



# Lovers of Wisdom

Women of the Lvov-Warsaw School

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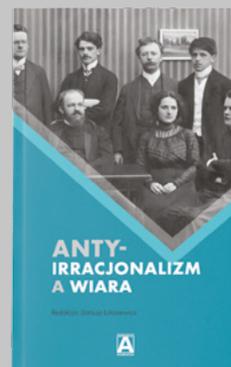


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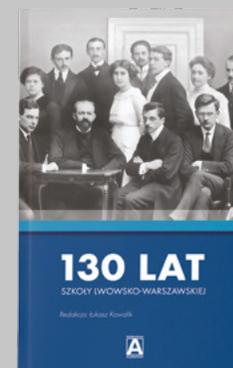
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# Lovers of Wisdom

## Women of the Lvov-Warsaw School



Wydawnictwo Academicon



**Anna Brożek**

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**Women of the Lvov-Warsaw School**

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# Introduction

The Lvov-Warsaw School (LWS) is, in many respects, a unique phenomenon on a global scale. First, it was one of the most important centers of scientific philosophy, despite emerging on the so-called periphery of Europe. Second, it was an interdisciplinary formation, bringing together representatives of various disciplines who made significant contributions to many fields of science, including logic, computer science, psychology, pedagogy, and especially all branches of philosophy. Third, it was one of the largest philosophical schools – if not worldwide, then certainly in Europe. Finally and most notably, it also included a relatively large group of women, an exception in philosophical circles during the first half of the 20th century.

The distinguished British philosopher Peter Simons identified gender equality as one of the three key elements of the “Lvov-Warsaw Enlightenment,” alongside the methodological imperative of anti-irrationalism and the principle of applying logical tools. He wrote in 2017:

What we now call gender equality – equal recognition, [...] equal rights, and equal treatment

of men and women – was not, strictly speaking, a central or integral doctrine of the Lvov-Warsaw School, but in practice, these ideas were implemented there to a much greater extent than anywhere else. Women participated in Twardowski’s seminar even before World War I, whereas in many other places, this was unthinkable. [...] I do not know if Poland was at the absolute forefront in 1914. However, the remarkable number of outstanding women among the philosophers and logicians of the School is striking.

The boundaries of the LWS are debatable. It is usually assumed that its representatives are those who meet at least two criteria: a genetic criterion and a methodological criterion. According to the first, the LWS includes its founder (Kazimierz Twardowski), his students, and the students of his students. According to the second, to be a “full-fledged” representative of the LWS, one has to adhere to two principles in scientific work: the principle of clarity in thinking and speech, and the principle of sufficient justification of proclaimed views.

Applying these two criteria and considering only the School's activity up to World War II, we find that about forty women were involved in it. If we also include the post-war activities of the first two generations of the School, this number rises to nearly seventy! Of these numerous groups, about thirty women pursued academic careers after earning their doctorates. Many obtained habilitation and later held university professorships, some of the first such positions for women in Polish higher education.

Kazimierz Twardowski, philosophy professor in Lwów in the years 1895–1930, played a key role in the process of including women into academic life. On the one hand, he was free from most of the prejudices against women that prevailed at that time. On the other hand, he viewed philosophical (and more broadly, scientific) work as a collective enterprise in which women should play an important role. His stance influenced his students, who also provided conditions for women's participation in Academia.

The women of the LWS were united not only by their adherence to the School's methodological principles but also by a shared life attitude: resilience in overcoming numerous obstacles to studying and later pursuing scientific work. This resilience was particularly evident in what one can describe as “borderline situations” – facing war and

its horrors, as well as ideological pressure. Some women of the LWS perished during World War II, others endured the nightmare of concentration camps, some risked their lives in underground resistance, while others suffered humiliation at the hands of the totalitarian regime. However, there are no known cases of any LWS woman abandoning her moral ideals in the face of these challenges.

During the war, Maria Ossowska's apartment not only hosted secret lectures but also sheltered individuals classified as Jewish by the occupying forces. In occupied Poland, the former act carried the risk of imprisonment at a minimum, while the latter meant certain death. Józefina Mehlberg, operating in the Armia Krajowa [Home Army] under the false identity of Countess Janina Su-chodolska, saved numerous prisoners from the Majdanek concentration camp by delivering food and medicine. After the war, Izydora Dąmbska openly opposed the ruling's party encroachment on academic autonomy, for which she was dismissed from Jagiellonian University. These are just a few examples of the steadfastness characteristic of the female LWS members.

Their resilience was no accident. In the LWS, intellectual education was intertwined with character formation, based on the belief that society

needs people who are not only wise but also courageous and virtuous. The members of the School also believed that order in thinking, achieved through philosophical studies conducted in an anti-irrationalist spirit, fosters effective action in all areas of life.

This publication presents the profiles of sixteen women associated with the School and should be regarded as the first part of a longer story. The narrative begins with Józefa Kodisowa, who, although not a representative of the LWS, in a sense paved the way for Twardowski's female students. The order of presentation follows a chronological sequence based on birth dates.

This album is a result of the activities of the Lvov-Warsaw School Research Center. It is based on the exhibition presented for the first time in 2024, in Warsaw. The publication was possible thanks to the support of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Warsaw, Committee of Philosophical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Foundation of the University of Warsaw. Archival materials used in the exhibition come from the Archives of the Lvov-Warsaw School Research Center, the University of Warsaw Archives, the Lwów Philosophical Archives, and the Archives of Kazimierz Twardowski.

Biographical data in the album were collected as part of the *Encyclopedia of the Lvov-Warsaw School* project.

I would like to thank everyone who contributed to preserving the memory of the women from the Lvov-Warsaw School circle, especially:

Professor Elżbieta Pakszys (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) – the first researcher of the achievements of women from the LWS;

Professors Dariusz Łukasiewicz and Ryszard Mordarski (Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz) – editors of the first monograph on women from the LWS;

Professor Jacek Jadacki (University of Warsaw) – for many years of patient collecting of iconography and other archival materials related to the LWS;

Professor Paweł Łuków, Professor Justyna Grudzińska, and Professor Bogdan Dziobkowski – the Dean and Vice-Deans of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw, for their continuous and effective support for the initiatives of the Lvov-Warsaw School Research Center;

Numerous collaborators (not listed above), including Alicja Brożek, Alicja Chybińska, Aleksandra Gomułczak, Adrian Habura, Zofia Hałęza, Magdalena Matusiak-Rojek, Zuzana Rybaříková, Anna Smywińska-Pohl, Marta Sznajder, Marcin Trepczyński, and Bartłomiej Uzar.

\* \* \*

Some of the women presented in the book used different surnames during their lives (for instance, both their maiden names and their husbands' surnames, and sometimes also underground pseudonyms), as well as both the base forms of surnames and the feminine forms permitted in the Polish language (e.g., "Ginsberg" – "Ginsberżanka"; "Lutman" – "Lutmanowa"; "Kodis" – "Kodisowa"). We adopted the principle that, for the sake of the English-speaking reader, we would generally provide either (a) the base forms or (b) the names most commonly used by the given woman.

The English spelling of the city that was the cradle of the Lvov-Warsaw School also requires explanation. When the School emerged, it was the multinational capital of Galicia – a Polish province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the School's flourishing years (1918–1939), it was part of independent Poland, although in 1918–1919

there were bloody fratricidal battles over the city between Poles and Ukrainians. The city experienced an exceptionally tragic period during World War II, when it was occupied first by the Soviets (1939), then by the Germans (1941), and again by the Soviets (1944). After World War II, as a result of the Yalta Conference agreements, the city became part of the Soviet Union. Since 1991, it has been part of independent Ukraine. The Polish name of the city is "Lwów," the Ukrainian – "Lviv," while the name adopted for the School in publications is "Lvov-Warsaw School." To respect different intuitions and arguments regarding the city's name, the book uses two of these forms: "Lwów" when referring to the city before 1939 and "Lvov" in the name of the School represented by the women featured in this book. Similarly, I use the form "Wilno" as the Polish name of the current capital of Lithuania (i.e. Vilnius), and the Polish names of other places located on the territory of the Second Polish Commonwealth.



## Józefa Krzyżanowska- Kodisowa (1865–1940). Philosophy and Social Justice

When she travelled to the United States in 1893, shortly after earning her doctorate in Zurich and applying for a position at a local university, she was supported by eminent American scholars, including William James and John Dewey. The latter, in his recommendation, emphasized Kodisowa's "comprehensive education," her "highly developed intelligence," "well-trained mind and broad knowledge," as well as her "charming demeanour" and "excellent command of English." Unfortunately, the university rector to whom she applied, upon seeing her – a young, beautiful woman and a newly minted mother – remarked that she would be better off focusing on household duties. Kodisowa, however, did not give up and continued her academic work, becoming the first Polish woman to practice philosophy professionally.

She was an extraordinary woman with a strong personality. She earned a doctorate, gave birth to two children, became a distinguished scholar and a sought-after teacher, and actively participated in the country's social life. She achieved all this despite numerous adversities. She lived in the shadow of loss – her mother passed away when she was young, followed by her devoted stepmother; she lost her sister and her firstborn son; and she was widowed early.



Józefa Krzyżanowska-Kodisowa was born on April 18, 1865, in the Załucze estate near Nowogródek, into a landowning family. She initially studied in underground schools for girls (since teaching in Polish was prohibited in the Russian partition of Poland at the time) and later worked as a private tutor. Her academic ambitions led her to pursue higher education. As a woman, she was unable to fulfil these ambitions in any of the three partitions of Poland, so she travelled to Geneva and then Zurich, where she studied philosophy under Richard



Avenarius. Under his supervision, she wrote her doctoral dissertation, *Zur Analyse des Apperzeptionsbegriffes* [A Contribution to the Analysis of the Concept of Apperception], which she defended in 1892.

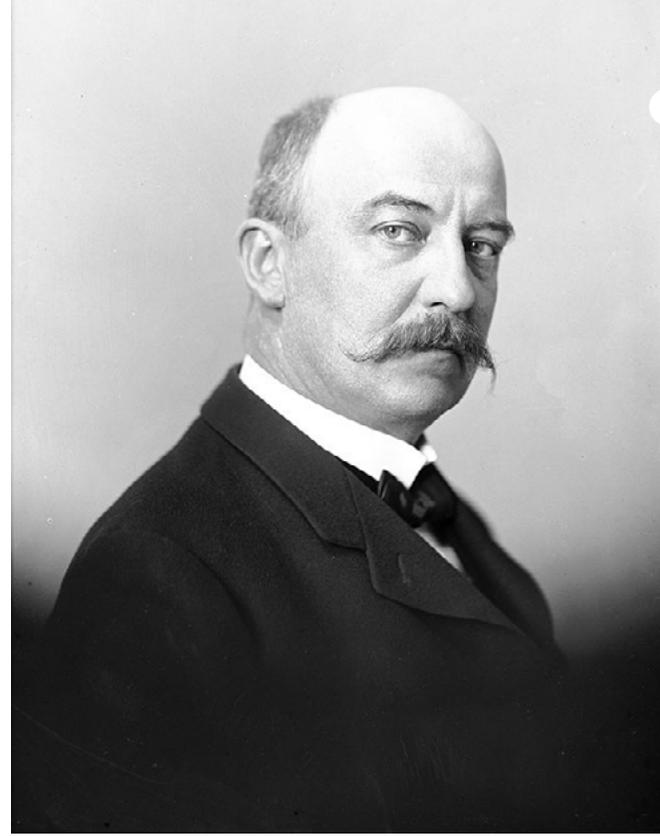
In Zurich, she maintained close ties with the Polish diaspora and prominent local intellectuals. There, she met her future husband, Dr. Teodor Kodis, who strongly supported her academic career. Their daughter, Zofia Kodis-Feyer, became a painter, and their granddaughter, Jadwiga Lipińska, became an archaeology professor.



Józefa and Teodor Kodis.

In 1893, the Kodis family moved to the USA, where Teodor initially worked as a practising physician and later as a researcher. Józefa, however, was unable to secure a university position. Instead, she devoted herself to social activism within Polish immigrant communities, organizing, among other initiatives, university lectures for immigrants.

In 1901, disillusioned with her stay in the USA, she returned to Europe with her young daughter



Gabriel Narutowicz.

It is said that during their studies in Zurich, Gabriel Narutowicz – an eminent scholar, engineer, and later the first President of Poland – fell in love with her. However, Józefa married someone else, and after some time, Narutowicz married Kodisowa's sister. When they met again years later in Warsaw, she as a widow and he as a widower, Narutowicz is rumoured to have proposed to Kodisowa. Although she declined his marriage proposal, the two remained close friends until his tragic death. Narutowicz was assassinated just days after taking office.

Assassination of Gabriel Narutowicz.





Kodisowa (sitting on the right) among social activists.

In 1925, Kodisowa wrote:

“My life [...] unfolded in a very fascinating era. I witnessed the triumph of three great ideas: women’s equality, the resurrection of Poland, and the downfall of the Tsarist regime.”

It is worth emphasizing that she herself contributed significantly to the realization of these ideas – advocating for women’s emancipation, participating in underground independence efforts, and supporting, under dramatic circumstances, attempts to democratize Russia.

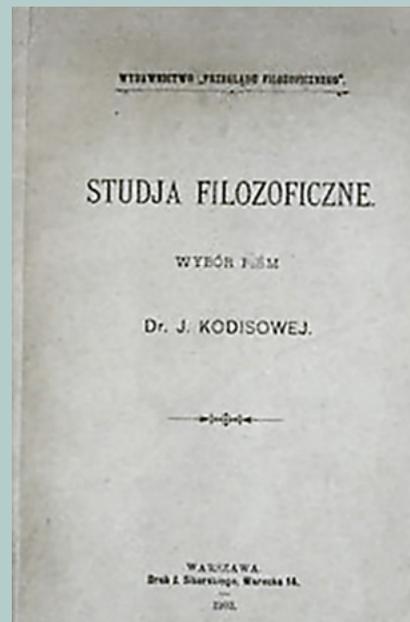
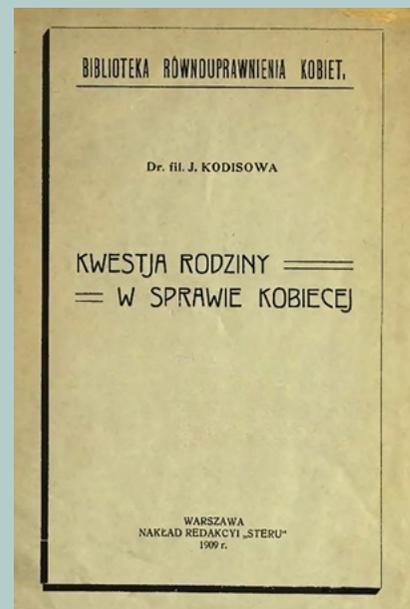
Kodisowa is regarded as one of the representatives of Polish philosophical positivism. She was not a member of the Lvov-Warsaw School (she was a year older than Twardowski and studied in Switzerland, whereas he studied in Vienna). However, her life and work inspired the women associated with the School. Twardowski quickly recognized the similarity between Kodisowa’s scientific approach and his philosophical program. As early as 1898, he wrote: “Kodisowa [...] values precision in expression, which can only be achieved through precise definitions of concepts.”

## 12 • Lovers of Wisdom. Women of the Lvov-Warsaw School



and settled in Minsk (now the capital of Belarus). Shortly thereafter, her husband joined her (his return to Russian-controlled territory was perilous, as he had previously escaped from a Russian prison where he was set for political reasons).

In Minsk, Kodisowa took up teaching and continued her philosophical work. She became a mem-



In 1903, a collection of essays by Kodisowa was published as part of the *Przeгляд Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Review] monography series. It is likely one of the first books on the philosophy of science written by a woman.

ber of the Polish Psychological Society (which she even chaired for some time) and the Warsaw Institute of Philosophy. Her husband resumed medical practice. Both became involved in underground political activities, and Józefa also participated in the Polish Association for Women's Equal Rights.

During World War I, the couple provided aid to victims of the war – she as a nurse, and he as a doctor. In 1917, Teodor passed away, exhausted by the demands of being a wartime physician. That same year, the Bolshevik Revolution began, repeatedly altering Kodisowa's fate in dramatic ways as the city changed hands multiple times. She played a particular role during Alexander Kerensky's Provisional Government, serving as deputy chair of the City Council. After German forces occupied the city, she became a deputy minister.

When the Bolsheviks regained control a few months later, Kodisowa had to flee under the threat of execution for collaborating with the “bourgeois” Kerensky government and the German occupiers. Gravely ill with the Spanish flu, she evacuated to Warsaw with her daughter aboard a German military train.

After 1918, in newly independent Poland, Kodisowa initially worked at the Central Statistical Office and later as a librarian, while remaining active in women's and minority rights movements, as well as in the pacifist movement. She also continued publishing philosophical works in Polish journals such as *Przegląd Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Review] and *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement].

In 1934, she suffered a stroke, from which she never fully recovered. She passed away on December 31, 1940, in Nazi-occupied Warsaw.



