follows: “There is an almost biblical air emanating from these profound words. [...] Besides a superficial similarity, the difference in perspective will at once be obvious to any Christian. Nevertheless, it will do no harm to remind ourselves that four centuries before the great apostle of the pagans, in the fun-loving city of Athens with its easy morality, a noble pagan

71 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 400–401.

72 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 405–406.

73 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 406.

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declared the necessity of giving up the world and carnality in order to acquire wisdom and eternal life.”⁷⁴

Reflecting on the literary composition of the *Phaedo*, Pawlicki concluded that if Plato had passed directly to the death of Socrates after the initial part of the dialogue, he would have produced a first-rate ethical dissertation. He preferred, however, to create a real drama. Pawlicki discerned four arguments for the immortality of the soul, or perhaps five, if Socrates' polemic was accepted as a separate argument. When considering the argument based on *anamnesis*, Pawlicki observed: “it is not difficult to [...] see that the facts referred to by Socrates can be explained without calling on the help of pre-mundane memories.”⁷⁵ These arguments were therefore weak, but Plato considered them to be necessary because he believed that the immortality of the soul must go hand in hand with its pre-existence. In overviewing the critical opinions of scholars on the value of Plato's reasoning, Pawlicki found one statement that he could not agree with, namely that Plato himself had not taken these arguments seriously. The very meticulous exposition of the arguments testified against this view, whereas the fact that they were unconvincing was a different matter. Pawlicki argued that the biblical reminiscences in the passage in which Socrates started his final narrative about the supramundane fate of the soul (107c–d), dispelled all doubts about Plato's conviction of the individual immortality of the soul: “In view of these wonderful words, which bring to mind the biblical *opera illorum sequuntur illos*, all unworthy suspicions should be silenced, for if he, who preached these words, did not believe that his personality would survive the decomposition of the body and would enter a new, more perfect existence, then he would have been little more than a mere trickster.”⁷⁶ Plato, however, could not be accused of such mystification.

Pawlicki emphasised that one of the unchanging features of the soul throughout all Plato's works was its indestructibility. The appearance of Providence watching over the creation in the *Timaeus*, did not escape his attention either. It was also in this dialogue that the creation of the soul in time was revealed. All these were elements that were consistent with Chris-

74 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 412; the *Phaedo* roused Pawlicki's enthusiasm to such an extent that in order to prepare a monograph lecture on this dialogue in the academic year 1896/97 he started to translate it, but only reached 69 d (Pawlicki, 2013: 81–92); likewise, he started, but was unable to complete, the translation of the *Gorgias* up to 451 (Pawlicki, 2013: 75–81).

75 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 412.

76 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 431.

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tianity. “The closer Plato approached the end of his earthly pilgrimage, the more earnest became his investigation of the attitude of human beings towards the Deity, of the created towards their Creator. And he understood that only the Father was without beginning and ending, whereas His children and the universe, and thus human souls, originated in time.”⁷⁷

In spite of his views on the chronology of the dialogues, Pawlicki saved the passage in the *Phaedrus* (245c–246a) where the immortality of the soul is based on its self-movement to the end of his considerations on the immortality of the soul. The greatest value of this argument was that Plato applied to psychology the theory of force, animating and moving the world, a theory which had previously been introduced by the Ionians. This brilliant combination of Ionian philosophy with Orphism and Parmenidean thought was indicative of the originality of Plato’s reflections on the immortality of the soul.

Leaving his discussion on the *Phaedrus* to the final passages of his considerations on the immortality of the soul was intended by Pawlicki to serve in his polemic with Lutosławski. It was in the context of the immortality of the soul that the first reference to his book, *The Origin and Growth of Plato’s Logic*, appears, along with references to numerous German, English, French and Italian works. Pawlicki criticised Lutosławski, who, on the basis of the affinity between the arguments in the *Laws* and the *Phaedrus*, argued that the latter was of a more mature character and therefore succeeded the *Phaedo*.⁷⁸ As mentioned above, Pawlicki rejected the view on the mature character of the *Phaedrus*, for he believed that linguistic criteria could never prevail over philosophical premises. He refuted Lutosławski’s views on the *Phaedrus* as a dialogue in which Plato must have had a greater sense of his own strength, for he introduced philosophers into the company of the gods.⁷⁹ Without feeling the need to provide any justification, Pawlicki also dismissed Lutosławski’s argument that Plato lacked conviction concerning the individual immortality of the soul in the *Symposium*, thus indicating its chronological precedence over the *Phaedrus*.⁸⁰

In Pawlicki’s view, it was Plato’s philosophical development that indicated that the *Phaedo* was more mature than the *Symposium*, and much more so than the *Phaedrus*. He rejected Lutosławski’s arguments that in the *Phaedo* Plato showed greater leniency with respect to the punishment of

77 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 439.

78 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 442–443, footnote 1; *cf.*: Lutosławski, 1897: 332.

79 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 355–357, footnotes; *cf.*: Lutosławski, 1898: 166.

80 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 358, footnote 2; *cf.*: Lutosławski, 1898: 164–165.

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criminals, which provided evidence that the *Phaedo* must have been earlier than the *Phaedrus*, in which the penalties for the souls were more severe, and closer to those in the *Republic*. This, according to Lutosławski, testified to a deeper understanding of responsibility in human life. In the *Phaedo* (113e–114a), matri- and patricide were to be forgiven after a year.⁸¹ Pawlicki rightly accused Lutosławski of misunderstanding the text of the dialogue, in which Plato divided criminals into those whose guilt could not be redeemed, and those who could be treated for their crimes. A murder committed on parents was included in the latter category, provided that the crime occurred, for example, in anger, and was followed by remorse on the part of the culprit. If these conditions were not met, then the criminal would be classified into the first category, although the murderer of a parent was not explicitly mentioned. Thus Pawlicki rightly indicates that the criterion for judging a murderer's soul was not the type of crime, but the circumstances in which the crime was committed. "How much richer in details and more mature is the teaching in the *Phaedo*, in which deliberate crimes are distinguished from involuntary ones, in which different times of penance are designated to various violations, making relief from suffering dependent on the repentance of the sinner. What great consideration for the needs of the human heart, together with complete respect for justice!"⁸²

After his systematic exposition of Plato's psychology, Pawlicki turned to dialectics, the source of which he saw in Socrates' opposition to the eristic of the Sophists. Above all, dialectics was, for Plato, the art of asking questions, but this was not exclusive to Plato. The more exact Platonic definition of dialectics was focused on examining the nature of each thing, and on answering the question about what each thing essentially is. The dialectical procedure in the *Phaedrus* revealed itself to be twofold in nature. It was the inductive collection (*ζυναιρείσθαι*) of single particulars in order to find a general notion, as well as the division into kinds (*κατ' εἶδη*). Pawlicki argued that such a twofold concept of dialectics was, however, overestimated and wrongly elevated above Socrates' dialectics, for this would have led to a chronological conclusion that Pawlicki wanted to avoid, namely the recognition of the *Phaedrus* as a mature dialogue. Pawlicki obviously included Lutosławski among those scholars who were inclined to this opinion, criticising his younger colleague as one who 'takes delight in extreme conclusions,' and considers the dialectics of the *Phaedrus* to be simi-

81 Lutosławski, 1897: 329.

82 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 446.

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lar to that of the *Sophist*. He merely dismissed this opinion as a joke, quoting Xenophon, who claimed that even Socrates applied the method of division according to kinds, and therefore the young Plato must have known this method. It should be remarked here that generally Xenophon's testimony about Socrates was denied credibility by Pawlicki, as was his knowledge of philosophy, but when Xenophon could be used by Pawlicki to take issue with Lutosławski, then he was turned into a reliable source of knowledge about the Socratic method. Apart from the synthetic and analytic method, other 'auxiliary means' of dialectical reasoning were used in the *Sophist*, the *Statesman* and the *Philebus*, among which Pawlicki listed enumeration of features, classification, distinction and the application of primary concepts, as he called them, which were not subjected to the dialectical method. These included: being, motion, rest and completeness.

Although the mathematical sciences were not included in philosophy as they did not subject their own premises to examination, they were indispensable as an introduction to philosophy. Geometry was used by Plato to show the relations between the four types of cognition (εἰκασία, πίστις, δianoia, ἐπιστήμη). This division did not result only from his love of symmetry, but it reflected the nature of things, revealing relations between realms of reality in their correspondence to particular forms of cognition.

The research programme that Plato set out for dialectics seemed to Pawlicki extremely ambitious. "It is hard not to acknowledge the magnitude of these intentions. The task may even exceed human powers, yet is there anything greater than such an extremely difficult march, without the aid of the senses, without the support of handrails, signs or figures of any kind, a march up to invisible expanses, where the Eternal Being endures forever in the same immutability? And if it is difficult to reach this Highest Being that illuminates and animates everything that exists and can be known, then it is even more difficult to descend from this Being, on unfamiliar steps, and to find the way back to the place where the research started out."⁸³ This research proposal was in line with what Diotima recommended in the *Symposium*. The dialectical method, however, raised significant doubts, for there was no certainty that the subject of the research existed at all. In order to assess the value of dialectics, it was therefore necessary to examine first the results of the method, namely the theory of ideas. Pawlicki wrote: "it can also be assessed by its fruits. Plato believed that he owed his intellectual accomplishments to dialectics, for it is through dialectics that ideas are discovered, explained, connected and disconnected,

83 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 467.