**Irena Pannenkowa  
(1879–1969).  
“My first female doctor”**

She combined exceptional intellect with an unyielding character; she was an example of a socially engaged intellectual, full of faith in her ideals. Although she did not dedicate herself to academic work in the strict sense, she applied the principles of the Lvov-Warsaw School, including conceptual clarity and solid justification of her views, in her extensive journalism.

“I was the first woman,” she wrote, “to earn a doctorate in philosophy in Lwów and, as it turns out, at any Polish university, particularly under Twardowski. Whenever we met later, he would recall this and proudly declare: ‘This is my first female doctor!’.”



Pannenkowa (standing behind Twardowski) among members of the Lwów Philosophy Seminar (1910).

Irena Jawic-Pannenkowa was born on November 4, 1879, in Warsaw into a Jewish physician's family. In 1899, she began studying philosophy at Lwów University, completing her studies in 1904. A year later, she obtained a doctorate based on her dissertation *Sądy przeczące i twierdzące* [Affirmative and Negative Judgments], written under Twardowski's supervision and published in *Przegląd Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Review].

Warszawa, 4.I. 1933  
Cecylińska 202, m. 19

Wielce honorowy Panie Profesorze.

Jeszcze nie otrzymałam Pana Profesorowi  
interes wydaną moją przekład kartki prof.  
Pannkora „The National Character.”

Przebież sprostować proszę ująć mi ote-  
skawy zwrot mojego artykułu, przestano  
przed paru laty do „Księgi Pamiątkowej  
Towarzystwa Filozoficznego”, gdyż jak  
widzę, nie znalazł w niej miejsca. Pan Pro-  
fesor przypomniał sobie zapewne, że był także  
przyjaciel mi, a także również urodzi umrze-  
ceni, również mi) Skłopot.

i. dalem świadomości się, jaki jest stan  
zdrowia Pana Profesora obecnie, - i by-  
takim bardzo wdzięczna, gdyż mi może  
skryć mi jego prawnie o wstawi, nade.  
Luz wyraz najgłęboko świadoma

I Pannenkowa

A surviving letter from Pannenkowa to Twardowski.



Tadeusz Pannenko and Irena Jawic-Pannenkowa (second and third from the right in the second row from the top) among members of the “Odrodzenie” [Re-birth] group (Lwów, 1907).



As a philosopher, she sought to combine a “philosophical” love of wisdom with unwavering commitment to her ideals, regardless of external circumstances. During her two-year imprisonment in Ravensbrück, she gave philosophy and history lectures to her fellow prisoners. Reportedly, her lecture on Socrates left the most significant impression.

After her studies, she primarily devoted herself to political journalism, literary work, and historical writing while also working as a teacher. Since 1904, she was a member of the paramilitary group “Odrodzenie” [Rebirth], which aimed to restore Poland’s independence through educational struggle and armed resistance. One of the group’s founders



### Sądy przeczące i twierdzące.<sup>7)</sup>

Podział sądów na twierdzące i przeczące wprowadzony został przez Arystotelesa.<sup>8)</sup> Określony przez Apulejusza,<sup>9)</sup> jako podział jakościowy, przetrwał do naszych czasów.

Już sam Arystoteles jednak przyznawał pewną wyższość sądom twierdzącym nad przeczącymi: *ή δε καταφατική της ἀποφατικής προτιμάται* (Za twierdzącą jest wolniejsza niż przecząca, *κατάφατος γρηγορώτερος, κατ' ἀποφάξιν ἡ κατάρνησις*, *βραχύτερος καὶ ἐλαττωτέρη τῆς ἀποφάξεως*).<sup>10)</sup>

Tę wątpliwość co do równoważności sądów przeczących w stosunku do twierdzących, którą Arystoteles zaznaczył tylko ogólnikowo, podnoszono także później,—a w naszych czasach stała się ona podstawą nowej teorii logicznej o przeczeniach, postawionej przez Sigwarta.

Mianowicie Sigwart twierdzi, że podział sądów na twierdzące i przeczące, jako na dwie *równorzędne* kategorie, nie jest uzasadniony; bo podczas gdy twierdzenie jest zjawiskiem pierwotnym i niezależnym, przeczenie nie ma samodzielnego znaczenia i wogóle ma sens tylko w odniesieniu do jakiegoś twierdzenia.

Tę pogląd Sigwarta wywołały wśród logików współczesnych polemiki,—i ta właśnie kwestja, kwestja znaczenia sądów przeczą-

<sup>7)</sup> Z seminarjum filozoficznego prof. dr-*na* K. Twardowskiego w uniwersytecie lwowskim.

<sup>8)</sup> De interpretatione, c. 5—6.

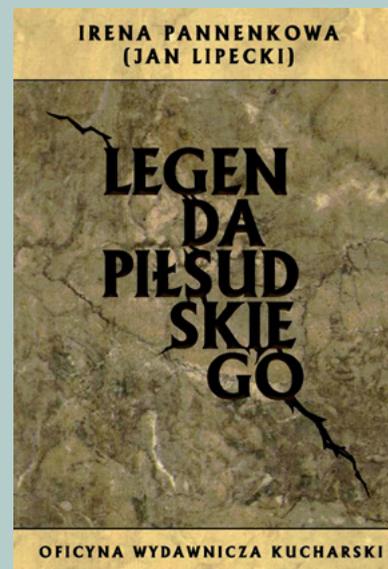
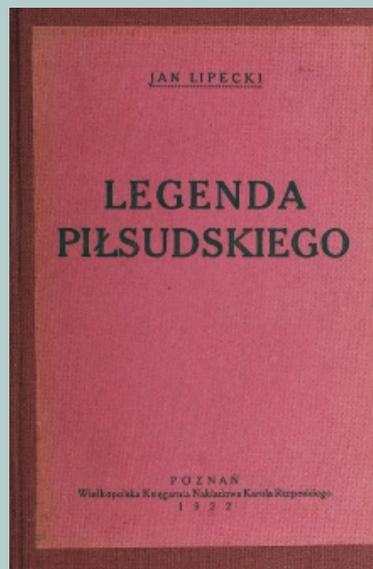
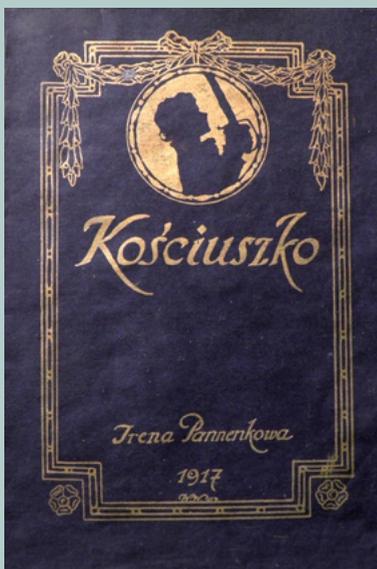
<sup>9)</sup> Zeb. Praxii, Gresh. d. Logik in Abendlande, I. 581.

<sup>10)</sup> Anal. post. I. 25.

In a 1938 memoir written after Twardowski's death, she reflected on him: “At first, he was rather distrustful and unfriendly toward female students, particularly toward me. However, over time, he changed; he later treated me very kindly and even encouraged me to pursue an academic career. Unfortunately, due to various circumstances, I did not take that path.”

The first page of Pannenkowa's dissertation in the *Przegląd Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Review].

Covers of Pannenkowa's book on Kościuszko (1917) and on Piłsudski, the first edition under a pseudonym (1923) and the latest edition under her real name (2022).



was Tadeusz Pannenko, a legionnaire (member of the Polish voluntary military formation) whom Irena later married. They had one daughter.

After Poland regained independence, she worked to maintain Polish influence in Eastern Galicia and to commemorate the victims of the Polish-Ukrainian battles over Lwów. She also addressed agrarian issues.

In 1923, under the male pseudonym “Jan Lipecki,” she published her most famous book, *Legenda Piłsudskiego* [The Legend of Piłsudski], highly critical of this most prominent Polish politician of the epoch. The book’s first edition sold out within days, indicating both great public interest in Piłsudski’s “dark side” and Pannenkowa’s literary talent.

During the interwar period, Pannenkowa was active as a novelist and playwright while intensifying her social and political engagement. She was affiliated with the National Party, later joining the Christian Democracy movement and the Labor Party. As a journalist, she regularly commented on social and political issues, including the then-hotly debated education reform. Even before World War I, she initiated the establishment of a boarding school in Stara Wieś near Mińsk Mazowiecki, modeled on American education systems, that integrated school, family, society, and state efforts.

During World War II, she was arrested by the Germans. Initially imprisoned in the Gestapo prison called “Pawiak” (after the street in Warsaw where it



*Tableau presented to Twardowski by the members of the Polish Philosophical Society on the occasion of its centenary meeting (1910). From the collection of the Museum of Independence in Warsaw.*

was located), she was later sent to the concentration camps of Ravensbrück, Majdanek, and Auschwitz, where she survived until the camp’s liberation on January 28, 1945.

After the war, she primarily worked as a journalist but withdrew from public life after the communist

authorities dissolved the Labor Party. One of her post-war publications was a poetry anthology of female prisoners from Ravensbrück, which she co-edited.

She passed away on October 10, 1969, in a convent-run care home in Góra Kalwaria and was buried in Warsaw’s Powązki Cemetery.





## Zofia Pastawska- Drexlerowa (1887–1979). Philosophy and Music

A hundred years ago, only few women chose to combine a professional career with motherhood. Zofia Drexlerowa was an exception in this regard: she pursued two careers – of a scholar and of a musician – while single-handedly raising her daughter after the tragic death of her husband. As a scholar, she was a student of Twardowski and the author of original philosophical works and translations. As an artist, she was highly esteemed as an outstanding opera singer (soprano) and professor of vocal performance.



Zofia Paśławska-Drexlerowa was born on February 1, 1887, in Warsaw, into a family of opera singers. She completed high school in Lwów, where she also studied philosophy at the local university, adhering to the rigorous standards of Twardowski's school. Under his supervision, she wrote the doctoral dissertation *O stosunku sądów hipotetycznych do kategoriycznych* [On the Relationship Between Hypothetical and Categorical Judgments], which she defended in 1912. While still a student, she translated Gustav Fechner's book *On the Question*



*of the Soul* from German to Polish, which was published in 1921 with an introduction by Twardowski.

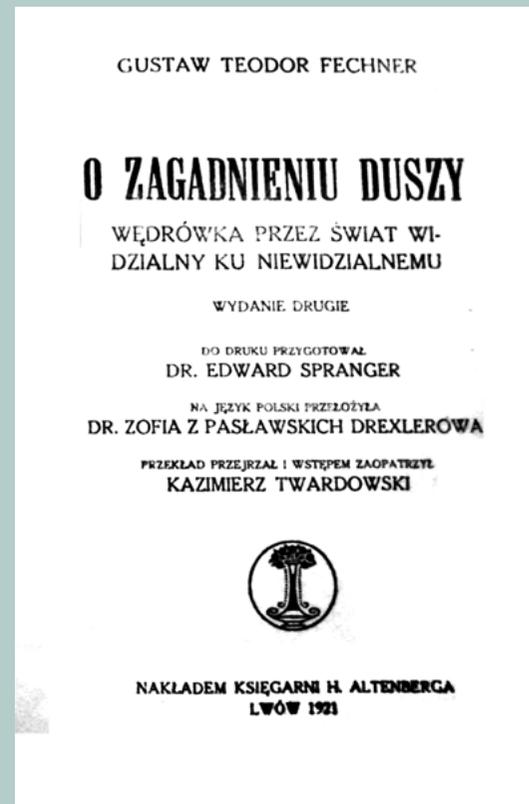
She was a true polyglot: in addition to her native Polish, she spoke English, French, German, Russian, and Italian. She prepared summaries of German journals (including *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*) for the Polish journal *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement] and wrote reviews for the journal *Przegląd Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Review].

She also had a strong artistic calling. Between 1915 and 1922, she studied at the Lwów school of

solo singing, and in 1924, she completed vocal studies at the Conservatory of the Polish Music Society in Lwów. She launched her singing career in 1921 after receiving an honorary diploma for her outstanding performance of 15 Polish songs. She gave concerts in Lwów, Katowice, Poznań, Toruń, Warsaw, and even Paris. She performed with renowned virtuosos such as violinist Irena Dubiska and pianist Zbigniew Drzewiecki. She also participated in radio concerts.

She was actively involved in Lwów's rich domestic music scene before World War II. Lwów was a highly musical city at the time, and music was often a part of social gatherings, including those of Twardowski's circle. Twardowski himself had been a talented pianist and a promising composer in his youth. Drexlerowa frequently sang at the Twardowski household, where he sometimes accompanied her on the piano.

At the same time, Paśławska-Drexlerowa worked as a music critic and educator. From 1926 to 1930, she wrote reviews for the journal *Lwowskie Wiadomości Muzyczne i Literackie* [Lwów's Musical and Literary News]. From 1921 to 1931, she taught singing at Sabina Kasperek's Music School in Lwów, and from 1932 to 1939, she lectured at the Conservatory of the Pomeranian Music Society in Toruń. During World War II, she supported herself through pri-



Both her academic achievements and musical talents were widely recognized. In 1912, Twardowski wrote about Drexlerowa in connection with her doctorate: “She fully understands the methodological requirements that must be applied [...] to scientific research, and she successfully meets these demands in her work.”



"Lwów Eaglets" painted by Wojciech Kossak (1925).

During the dramatic period of the Polish-Ukrainian battles for Lwów, Drexlerowa wrote a moving diary in the form of letters to her young daughter, who later became a famous skier and sports activist. The first letter begins:

"Today marks fourteen days that we have been living on the front lines. The Polish-Ukrainian front is passing through Lwów. My dear daughter, we live on the Ukrainian side, listening for news from the other side of the front. Our situation is especially sorrowful because our beloved father is not here. On Wednesday, October 29, he left for two lectures in Zamość and was supposed to return on Sunday, November 3. I so badly wished he hadn't gone – though, of course, no one could have foreseen what was to come."

vate music lessons while living in Warsaw. After the war, she taught at the State Music School and later instructed in solo vocal methodology and vocal literature at the State Higher School of Music (now the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music).



Despite her professional success, her life was marked by personal tragedy. She suffered two major family losses: her son died in infancy, and her husband died by suicide for unknown reasons. A few months after the incident, Twardowski



Drexlerowa (sitting second from the right) among Twardowski's students (circa 1910).





**Daniela Gromska  
(1889–1973).  
*Genius Loci*  
of the Lvov-Warsaw  
School**

She combined the expertise of a philosopher and a classical philologist. Beyond her scholarly work, she undertook numerous organizational and editorial tasks that, in the pre-Internet era, required meticulous dedication and extensive professional skills. She demonstrated exceptional commitment to the philosophical community, becoming the true *genius loci* of the Lvov-Warsaw School. Even after World War II, under exceptionally unfavorable political conditions, she was unparalleled in her efforts to preserve the memory and traditions of the School.



**D**aniela Tenner-Gromska was born on May 17, 1889, in Lwów into a Jewish intellectual family. In 1907, she began studying at Lwów University, focusing on classical philology under the guidance of Stanisław Witkowski and Tadeusz Sinko. One of the results of these studies was her highly regarded dissertation *De sermone Hyperidis* (published in 1927). She also studied philosophy and became one of Twardowski's first female students. She also attended lectures by Mścisław



Wartenberg, Jan Łukasiewicz, and Władysław Witwicki.

In 1916, she defended her doctoral thesis in philosophy, *Współczesne teorie sądu - zwłaszcza u logików polskich* [Contemporary Theories of Judgment - Especially Among Polish Logicians], supervised by Twardowski. At the outbreak of World War I, she was in Vienna, expanding her philosophical and philological knowledge while working as a teacher for Polish youth.

DANIĘLA TENNEROWNA.

### Istnienie jako „treść” sądnia i sądu.

Kilka uwag na marginesie teorii sądu prof. Twardowskiego.

1) Teoria sądu prof. Twardowskiego jest — jak wiadomo — antypsychologiczna i idelogiczna<sup>1)</sup>. Zasadnicze jej tezy dają się ująć za pomocą szeregu przeciwstawień, których dokonywał. Odróżnia więc teorię ta m. in. rozynność sądnia od jej wytworu, czyli sądu<sup>2)</sup>, sąd zaś od jego wytworu słownego t. j.

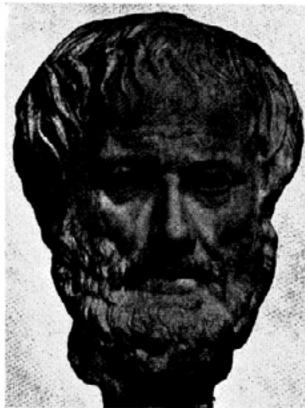
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DANIĘLA GROMSKA.

### Brentanowska argumentacja w sprawie przedmiotu powieżeń egzystencjalnych.

Argumentacja Brentany w sprawie przedmiotu powieżeń egzystencjalnych kreśli centralnej tezy jego idelogicznej teorii sądnia. Dlatego zaczę od przypomnienia w kilku słowach tej teorii.

Sądzenie jest dla Brentany rodzajem czynności psychicznych, czynnością swoistą, polegającą na stwierdzeniu lub zaprzeczeniu, na uznaniu lub odrzuceniu rzeczywistości czyli istnienia jakiegoś przedmiotu. Sądnie można coś tylko o stwierdzenie, który sobie przedstawiamy, więc koniecznym warunkiem sądnia jest na tem stanowisku przedstawienie sobie przedmiotu, które, o istnienie, sądnę, uznajemy lub odrzucamy. Nie trzeba natomiast do tak noizero sądnia dwóch przedstawień.



Arystoteles

BIBLIOTEKA KLASYKÓW FILOZOFII

ARYSTOTELES

### ETYKA NIKOMACHEJSKA

Przełożyła, wprowadziła i wstępem poprzedziła DANIĘLA GROMSKA

1956

PAŃSTWOWE WYDAWNICTWO NAUKOWE

Tom XVII Toruń, 1949 Nr 1-3

## RUCH FILOZOFICZNY

Kwartalnik założony przez Kazimierza Twardowskiego organ Polskiego Towarzystwa Filozoficznego wydawany starostwem Towarzystwa Filozoficznego z siedzibą Prezydium Rady Naukowej i Ministerstwa Oświaty Redaktor prof. dr Tadeusz Czernicki Sekretarz Redakcji dr Franciszek Iodan

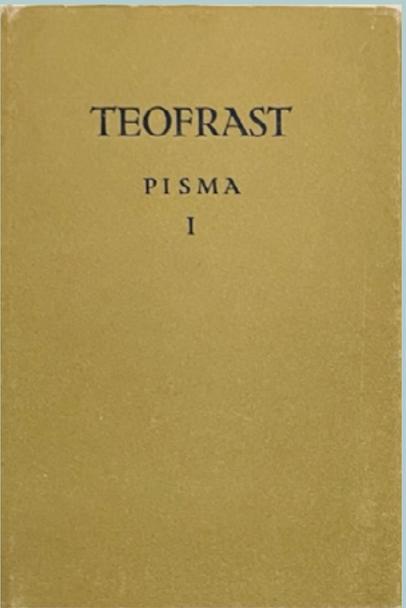
Adres Redakcji i Administracji: Toruń, Uniwersytet, Kuch. czech. PKO Bydgoszcz VI 1336. Prezentatorzy Redakcji: Dr Tadeusz Winiński, Warszawa, Uniwersytet, Studium Pedagog. Dr Stefan Czernicki, Warszawa, Uniwersytet, Seminarium Filozof. II, Prof. Dr Tadeusz Tomaszewski, Łódź, Uniwersytet MCB, Prof. Dr Janina Kamilska-Kozłowska, Łódź, Uniwersytet, Prof. Dr Roman Janowski, Łódź, Uniwersytet, Ł. Prof. Dr Helena Skłodowska, Wrocław, Uniwersytet, Prof. Dr Czesław Zdzienicki, Poznań, Collegium 14, Dr Adolf Bunt, Poznań, Poczta 58. — Cena tomu XVII w gronem. 500 zł. Cena zeszytu numeru 450 zł.

Danięla Gromska

### Pogląd na świat czy światopogląd?

Zagadnienie terminologiczne sformułowane w nagłówku poruszane było w polskiej literaturze filozoficznej już przeszło pięćdziesiąt lat temu, a od tego czasu jest przedmiotem wciąż odnawiającego się sporu, który z katedr uniwersyteckich i czasopism naukowych zajełgę czasem nawet aż na łamy pism codziennych.

Bodaj czy nie pierwszy wszczął spór ten w piśmiennictwie filozoficznym Henryk Strykowski w swym Wstępie do filozofii (1895), a do świadomości ogółu inteligencji dotarła sprawa „światopoglądu” dzięki niezmiernie licznie uczęszczanym wykładom Kazimierza Twardowskiego w Uniwersytecie lwowskim. Obaj wymienieni filozofowie zważyli wyraz „światopogląd” i pragnęli go zastąpić wyrażeniem „pogląd na świat”. Strykowski uzasadnił to stanowisko twierdzeniem (Wstęp, wyd. I, s. 55, wyd. 3, s. 102), że wyraz „światopogląd” jest „niezrozumiałym w duchu naszego języka” (co zresztą nie powstrzymało go od użycia tego wyrazu na s. 563 (624) tegoż Wstępu). Takie samo było stanowisko Twardowskiego. Będę poluboweli nigdy nie ogłosił drukiem tej swojej tezy ani nie podjął szczegółowego jej uzasadnienia, chociaż sprawom języka filozoficznego poświęcił niemałą ilość rozprawek i artykułów, drukowanych wprawdzie w Ruchu Filozoficznym. Przemawiając ją natomiast konsekwentnie w swej rozległej działalności wydawniczej, co sprawiło, że po-



Gromska was the first of four Twardowski's subse-quent assistants. Her duties, which she carried out impeccably, included assisting the professor with his univer-sity teaching responsibilities, maintaining the seminar library, and managing documentation. She also provided direct academic support to semi-nar participants.



She was one of the few advocates for the consistent use of feminine job titles (even if artificially coined). In his memoirs, the renowned Polish film director Krzysztof Zanussi recalled that she instructed students to address her as “*profesora*” (a feminized form of “professor”). In interwar issues of *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement], she was always listed as “*doktorka*”, “*sekretarka*”, or “*redaktorka*” – feminine forms of Polish nouns “doctor,” “secretary,” and “editor.”

She began her teaching career as early as 1909, volunteering at the Philosophical Seminar and the Psychological Laboratory at Lwów University. After earning her doctorate, she taught philosophy, logic, Greek, and Latin in Polish secondary schools.



She was also actively involved in the Polish Philosophical Society in Lwów, founded by Twardowski in 1904. Additionally, she contributed to the editorial work of *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement], a journal established in 1911, remaining affiliated with it until World War II. After Twar-



dowski's death, she co-edited the journal, until the outbreak of the war, with Izydora Dąmbska.

In 1916, she married the prominent lawyer Edmund Gromski. Like many women pursuing

academic careers, she consciously chose not to have children.

At the start of World War II, the Gromskis remained in Lwów. After the German invasion, they

Gromska (standing fourth from the left) among Twardowski's students (Lwów, around 1910).



Collegium Novum, the main building of Jagiellonian University.

The Gromskis maintained an open house and traveled extensively. They also provided financial support for various academic and social initiatives. They were among the regular donors to *Ruch Filozoficzny*'s [Philosophical Movement] publishing fund.

In her will, Gromska bequeathed her entire (considerable) estate to Jagiellonian University. Many of the furniture pieces, clocks, porcelain, and jewelry in the university museum come from her collection. Her unfulfilled wish was for her donation to fund a scholarship for young women pursuing careers in academic research.

went into hiding under assumed names – Aniela and Emanuel Misiński – moving from Lwów to Gródek Jagielloński and then to Warsaw. After the

fall of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 and the forced expulsion of civilians, she relocated to Kraków, where she remained permanently.

Between 1945 and 1957, she worked for various academic publishers, drawing on her editorial experience from *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement]. She also continued her work in translation and the history of philosophy. One of her notable contributions was a comprehensive article on Polish philosophers who died between 1938 and 1945 (written in French), which documented biographical and bibliographical details of those who perished in World War II.

In 1956, she published one of her major works: a translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. A year later, she was employed at Jagiellonian University, where she obtained a *habilitation* in 1959. After the 1959–1960 academic year, during which she lectured on ancient philosophy, she was forced into retirement. In her later years, she focused on studying and translating the works of Theophrastus. She passed away on December 20, 1973, in Kraków.



**Maria Ossowska  
(1894–1974).  
“One can question  
everything”**

She was one of the most outstanding scholars of her time, above all, the author of an original, interdisciplinary research program on morality, which she promoted worldwide and successfully implemented throughout her life. She published several books, translated into many foreign languages, as well as nearly two hundred papers in ethics, semiotics, and the methodology of research in the humanities. Ossowska was an exceptional woman, combining extraordinary wisdom with intellectual independence, which manifested in breaking stereotypes not only in academia and social life but also in her private sphere.

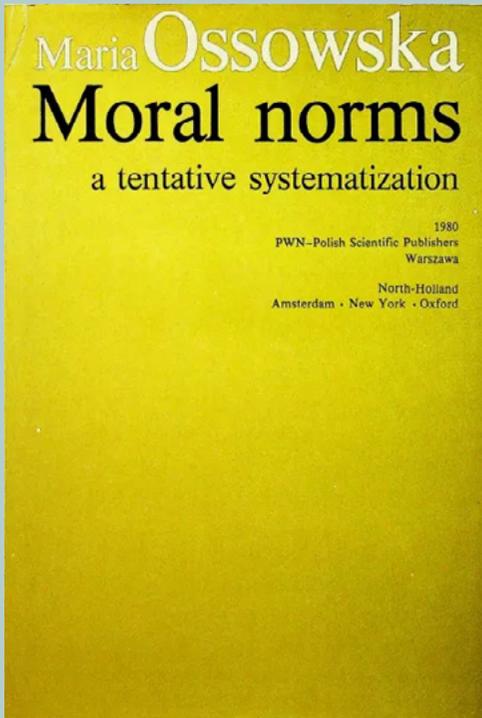
In a lecture titled *On Dignity*, delivered on the occasion of her academic jubilee, she stated: “In science, I experienced two revelations. The first was that one can question everything, that anything can become a subject of inquiry. And that one can persistently ask further, even when others feel satisfied. The second revelation was that in science, one can examine things in ways no observer before had ever considered.”



**M**aria Niedźwiecka-Ossowska was born on January 16, 1896, in Warsaw, into the family of an economist and former January Uprising (1863) insurgent. Starting in 1915, she studied philosophy at the newly restored University of Warsaw, where her teachers included Jan Łukasiewicz, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, and Władysław Tatarkiewicz. During her studies, she became the first chairperson of the university's Philosophy Club.

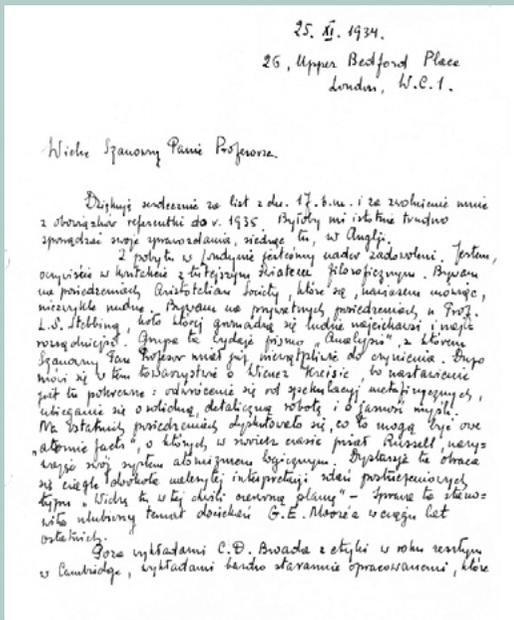


In 1921, she earned a PhD in philosophy based on her dissertation titled *Zarys aksjologii stoickiej* [An Outline of Stoic Axiology], supervised by Łukasiewicz. During the 1921–1922 academic year, she continued her studies at the Sorbonne in Paris. In 1923, she became the first female assistant in the Philosophy Seminar at the University of Warsaw. A year later, she married the aesthetician and sociologist Stanisław Ossowski.



Thanks to her international scientific travels, Ossowska had the opportunity to meet key figures in British analytical philosophy, including Bertrand Russell, Charlie D. Broad, George Edward Moore, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Susan Stebbing. In a 1934 letter to Kazimierz Twardowski, she wrote: "I attend private meetings at Professor L.S. Stebbing's, around whom the most fascinating and rational people gather. This group publishes the journal *Analysis*."

Ossowska during her stay in Great Britain.



Ossowska's letter to Twardowski written in London (1934).

The Ossowskis deliberately chose not to have children, but they maintained a warm and protective attitude toward their students and assistants, whom they affectionately referred to in private correspondence as their “children.” They often organized informal gatherings and scientific discussions for them and provided support for their everyday struggles, including financial assistance.



Maria Ossowska with her husband Stanisław.



Outwardly reserved and emotionally restrained, yet always elegantly dressed, Ossowska was described by Kotarbiński – first her lecturer and later her colleague – as “artistically intriguing.” It is no surprise that she earned the nickname “the grand lady of Polish philosophy.”



From 1929 to 1933, she lectured on psychology and pedagogy at the Higher Teachers' Courses in Warsaw. In 1932, she obtained her habilitation with a series of two dissertations: *Stosunek logiki i gramat-*



*yki* [The Relationship Between Logic and Grammar] and *Słowa i myśli* [Words and Thoughts], and she was appointed a docent at the University of Warsaw.

Between 1933 and 1935, she lived in Great Britain with her husband, attending seminars by George Edward Moore, encountering Ludwig Wittgenstein, and getting to know Susan Stebbing. Upon returning to Warsaw, she worked in the scientific division of the Józef Mianowski Fund and as an editor for *Nauka Polska* [Polish Science] and *Organon*. In 1938, she became involved with the Polish Teachers' Association as the editor of its journal, *Szkoły Wyższe* [Universities].

During World War II, the Ossowskis' Warsaw apartment hosted clandestine lectures for the underground University of Warsaw. It also served as a center for the activities of the Council for Aid to Jews ("Żegota"), which assisted in hiding individuals persecuted and threatened with extermination due to their Jewish origin. Both these activities carried the death penalty in Nazi-occupied Poland.

Under the communist regime in Poland, both Ossowskis actively supported the democratic opposition and opposed government decisions that restricted civil liberties.



During World War II, Ossowska lectured at the underground University of Warsaw. In 1946, she became a docent at the University of Łódź; a few years later, she was moved to Warsaw and was given the Chair of the History and Theory of Morality at the University of Warsaw.

Between 1952 and 1956, the communist authorities removed her from teaching, though she continued to lead the Chair of the History and Theory of Morality at the Polish Academy of Sciences until 1962. She was allowed to return to university teaching after the political “thaw” of October 1956.

In 1957, she was granted a full professorship at the University of Warsaw, where she founded the renowned Ethics Seminar, continued for the next 16 years. She made research trips to the United States in 1960 and 1967, giving lectures on the sociology of morality.

She passed away on August 13, 1974, in Warsaw.



## Helena Stoniewska (1897–1982). Psychology and Life

Helena Stoniewska was a pioneer of Polish psychology. Before World War II, she was affiliated with the University of Lwów; after the war, she worked at the University of Wrocław, where she had the first psychology chair in Poland held by a woman. She was the author of innovative works on the external expression of mental states and conducted research on the psychology of interests and abilities. She also engaged in psychological therapy.

The Seat of Juliusz Słowacki Gymnasium in Lwów.

The school where Stoniewska received her secondary education, the Juliusz Słowacki Female Gymnasium in Lwów, was founded in part by Twardowski. According to its statute, the school was governed by a committee composed equally of men and women (an exceptional arrangement at the time!). Many of Twardowski's students eventually became teachers there. Notably, all three of Twardowski's daughters – Helena, Aniela, and Maria – attended this school. Maria, who later married Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, was a classmate of Stoniewska.



Helena Słowicka was born on August 12, 1897, in Pawłosiów near Jarosław, into the family of an economist. She lost both parents at a young age. During World War I, in 1916, she graduated from the Juliusz Słowacki Female Gymnasium in Lwów. Between 1916 and 1918, she studied at the Institute for Women's Economic Education in Snopków. From 1918 to 1924, she studied philosophy at the University of Lwów. Her doctoral dissertation, *Czym jest ból fizyczny – wzruszeniem czy uczuciem?* [What is Physical Pain – Emotion or Feeling?], defended in 1926, was supervised by Kazimierz



Twardowski's daughters: Aniela, Helena, and Maria (Poronin, the 1920s).



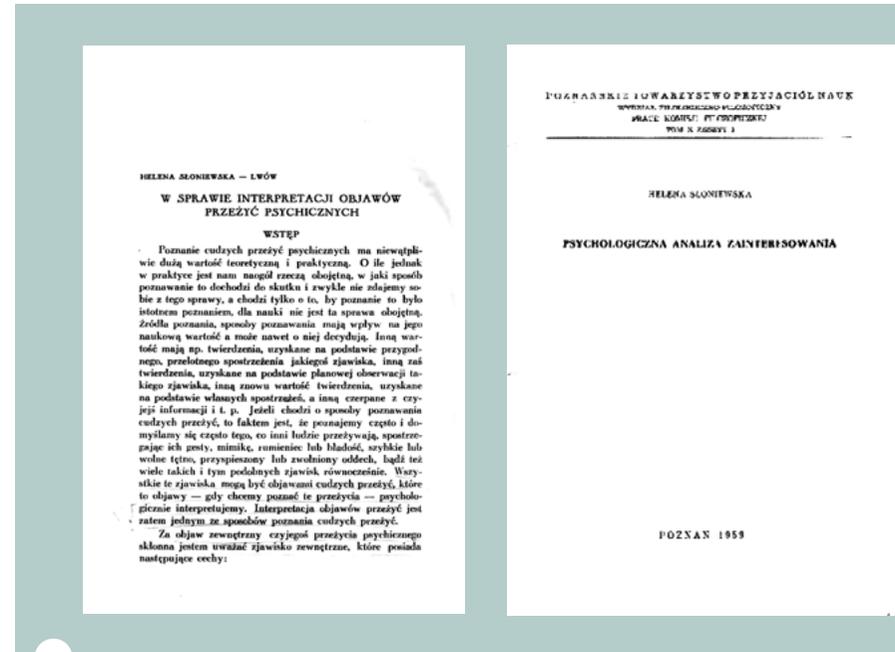
In the interdisciplinary philosophy curriculum designed by Twardowski, psychology – both descriptive and experimental – played a significant role. Twardowski conducted regular courses in both areas. This dual approach to psychology was successfully continued in Poznań (by Stefan Błachowski), in Warsaw (by Władysław Witwicki and Stefan Baley), and after World War II in Wrocław (by Kreutz and Stoniewska).