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and turned into the property of the soul. For their part, the ideas are an impulse which sets research in motion and provides a rational aim. The soul and ideas belong to each other, like light and objects. Without light, objects would be invisible, they would not exist for us; without objects, light would have nothing to illuminate, neither purpose nor reason to exist.”⁸⁴ Pawlicki understood the theory of ideas in a traditional way, within the framework of Plato’s dualism. In this context the *Phaedrus*, *Symposium* and *Phaedo* were the most important dialogues, and these were supplemented not with the secondary literature, but with Aristotle’s remarks.

In epistemological, or logical as Pawlicki put it, deliberations, the best translation of the terms εἶδος and ἰδέα into Polish was *pojęcie* (concept, notion). Understood in this way, Plato, unlike Socrates, ascribed to the ideas objective existence beyond the world of things. “Plato makes no distinction between ἰδέα, εἶδος, or even μορφή, and by means of these terms he expresses kinds, species or any other general beings, and he sometimes even takes them as logical concepts, which, however, as he comprehends them, always correspond to reality beyond the senses.”⁸⁵ There was, therefore, no justification for introducing semantic distinctions into the terminology of the theory of ideas, all the more so, as the terminology itself was not fixed and it changed depending on the context, as is always the case with Plato. In the course of time, Plato granted an existence beyond things to the Socratic ‘nature’, an independent existence, and ultimately, an existence higher than the existence of things. Pawlicki rejected interpretations of the theory of ideas which deprived them of substantial existence. The mention of this interpretative trend originating from Kant was only used as an opportunity to take issue with Lutosławski, whom he accused of inaccuracies in his discussion on the secondary literature.⁸⁶

Another hallmark of Pawlicki’s interpretation was that he regarded the ideas as the thoughts of God. He argued that the ideas do not lose their independent existence in the Divine intellect; on the contrary, their “existence in the creator’s intellect is not a subjective phenomenon [...], but it is a more complete and more perfect energy than the mundane way of existence if it is true what St. Paul says to the Athenians that »in God we live and move and have our being«. It is debatable whether Plato granted the

84 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 470.

85 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 473.

86 “Lutosławski is very well-read, but he works with an astonishing haste. He reads carelessly and ascribes to the authors opinions that, in the right context, mean something else” (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 478, footnote).

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ideas an existence only in God's intellect or also outside it, but this existence is always independent of insignificant things and is placed where God and the pure souls reside, in the place beyond heaven, as the *Phaedrus* describes it."⁸⁷

In response to the question concerning the number of the ideas, Pawlicki quoted the doubts expressed in the *Parmenides*. He acknowledged that Plato's starting point was to ascribe ideas to all kinds of things, even to those less lofty, natural, or those produced by humans. Having realised the difficulties of such idealism, Plato reduced the number of ideas, and rejected, for example, the existence of the idea of relation. He did so, however, only at the end of his life in his oral teaching, but "this does not change the fact that in his writings he accepted unconditionally ideas for all concepts, including the most detached and least ostensible phenomena, and even for those belying truth and reality."⁸⁸ The world of ideas required an immanent hierarchy corresponding to the cosmic hierarchy on which it was modelled. The *Phaedrus* lacked such a hierarchy, whereas in the *Symposium*, three supreme ideas were introduced: beauty, truth and good, and in the *Phaedo*, although the problem of hierarchy was ignored, the highest position was maintained for the idea of good. A discussion of such a hierarchy was, however, presented in the *Republic*, in which the good itself was placed above being, life and truth. Nevertheless, Plato was unable to outline the entire edifice of ideas, which was supplemented in the *Sophist* with the highest types: being, rest, motion, identity and difference, although it was difficult to determine what their relation to the ideas was.

Plato did not have fixed terms to present the relations between ideas and individual entities. It was clear, however, that the ideas were always models which were reflected in particular things in a better or worse manner. Aristotle's criticism of Plato for his use of poetic metaphors in his terminology did not find favour in Pawlicki's eyes, although he admitted that Plato's terms did not explain much. Plato's ambiguity in this regard has become a breeding ground for various interpretations of the theory of ideas, including the most absurd in Pawlicki's opinion: "There are even those who see Plato as a precursor of Kant, and the ideas as general forms of human intellect, not applicable to things in themselves, but only having legitimate value within the limits of the phenomenal world."⁸⁹

87 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 478.

88 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 481; the 2nd part of vol. 2 of Pawlicki's book begins from this page, it was posthumously edited by T. Sinko.

89 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 489.

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The role of the idea in human life was to set goals, both in the spheres of knowledge and morality. Let us quote a longer passage with Pawlicki's emotional description of the impact of ideas on human life: "they allow us to understand and arrange earthly matters better. In this world of mundane darkness, those who have become used to looking upon that which is truly beautiful, just and good will at once see the futility of the false delusions pursued by the majority of people, who do not know philosophy. Whosoever really loves knowledge (φιλομαθής) constantly aspires to that which really exists, and not to that which, at any moment, appears to exist for the mob [...]. The solution to social problems depends, therefore, on knowledge of the ideas, because only those who have seen them can arrange earthly matters well, unlike those who are devoted to mutable, insignificant phaenomena, who, like the blind, cannot see the eternal models that should provide guidance in private and public relations."⁹⁰

The most beautiful illustration of how the ideas could influence human beings was the parable, as Pawlicki called it, of the cave. In his discussion of this, Pawlicki expressed his appreciation of Plato's narrative art and his philosophical profundity. Although Plato's allegory illustrated a means of liberation from the miserable condition that characterised the majority of the human race, Pawlicki was not convinced that this would be effective for most people. Being a priest he wrote: "Even Christianity, though it provided an extraordinary means of freeing humans from their bondage, was unable to prevent people from voluntarily returning to their old bonds or from putting on new ones."⁹¹ Later, however he adds that although Plato's idea of liberation from the shackles of physicality was very imperfect, "by connecting truth with freedom, Plato seems to have sensed what was to be fulfilled by Christ four centuries later: *veritas liberavit vos*."⁹²

The significance of the theory of ideas in the history of philosophy lay in the fact of Plato's ability to combine the efforts of his predecessors, of Heraclitus, Socrates, Parmenides and the Pythagoreans, into a unified whole, into an idealistic synthesis. Plato gave his abstract considerations a unique form which contributed to the popularity and wide circulation of his works, thus making him immortal. Little remains of the form of the theory of ideas as it was taught in the Academy by Plato in his later years. Pawlicki drew some information about the 'unwritten dogmas' from Aristotle. Among the most important modifications in the later theory of ideas

90 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 490.

91 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 492.

92 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 493.

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in comparison with its version from the dialogues, he mentioned a reduction in the number of ideas, which seem to have been limited to natural kinds only, and an increase in the importance of mathematical entities by bringing them closer to the ideas. Pawlicki believed that any potential changes in Plato's views could only have occurred after writing the greater part of the dialogues, because "it is difficult to accept that the master, who wrote primarily for his students, delivered from the lectern something different from what was in his writings."⁹³

In Pawlicki's discussion of Plato's dialectics, a separate position was reserved for the *Theaetetus*, which he considered to have preceded the other dialectical works in terms of chronology. In the course of this discussion, Pawlicki's polemics with Lutosławski gained such significance that the name of the latter appeared in the table of contents. Pawlicki's first contention concerned the fragment 155 a-b, where Socrates introduced Theaetetus to three premises on which he was to base his further research. The phrase τὰ φάσματα ἐν ἡμῖν occurs here. Lutosławski not only translated φάσμα as axiom but also treated the phrase ἐν ἡμῖν as granting these axioms their existence in the soul, from which he concluded that they were no longer transcendent ideas but subjective concepts.⁹⁴ This was intended to provide evidence of the growing significance of the soul in Plato's thought or his abandonment of the theory of ideas as transcendent beings. In his polemic, Pawlicki supported his argument with the term ὁμολογήματα, which appears in the next section of the dialogue, and means the statements and theses accepted by both disputants. These claims, which are adjacent to the phrase ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ, 'in our soul', were interpreted by Pawlicki as follows: "these phenomena of human consciousness are some kind of universally accepted certainties, but the addition 'in us' or 'in our souls' does not yet demonstrate that Plato gave them purely subjective meaning or that he ceased to believe in the pre-existence of the soul and in these ideal beings which it had seen in its previous life."⁹⁵ Lack of reference to the theory of ideas in the *Theaetetus* was explained by Pawlicki by the fact that Socrates' interlocutor could not be counted among his close students, so he was not acquainted with the theory. For this reason Socrates did not refer to it, as he did, for example, in the *Phaedo*.

93 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 500.

94 Lutosławski, 1897: 329; for a more extensive background to Pawlicki's criticism of Lutosławski's reading of the *Theaetetus*, cf.: Mróz, 2007: 207–212.

95 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 505, footnote 1.