Inside Stefan Baley's psychological laboratory in Warsaw.



Twardowski. During her studies, from 1923 to 1926, she worked as an assistant in Twardowski's Psychological Laboratory. After earning her doctorate, she lectured at the Snopków Institute until its closure by Soviet occupiers in 1940.

In 1934, she published two significant works in psychology: *Czynnik emocjonalny w psychice dziewcząt a wychowanie* [The Emotional Factor in Girls' Psyche and Education] and *W sprawie interpretacji objawów*



Słoniewska's publications in psychology (titles in English: "Interpreting the Symptoms of Psychological Experiences", "Psychological Analysis of Interest").

*przeżyć psychicznych* [Interpreting the Symptoms of Psychological Experiences].

During World War II, Słoniewska worked as a psychologist at the Psychiatric Hospital in Kulparków near Lwów and later at the Central Pediatric Clinic in Lwów. After the war, she left Lwów for Wrocław, where she led the Department of Psychology at the University of Wrocław from 1952 to 1967 (from 1955 as a docent).

Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza. Wydział *filozoficzny*  
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 Zakład (Katedra, Klinika) *Sekcja nauki filozoficznej*  
 Imię i nazwisko *Helena Stoniewska*  
 Mianowany na czas od *1 października 24* do *30 września 25*  
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*M. Twardowski*  
*M. Twardowski*



The seat of the Snopków Institute.



Aula Leopoldina in the University of Wrocław.

Application to appoint Stoniewska as assistant signed by Twardowski. Stoniewska's assistantship in Twardowski's Psychological Laboratory was a rigorous "school of character" for her. Years later, she recalled working under his guidance as follows:

"The Professor demanded not only punctuality but also absolute precision in carrying out instructions, just as precise as his instructions were. They were not only precise but also clear, unambiguous, well thought out, and always within the capabilities of the person assigned to execute them. [...] He taught how to give orders and how to carry them out. He demanded discipline and obedience – toward himself, other superiors, and even legal regulations."

Stoniewska did not always manage to fulfill Twardowski's orders "absolutely precisely," and he was not always satisfied with her work. However, in the end, they adapted to each other. As a result, Stoniewska not only became one of Twardowski's trusted collaborators but was also a frequent guest in the Twardowski family's home.



Stoniewska (standing first from the left in the middle row) among Twardowski's students in the 1920s.

Mieczysław  
Kreutz.



In Wrocław, she collaborated closely with Mieczysław Kreutz, another student of Twardowski. Their skills complemented each other – Kreutz focused on theoretical work, while Słoniewska concentrated on practical applications. She initiated establishing the Wrocław branch of the Polish Psychological Association and was instrumental in establishing the Wrocław Psychological Clinic. It can be said that she built the psychological community in Wrocław, supervising numerous master's theses in the field.

She passed away on September 23, 1982, in Wrocław.



## Janina Hosiasson (1899–1942). The “Supernova” of Analytical Philosophy

Janina Hosiasson's keen and brilliant mind combining logical expertise with analytical insight. This earned her admiration and respect in every intellectual circle she entered. She was poised to become one of the most outstanding figures in 20th-century European philosophy – a true star. However, fate intervened, and she remained a “supernova”: her brilliance was intense, yet tragically brief.



Janina Hosiasson (also known as Hosiasson-Lindenbaumowa) was born on December 6, 1899, in Warsaw into a Jewish merchant family. She studied philosophy and mathematics at the University of Warsaw, working under leading representatives of the Warsaw branch of the Lvov-Warsaw School (Jan Łukasiewicz, Władysław Witwicki, Stanisław Leśniewski, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, and Władysław

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Łukasiewicz	Teoria mnogości	1	Łukasiewicz	Łukasiewicz	Teoria mnogości	1920	1921
Kotarbiński	Logika	2	Kotarbiński	Kotarbiński	Logika	1920	1921

Semestr				Roku akad. 1921-22			
Nazwa Wydziału	Tytuł Wykładu	Wydział	Wydział	Wydział	Wydział	Data	Data
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Kotarbiński	Logika	4	Kotarbiński	Kotarbiński	Logika	1921	1922
Leśniewski	Logika	3	Leśniewski	Leśniewski	Logika	1921	1922
Łukasiewicz	Logika	2	Łukasiewicz	Łukasiewicz	Logika	1921	1922
Kotarbiński	Logika	2	Kotarbiński	Kotarbiński	Logika	1921	1922
Łukasiewicz	Logika	2	Łukasiewicz	Łukasiewicz	Logika	1921	1922
Witwicki	Logika	2	Witwicki	Witwicki	Logika	1921	1922
Cybulski	Geometria	5	Cybulski	Cybulski	Geometria	1921	1922

List of Hosiasson's university courses with names of lecturers, among others Łukasiewicz, Leśniewski, and Kotarbiński.

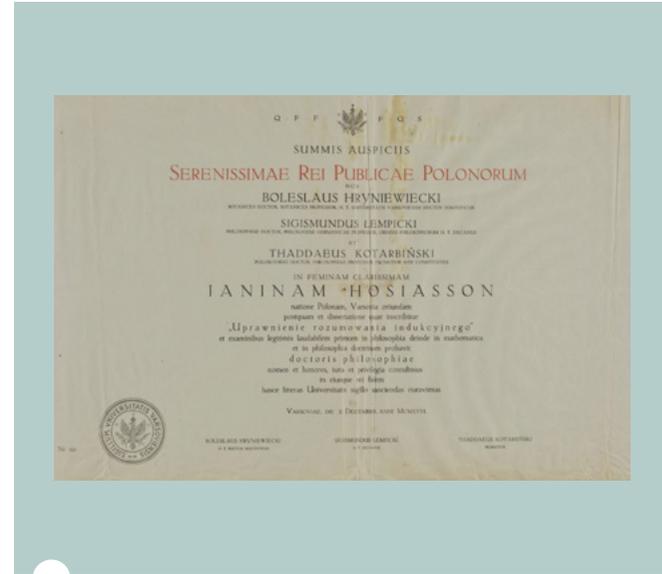


The Ponary Forest near Wilno, where Hosiasson was probably murdered.

Tatarkiewicz) and the closely related Warsaw School of Mathematics (including Waclaw Sierpiński).

In 1926, she defended her doctoral dissertation, *Uprawnienie rozumowania indukcyjnego* [The Justification of Inductive Reasoning], written under the supervision of Kotarbiński. To obtain teaching qualifications, she also completed pedagogical studies at the University of Warsaw.

In 1929, she spent a year in Cambridge, where she attended lectures by G.E. Moore and C.D. Broad and met Ludwig Wittgenstein. At one session of



Hosiasson's PhD diploma.

the renowned Moral Science Club, she delivered a well-received presentation. Her stay in Britain resulted in, among other things, a publication in *Mind* (1931) titled *Why Do We Value Probabilities Based on Multiple Data?*

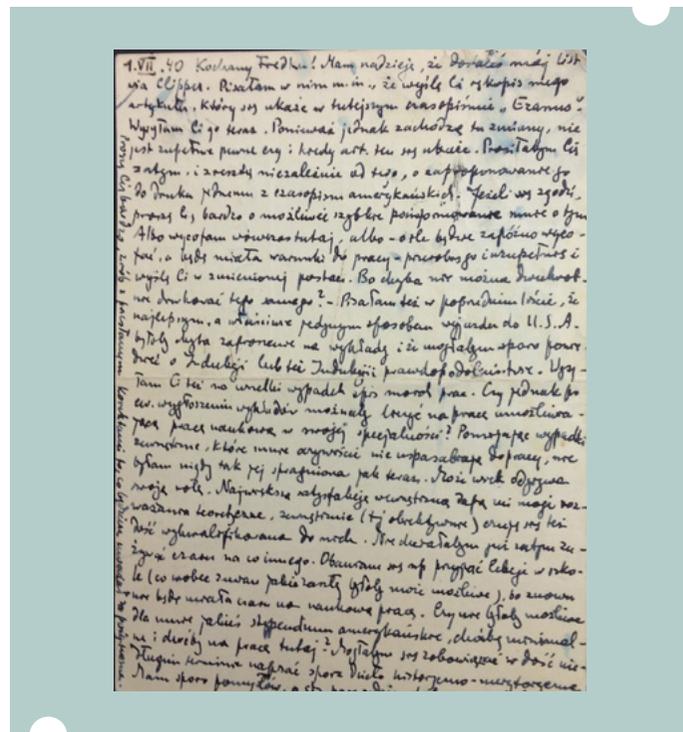
In the 1930s, she worked as a psychologist and teacher in Warsaw high schools while also teaching logic to educators. She translated works by Bertrand Russell, collaborated with philosophical journals, and maintained active academic exchanges with scholars abroad. She also partici-

Her primary research focus was induction, analyzed from multiple perspectives – logical-methodological and epistemological-psychological – following the LWS tradition. Her work anticipated, by decades, results later published by other theorists of induction. She presented these findings at international forums, including the Prague Philosophy Congress and the Unity of Science Congresses in Paris and Cambridge.

Hosiasson's publications in Polish ("On the Justification of Hypothetical Induction", "The Progress of Knowledge from the Cognitive Points of View") and in English.



Fragment of Hosiasson's letter to Tarski (1940).



The prison where Hosiasson was held before her death.



She was deeply motivated to pursue academic research. In a 1940 letter to Alfred Tarski from Wilno, she wrote:

"My theoretical reflections give me the greatest internal satisfaction, and externally (i.e., objectively), I feel fairly qualified for them. [...] I apologize for writing so much about myself in a rather immodest manner. But I feel an irrefragable urge for academic work, and I would be miserable if fate led me down another path."

It is no surprise that she continued her research even in the inhumane conditions of Wilno prison. The prison experience is reflected in examples drawn from life behind bars, which she used as illustrations in one of her texts prepared there.



Adolf Lindenbaum.

pated in political life within circles close to Oskar Lange's group.

In 1935, she married the mathematician Adolf Lindenbaum, associated with the Lvov-Warsaw School.

At the outbreak of World War II, the Lindenbaums fled Warsaw separately, heading east. In October 1939, Hosiasson reached Wilno. She later described her harrowing journey—amid constant



In Warsaw, the Lindenbaums lived in the same building – at 16 Krasieńskiego Street – as the Ossowskis. The nameplate on their door read “Adolf and Janina Lindenbaum,” while the Ossowskis’ read “Maria and Stanisław Ossowski.” Stanisław Leśniewski jokingly commented on this difference, saying that the Lindenbaums’ household was patriarchal, while the Ossowskis’ was matriarchal – though it was likely just an alphabetical order. In reality, Maria Ossowska was the dominant figure in her marriage, whereas both Lindenbaums, as Witwicki would put it, shared an equal “sense of power.”

The building on 16 Krasieńskiego Street where the Lindenbaums were living.

bombings and mortal danger – in a letter to Moore, sent from Wilno and later preserved.

In Wilno, she found employment with the Refugee Committee while continuing her academic work. Evidence of this includes a paper she presented at the last meeting of Tadeusz Czeżowski’s Philosophical Seminar before the closure of Stefan Batory University by the Lithuanian authorities.

She unsuccessfully sought a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship to escape Wilno and reach the West. Shortly after the German occupation of the city in the summer of 1941, she was arrested. She

spent about six months in prison, continuing her research even under those inhumane conditions.

On March 29, 1942, she was executed and buried in a mass grave in Ponary near Wilno.



**Janina Kotarbińska (1901–1997). “To make something less understandable into something more understandable – that is always a gain, not a loss”**

Janina Kotarbińska worked in logic in a broad sense, encompassing the methodology of empirical sciences and logical semiotics. In both her academic research and teaching, she implemented the methodological principles of the Lvov-Warsaw School in a way that closely adhered to the original vision of the School’s founder. Her student, Marian Przetęcki, wrote in 1997: “Every her works is the result of deep reflection and extraordinary theoretical diligence. Each is marked by immense responsibility for words, conciseness, clarity, and simplicity. There is never empty rhetoric, showmanship, or shortcuts. Behind every formulation stands a genuine thought. Through her entire theoretical work, Janina Kotarbińska taught us scientific integrity.”



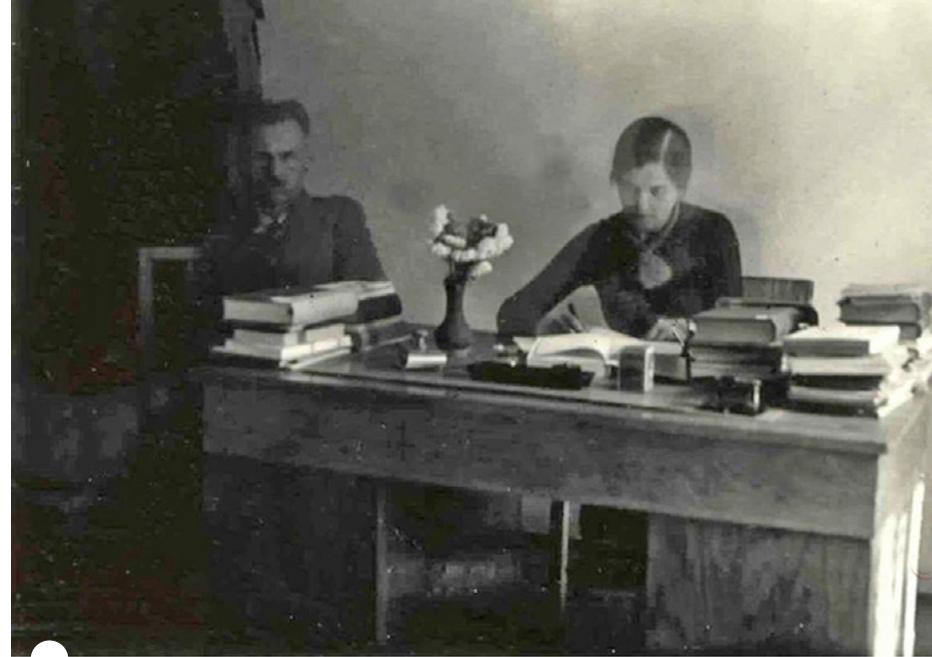
Janina (Dina) Szejnberg-Kotarbińska was born on October 19, 1901, in Warsaw into a middle-class Jewish family. During World War I, her family relocated to Volhynia, where Dina attended a Russian-language high school in Konstantynów. She later began her studies in Kyiv but had to interrupt them due to her family's financial difficulties. Upon returning to Warsaw in 1920, she resumed her education at the University of Warsaw. In 1927, she earned her doctorate with a dissertation titled



*Pojęcie wyjaśniania w naukach przyrodniczych u J.S. Milla i E. Meyersona* [The Concept of Explanation in the Natural Sciences in J.S. Mill and E. Meyerson], supervised by Tadeusz Kotarbiński. She then became his assistant while also teaching introductory philosophy courses in Warsaw high schools. In 1934, she obtained her habilitation at the University of Warsaw, based on a series of works under the general title *Zagadnienie indeterminizmu na terenie fizyki współczesnej, biologii i nauk humanistycznych*



Kotarbińska's works ("The Concept of Scientific Law by J. S. Mill," "The Problem of Explanation of Phenomena and Scientific Laws in the Polish Methodological Literature," "The Issue of Indeterminism in Biology.")



With Tadeusz Kotarbiński in his office (1936).

## [The Problem of Indeterminism in Contemporary Physics, Biology, and the Humanities].

Her life took a tragic turn during World War II. Due to her Jewish heritage, she was forced into the Warsaw Ghetto. However, with the help of friends on the "Aryan" side, she managed to escape. Under the false identity of "Janina Kamińska," she taught logic at the underground University of Warsaw between 1941 and 1943.