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Another of Pawlicki's many disagreements with Lutosławski concerned the passage 185a–186a. One of Lutosławski's aims was to prove that Aristotle, respected as a logician, had, in fact, learned much from Plato. In the above-mentioned fragment, according to Lutosławski, Plato provided another version of his list of categories, in which he included being and non-being, identity and difference. Lutosławski even referred to this as the oldest list of categories, and it was only the soul that had the power to recognise them as such, by perceiving what all things had in common,⁹⁶ namely that, τὰ κοινά, or the categories, as Lutosławski preferred, were no longer considered as eternally independent entities, but they were the effect of the cognitive effort of the subject-soul. It was thus evident to Lutosławski that there was in Plato's philosophical evolution a shift of ontical predominance from the object of cognition to the subject. Pawlicki, in contrast, claimed that Plato did not distinguish metaphysical from logical principles, but merely argued, in opposition to the sensualists, that what was common to all perceptions could not be just a sensual impression, but must have come from elsewhere. And since there could not be anything in Plato like the categories in the Aristotelian sense, then it was impossible to argue that they replaced the theory of the ideas. "Lutosławski did not provide convincing evidence of this, and unfortunately, his assumption that such an important shift was furtively implemented by Plato, without withdrawing the former theory, and even that the two theories did not contradict each other, leaves the door wide open to unjustified hypotheses and we cannot follow him through that door."⁹⁷

Let us mention in passing that Pawlicki appears to have intended to write a separate essay on Lutosławski's book, as is evidenced by a preserved manuscript entitled *Criticism of Lutosławski*. This manuscript contains many charges against stylometry that are known from the pages of the *History of Greek Philosophy*, but here they are more numerous and more specific, with Pawlicki even checking Lutosławski's calculations. It seems that Pawlicki originally intended this text to be published separately, but as time passed and more and more of his objections were included in his book, these initial intention fell by the wayside. On the pages of the manuscript some positive remarks on Lutosławski can be found, but these never found their way into print. It should not surprise us that Lutosławski's praise of Plato's genius in the last pages of his book was to Pawlicki's liking, but he nevertheless regretted that in Lutosławski's interpretation

96 Lutosławski, 1897: 374.

97 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 513, footnote.

the existence of ideas was bound up with individual consciousness. Pawlicki insisted that it is “the theory of ideas that is the most important subject in the exposition of Plato’s teaching,”⁹⁸ and not, by any means, his logic or alleged spiritualism.

On account of the absence of Polish translations, Pawlicki felt justified in summarising the *Theaetetus* extensively. He argued, contrary to Lutosławski, that, unlike Aristotle, Plato had no logical theory in the *Theaetetus*.⁹⁹ The term ‘syllogism’ which appears in the dialogue “does not have any fixed meaning for Plato; it may be a simple generalisation or the gathering of details into one common concept, but it can also mean a consideration, a way of reasoning, or an implication in the most common sense.”¹⁰⁰

It was evident to Pawlicki that the *Theaetetus* had been written shortly after the foundation of the Academy. “Taking into account, however, the sport being played with growing enthusiasm by platonising philologists,”¹⁰¹ he considered it necessary to start another polemic against Lutosławski, who had placed this dialogue in Plato’s mature years, right before the *Parmenides*. Pawlicki estimated that the *Theaetetus* had been written in the years 387–385, before the *Meno* and the *Symposium*. He justified these dates on the grounds that it had been a way for Plato to express his gratitude to Euclid, whom he was believed to have stayed with in Megara after the death of Socrates, and also as a means of honouring Theaetetus, who was his friend. His snide remarks about Lutosławski were in splendid style: “And what does the latest and famous branch of Platonic philology, vocabulary statistics, have to say about this? So much effort has been made to move the *Theaetetus* to 367, and one of its most-learned representatives assures us that the exactness of his research is in no way inferior to the cer-

98 Pawlicki, BJ3: 4. This text definitely discusses Lutosławski’s English book (1897), and not his Polish study (Lutosławski, 1891) as is described in Bandura, Jałbrzykowska, 1971: 197.

99 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 518; Pawlicki did not know Bronikowski’s translation of the *Theaetetus* at that time. Only the few final pages of the unpublished manuscript testify to Pawlicki’s familiarity with this edition of the dialogue, so he must have learnt about it only in the last years of his life (Pawlicki, BJ1: 124, reverse). This also shows that Bronikowski’s translations were not well received.

100 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 519.

101 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 526; Pawlicki often expressed his contempt for statistical methods, for example about Ritter, who had recognised the importance of Lutosławski’s research, Pawlicki wrote: “as can be seen from the rich statistics of various words used by Plato, he is a diligent calculator, but a weak philosopher” (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 264, footnote 4).

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tainty of the methods of the natural sciences. The matter would be then determined once and for all, and just as we trust astronomy when it tells us that Jupiter and its moons revolve on their wonderful course around the Sun, so we would also have to humbly accept the verdict of statistics on the production of the *Theaetetus* after 367.¹⁰² In his criticism, Pawlicki seemed not to have been aware of all the complexities of the method, merely drawing attention to its arbitrariness. One serious charge against Lutosławski which would be difficult to refute was that, according to him, Plato appears to have given up writing for twelve years between the *Phaedrus* and the *Theaetetus*. The first of these received a convergence factor with the late group of the dialogues of 0.31, while the latter got 0.32. This would suggest that for twelve years there was very little change in Plato's style. The doubts regarding these numerical factors resulted from the fact that between other pairs of dialogues, which were, for example, separated by a year, the factor difference amounted to 100 %. Pawlicki referred to the chronological conclusions of Paul Natorp, who advocated earlier dates of the *Phaedrus* and the *Theaetetus*. The most important argument against Lutosławski was the rejection of the concept of linear evolution in Plato's style, which undermined the very core of stylometric research: "the manner of his writing is more similar to the movement of waves that rise and fall. In this case, then, there can be no possibility of vocabulary statistics serving as a chronological instrument. Plato, like every great writer, sometimes mimics unwittingly the style of the books he has read, as in the *Phaedrus*, sometimes deliberately reproduces certain manners of speaking, or even quotes passages, though seldom word for word, from the writings of various personalities who speak in the dialogues, like Gorgias, Polos, Euthydemus, Protagoras, etc. The favourite phrases and words of Socrates and his companions were undoubtedly preserved or little altered. And according to the subject and the moment of writing, he either falls into enthusiasm and lets his imagination run wild, or he conducts boring, meticulous controversies or dry logical exercises that harp on the same string; at other times, he fervently appeals to the audience's conscience, using a delicate, delightful analysis of ethical problems. He has his own style for everything, and he is able to individualise each speaker's manners by means of an in-

102 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 528–529; Pawlicki referred Polish audiences who were unable to read the English book by Lutosławski to a 'pithy and very reasonable report' (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 529, footnote 2). This was a study by Michał Jeżienicki (Jeżienicki, 1899), who, unlike Pawlicki, observed the advantages of the method, along with its perplexities, and appreciated its value.

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credibly rich vocabulary. This style does not develop along straight or curved lines, but takes various forms in one work or even in works written simultaneously [...]. It is true that he may have formed his own style in his mature years, with rich vocabulary, and yet drab, monotonous and rigidly hieratic; nevertheless, it is impossible to determine by means of mathematical formulas how much his style developed each year, or to indicate, by means of these formulas, the chronological position of particular works. This would simply be impossible because Plato may have applied various styles of writing during the same year.”¹⁰³

Having thus dismissed statistical research, Pawlicki moved on to the *Cratylus* and the *Euthydemus*. Several examples of etymology from the former led him to the conclusion that “they were sufficient to get a grasp of Plato’s linguistics, which was not particularly scientific; in fact, it could even be regarded as a caricature of science.”¹⁰⁴ This was no great praise for Plato, especially in view of the great success of his linguistics in ancient times, its crowning achievement being the classical sentence: *lucus a non lucendo*. According to Pawlicki, Plato’s purpose was to show off and to demonstrate that learnedness in etymology does not contribute to an increase in one’s knowledge of philosophy. It is only towards the conclusion of the dialogue that Plato’s philosophy comes to the fore. “Socrates reveals in the distance the theory of ideas, without which no real knowledge is possible. For there must be some beauty, some good that does not change, some being, by means of which every particular thing is what it is.”¹⁰⁵

The *Sophist* and the *Statesman* constitute a continuation of the *Theaetetus*, though the atmosphere of these dialogues was different, having a solemn and professorial gravity. Whereas in the *Theaetetus*, the source of error could not be indicated without prior knowledge of the positive answer to the question concerning the essence of knowledge, in the *Sophist*, consenting to the non-existence of non-being would mean the impossibility of falsehood, and thus, the impossibility of defining the sophist as one whose occupation was to propagate falsehood. The purpose of the dialogue was then to explain the nature of error and the art of sophistry and to achieve this goal required going through boring, imprecise and not always useful exercises in dialectics. Pawlicki once again seized the chance to criticise Lutosławski’s interpretation, this time without even directly mentioning him by name: “There are some who have assumed that because five of

103 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 535–536.

104 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 542.

105 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 546.

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the supposedly most general »kinds« are spoken about at length in the *Sophist*, Plato wanted to provide the highest categories of being, and because it was difficult to imagine these ideas connecting and disconnecting with each other in the form supramundane, immutable, immovable models, they claimed that the ideas were generally replaced by notions, which were classified according to the scientific method.”¹⁰⁶ Such presumptions, according to Pawlicki, were based on uncertain sources, because “Plato in the *Sophist* understood being as reality and »kinds« of being as ideas, for he was attempting to prove, in contradiction to past philosophers, that the real being [...] is one and multiple, sometimes a being, and sometimes a non-being, depending on the possibility or impossibility of being connected to the being’s kinds and genres.”¹⁰⁷ With regard to method and style, the *Statesman* was identical to the *Sophist*. A third work was to have been the hypothetical dialogue *Philosopher*, but it was not written because, according to Pawlicki, it would have repeated much from the two previous dialogues, since it would have touched on a subject that was simultaneously a higher type of the sophist and statesman.