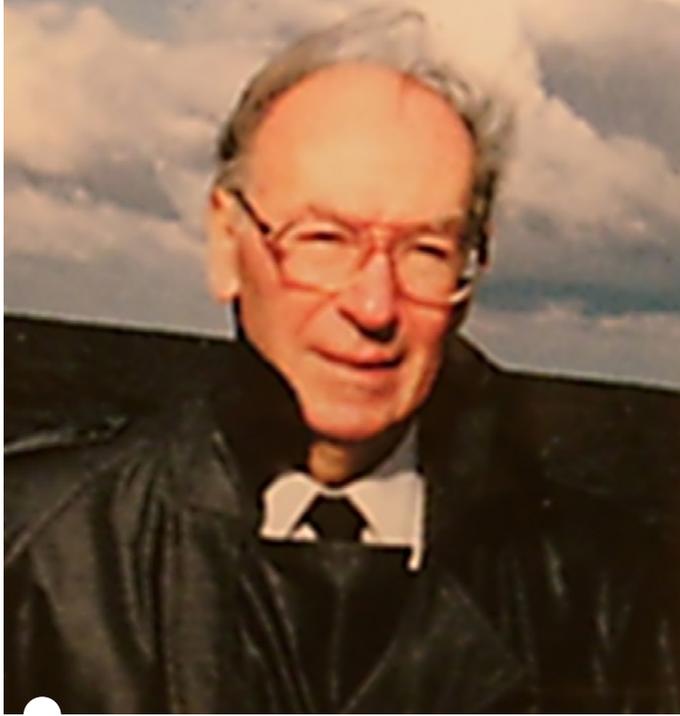
In early 1943, she was randomly arrested by the Gestapo, though they fortunately did not discover her true identity. This did not spare her from being deported to Auschwitz, where she remained until



Janina with her husband Tadeusz.

Tadeusz Kotarbiński wrote about his wife:

“She is a person of great, exceptional moral worth – righteous, helpful, hardworking, and compassionate. She is an excellent specialist in her difficult field. She is intellectually refined and wise as a life advisor.”



Marian Przetęcki, Kotarbińska's student.

Marian Przetęcki recalled:

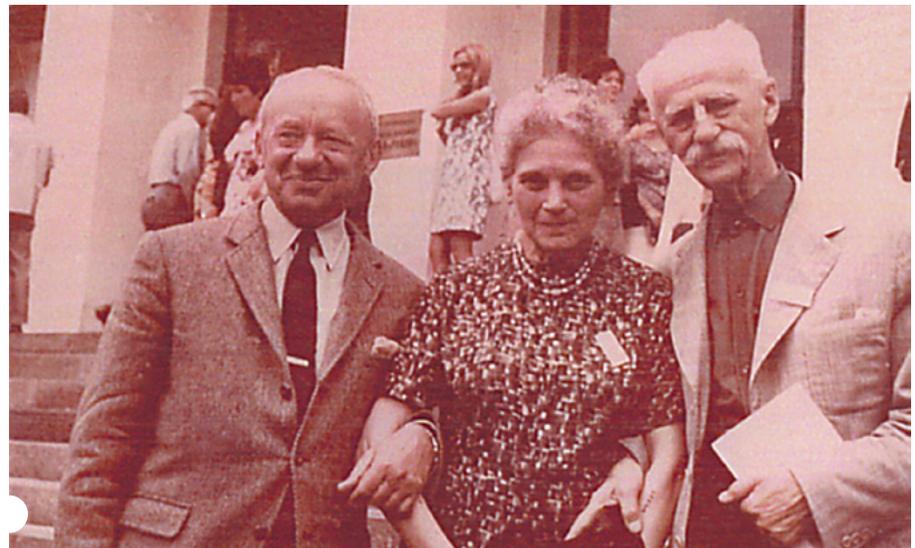
“Perhaps the best school of philosophy for me was writing my master’s thesis under Professor Kotarbińska’s supervision. Very satisfied with the version I submitted, I was surprised to learn that my formulations were far from precise and that what seemed clear and obvious to me was not necessarily so. In the future, I only had to imagine Professor Kotarbińska reading what I had written to avoid many errors and ambiguities.”

To these reflections, one should add an observation about her appearance and demeanor, deeply marked by her harrowing wartime experiences. Her most striking feature was her deeply expressive eyes; in her behavior, she exhibited slow, deliberate movements and remarkable restraint in her judgments.

Kotarbińska between Alfred Tarski and Tadeusz Kotarbiński (1971).



Kotarbińska in the last years of her life.





early 1945. She was then evacuated to the Malhof camp. In April of that year, thanks to the efforts of the Red Cross, she was taken to Sweden, where she gradually regained her health. Sadly, much of her family had been murdered by the Nazis.

After returning to Poland, she took a position at the newly established University of Łódź, which initially served as a temporary substitute for the University of Warsaw, much of which had been destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising.



In 1947, she married the widowed Tadeusz Kotarbiński, her former mentor. After five years, the couple returned to the University of Warsaw. When Tadeusz retired in 1960, Janina took over his Chair of Logic. Two years later, she was appointed a full professor.

Upon her own retirement, she devoted herself to caring for her ailing husband and preserving his intellectual legacy.

She passed away on January 2, 1997, in Warsaw.



## Aniela Meyer-Ginsberg (1902–1986). Psychology Against Genocide

She belonged to the generation of scholars educated before World War II within the Lvov-Warsaw School. After the war, she pursued her academic career in South America. Moving to Brazil in 1936 likely saved her life. There, she became a pioneer of psychological research in South America, focusing particularly on the causes of racial prejudice. Given South America's significant ethnic diversity, it was an ideal setting for such research. She believed that identifying these causes could help prevent tragedies like genocide.



**A**niela Meyer-Ginsberg was born on October 2, 1902, in Warsaw into a middle-class Jewish family. After graduating from Klementyna Hoffmanowa High School, she began her studies at the University of Warsaw in 1930. She attended lectures by prominent scholars, including Bronisław Gubrynowicz and Władysław Sierpiński, as well as leading figures of the LWS: Jan Łukasiewicz, Władysław Witwicki, and Tadeusz Kotarbiński.



In 1927, under Witwicki's supervision, she completed her master's thesis titled *Analiza psychologiczna strachu* [A Psychological Analysis of Fear], presenting research on fear, anxiety, and trauma among soldiers who fought in World War I.

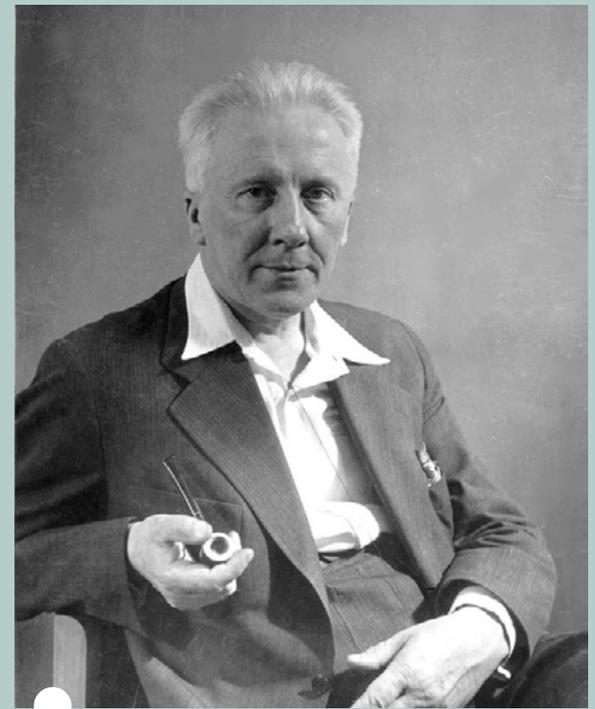
After earning her degree, she traveled to Germany with her husband for an internship, studying under William Stern, Martha Muchow, and Heinz Werner. Upon returning to Poland in 1933, she sub-



Jan Łukasiewicz.



Stanisław Leśniewski.



Władysław Witwicki.

Ginsberg dedicated her doctoral dissertation to the psychological analysis of the principle of contradiction. This principle – examined in logical, ontological, and psychological aspects – was one of the significant focuses of Twardowski's School, explored by figures such as Łukasiewicz, Leśniewski, and Witwicki. Like her mentor, Ginsberg was interested in the psychological ver-

mitted her doctoral dissertation – again supervised by Witwicki – titled *Badania nad psychologiczną zasadą sprzeczności* [Research on the Psychological Principle of Contradiction].

sion of the principle, which holds that a rational person avoids accepting contradictory judgments and, when faced with two contradictory statements, considers one false – even if they do not know which one. She studied this issue experimentally, investigating the conditions under which people honestly avoid contradictory judgments and when they do not.

In 1936, following a favorable job offer for her husband, and likely influenced by the growing wave of antisemitism in Western Europe, the Ginsbergs emigrated to Brazil.



There, she initially worked in psychoanalysis but soon shifted her focus to cultural studies. The devastation of World War II led her to concentrate on racial differences, and she remained dedicated to social psychology for the rest of her life, publishing dozens of works in the field.



She worked at the Laboratory of Educational Psychology at the Pedagogical Institute in São Paulo, the Independent School of Sociology and Politics, and ultimately secured a professorship at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (she had converted to Catholicism in her youth).

*Interamerican Journal of Psychology, 1974, 8, 1-2*

A COMPARISON OF PERSONALITY INDICATORS ACROSS  
THREE CULTURAL GROUPS<sup>1</sup>

Aniela Meyer Ginsberg  
Catholic University of Sao Paulo  
Brazil

**ABSTRACT** The Holtzman Inkblot Test (HIT) was administered to 186 male university students grouped in these ways: Brazilians, fourth generation or more; Nisseis, first generation Brazilians of Japanese descent; and Japanese, studying in Tokyo. The groups were further divided according to the educational level of the father of each subject. Subject scores on 33 variables from the HIT were reduced by means of analyses of variance according to ethnic origin and father's education. The numerous statistically significant differences suggested that the HIT variables differentiate between ethnic groups in the following general ways: with respect to precision and integration of perceptions, creative fantasy, anxiety, oppositional and disphoric affective attitudes, social adaptability, and special interests.

**RESUMO.** O teste de borrões de W. Holtzman (HIT) foi aplicado a 186 universitários do sexo masculino: Brasileiros de no mínimo quarta geração; Nisseis, filhos de Japoneses, Japoneses de Tokyo. Os grupos foram subdivididos segundo o nível educacional dos pais. Trinta e tres variáveis do HIT foram submetidas a análise de variância, sendo as fontes de variabilidade: a origem étnica dos S, o nível de instrução dos seus pais e as intervenções. As numerosas diferenças estatísticas significativas sugerem que as variáveis do HIT diferenciam os grupos étnicos da seguinte maneira geral: na precisão e integração de percepções, na fantasia criativa, na ansiedade, nas atitudes disforicas e de oposição, na adaptabilidade social e interesses específicos.

Intercultural research is a possible means of separating from other sources of variability those that are culturally induced. Vernon (1965) suggests that one ought to study not only present cultural differences but also the potential effects of controllable environmental factors on the development of aptitudes and of attitudes in a single culture or in contrasting cultures. Brazil provides a uniquely qualified field to perform intercultural studies since its culturally diverse immigrants become acculturated rather quickly in this culturally heterogeneous country.

The principal aim of this study was to compare personality indicators across subjects from different ethno-cultural groups. Hopefully, some relationship between some of these personality indicators and certain socio-cultural factors would emerge as a result of these comparisons.

The subjects in this study were 186 male university students ranging in age from 18 to 28 and belonging to one of three ethno-cultural groups: Brazilians, fourth generation or more; Nisseis, first generation Brazilians

87



Aniela and Tadeusz Ginsberg.



Her research in Brazil allowed for comparisons of the intellectual achievements of individuals from different ethnic groups who spoke the same language and grew up in similar physical, geographic, and social environments. She found that the leading cause of differences in achievement – and in individual psychological traits – was not biological but cultural (socialization processes). She argued that the same principle applied to gender roles.

Ginsberg's contributions extended beyond intellectual and organizational efforts in Brazilian psychology. The Aniela and Tadeusz Ginsberg Foundation financially supports early-career researchers in the field of psychology.



**Fundação Aniela e  
Tadeusz Ginsberg**

Toward the end of her life, she focused on regulating the profession of practicing psychologists. She advocated for the implementation of educational and professional standards to ensure that clients of psychological clinics received scientifically sound treatment.

For her contributions, Ginsberg received numerous awards in Brazil, including the Centennial

Medal of Scientific Psychology (from the Regional Psychology Council) and the title of *Psychologist of the Year*. Honorary diplomas from the São Paulo Association of Psychologists and the Federal Psychology Council (1982), A special recognition from the organizers of the Latin American Rorschach Congress (1985). She passed away on August 3, 1986, in São Paulo.

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# História e Memória da Psicologia em SP

**Página Inicial**

- VOL. 1** Imagens de Magui, Maria Margarida de Carvalho
- VOL. 2** Pioneiro da Psicologia no Esporte, João Carvalhaes
- VOL. 3** Betti Katzenstein, Uma Psicóloga do Século XX
- VOL. 4** A Psicologia no Serviço Público em Campinas: Reflexos da História
- VOL. 5** Pioneiros da Psicologia - Anieli Meyer Ginsberg

**Álbum Fotográfico**



[Álbum fotográfico](#)  
[Vídeos](#)  
[Artigo](#)  
[Dados gerais](#)





**Izydora Dąmbska  
(1904–1983).**

**“Non est necesse  
vivere, necesse est  
philosophari”**

Izydora Dąmbska was a versatile scholar, the author of approximately 300 works on topics such as the methodology of science, semiotics, epistemology, axiology, anthropology, and the history of philosophy. Her analysis of the relationship between conventionalism and relativism, reconstruction of the concept of irrationalism, and numerous contributions to semiotics are considered classics. Thorough and rigorous in philosophy, she was also known for her integrity and kindness in everyday life, as attested by many who knew her personally.



Izydora Dąmbska was born on January 3, 1904, in Lwów into a landowning family. She received secondary education through homeschooling and passed her final exams in 1922 before beginning her philosophical studies at Lwów University. Her primary mentor was Kazimierz Twardowski, but she also studied under Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Mściśław Wartenberg, and Roman Ingarden, as well as literary scholar Juliusz Kleiner.



In 1926, she became Twardowski's assistant. A year later, she defended her doctoral dissertation under his supervision, titled *Teoria sądu Edmunda Goblota* [Edmond Goblot's Theory of Judgment]. She then worked as a Polish language and philosophy teacher in Lwów's secondary schools. In 1930, she pursued further academic training in Vienna, Berlin, and Paris.

During the 1930s, she worked at the University Library, was involved in the administration



In 1977, Dąmbska described her academic approach as follows:

“Coming from the Lwów Philosophical School of Kazimierz Twardowski, I strive – following its principle of scientific philosophy – to clarify and, as far as possible, resolve philosophical issues in such a way that, without any pre-conceived assumptions, I can formulate initial cognitive intuitions as clearly as possible, making them accessible to analysis, justification, and formal critique.”

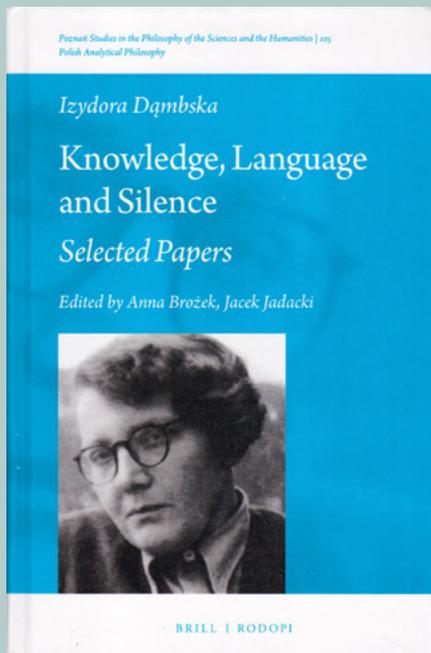
Dąmbska in Twardowski's office.

of the Polish Philosophical Society, and, after Twardowski's death, took over the editorial responsibilities for the journal *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement] alongside Daniela Gromska.

In 1939, as a descendant of an old knightly family, she underwent military training. After Poland's defeat in the 1939 war, she joined the secret Armia Krajowa [Home Army]. During World War II, she officially worked as a librarian while



Dąmbska (standing sixth from the right) among Twardowski's students in Lwów.



secretly organizing underground high school and academic education.

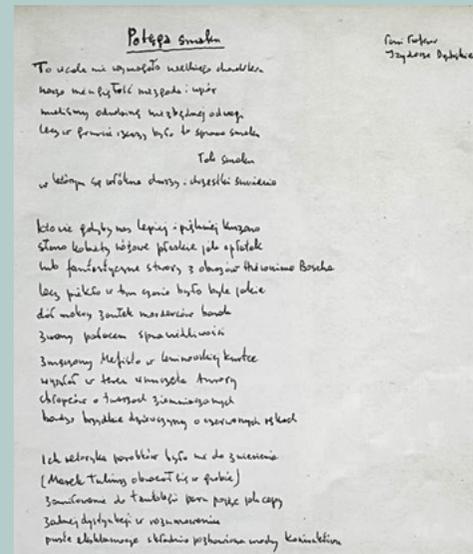
Fearing arrest by Soviet authorities (who were hostile to the old Polish nobility), she left her beloved Lwów in 1945 and moved to Gdańsk, which was now within Poland's postwar borders.

In 1946, she habilitated at the University of Warsaw based on her prewar dissertation *Irracjonalizm a poznanie naukowe* [Irrationalism and Scientific Cognition] and began working as an associate professor. In 1949, she was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy at Poznań University, but a year later, she was forced to resign from this position due to her class-inappropriate (aristocratic) background.



Zbigniew Herbert.

The renowned poet Zbigniew Herbert, who considered himself Dąmbska's philosophical student, dedicated his poem *The Power of Taste* to her. In it, he expressed the idea that making the right choices in life is not only a matter of reason but also of the titular "taste." Indeed, Dąmbska's actions during crucial historical moments exemplified this axiological connection.



After the political changes of 1956, she was appointed to the Chair of the History of Philosophy at Jagiellonian University in 1957. Together with Roman Ingarden, she attempted to revive Lwów's philosophical tradition in Kraków. She soon gathered a group of dedicated students and colleagues, but in 1964, once again for political reasons, she was removed from the university and transferred to the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Despite the official break in her ties with students, she continued to hold private seminars at her home for many years.

A moving account of her life can be found in *Izydora Dąmbska: 1904–1983*, edited in 2001 by one of her seminar participants, the distinguished



Dąmbska during the military training (summer 1939).



Dąmbska (sitting the third from the right) during the outdoor seminar of Twardowski (Zimna Woda nearby Lwów, 1927).

During World War II, she risked her life organizing underground education in Lwów and serving in the Armia Krajowa [Home Army]. When Poland fell behind the Iron Curtain, she did not hesitate to publicly protest against the communist authorities' violations of academic freedom. As a result, she was twice dismissed from university positions under accusations reminiscent of Socrates: of *corrupting the youth*.



Meeting of Dąmbska's Kraków *privatissimum* (1971).



philosopher Jerzy Perzanowski. The book's motto is taken from Dąmbska's letters from 1951: "The most important thing is to remain faithful to oneself and to the truth – everything else is secondary."



Her gravestone in Rudna Wielka bears an inscription she projected: "Izydora Dąmbska (1904–1983). Professor of Philosophy. Home Army Soldier."

She passed away on June 18, 1983, in Kraków and was buried in her family tomb in Rudna Wielka near Rzeszów.





**Seweryna Łuszczewska-  
Romahnowa  
(1904–1978).  
“Philosophy is not  
dying”**

Seweryna Łuszczewska-Romahnowa worked in the fields of mathematical logic, the methodology of science, and the history of philosophy and logic. She wrote on topics such as Venn diagrams, argumentation theory, issues of precision and clarity in scientific language, and the value of *Port-Royal Logic*. She frequently commented on the works of her mentors and colleagues, including Twardowski, Kotarbiński, and Ajdukiewicz. In her 1962 essay “Czy filozofia obumiera?” [Is philosophy dying?], she argued, in the spirit of the LWS, that many philosophical problems are meaningful and can be subjected to scientific analysis – and, in some cases, convincingly solved.

Seweryna ("Runia") and her sister Elżbieta ("Lila") were considered beautiful women. Both enrolled at Lwów University, but as Elżbieta's daughter, Izabela Cywińska, recalled, her mother pursued law studies mainly to find good company and ultimately a suitable husband. "Aunt Runia," on the other hand, studied philosophy "out of pure love for truth."

After World War II, Łuszczewska-Romahnowa and Kokoszyńska became the first women to hold chairs in logic in Poland – Kokoszyńska at the University of Wrocław (from 1951) and Romahnowa at the University of Poznań (from 1954).



Sisters Elżbieta Łuszczewska and Seweryna Łuszczewska.

Seweryna Łuszczewska-Romahnowa was born on August 10, 1904, in Mszana near Tarnopol (now in Ukraine) into a landowning family whose members held high political offices. Among her ancestors were Jan Paweł Łuszczewski, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Duchy of Warsaw, and Count Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Austrian Minister for Galicia. From 1922 to 1928 (with a two-year break), she studied philosophy at Lwów University under Kazimierz Twardowski and Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, and mathematics under Hugo Steinhaus and Stefan Banach.

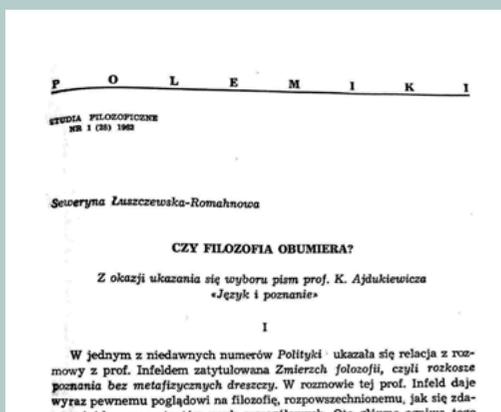
Between 1928 and 1932, she worked as a governess and secondary school teacher. In 1932, she earned her doctorate with a dissertation *O wyrażeniach okazjonalnych* [On Indexicals], supervised by Twardowski. Earlier, in 1930, she had become an assistant at Ajdukiewicz's Philosophical Seminar.

In 1934, she married Edmund Romahn, a philosopher and high school teacher.

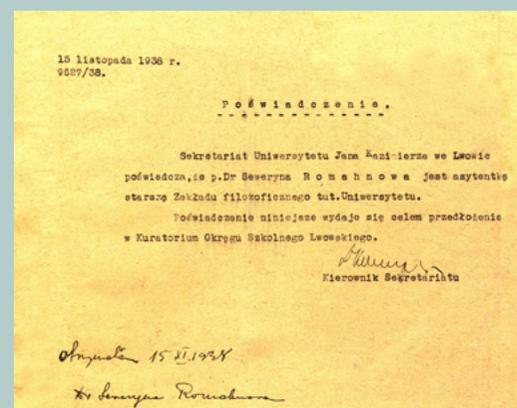
After the outbreak of World War II and the Soviet occupation of Lwów, she was dismissed from her university position and survived by giving private tutoring lessons. When the Germans took Lwów in 1941, both she and her husband were arrested by the Gestapo. They were sent to the Majdanek concentration camp, where Edmund died. Seweryna was later transferred first to Ra-



From the left: Łuszczewska-Romahnowa (the second) and Izydora Dąmbaska (the third) (Jabtonna 1961).

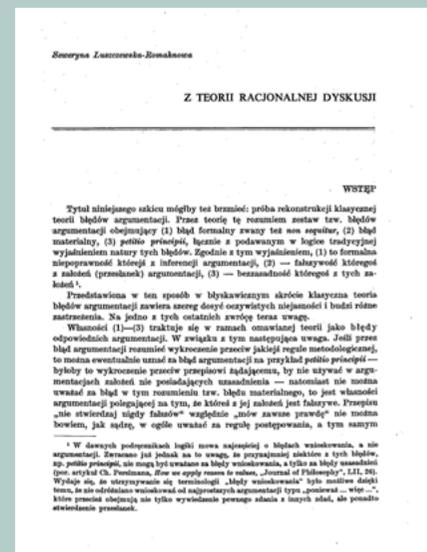
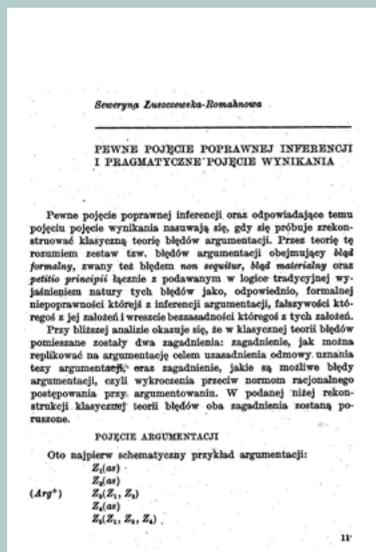
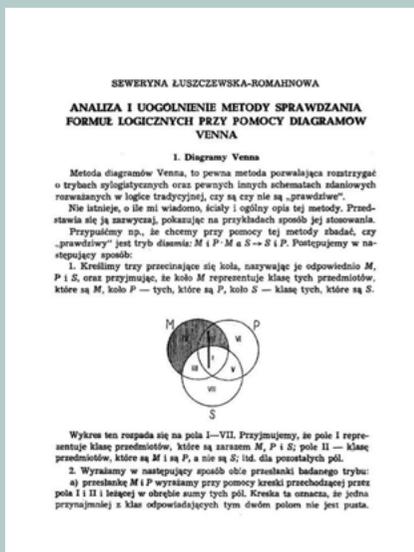


Łuszczewska-Romahnowa's paper "Is philosophy dying?."



Certificate of Łuszczewska-Romahnowa's employment as an assistant at Philosophy Department at University of Lwów (1936).

Luszczewska-Romahnowa firmly adhered to the LWS's stance on the scientific nature of philosophy. In 1962, she wrote: "Philosophical problems include both genuine issues and various pseudo-problems. Therefore, philosophy must first and foremost undertake an analysis, particularly of the language in which these philosophical problems are formulated. As a result of such analysis, some questions will prove to be substantive issues, while others – such as one version of the problem of universals – will be exposed as merely apparent questions."



Luszczewska-Romahnowa's papers.



Standing in the first row: Luszczewska-Romahnowa (on the right) and Ajdukiewicz (on the left) (Jabtonna 1961).



With Maria Kokoszyńska (Jabtonna 1961).

vensbrück and then to Buchenwald, where she remained until the end of the war.

After the war, she was invited by Ajdukiewicz to join the University of Poznań. In 1954, she became an associate professor, and when Ajdukiewicz left Poznań for Warsaw, she took over the Chair of Logic

at Poznań University. In 1962, she was appointed a full professor.

She remained at the University of Poznań until her retirement in 1974.

Seweryna Łuszczewska-Romahnowa passed away on June 27, 1978, in Poznań.





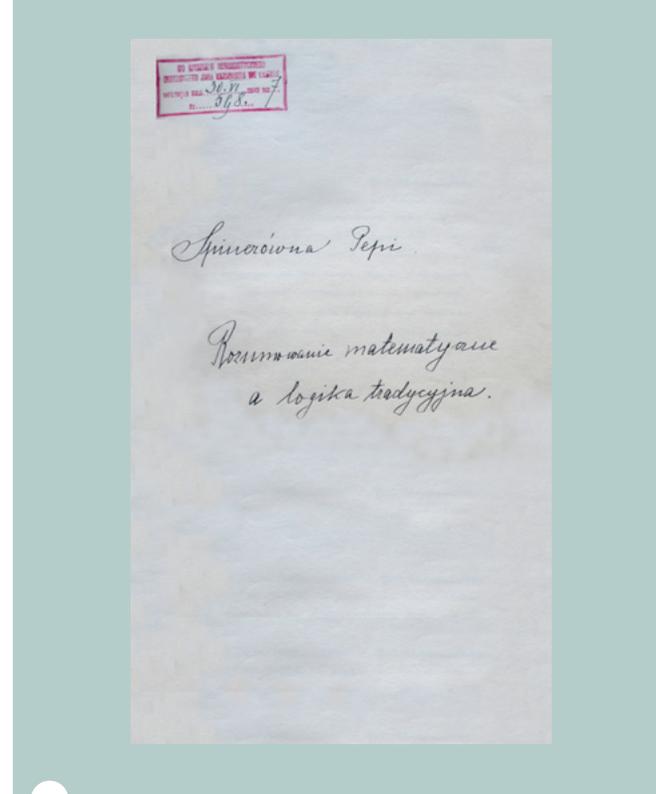
**Józefina Mehlberg  
(1905–1969).  
Reason and Will**

She was an extraordinary figure, both in intellect and strength of character. Her research lay at the intersection of philosophy, logic, mathematics. She analyzed the topics such as the foundations of mathematics and probability theory. During World War II, she passed a test of exceptional courage and resourcefulness by undertaking an incredible mission: saving human lives from within the very heart of a “factory of death.”



Mehlberg (the first from the left) among the former members of Twardowski's seminar (Lwów 1936).

Józefina (Pepi) Spinner-Mehlberg was born on May 1, 1904, in Żórawno, into a middle-class Jewish family. She completed her doctoral dissertation, *Rozumowanie matematyczne a logika tradycyjna* [Mathematical Reasoning and Traditional Logic], at Lwów University under the supervision of Kazimierz Twardowski (1928). She received a thorough education in philosophy and mathematics and was fluent in several languages – an ability that, a decade later, proved crucial to successfully car-



Title page of Spinner-Mehlberg's dissertation.

rying out a mission entrusted to her by the Polish Armia Krajowa [Home Army]. Twardowski's *Diaries* note that she was deeply moved by the suffering of others.

In 1933, she married Henryk Mehlberg, one of Twardowski's students and later a prominent philosopher of science. In 1938, she completed a postdoctoral fellowship at the Sorbonne in Paris. Before the outbreak of World War II, she worked as a teacher.



The Mehler family among Twardowski's students (1925).

After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and the Germans occupied Lwów (1941), she joined the underground Armia Krajowa [Home Army]. Using false documents under the name Countess Janina Suchodolska, she and her husband moved to Lublin. There, under the auspices of the Rada Główna Opiekuńcza [Central Welfare Council] – the only Polish charity organization allowed to operate by

the German occupiers (though limited to aiding those of “Aryan” descent) – she coordinated efforts to provide practical aid to prisoners of the nearby Majdanek concentration camp. This aid saved many lives from death by starvation or execution.

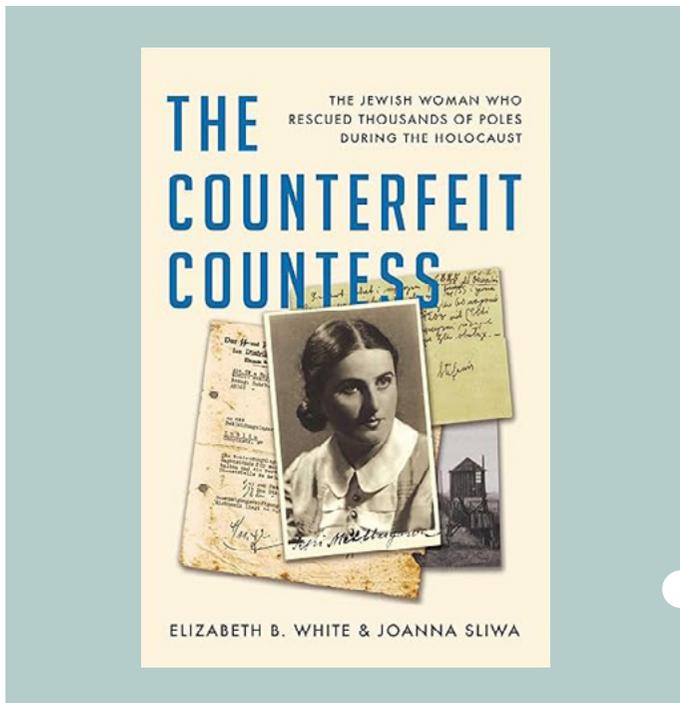
“Countess Suchodolska” displayed extraordinary skill in clandestine operations – so much that, despite the Gestapo’s extensive surveillance



Guard tower of the Majdanek concentration camp.



Barracks of the Majdanek concentration camp.



From the right: Józefina (1) and Henryk (3) Mehlberg in Canada.

Recently, a book, *The False Countess* (2024) by Elizabeth B. White and Joanna Śliwa, has been published. Its subtitle speaks for itself: “The Jewish Woman Who Rescued Thousands of Poles During the Holocaust.” This little-known but highly significant story provides an essential counterpoint to the more commonly recognized accounts of Poles who saved thousands of Jews from the Holocaust.

system, her true identity was never uncovered. The Gestapo even treated her with the respect due to an aristocrat.

Shortly after the war, the Mehlbergs emigrated from Poland to Canada and later to the United

States. Józefina Mehlberg first worked at universities in Toronto (1951-1956), then in Chicago (1957-1961), and finally at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago (1961-1969).

She passed away on May 26, 1969, in Chicago.





**Maria Kokoszyńska  
(1905–1981).  
Science, Truth,  
Metaphysics**

Her main academic interests were epistemology and semantics, particularly theories of truth and meaning. She reconstructed various conceptions of metaphysics, conducted an in-depth analysis of the empiricism-apriorism controversy, and creatively expanded the classical understanding of truth and analyticity. She outlined a vision of science that emphasized the necessity of a certain liberalization of the conceptual rigor of her school. She was an excellent debater, as evidenced by her critical examination of Carnap's early views.

Kokoszyńska served as the “ambassador” of the LWS in Vienna. She published, among others, in *Erkenntnis*, the journal edited by Rudolf Carnap. It was Lutman who convinced Carnap of the philosophical significance of the semantic breakthroughs achieved by the Warsaw School of Logic – especially those outlined in Alfred Tarski’s 1933 monograph, *The Concept of Truth in Formalized Languages*.

She shared a long-standing friendship with Alfred (“Fredek”) Tarski.

Her discussions with Carnap significantly contributed to the evolution of the Vienna Circle’s dominant views on semantics.