Pawlicki started his discussion of the *Parmenides* with an outline of the history of the enthusiastic reception of this dialogue, from Proclus through Ficino to Hegel. The Pole himself, however, had some doubts about the great value of the dialogue. He considered it strange that “objections of essential significance had been piled up against the most important part of Plato’s teaching. Doubtless, every philosopher should take into account all the serious objections that may be set against his system, and he should also attempt to respond to them as best he can; here, however, we seek a response in vain.”¹⁰⁸ It appeared to Pawlicki even stranger that in this dialogue, “after the defeat of Socrates, which is predictable, the reader expects Parmenides to take advantage of his victory and expound his own system. [...] Meanwhile, something strange happens that deserves close attention, because it may allow us to grasp the point and the ultimate goal of the dialogue. It would appear that Parmenides was not such an uncompromising enemy of the ideas after all, but merely wanted to convince an inexperi-

106 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 566–567. Because there was no Polish translation of the *Sophist*, Pawlicki recommended an analysis of the dialogue by Jezienicki (Jezienicki, 1894). While dealing briefly with the issue of the authenticity of the dialogue (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 564), Pawlicki referred to another study by this author (Jezienicki, 1889).

107 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 567. The line of arguments on being and not being were “like pages torn out of Hegel” (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 568).

108 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 585.

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enced young man of three issues: 1) that it is very difficult to refute those who do not accept the ideas; 2) that only a very capable person is able to understand that every particular thing corresponds to an idea, that is, to a kind, and also to some self-existing being; 3) that an even greater, quite astonishing intellect is required to discover this truth and be able to set it forth to others.”¹⁰⁹ In view of these facts, it came as no surprise to Pawlicki that there were serious doubts about the authenticity of the dialogue. He himself, however, took advantage of those doubts to point out the true purpose of the dialogue, which was to encourage greater intellectual effort.

As we have seen, Pawlicki did not share the general enthusiasm for this dialogue, describing it as ‘monistic delusions.’ He could not completely write off the philosophical value of the dialectic method, though discussing every subject by means of affirmation and negation, without any firm starting point for such considerations, reminded Pawlicki of “a mill that is put into motion, but has nothing to grind.”¹¹⁰ Deliberations on the One could not, essentially, produce satisfactory and lasting results, because the subject itself lacked substance. There was a ‘dialectical mist’ hanging over the dialogue, for since the One could not be regarded as a substance while its existence was under question, and thus it had to be considered as an attribute which was always associated with another substance, “discussion about the existence of the One, without specifying the thing in which and through which it exists, is a vain battle of wits.”¹¹¹ In Pawlicki’s opinion, all that could follow from such research was pantheism and panlogism, which attracted a number of thinkers who had been led astray by the *Parmenides*. One of them, the most important and certainly the best-known of them, was Hegel. It was this ambiguity and the multiplicity of possible formulations of the theory of ideas that lowered the value of Plato’s dialectics. Aristotle’s logic was free from this flaw.

In the final passages of Pawlicki’s reflections on dialectics, the problem of Plato’s logic was addressed. It was evident to Pawlicki that Plato did not possess logic in the strict Aristotelian sense, which, in the centuries to come, was to bring about its formalised, scholastic form. “If, however, we want to use Logic to refer to all the speculations on the processes of human thought, and to practical rules, explained with examples to facilitate their implementation, then it must be admitted that in Plato there are so many ways to divide and define, so many sophistic and anti-sophistic

109 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 586.

110 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 596.

111 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 598.

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strategies and tricks, so many superb disclaimers and regressions, serves and returns, so many ingenious conjectures and conclusions that it all adds up to some kind of pre-Aristotelian logic.”¹¹² Pawlicki, following Zeller, concluded, however, that it would be excessive to assign a set of developed logical views to Plato in interpreting his philosophy from a modern perspective, and this would be historically inaccurate. It was in this context that Pawlicki again referred to Lutosławski’s book, which he regarded as one of the numerous manifestations of the unfair depreciation of Aristotle’s achievements. This time Pawlicki’s criticism was directed at Lutosławski’s method of expounding Platonism, and especially his opinion that a historian of philosophy could understand the philosopher’s writings better than he himself had understood them. The line of criticism was straightforward: “such a method leaves the door wide open to the most arbitrary interpretations and allows claims that were never expressed to be ascribed to Plato, especially when someone like Lutosławski is in the enviable position of being able even to gain access to the oral lectures of the philosopher, something that cannot be done by ordinary mortals. By means of this new method, supported by his equally arbitrary chronology, Lutosławski outlines for us [...] the development of Plato’s logic.”¹¹³

Pawlicki did not deny that much in Aristotle’s logic must have had its source in the teaching of the Academy, but he argued that Plato had never disconnected dialectical deliberations from metaphysics. It was thanks to Aristotle that metaphysics had been removed from dialectics, the substance of the latter being developed into a number of clear laws of thinking, without the need to refer to metaphysical intuitions. The fact that modern scholars did not adhere to this opinion, was, according to Pawlicki, due to the erroneous hypothesis put forward by W. G. Tennemann “that Platonic ideas are not supramundane beings, but simply creations of our thoughts, namely concepts.”¹¹⁴ By retaining the traditional, metaphysical Aristotelian interpretation of the theory of ideas, Aristotle’s reputation as the first logician could be salvaged.

The last parts of Plato’s philosophy that Pawlicki managed to elaborate were his political and ethical theories. Plato’s politics was always bound up with ethics, hence Pawlicki considered it most appropriate to start by discussing the *Republic*, after which he had intended to present Plato’s cos-

112 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 602.

113 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 604.

114 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 608.

mology and theology, but, unfortunately, he did not succeed in including them in the printed book.

Pawlicki found many opinions in the *Republic* that appealed to him; for example, while discussing the subject of education, he wrote: "I will pick out [...] only a few particularly apt sentences that are based on common sense. »Not only gods, but people too, hate lying«. »There is no reason for God to lie«. »God is completely straightforward and truthful in deed and word, neither changing himself, nor deceiving others."¹¹⁵ Pawlicki was also in favour of Plato's concept of preventive censorship applied to the works of immoral content.

Due to its volume and diversity of content, the *Republic* evoked ambivalent feelings. Pawlicki could not remain indifferent to morally offensive topics. The common lives of the guardians of both sexes and the empowerment of women aroused his opposition. He was even harsher when referring to the regulations concerning sex, or the killing of children born to women in their forties by starving them to death. On the other hand he expressed his praise for Plato's patriotism, for the rules of warfare, and especially for his recommendations that a distinction should be made between 'civil' wars among the Greeks themselves, and those between the Greeks and the barbarians.

Pawlicki emphasised the link Plato made between political power and philosophy. He considered the definition of the philosopher at the opening of Book VI to be one of the most beautiful passages, which was thoroughly Platonic, in the best sense of the word. Among the advantages of philosophers, the following were mentioned: "with all their hearts they love knowledge, which opens up their minds to eternal ideas; they love the truth, and as a result, they do not lie; they seek only spiritual pleasures, despising all carnal pleasures; they are abstemious, neither knowing greed nor valuing riches; they view everything in such a lofty way from on high, and with their bird's eye view they can encompass »all times and all beings,« and therefore human life has no value for them; they are not afraid of death, they know neither cowardice, shallowness nor conceit."¹¹⁶ According to this panegyric, then, they were best suited to govern. Socrates' argument that philosophers did not seize power because of the people's hatred of them, for they did not flatter the crowd, was considered by Pawlicki to be too long and poorly structured: "he harps on the same string [...]. It is very natural that philosophers remain on the sidelines because they

115 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 621.

116 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 642.

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have not been invited to seize power, but it is also understandable that they are not invited because, by shunning public affairs, they do not let themselves be known or raise the public's trust. In any case, power is to be taken and no one should wait for it to be handed on a plate. And the complaints that people spoil philosophers and turn them into Sophists is worth as much as its reverse, that the Sophists spoil people. We are just going round in circles, because, one moment, the people are presented as a powerful force that can overturn everything, and the next, they are like youngsters who absorb all the teaching of the Sophists and obey them."¹¹⁷

Having gone up the steps to the exit of the cave, Pawlicki concluded: "Socrates does not doubt that the state, organised according to his programme, would be the happiest place of all, and he even believes it to be possible."¹¹⁸ It was this assumption that the project was feasible that prompted Pawlicki to embark on a criticism of the political organisation outlined by Plato. Pawlicki had no doubt that anyone who learned all the details of the *Republic* would consider it illogical. One contentious issue was the question of Plato's alleged socialism in this dialogue and this was an extremely important question for Pawlicki because a positive answer to this question would bring into doubt his reasoning and his goal, which was to conclude that Plato came as close to Christian values as was possible in classical Athens.

The answer to this question depended not only on the interpretation of the *Republic* but also on the understanding of the term 'socialism': "If we call socialism any work undertaken to improve social conditions, whether of certain underprivileged classes or of the state as a whole, then every upstanding person who contributes to such work is a socialist. And if the government carries out important social reforms, such as the emancipation of peasants or slaves, or the introduction of workers' retirement benefits or the supervision of their working conditions, then regardless of the form of such a state, some would assign to it socialist tendencies."¹¹⁹ Pawlicki further argues that since it is the state that can improve social conditions, it would be erroneous to equate this with the maximisation of state power and label it 'socialism'. On the basis of these considerations Pawlicki argued that Lutosławski was wrong to claim that Plato must have been a socialist in his mature years. According to Pawlicki, his argument was based on an incorrect definition of socialism.

117 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 643.

118 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 649.