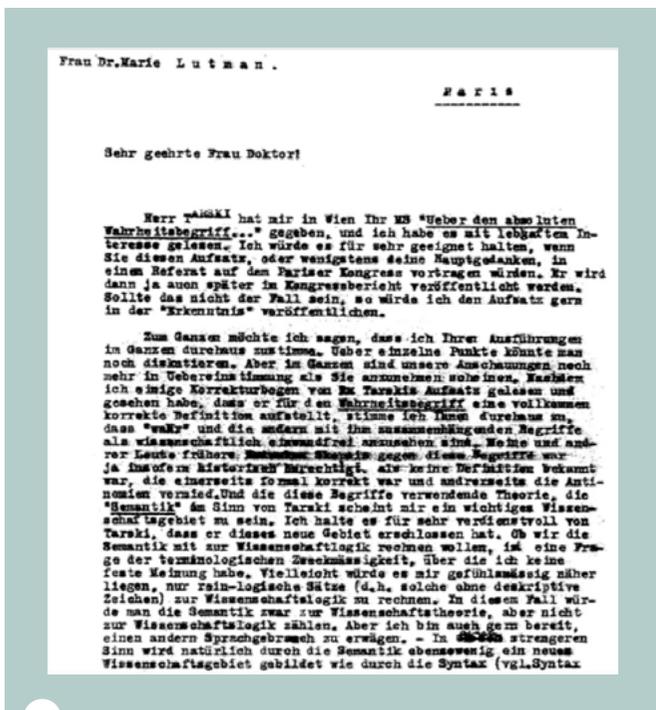


Kokoszyńska (sitting the second from the left in the middle row) among the participants of Twardowski’s seminar (Lwów 1926).

**M**aria Kokoszyńska (also known as Kokoszyńska-Lutmanowa) was born on December 6, 1905, in Bóbrka near Lwów, into a civil servant’s family. In 1923, she began studying philosophy, with Kazimierz Twardowski as her primary mentor and later dissertation supervisor. She also attended philosophy lectures by Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Roman Ingarden, as well as mathematics courses

taught by Stefan Banach, Stanisław Ruziewicz, and Hugo Steinhaus.

She defended her doctoral dissertation, *Nazwy ogólne i wieloznaczne* [General and Ambiguous Names], in 1928. From 1930, she worked as an assistant at Ajdukiewicz’s Philosophical Seminar. In 1932, she married Roman Lutman, a lawyer and journalist. The marriage was childless, and



A fragment of a letter from Rudolf Carnap to Maria Kokoszyńska (1935).

Kokoszyńska retained financial independence and a great deal of personal freedom.

In 1934, she traveled to Vienna, where she attended meetings of the Vienna Circle and established connections with figures such as Moritz Schlick, Karl Menger, and Kurt Gödel. In 1935, she visited Paris to participate in the First International Congress for the Unity of Science. She also took part in similar



Kokoszyńska and Alfred Tarski in Paris (1935).

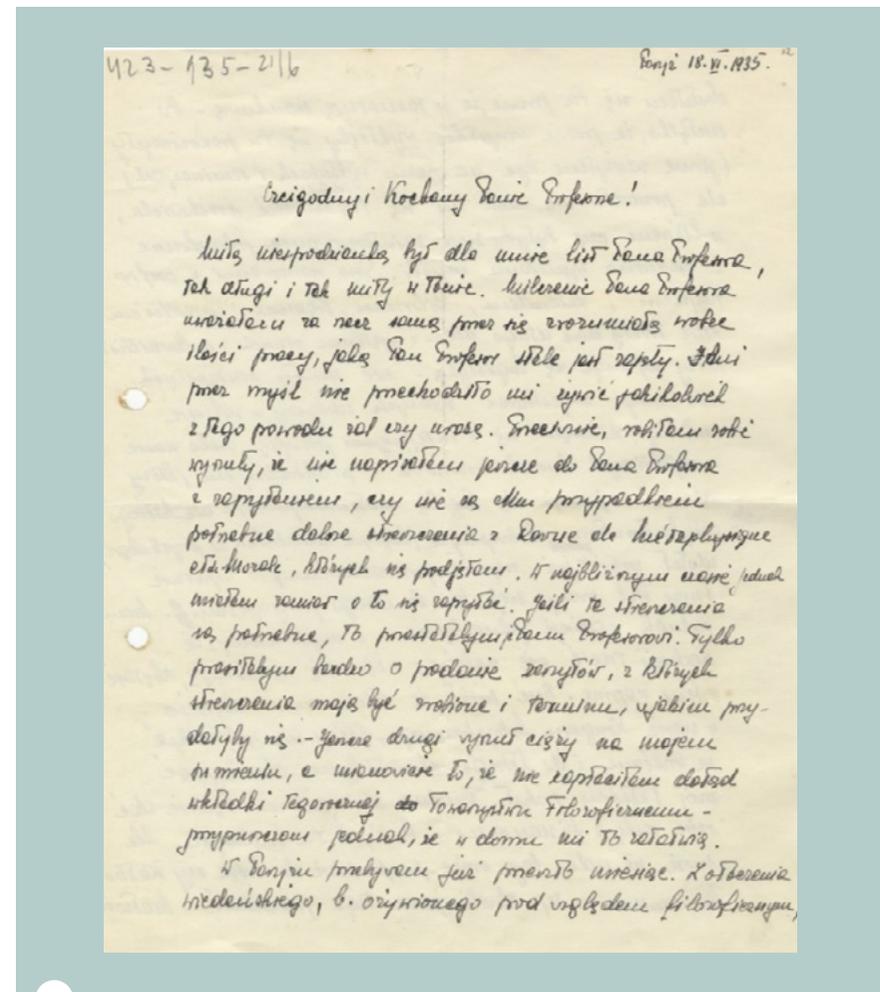
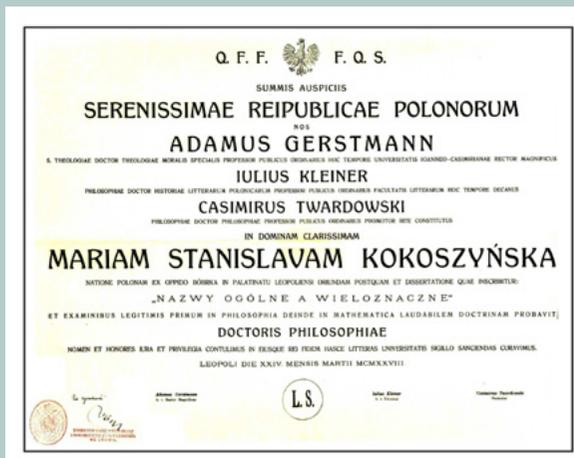
congresses in Copenhagen, again in Paris, and Cambridge. From 1936 to 1939, and again from 1945 to 1947, the Lutmans lived in Katowice, where Roman directed Silesian Institute while Maria organized the city's philosophical life. During World War II, she lived in Lwów, where she worked at the tax office.

After the war, in 1947, she obtained habilitation at the University of Poznań with her dissertation



From the left: Kokoszyńska, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Seweryna Łuszczewska-Romahnowa (Jabtonna 1961).

She was one of Twardowski's closest students, appreciated for both her intellectual talent and strength of character. Kokoszyńska held her professor in great esteem. During her academic travels, she sent him long letters detailing the intellectual life of Europe's philosophical capitals at the time.



Kokoszyńska's letter to Kazimierz Twardowski.

Kokoszyńska's PhD diploma.



Sitting from the left: Izydora Dąmbska, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, Maria Kokoszyńska (Jabłonna 1961).



*Relatywizm w teorii prawdy* [Relativism in the Theory of Truth]. From that time, she worked in Wrocław, where she first became a docent (1951) and later a full professor (1969) at the University of Wrocław. She held key administrative positions at the univer-

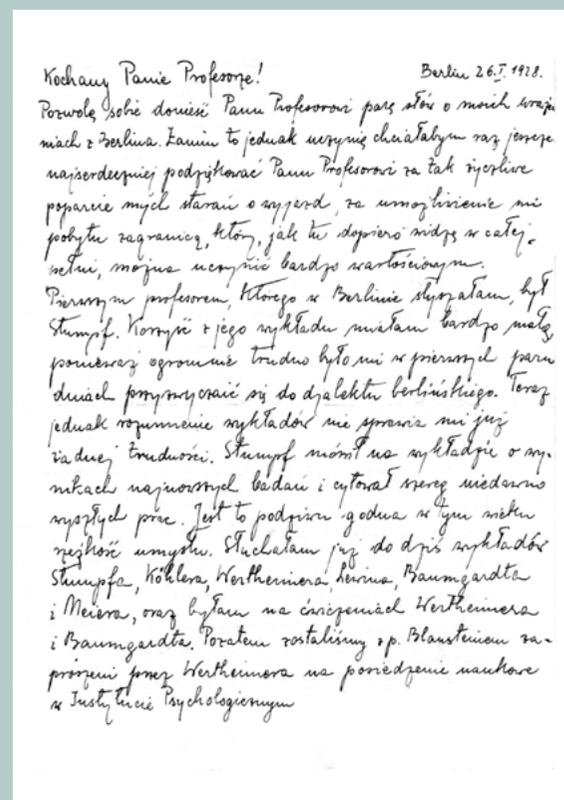
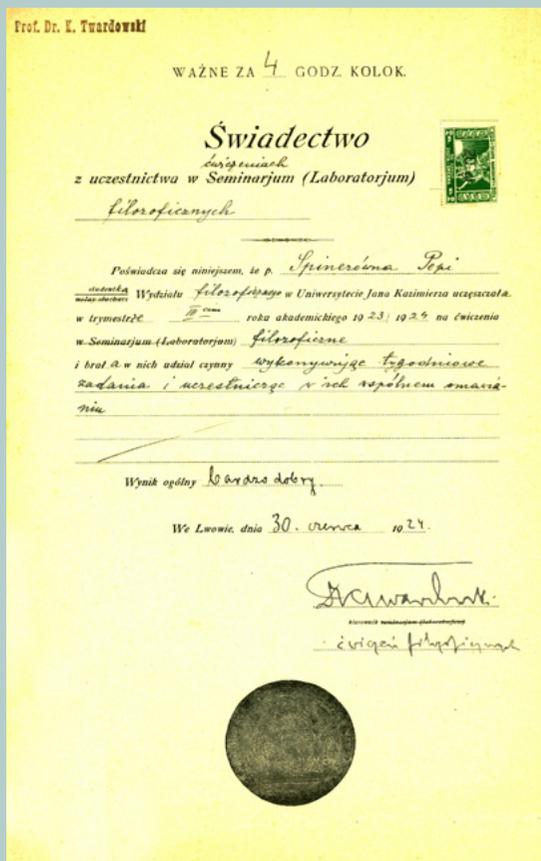
sity, serving as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (1951–1954) and as Vice-Rector (1955–1958). She played a crucial role in shaping Wrocław’s academic logic society. She retired in 1975 and passed away on June 30, 1981, in Wrocław.



## Eugenia Ginsberg- Blausteinowa (1905–1942). An Unfinished Life

Ginsberg-Blausteinowa was a representative of the last generation of Twardowski's students. She conducted the first meticulous analysis of the theory of wholes and parts contained in Edmund Husserl's only *Logical Investigations* (which was the only Husserl's book highly regarded in the LWS). She published only two articles on this topic, but her contributions in the field of formal ontology are considered pioneering. Unfortunately, her life ended tragically when she was barely forty years old.

Blausteinowa's certificate of attendance to Twardowski's tutorials.



Blausteinowa's letter to Twardowski (1928).

**E**ugenia Blausteinowa (nee Ginsberg) was born on December 5, 1905, in Lwów into a Jewish family. In 1923, she began her studies at Lwów University, where she attended lectures in philosophy and mathematics. Under Twardowski's guidance, she wrote her dissertation *O samoistności i niesamoistności* [On Self-Subsistence and Non-Self-Subsistence], which became the basis for her doctorate in 1927. She passed

her doctoral exams (in philosophy and mathematics) with distinction. After completing her studies in Lwów, she went on a scholarship to Berlin, where she attended lectures by Carl Stumpf and Kurt Lewin.

Upon returning from Berlin, she married Leopold Blaustein, also a student of Twardowski (who, as recorded in his *Diaries*, was present at their wedding). In 1929 and 1931, Eugenia published



### On the Concepts of Existential Dependence and Independence\*

The concepts of existential dependence and independence which are the subject of our deliberations belong to that order of concepts in philosophy which laid out the hope that they can not only be intuitively grasped, but also precisely defined. In the philosophy of the last decades we find a whole series of efforts to define these concepts precisely, though various authors apply different names to them. The attempts made by Stumpf, Heiler, and Twardowski provide us with a series of ever more precise definitions of the concepts we are here examining, culminating in the investigations of Husserl, who devoted a separate work to these problems. Nevertheless, there are still certain difficulties and obscurities in their definitions. Hence, our critical analyses are supplemented by an attempt at a new definition, which is doubtless itself by no means finally definitive.

The most precise of all possible definitions of the concepts of existential dependence and independence can be used either for the purpose of creating a science that treats dependent and independent objects, or they can be applied in many different areas of philosophical research and in other fields. We find the beginnings of an essential deductive system in Husserl, who formulated a series of axioms concerning dependent and independent parts and wholes.<sup>1</sup> We have examined these axioms elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the fact that the concept of dependence can be applied in many areas, e.g. in the area of sense contents, psychic facts, meanings, activities and products, objects of higher orders, etc., confirms to the fullest extent the distinctions which are the subject of this paper.

\* English translation of "O zjawisku bytowej zależności i niezależności", *Kwartalnik neoscholasticzny*, Tom 1, 1928, 1-11. The author's name is there given in its Polish married form: Eugenia A. Ginzbergowa (Ginzbergowa).

265

### Vedrørende Husserls lære om helheter og deler

Eugenia Ginzberg

#### On Husserl's Theory of Wholes and Parts

Institutt og professor Peter Fedtved  
Denne handlingen er utarbejdet på Østlandske Universitet i Trondheim og Universitetet i Oslo. Forfatteren er en norsk-bornet filosof, som er historisk utdannet og har en systematisk utdannelse innen psykologi, filosofi og vitenskapsteori.

SAMMENFATTING  
Her gis en norsk oversettelse av Eugenia Ginzbergs artikkel «Zur Existenzialen Lehre von den Ganzen und den Teilen» i *Archiv für systematische Philosophie und Soziologie* 32, 1926, 106-120. Artikkelen diskuterer Husserls lære fra *Logische Untersuchungen* III, §14. Ginzberg gir nye bevis for teorier 1 og 3, og hun gir nye bevis for 5. Diskusjonen gir hen til modifikasjoner av teori 2, 4 og 6. Men, hun gir bevis som holder for modifikasjonene av disse teoriene. I tillegg foreslår hun nye bevis, basert på Ginzbergs modifiserte teori. Det gir også en kort introduksjon til Ginzbergs generelle teori som del av den Husserlske diskusjonen. «Og tenk for at hun har drept en nasjonalistisk indoktrinering i 1942», sier Ginzberg i sine kommentarer til Husserls teori i denne artikkelen, som er et håndtrykk med innsett illustrasjoner og utgitt som en separat publikasjon fra 1951, hvor hun utvikler sine bevis for uttrykket på en annen måte (som for eksempel i hennes arbeid av Roman Ingarden til ved den KTH FOU).

ABSTRACT  
A Norwegian translation is here offered of Eugenia Ginzberg's paper «Zur Existenzialen Lehre von den Ganzen und den Teilen» in *Archiv für systematische Philosophie und Soziologie* 32, 1926, 106-120. The paper discusses Husserl's theories from *Logical Investigations* III, §14. Ginzberg provides new proofs for theorems 1 and 3, and also discusses theorems 5. In contrast, a counter example is given to theorems 2, 4, and 6. However, proofs are supplied for a modified version of these theorems. Furthermore, an additional five theorems are deduced based upon Ginzberg's modified theorems. Also, a brief introduction to the author's modified theory is here offered.

Edmund

### VIII. Zur Husserlschen Lehre von den Ganzen und Teilen.

Von  
Eugenia Ginzberg (Lemberg).

Im zweiten Bande der „Logischen Untersuchungen“ formuliert Husserl sechs Sätze, die für das selbständige und unselbständige Ganze resp. für die selbständigen und unselbständigen Teile gelten sollen. Sie werden aus Definitionen deduziert, besitzen also den Charakter deduktiv begründeter Sätze. Von diesen Sätzen scheinen mir vier zum Teil falsch formuliert, zum Teil nicht richtig begründet zu sein.

Vor der Untersuchung dieser Sätze wird es wohl nützlich sein, sich den Inhalt der Husserlschen Definitionen der Selbständigkeit und Unselbständigkeit zu vergegenwärtigen. Diese Definitionen sind — wie ich es in einer größeren, noch nicht gedruckten Arbeit zu begründen versuchte — einerseits zu eng, wie die Definition der Unselbständigkeit, andererseits zu weit, wie die Definition der Selbständigkeit. Im folgenden soll aber nur rein immanente Kritik geübt werden, das heißt, sie soll die Richtigkeit der Husserlschen Definitionen voraussetzen.

Die Selbständigkeit eines Inhalts bedeutet nach Husserl, „daß die Existenz dieses Inhalts, soweit an ihm selbst seinem Wesen nach liegt, durch die Existenz anderer Inhalte gar nicht bedingt ist, daß er, so wie er ist, a priori, d. i. eben in seinem Wesen nach, existieren könnte, auch wenn außer ihm gar nichts da wäre, oder wenn sich alles um ihn herum willkürlich, das ist gestutzt änderte. Oder was offenbar gleichwertig ist: In der „Natur“ des Inhalts selbst, in seinem idealen Wesen.

Lwów ghetto (1942).



two articles on the third *Investigation* of Husserl; the first article was written in German, allowing it to be permanently incorporated into the world literature of phenomenology.