119 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 650.

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Socialism in the proper sense, says Pawlicki, refers to systems in which there is socialisation of the means of production. In this sense, Plato was not a socialist. He merely expressed certain ideas which superficially coincided with socialism. In his project there is “empowerment of women, which is written on the banners of every socialist sect; complete lack of private property, and communist co-existence as in a convent. But the central aspect of socialism is missing: production, that is, production carried out by means of joint work and common resources belonging to the entire community. Without this, there is no socialism”¹²⁰ Plato’s state will necessarily evolve in the direction of a merchant-banking or feudal-agricultural state, but it will never move towards socialism. Moreover, socialist ideology primarily focuses on the most numerous class and Plato was not interested in this class, nor did he actually devote much attention to it. Plato’s state forms a unity of the governed and the governing, who only in exceptional cases cross the limits of their own class. There is then neither socialism nor democracy in Plato’s political philosophy.

Pawlicki felt it necessary to consider the possibility of implementing such a state and turning a blind eye to Plato’s “feminist and communist fantasies.”¹²¹ Such a state had already been fulfilled in the monastic states, though, as Pawlicki added, the members of The Knights of Malta and the Teutonic Order were not great philosophers. He assumed that the essence of Plato’s *Republic* was an enlightened despotism, such as was manifested in the 19th century by the omnipotence of the state, for example in Prussia. In this regard Pawlicki recalled his experience of the Prussian policy of Germanisation: “And though not everyone will be happy with this comparison because Plato in a Prussian helmet does not conjure up a very positive impression, there is no doubt that, provided they have the necessary parliamentary majority, contemporary states, supported by powerful armies and well-trained bureaucracies, can claim their right to control freely and manage all the secrets of private and religious life, just as is the case of Prussia”¹²².

For Pawlicki, the controversial nature of Plato’s utopia resulted from the fact that “in spite of his inborn spiritual harmony he could not refrain from including a multitude of ethical and logical deviations”¹²³. Although various aspects of this utopia may have appeared controversial from the

120 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 651.

121 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 651.

122 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 654.

123 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 655.

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viewpoint of later centuries, one should not lose sight of Plato's purpose, which was to bring about moral renewal in the sphere of government, for as we know, Plato did not hold Athenian democracy in high esteem. The model presented for rulers in the *Republic* was demanding, and the greater the collapse of actual politics, the more unattainable it seemed, but in order to raise the Athenian political standards Plato had to propose a radical reform plan.

Pawlicki also observed that Plato's ideal had, in a sense, been fulfilled in modern times by the professional classes of academics, clergy, doctors, lawyers, officers, writers and artists, all of whom perform a service without expecting great profits. If the *Republic* is seen as an attempt to build a society in which the leading role of administration and management of social issues was granted to a class in society that was guided by ethical motives, then the Christian countries of Europe could be said to have fulfilled this demand. In short, Plato had set a goal that could only be realised in the Christian era, when the development of democracy was able to compensate for the shortcomings of Plato's utopia. This in-depth treatment of the issue of socialism reflected Pawlicki's interest and involvement in the social issues of his time.

Pawlicki took a closer look at the problem of 'Platonic Number' (546b–d), this incomprehensible riddle, this attempt to square the circle, that drives all who try to interpret it to despair. The difficulties in understanding this passage resulted from the mystical fervour that overcame Socrates when he started to explain the complexities of this number. It involved, according to Pawlicki, too much learnedness, that brought poor fruit, and finally turned into a piece of "learned nonsense,"¹²⁴ useless for political practice.

124 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 663; in this regard Pawlicki recalled: "With my scholar-friend, [Leon] Sternbach, we toiled for several hours in an attempt to tolerably translate the entire Greek period into our own language, but our mathematical terminology being uncouth and obscure, we created something dark and ugly and were forced to relinquish our glorious intentions with great regret" (Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 661, footnote 3). Pawlicki explained that he had made this effort due to the lack of a Polish translation of this passage, claiming that Bronikowski had only published his translation of the first three books of the *Republic* in the reports of the gymnasium in Ostrów. At that time, then, he seems not to have been familiar with the 1884 publication of the whole dialogue. It was only in a manuscript which was not included in the printed edition of his book that he added: "having published the first two books of the *Republic* in 1860 and 1864 in Ostrów (gymnasium reports), [Bronikowski] published a complete translation in Poznań in 1884 under the title: »Plato's Works«, vol. III. Although this

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Book X of the *Republic* was a mere supplement in Pawlicki's opinion, and the dialogue would have formed a complete whole even without it, and especially without Plato's continuation of his criticism of poetry, which he was probably forced to take up because of the need to stand up to protesting disciples defending Homer's authority. Pawlicki regarded Plato's criticism as too far-fetched, fanatical and on the verge of insanity. There could be no other possible assessment, and for the Polish reader Pawlicki compared it to banning students from reading Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* (*Master Thaddeus*) in schools. Pawlicki defended poetry, denying that it was worthless, or that it provided only distant reflections of the truth. He added that "Plato had been brought up"¹²⁵ on Homer and it was thanks to this that Plato's dialogues, with their literary qualities, were able to exert such a deep influence on European culture.

In the final parts of the *Republic* another attempt is made to demonstrate that the soul is immortal and that there are rewards and punishments after death. "Is there, besides philosophical conjecture, any claim or testimony in this regard that is supported by tradition? A Christian relies on the words of Christ that the evil will go to eternal torment and the righteous to eternal life. But Plato did not know the *Gospel*."¹²⁶ As Homer could no longer be an authority in this field, it was Er, the son of Armenios, that replaced him. After quoting Socrates' final words in the dialogue, Pawlicki summed up the whole: "With these words Socrates concludes a great discussion about justice, which once delighted the Greeks, and is still today

volume, was much more carefully edited than both previous volumes, it failed to gain wider recognition [...]. In the previous year (1883) the *Theaetetus* by the same translator had appeared in print in Poznań. In 1879, eleven years after volume I [...], volume II of »Plato's Works«, containing the *Alcibiades*, *Gorgias*, *Meno*, *Laches* and *Protagoras* was published in Poznań [...]. But besides this volume, there is also another volume II from 1871, including the first four books of the *Laws*, under the title: »Plato's Works«, vol. II. Apparently, the translator forgot about this when eight years later he again published the above-mentioned volume II. All these translations may be useful for philologists [...]. But Plato should be translated into well-polished, contemporary language, for he is a master of beautiful style" (Pawlicki, BJ1: 124, reverse). The fact that during his lectures at the Jagiellonian University in 1915 Pawlicki mentioned, among others, the latest translations of the *Phaedo* and the *Symposium* by Stefan Okołów proves that he had broadened his knowledge of Polish studies, and, above all, translations, which he had previously neglected (Pawlicki, BJ4: 15). Let us add that Bronisław Kašinowski's 1888 translation of the *Philebus* was known to Pawlicki and considered quite good (Pawlicki, BJ4: 15: 31–32).

125 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 704.

126 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 709.

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rightly regarded as a wonderful monument to human philosophising. Despite its apparent deviations, its innumerable paradoxes, and even its very intricate arguments, this strange book holds the readers' attention as if their eyes were glued to the page, and keeps them in suspense, without a moment of weariness; and when they come to the end of it, they regret it is over."¹²⁷ By analogy, it can be assumed that many readers, having reached the final pages of Pawlicki's book, regretfully remarked that it was unfinished.

These final pages of Pawlicki's book are filled with important notes on the composition and chronological position of the *Republic*. Pawlicki took issue with all opinions questioning the unity of the dialogue. He adhered to the view that it was a complete whole, thoughtfully composed from beginning to end. He did not pay attention to arguments for the lack of unity of the *Republic* that were based on particular stylistic or philosophical features of this dialogue, but he focused on more general characteristics of all the dialogues, which were semi-philosophical and semi-literary compositions, and to Plato's writing style in general. He argued that if, from the diverse stylistic features of the various parts of any dialogue, it could be inferred that there was a lack of unity, and that it had therefore come about as a conglomerate of separate works, then, for example, the unity of the *Phaedo* would also have to be brought into question. "Plato was an artist who, for himself, and to the delight of his students, composed his works according to aesthetic principles. These require that the writer does not say everything all at once, but instead, he prepares some surprises, and, more importantly, he gradually draws substantial conclusions in the light of new arguments and against the changing background."¹²⁸ Pawlicki's explicit opinion was that the *Republic* as a whole was a masterpiece written in the period of Plato's philosophical maturity. Having founded the Academy,

127 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 718–719; while lecturing on the *Republic* decades earlier in the Faculty of Theology at the Jagiellonian University, Pawlicki made certain comments that are still highly topical: "In general, whatever errors Plato made, it is beyond doubt that his *Republic* is a colossal work in terms of both its style and the wealth of thought it contains [...] my aim is to stimulate the widest possible reading of the great works of the ancients, because it is a great misfortune that we read less and less ancient authors, and more and more books that only have an ephemeral existence, as Plato says, that is they arouse interest for a year or two, and then they are forgotten. While a book like the *Republic*, which will always be significant, generously rewards all who devote themselves to its study, and an enormous treasure of philosophical information can be extracted from it for a lifetime" (Pawlicki, BJ2: 368–369; Pawlicki, 2013: 53–54).

128 Pawlicki, 1903–1917: 725.

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Plato initially devoted himself to dialectics as preparatory work, but from about 380 BC he started to lecture on political issues, which were of the greatest importance to him. Even if it is assumed that Plato continued to polish the text of the dialogue well into his late years, the main body must have been ready no later than 367.

On the very last pages of his work, Pawlicki once again focused on criticism of language statistics. His constant attempts to refute language statistics as a valid method may have been one of the reasons for his failure to complete the book. Pawlicki's decisive argument in favour of the invalidity of the method was its lack of progress since language statisticians could still not agree about their chronological results.¹²⁹ It was, then, chronological conclusions that occupied the final passages of Pawlicki's book. He confirmed the priority of the *Phaedrus*, and recalled in this respect his papers delivered at the Congress of Catholic Scholars in München in 1900. He referred to his own conclusions from earlier parts of the book, reconsidering some of them, and presenting them as merely hypothetical, as was the case with the precedence of the *Philebus*, *Parmenides*, *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, and the *Phaedo*, *Meno* and the *Gorgias* in relation to the *Republic*. Although the results of stylometry as a whole were rejected by Pawlicki, they seem to have had some effect on his views on chronology. On the basis of the final paragraphs of Pawlicki's book, however, the reader is left in some doubt about the details of the revision of his views, it being unclear which of these dialogues Pawlicki decided to move to the later period, after the *Republic*. Several pages of the manuscript of the book, which were not included in the printed text, provide more details of Pawlicki's final chronological conclusions. Let us quote them: "However, after analysing the individual dialogues, I have reduced various chronological limits and many variations to some general conclusions. For the reader's convenience, these have been presented together, and they provide, more or less, the following answer to the question of *what Plato wrote before the Republic, namely before 380*: 1) His literary work was inaugurated with the *Phaedrus*, written during Socrates' life, and soon afterwards he probably wrote the *Lysis*. This took place in 402. The *Phaedrus* resembles an outline of his future system and some fundamental thoughts from this dialogue can be found in the *Republic*. There is no doubt then, in the minds of most scholars, that the latter was preceded by the former [...]. 2) It is also certain that the *Phaedo* preceded the *Republic*, and if this is the case, then the *Meno* must have done so too, since it is referred to in the *Phaedo* [...]. 3) It is beyond all

129 Pawlicki also raised this question at an international level (Pawlicki, 1901a).

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doubt that the *Symposium* was written around 385, and that it is prior to the *Phaedo*, and consequently to the *Republic* [...]. 4) As for the dialectical dialogues, I consider it to be indisputable that the *Theaetetus* was written right after the foundation of the Academy (387) and not long after the *Parmenides*. Since the *Theaetetus* precedes the *Meno* [...], as I have proved, and the latter precedes the *Phaedo*, the probable sequence of these dialogues would be as follows: the *Theaetetus*, *Parmenides*, *Meno*, *Symposium*, *Phaedo*, *Republic* [...]. The other two dialectical dialogues, the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*, which are held to be a continuation of the *Theaetetus*, were produced far later.”¹³⁰ Pawlicki, however, surmised that the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*, despite depicting some youthful dialectical exercises, were composed and put down in dialogical form only much later, and therefore their transfer to the period of Plato’s maturity did not disturb Pawlicki’s vision of Plato’s philosophical development, for these dialogues merely documented disputes from previous decades. Similar assumptions must have applied to the *Philebus*. Pawlicki supplemented these remarks with a conclusion on the Socratic dialogues: “the Socratic dialogues, as they are usually called, are for the most part earlier than the *Republic*, but this does not mean that Plato began his career with these works, but rather that, having opened the Academy, apart from works devoted to the profound problems of his system that were composed for advanced students, he also frequently wrote lighter, even more perfunctory pieces to satisfy the needs of his companions, for example, to grace a school ceremony, to brighten up an Academic symposium, or to elucidate some specific issue that one of his young and promising friends was particularly interested in.”¹³¹

The publication of the unfinished book in the most complete form possible was the result of the efforts of Pawlicki’s student, T. Sinko, who justified the author’s failure to complete the enterprise even though an announcement of its completion had been made a quarter of a century earlier. Among the reasons for this failure, Sinko listed Pawlicki’s disregard for the economy of the whole and his predilection for detailed philological research. Pawlicki’s attention was easily distracted from the task of completing the work as a whole, and instead devoted his time to the elaboration of a comprehensive chapter on Xenophon, ‘a little Attic bee’. Plato demanded even more of his attention, “Rev. Pawlicki became such an ardent lover of Plato that even the most comprehensive presentation of the truth and

130 Pawlicki, BJ6: 511–512.

131 Pawlicki, BJ1: 512–513.

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beauty hidden in his dialogues seemed to be insufficient.”¹³² Sinko gave an account of Pawlicki’s occupation with statistical and linguistic studies, and described the work in its printed form as a mere torso. Pawlicki left behind him loose notes on the *Timaeus*, which he had been working on during his last days. In his final assessment Sinko declared that Volume I of the book appeared to be outdated, and even the exposition on Plato needed to be supplemented with the works of other authors. Nevertheless, in a posthumous remembrance of Pawlicki, his grateful student remarked that the part of his work devoted to Plato “will remain for many years as a monument not only to Polish history of philosophy but also to philology.”¹³³ Sinko, not without reason, revered Pawlicki as the greatest Polish humanist of that time and the only expert on ancient philosophy.

Other students of Pawlicki also found justifications for his failure to complete the work, one of which was his quest for academic perfection and completeness, which was illustrated by the following anecdote: “»Reverend Rector, what hinders you from publishing volume III of the History of Greek philosophy; after all, you finished it long ago and its publication has been announced, and even the royalties paid?« How can I?, was his modest answer, when in London a good thing about Aristotle has just been printed, and the bookseller has not sent it to me yet!”¹³⁴ Pawlicki’s involvement with Plato meant that he ultimately had to abandon the work on Aristotle, who was simply removed from the plan of the book. This severed the connection to the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, which had been the reason for undertaking the work in the first place, for knowledge of Greek philosophy, with particular emphasis on Aristotle, had been intended by Pawlicki to serve as a means of understanding scholasticism. Without Aristotle, however, the history of Greek philosophy was no longer of significance for the development of neo-scholastic thought.

The theory of ideas in Pawlicki’s work was not completed. Pawlicki delayed its fullest presentation until he was ready with his discussion of the *Timaeus*. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to prepare this for print. One striking feature of Pawlicki’s work is his rejection of the Kantian interpretation of the theory of ideas in his work. This was bound up with his inherent criticism of Lutosławski’s research, which had certain points in common with the neo-Kantian vision of Plato. Pawlicki explicitly

132 Sinko, 1917: I–II.

133 Sinko, 1916: 135.

134 Misicki, 1916: 12.

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stated that Plato was better understood by his disciple, Aristotle, than by the Kantians, and therefore his testimony could not be rejected.

Plato's late works in Pawlicki's manuscripts

Considering that the text of Pawlicki's book was based largely on his lectures, it is possible, at least to some extent, to reconstruct his views on the late dialogues on the basis of preserved scripts of lectures on the history of Greek philosophy that he delivered at the Faculty of Theology in the academic year 1887/88. It is likely that the content of these lectures was to have been included in subsequent chapters of the *History of Greek Philosophy* dedicated to Plato.

Concerning the *Timaeus*, Pawlicki wrote: "Of all the works of Plato, the *Timaeus* is the most obscure and most difficult to understand, but the reader's patient effort is rewarded with the discovery of extremely beautiful and profound myths here and religious and philosophical dogmas there, all bound together into a meticulous whole. This work deserves even more of our attention and diligent consideration as it is not just an outline but a complete depiction of the development of the world from initial chaos, through numerous cosmic, astronomic and geologic evolutions, to the emergence of living beings on the Earth, and ultimately to human civilisation."¹³⁵ The *Timaeus* was thus an exceptional work, unique not only in Plato's legacy but in the whole of ancient literature because, unlike cosmological works by previous philosophers, it is a completely preserved lecture on the genesis of the world.

On the basis of the *Timaeus*, it seemed clear to Pawlicki that "for Plato God and the Good always turn out to be one."¹³⁶ Plato was not concerned with proving the existence of God in a systematic way, but the classic causal or teleological proofs are included in his works. There is little doubt that he assumed the existence of a single, highest deity, and although he referred to it by various names, he was not a polytheist. Pawlicki also claimed that Plato's God must have been a personal God. "In this system, we are struck by a completely new phenomenon in Greek philosophy, i.e. by the figure of Demiurge, a personal God, a figure which was absent from earlier philosophy and which did not find favour with his successors."¹³⁷

135 Pawlicki, BJ2: 260.

136 Pawlicki, BJ2: 251.

137 Pawlicki, BJ2: 279.

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Plato was, then, the original creator of the concept of a personal God, even though, as Pawlicki explicitly stated, he had no contact with Jews and did not know the *Old Testament*, or at least no traces of such knowledge could be found in the dialogues.¹³⁸ Pawlicki's interpretation of Timaeus' lecture, sees Plato approaching even closer to Christian thought.

Pawlicki assessed the *Laws* as follows: "it manifests the hand of an old and weary thinker on every page."¹³⁹ Unlike his unfinished book, Pawlicki's lectures included not only a brief presentation of this late dialogue, but also a general summary of Plato's philosophy and his significance, and it is worth presenting the main points here. Plato was more than just a student of Socrates; he was an independent thinker who had something new to say in philosophy. Despite his extraordinary capabilities, he was a man of great humility, almost never talking about himself or emphasising those thoughts in the dialogues that were really his, tending rather to attribute them to his master. In this respect he was completely different from certain German thinkers, among whom Pawlicki listed Schelling, Fichte, Hegel and Schopenhauer, who wrote about themselves and their lives. Plato, on the other hand, focused on the portrayal of his master in his original and autonomous style. He tried to be objective, never playing to the gallery, which might as well not have existed for him.

God was the supreme good for Plato, a father who created through love, and this, as Pawlicki added, was especially pleasing to Christians. Plato expressed many valuable opinions on the insignificance of the world, on the human soul and the proofs of its immortality, and on the effects of Providence. "Many great thoughts can be found in Plato, and this explains why he exerted an increasing influence at the time of the approach of the Christian era and when God began to prepare humankind more intensely for the reception of Christ."¹⁴⁰ Pawlicki went even further in his considerations of Plato's historiosophical role: "The more Christianity spread, the more apologetic Christian literature flourished, and the more frequent became the references to Plato in order to convince the pagans that even before Christ, lofty minds had grasped truths that were either in accordance with Christian truths or greatly similar to them."¹⁴¹

It was for this reason that people kept returning to Plato, continually referring to his dialogues, so that even when European mentality had be-

138 Pawlicki, 1890: 38–39.

139 Pawlicki, BJ2: 375.

140 Pawlicki, BJ2: 399.

141 Pawlicki, BJ2: 399.

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come dominated by Aristotle, Christians still retained their sympathy for Plato. “It is beyond doubt that no other pagan philosopher uttered such lofty sentences about God and His love, about the human soul and its immortality, about the insignificant value of earthly possessions, and about the necessity for a man to have only one goal before his eyes: eternal life and the return to the land of their Heavenly Father.”¹⁴² It was, therefore, an image of Plato very close to Christian thought that was presented to the students of the Faculty of Theology. Pawlicki’s goal was probably to bring Plato closer to them, as Christians, so that Plato would become the subject of their own philosophy.

Reception and assessment of Pawlicki’s interpretation of Plato

Pawlicki’s book evoked a number of reviews, especially volume I, in which the author explicitly declared his methodological and evaluative premises. One such review by Ludwik Ćwikliński expressed unequivocal approval of Pawlicki’s work: “he puts special emphasis on whether and to what extent the philosopher’s moral views came close to Christianity. [...] It is natural that the author should view the world, the attitude of people to God and the results of the intellectual work of humanity from his position as a Christian, a Catholic and a priest; in fact, having such a clear and pointedly marked position is not only appropriate, but even a merit.”¹⁴³ Franciszek Bizoń’s review in the *Muzeum* emphasised Pawlicki’s autonomy and his critical analysis of the foreign language secondary literature: “He takes auxiliary works into account scrupulously and comprehensively, but there is no hint of that specifically Polish idolatry towards grand foreign scholars.”¹⁴⁴ Bizoń pointed out the novelty of the work within the Polish milieu and the Catholic viewpoint of the author. One of Pawlicki’s former students in Warsaw, Piotr Chmielowski, also mentioned the merits of the work, though he believed that one of these merits, by being exaggeratedly intensified, had turned into a disadvantage: “The whole book breathes with an elevated spirit of morality.”¹⁴⁵ According to Chmielowski, Pawlicki conflated different areas of knowledge, regarding philosophy above all as the art of life, and ethics as the most important branch of philosophy.

142 Pawlicki, BJ2: 400.

143 Ćwikliński, 1891: 155; cf.: Głombik, 1973: 274–275.

144 Bizoń, 1891: 121.

145 Chmielowski, 1891: 506.

As a result all philosophical views were judged from the standpoint of ethics.

Another scholar who voiced his opinion on Pawlicki's book was Henryk Struve (1840–1912), an indefatigable promoter and reviewer of Polish works on Plato. He hoped that this work would contribute to the revival of philosophical traditions in Poland, but expressed some reservations about Pawlicki's conception of philosophy, which did not pay sufficient attention to the need for criticism in the Kantian sense, as the study of the conditions of cognition. Instead, he tended to link philosophy too much with metaphysical issues and with practice and the art of life.¹⁴⁶ Struve speculated that if Pawlicki's book had been published in any of the Western European languages, it would without doubt have taken up a position next to Zeller's *opus magnum*, "whereas in our country, it will only be genuinely recognised by a few specialists."¹⁴⁷ The reviewer hoped, however, that the book would, perhaps, avoid this sad destiny thanks to its excellent, colourful style and graphic descriptions. Some years later, at a philosophical conference in Geneva in 1904, it was Pawlicki's *History...* that was the first work discussed by Struve when reporting on the current state of Polish philosophy to his Western audience. He emphasised the author's critical approach, his independence, the source-based character of the work and its captivating style. Struve also quoted Pawlicki's opinion on language statistics: "this method has, to this day, not provided reliable results and the researchers applying this method quite frequently disagree with each other. It is better, therefore, to stick to the old historical-critical method."¹⁴⁸ Regarding Pawlicki's knowledge of the secondary literature, Struve drew attention to his erudition and his critical analyses not only of German works, but also French, English and Italian, and, of course, especially of Lutosławski's book. Struve also called for Pawlicki's book to be translated into one of the Western languages. His Western audience was thus provided with an image of Pawlicki as a researcher of ancient philosophy, who based his interpretations on source texts, and was very knowledgeable about the secondary literature, but who was, nevertheless, some-

146 Today this is assessed positively, being contrary to the scientific reductionism of philosophy (Mylik, 2005: 126–127).

147 Struve, 1891: 400; when providing a short report on Pawlicki's book for German readers, Struve limited himself to highlighting only the advantages of this work (Struve, 1895: 274–276).

148 Struve, 1907: 11. Another German review of Pawlicki's book, which was written by his former student, Witold Rubczyński, was little more than a pure report on its content (Rubczyński, 1891: 318–324).

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what conservative in his approach to Plato, and did not shy away from polemics when defending his own views.

A somewhat personal review of the book was written by Kazimierz Kaszewski, who claimed that Pawlicki attached too much importance to the historical and culture-forming aspect of philosophy. Kaszewski also drew attention to Pawlicki's reluctance to use Xenophon as a historical source of knowledge about Socrates, for Plato's Socrates "appears to be rather Platonised."¹⁴⁹ Finally, Kaszewski highlighted Pawlicki's erudition. He believed that Pawlicki had saved the honour of Polish science, and his work was *rara avis*, "written not only with mastery of the subject, but also in an appealing style, being not only a work of science but also of literature, and hence accessible to general audiences as well as to specialists."¹⁵⁰

In his comparison of Pawlicki's book with the work by Theodor Gomperz, Stanisław Schneider noted Pawlicki's inconsistency in not considering Xenophon to be a philosopher, thus denying historical value to his image of Socrates, yet at the same time devoting a sizeable monographic study to Xenophon as a chapter in volume II of the book. If he had not regarded Xenophon as a writer-philosopher, he should not have devoted such a prominent place to him in his book. Schneider briefly discussed the discrepancies between Pawlicki and Gomperz, including, for example, the issue of Plato's output during Socrates' life and the chronological position of the *Phaedrus*. Schneider himself tended to accept the early position of this dialogue in accordance with Pawlicki's conjecture. On the whole, he thought that Pawlicki's book could be "read for pleasure and intellectual delight. The exposition is so clear and accessible despite being thoroughly academic in character."¹⁵¹

In the light of the above laudatory remarks, Lutosławski's marginal criticism of the book seems to have been induced rather by personal conflict than by an objective, *sine ira et studio* reading of this work. While most reviewers had highlighted Pawlicki's excessive attachment to his own views, according to which he judged the works of the Greeks, Lutosławski's assessment is quite different, for he seems not to have considered Pawlicki a philosopher at all, evaluating his book as follows: "it contains, along with strange errors, many accurate and original opinions, which are valuable for the researcher, but on account of the author's evident lack of deeper philo-

149 Kaszewski, 1891: 111.

150 Kaszewski, 1891: 112.

151 Schneider, 1903: 188.

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sophical beliefs, it could be harmful for unprepared minds, by producing in them a false image of philosophy as a series ineffective outbursts.”¹⁵²

As C. Głombik noted, however, it was Pawlicki’s first cousin, Teodor Pawlicki, a doctor of medicine, who outdid all the criticism of the above reviewers. In addition to being a philanthropist, this Pawlicki was also a freethinker and an atheist, and this sharpened his criticism. Let us quote a few passages from his explicit and unambiguous text. It begins with praise regarding the lucidity of the Pawlicki’s literary style, but very quickly the harsh reviewer begins to focus on the negative aspects of Pawlicki’s philosophical research: “recognising the great scientific value of these works, and bowing down to the author’s vast knowledge, I will nevertheless be so bold as to point to a negative aspect, namely a marked bias, especially in the *History of philosophy*. Admittedly, a certain degree of partiality is inevitable, because no one can be absolutely impartial [...]. Philosophy, however, is written for a meagre handful of educated people, so any bias is misplaced.”¹⁵³ He did not deny Catholic thinkers the right, or even the duty, to argue and to voice their own views and to pursue criticism, which often leads to positive outcomes, as in any discussion or debate. He could not agree, however, with presenting religious dogmas as philosophical truths, and this should have no place in rational discourse. From this point of view, all the assessments in Pawlicki’s work should be rejected, and only his erudition, style and the lucidity of the exposition remain indisputable.

There is no question, however, that Pawlicki had succeeded in realising two of his postulates for the methodology of the historiography of philosophy: to portray the history of philosophy in relation to culture and politics in the widest sense of these terms, and to demonstrate, for the benefit of the reader, the relevance of past human thought to present times, not only in the sphere of philosophy itself but also in politics, ethics and religion. Pawlicki was therefore critical of Plato’s futile metaphysical speculations, for example those in the *Parmenides*.

Considering Pawlicki’s criticisms of other core authors of the history of philosophy, his *History of Greek Philosophy* undoubtedly escaped the objections of leaving readers without answers to the philosophical questions discussed by the ancient thinkers. It could even be said that there were sometimes too many answers to such questions, especially in a work which was to be historical in character, so the charges Pawlicki made against Protestant writers of histories of philosophy could also be made against him. He

152 Lutosławski, 1902: XVIII, footnote.

153 Quote in: Głombik, 1973: 277.

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did not avoid evaluations of the philosophical views of the past, and even regarded this to be one of the goals of researching the history of philosophy. Pawlicki's evaluations, however, are twofold; on the one hand, he assessed the role of given philosophers against the background of the disputes and problems of their times, and their historical position, on the other hand, he evaluated their philosophical discoveries in terms of their compatibility with Divine Revelation. The first is, beyond any doubt, a valuable intellectual task for the historian of philosophy, the second reflects Pawlicki's worldview, but also takes into account the potential interests of his readers.

Pawlicki believed that becoming a historian of philosophy involved, above all, being a philosopher, that is, having a system of philosophical views to apply for presenting and, more importantly, for assessing the views of one's predecessors: "it is difficult to pronounce a fair judgment without any guiding axiom."¹⁵⁴ Pawlicki's criterion for assessing philosophers of the past was evident: "What was important in his aims was the predominance of moral evaluation. This consists in assessing works and persons according to the conformity of their content and teachings with the principles of the Christian outlook. He placed particular emphasis on whether and to what extent the philosophers under examination came close to the findings of Christian teaching in their theoretical views and the practical consequences resulting from them, and whether they adjusted to its requirements in the example of their own lives. On the basis of such evaluations, he wanted not only to draw inferences about the moral character of individual works but also about their intellectual validity, about their purely cognitive qualities as true or false pieces of work."¹⁵⁵ Pawlicki's stance was clearly defined, and it is hard to speak of any kind of critical distance to the research subject or to his own views.¹⁵⁶ It is only perhaps in the case of the secondary literature, an extensive survey of which can be found in Pawlicki's work, that a more objective critical attitude can be found, for he believed that every philosophical doctrine contained a grain of truth, though his assessment of their truth value depended on his own philosophical views.

Although meeting Semenenko greatly affected Pawlicki's life and outlook, it seems not to have affected how he viewed Plato's philosophy. In contrast to Semenenko's "Symposia", the *History of Greek Philosophy* was

154 Pawlicki, 1890: 21.

155 Głombik, 1972: 92.

156 Such distance is ascribed to the work of Pawlicki by T. Ślipko (1996: 318).

intended as an academic textbook and a work for general audiences. Both authors, however, showed similar ambivalence in their evaluation of Plato's concepts, but Pawlicki seems to have shifted the boundary between what was sublime and close to Christianity in Plato, and what was lofty, but unacceptable for Christians. Plato, portrayed as a pre-Christian thinker, was almost incorporated into the history of Christian thought.

In his panegyric in honour of Pawlicki, T. Misicki posited that there was no one in Poland, or even in the whole world, who knew Plato or Aristotle as well as Pawlicki did. In the light of this, Misicki's comparison of Pawlicki and Lutosławski could only have been to the detriment of the latter, despite the fact that as a Plato scholar, Lutosławski undoubtedly kept pace with Pawlicki: "To what extent does Father Stefan's scholarship match up [...], to that of the great, after all, whatever else may be said of him Wincenty Lutosławski? [...] Regarding, for example, their knowledge of Greek philosophy, especially Plato's philosophy, and of Latin, Greek, Romance and Germanic languages, both are great, but Pawlicki's knowledge of all this is more genuine [...]. Lutosławski's language is almost always clear and correct, thoroughly Polish and expressive, but it lacks the poetic charm that can be found in Pawlicki. – When we begin to dissect the principles of each of the philosophers, of Lutosławski and Father Stefan, when we go more deeply into their works, what strikes us is Lutosławski's obsession and sectarianism and Father Pawlicki's consistency and Catholicism."¹⁵⁷ Lutosławski himself, despite all Pawlicki's hostile and ironic remarks, despite having been stopped by Pawlicki from taking up the Chair of Philosophy that had been promised to him by M. Straszewski, eventually, when all these issues had faded into insignificance spoke of Pawlicki with respect, acknowledging his great expertise on Plato.¹⁵⁸

When assessing the role of Pawlicki's work and his image of Plato, it is worth taking into account H. Struve's opinion. He pointed out that Pawlicki dissociated himself from new trends in philosophy, tending to favour a more traditional approach.¹⁵⁹ This was also true of his research on Plato, where, as we have seen, he adopted a conservative approach, considering such an approach to be sound since it had been confirmed by serious authorities. This is particularly evident in his chronological conclusions and in the interpretation of the theory of ideas. It also manifested itself in his unrestrained polemics against both the methods and results of contem-

157 Misicki, 1916: 27–28.

158 Trzebuchowski, 1977: 9.

159 Struve: 1911: 360.

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porary research, especially against Lutosławski's research on Plato's chronology, as well as against those interpretations of the theory of ideas that had their source in Kantian thought. It should be noted, however, that Pawlicki had not managed to analyse more closely works such as P. Natorp's *Platos Ideenlehre*, which he disapproved of merely on account of their rejection of the Aristotelian understanding of the ideas as substances.

In comparison with, for example, E. Zeller, whose references to English, French or Italian studies were rather rare, Pawlicki frequently discussed, took issue with, and evaluated foreign studies. Unfortunately, his works were hardly known at all in Europe, for his accomplishments on Plato in foreign languages were limited to concise reports written in German and several lectures delivered in that language. In view of this, the opinion that "perhaps it was only Pawlicki and Lutosławski, who were recognised in Europe for their works in ancient philosophy at that time"¹⁶⁰ can only be true with regard to Lutosławski. Though not well known abroad, Pawlicki's *opus magnum* was described, in a brief but concise assessment by L. Miodoński, as follows: "an extraordinary research project which is incomparable to anything on the history of philosophy in Polish literature. It is the outcome of an entire life of philological study, profound philosophical reflection and thirty years of teaching at the Jagiellonian University. Although the author intended his work as a textbook, it cannot be said to belong to this genre in the strict sense of the word. [...] For one thing, its length in no way corresponds to the formula of the textbook. [...] Deliberation on particular aspects of ancient philosophy is accompanied by continuous discourse with contemporary interpretations. [...] The analysis of individual philosophical problems is conducted not only within the context of ancient culture, but is constantly confronted with the whole history of philosophy. [...] Only a person of extraordinary intellectual culture could have produced such a study."¹⁶¹

A distinctive hallmark of Pawlicki's approach to Plato is the almost boundless feeling of admiration he cherished for the author of the dialogues. He tried to reconcile the tolerance of ancient humanism, its absolution of human weakness and its disposition to sin with the uncompromising morality of Christianity. In this way Pawlicki became an excellent representative and inheritor of Christian humanism. "A monk who spoke

160 Mylik, 2005: 112. Mylik prepared an extensive bibliography of Pawlicki's works, but not even a single work devoted to ancient philosophy published in foreign languages can be found there.

161 Miodoński, 1999: 14.

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with the same reverence about Sophocles, Plato, and Horace, as about the Saints of the Lord.”¹⁶²

Pawlicki gained a reputation in the history of theological thought as an apologist for Christianity, and for its originality and authenticity. This apologetic tendency was also manifested in his interpretation of Plato’s thought. Pawlicki emphasised everything in Plato that even remotely coincided with Christian philosophy, thus justifying the view on the historiographical role of Plato, as the one who was to prepare the Greek world for acceptance of Christianity. Despite being fundamentally different from the Christian worldview, concepts such as: God as the Creator, Providence, the immortality and exceptionality of the soul, the vanity of the world, the need to edify human relations were presented by Pawlicki as paving the way for Christianity. Many readers were sceptical about the evaluative part of his work, but the informative layer impressed them with its erudition, with his mastery of the subject and his ability to communicate his knowledge. To sum up, Pawlicki’s work had undeniable merits, but considering the rapid development of research on ancient philosophy, including Plato, both worldwide and even within Poland, it was, unfortunately, a work that came several decades too late for it to play an inspirational and culture-forming role.

Pawlicki was torn between “classics and apologetics”¹⁶³ and it was Plato who was to play an important role in his inner ideological conflict. He used Plato to fill the gap, so to speak, between pagan antiquity and the requirements of modern neo-scholasticism, for his research on Plato allowed him to reinforce Christian thought, without being forced to abandon ancient philosophy, his beloved field of study.

W. Potempa and his critical assessment of Pawlicki’s Christianised Plato

With respect to Plato, Pawlicki was “nothing less than a fanatic admirer and expert,”¹⁶⁴ and his elevation of anything in ancient thought that was akin to Christianity was undoubtedly a sign of his love of antiquity, and especially of Plato. It was only in subsequent years that the dangers to faith concealed behind such an attitude to Plato became apparent. One of the critics of this image of the Athenian philosopher was Wiktor Potempa

162 Morstin, 1957: 28.

163 Palacz, 1999: 257.

164 German, 1966: 47.