She collaborated with the journal *Ruch Filozoficzny* [Philosophical Movement], writing summaries of the contents of the journal *Annalen der Philosophie und philosophischen Kritik*. In the 1930s, she gave birth to a son and paused her advanced philosophical

research; during this time, she published several articles on early childhood education.

After the German army occupied Lwów in 1941, the Ginsbergs, along with their son, were forced into the Jewish ghetto. All three lost their lives there, though it is unclear exactly when (either 1942 or 1944) or how. According to one version, they were murdered by the Germans. According to another version, they committed suicide.





## Helena Rasiowa (1917–1994). Logic and Artificial Intelligence

She was a prominent figure in the Warsaw School of Logic, founded in the interwar period by Łukasiewicz. Her research focused on mathematical logic, the foundations of computer science, automated methods of proof and the general theory of artificial intelligence. She began with studies on algebraic methods in logic, achieving such significant results that algebraic logic came to be known worldwide as “what Rasiowa does.”

In the cathedral in Naumburg, there is a 13th-century stone figure of Princess Rege-  
linda, daughter of Bolesław the Brave, commonly called the “Smiling Polish Woman”. Rasiowa resembled Rege-  
linda in appearance, and in all the photographs of her, from her early youth to late old age, she is smiling. The dominant feature of her character was her sunny disposition and trust in people. This shape of her personality is emphasized by all who knew her.



**H**elena Bączalska-Rasiowa was born on June 20, 1917, in Vienna to a family with a railway and administrative background. After Poland regained independence, she moved with her parents to Warsaw. She graduated in 1935 from the Aniela Warcka High School. She was talented in music and began studying piano at the Fryderyk Chopin Music School (1936-1938). However, her true calling proved to be mathematics and logic.



In 1938, she enrolled at the University of Warsaw, which was soon closed after the Germans entered Warsaw (1939). Rasiowa resumed her studies at the underground university in 1941. The Warsaw Uprising (1944) and its catastrophic consequences once again interrupted the university’s activities. Rasiowa and her mother survived the bombings, sheltering in the basement of the house they lived in, though a fire caused by the bombs destroyed their entire belongings.

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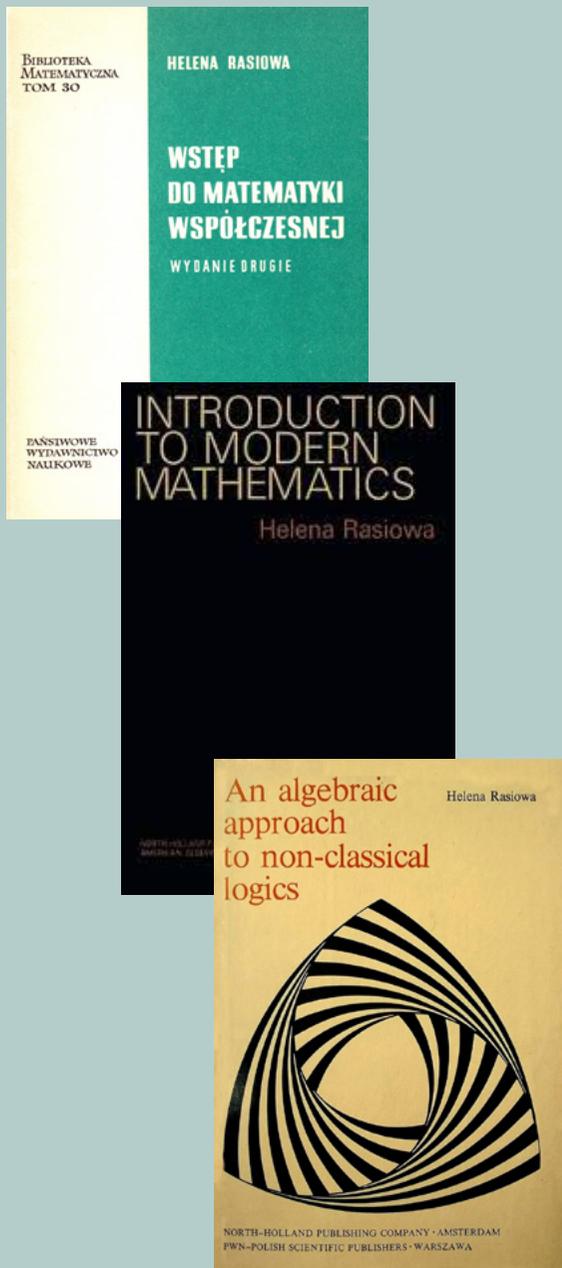
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Just a month before the outbreak of World War II, Rasiowa managed to take an exam in mathematical logic with Łukasiewicz, who wrote in his handwritten notes that she passed with “excellent progress.” At the underground University, she attended lectures by prominent mathematicians, including Karol Borsuk, Kazimierz Kuratowski, Stanisław Pieńkowski, Waclaw Sierpiński, and of course, Łukasiewicz. Her master’s thesis, *Aksjomatyzacja pewnego częściowego rachunku*



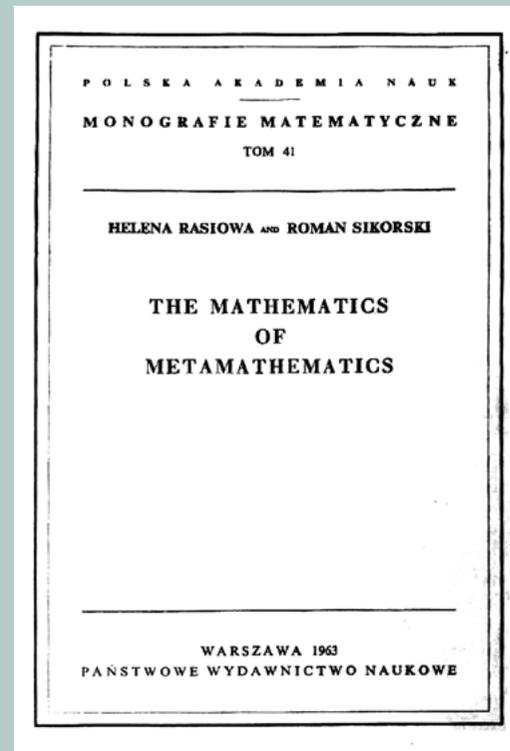
Rasiowa and  
Zdzisław Pawlak.

Sobociński wrote in a short review of Rasiowa’s master’s thesis that it contained “new results, complementing research on the structure of the theory of deduction conducted in the Łukasiewicz Logical School, and could serve as a starting point for new research and issues,” and he assessed it as very good.



Maria Semeniuk-Polkowska recently wrote about Rasiowa: “Her voice had much warmth, care, and love when she spoke about her children: Zbyszek, Krysia, and her granddaughter Magda in the USA – and also when she spoke about her “scientific children”: Inka, Andrzej, Witek, Anita, Janek, Ela, Halina, Ewa, and many, many others. She appreciated people. She was pleased that none of her students had wasted their talents.”

This opinion is confirmed by those mentioned in Semeniuk-Polkowska’s text: Andrzej (Skowron) and Ewa (Orłowska). In 1994, they wrote: “She was an incredibly hardworking, kind, and cheerful person, combining goodness and sensitivity to human problems with enormous intelligence. She was always ready to offer help, not only in academic matters but also in everyday life problems. In every situation, even the most difficult one, she tried to do as much good as possible; this was her life principle.”



*implikacyjnego Teorii Dedukcji* [Axiomatization of a Certain Partial System of Implicational Deduction Theory], was supervised by Łukasiewicz's student, Bolesław Sobociński.

After the war, Rasiowa worked at the University of Warsaw for more than forty years (1946–1989). Her doctoral supervisor in 1950 was Andrzej Mostowski (Łukasiewicz and Sobociński were no longer in Poland). Her dissertation was titled *Algebraiczne*

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**Helena Rasiowa Award**

The Helena Rasiowa Award is the best student paper awarded for the CSL conference series, starting from CSL 2022.

The award is given to the best paper (as decided by the PC) written solely by students or for which students were the main contributors. A student in this context is any person who is currently studying for a degree or whose PhD award date is less than one year prior to the first day of the conference.

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- Membership
- CSL Conferences
- Advances Award
- Submissions
- Previous Awards
- Website Acknowledges
- Alois Church Award



*ujęcie rachunków funkcyjnych Lewisa i Heytinga* [Algebraic Treatment of Lewis and Heyting's Functional Calculi]. Six years later, Rasiowa habilitated with the works *Algebraiczne modele teorii elementarnych i ich zastosowania* [Algebraic Models of Elementary Theories and Their Applications] and *Constructive Theories*. She soon became an extraordinary professor (1957) and a full professor (1967).

She became one of the pillars of the Polish society of mathematicians. For nearly thirty years, she served as the head of the Department of Foundations of Mathematics (1964–1970) and the Department of Mathematical Logic (1970–1992). She was also the dean of the Faculty of Mathematics for more than fifteen years. Along with Zdzisław Pawlak, she founded the journal *Fundamenta Informaticae*, where she served as editor-in-chief. Around this journal, a group of specialists formed, later known as the “Polish School of Artificial Intelligence” or the “Pawlak–Rasiowa School.”

Her scientific output includes about a hundred publications, including three major monographs and the excellent textbook *Wprowadzenie do matematyki współczesnej* [Introduction to Modern Mathematics], which has numerous editions in Polish and two English editions. She led a highly active academic life, giving lectures at nearly fifty universities in countries such as the USA, Canada, the UK, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Bulgaria.

Rasiowa passed away on August 9, 1994, in Warsaw. She was still in her full creative powers, preparing a book on non-classical logics, thus returning to the topics that her teacher, Łukasiewicz, had introduced.



**Alicja Iwańska  
(1918–1996).  
Logic and Poetry**

She was a writer, philosopher, ethicist, and sociologist, but above all, she was a brilliant, courageous, and independent woman who always sought to live life to the fullest. Various chapters of her life inspired both her novel-writing and her research. Her friend, Danuta Hiż, wrote in her memoirs: “She felt not only the right but also the duty to live to the fullest of her intellectual and emotional possibilities, despite the catastrophes she encountered, and without wanting to rely on others.”



**A**licja Iwańska was born on May 13, 1918, in Lublin, into a landowning family. She spent her childhood and youth in Poznań. Her wealthy parents provided her with a thorough education and allowed her to move in the highest artistic and scientific circles. She wanted to become a writer,



but in 1936, she began philosophical studies at the University of Warsaw because someone convinced her that “rigorous philosophy” provided the best preparation for literary writing.

Her primary teacher in Warsaw was Kotarbiński; under his supervision – already at the underground

Alicja Iwańska and Jan Gralewski.

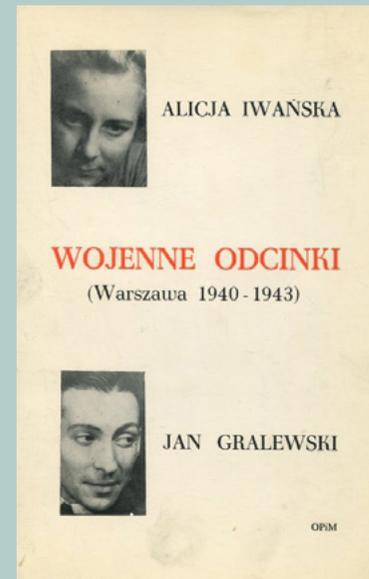
### LOGIKA

Spętała mnie włókniasto,  
wwierciła się w czoło  
i do mózgu dotarła gdzie nie była nigdy...  
Zdarła barwną pierzyskość  
fikcyjnym aniołom...  
...tym ultrafioletowym  
i tym słowo-skazydłym.  
Logistazy! Logizje! do Logosu idźcie,  
bo źle wam mieszkać we mnie, a mnie patrzeć na to,  
jak umierają moje rozbrojone fikcje,  
jak w konwulsjach się kurczy, zaciska, pomniejsza  
z nazw pustych najsmutniejsza:  
Bóg bez desygnatu.

(1938)

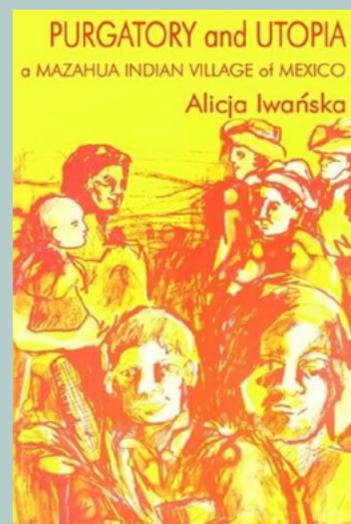
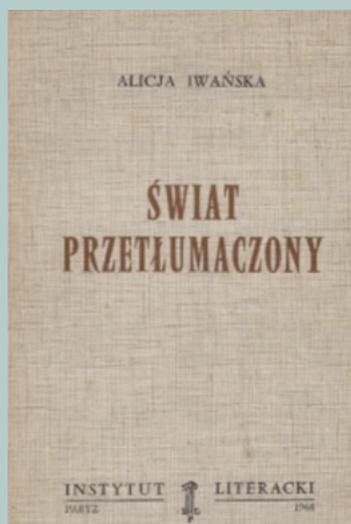
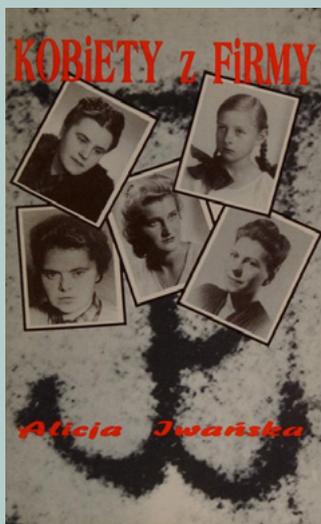
At the University of Warsaw, two trends coexisted in philosophical studies – to simplify: the mathematical-logical trend, represented by Łukasiewicz, Leśniewski, and Kotarbiński, and the humanistic-aesthetic trend, represented by Witwicki and Tatarkiewicz. Iwańska found herself on the border of these two “worlds”; the dilemmas related to her position as someone “from the border” were expressed in her poignant poem *Logika* [Logic], full of unusual, yet contextually understandable neologisms.

The choice of her master’s thesis topic was not accidental: Iwańska did not hide the fact that she wanted to live exactly the “full life” – and in defiance of various adverse circumstances, she remained faithful to this practice of living “to the fullest.” However, wanting to please the “practical realist” Kotarbiński, in her thesis, Iwańska harshly criticized the conception of the “full life” – so harshly that even her supervisor felt obligated to defend some aspects of this conception.



Her marriage to Gralewski resulted in nearly daily correspondence – passionate and rich in intriguing life observations of two exceptionally intelligent people. These “letters-not-letters,” as Iwańska described them, were published in 1982 as *Wojenne odcinki* [War Episodes], which she considered her most important book.

Iwańska's war-time experiences are described in her collection of stories *Tylko trzynaście* [Only thirteen] (1996). The book *Kobiety z firmy* [Women from the firm] (1995) details the work of women intelligence officers from the Armia Krajowa [Home Army]. Her time in Mexico led to the novel *Świat przetłumaczony* [Translator world] (1968), and her experiences in the American academic environment gave rise to the novel *Baśń amerykańska* [American fable] (1988). Even her last stay in the hospital, caused by an illness from which she would never recover, left a trace in the poignant journalistic-literary text *Szpitałe* [Hospitals] (1997).



University of Warsaw (in 1941) – she completed her master's thesis *Filozofia pełni życia J.-M. Guyau* [Philosophy of the Full Life by J.-M. Guyau]. She also participated in the aesthetic seminars of Władysław Tatarkiewicz, where she met her future husband, Jan Gralewski, whom she secretly married in 1942. Both became heavily involved in the resistance activities: Iwańska held essential roles in the Armia Krajowa [Home Army] intelligence, while Gralewski was a foreign courier for the Polish Underground State. Gralewski became a victim of a tragedy that occurred on July 4, 1943, in Gibraltar, where he died alongside General Władysław Sikorski. The causes and background of this event have not been fully explained to this day. Iwańska unsuccessfully attempted to unravel the mystery

of the so-called Gibraltar disaster, in which she lost her husband and love of her life.

Iwańska participated in the Warsaw Uprising (1944). In 1946, fearing arrest by the communist regime (the communists who entered Poland in 1944–45 imprisoned and killed more important members of the Armia Krajowa [Home Army]), she left Poland and moved to the USA. There, she had to start everything anew. In 1957, she earned a doctorate at Columbia University (in New York) based on the dissertation *Values in Crisis Situations*. She worked at several American universities, most notably for twenty years at the State University of New York at Albany (1965–1984).

For many years, she traveled on research fellowships to Mexico; this country fascinated her so



much that she dedicated many works to the local communities there. She also traveled scientifically to other countries in the Americas: Canada, Brazil, and Chile. Her works, inspired by research conducted in Mexico, drew the attention of local researchers because they were noticeably different from the approaches they were accustomed to. Iwańska brought two beliefs with her from Poland: that precision in terminology is an essential condition for practicing any science, and that in psychology, especially social psychology, a humanistic approach is necessary (as opposed to the “dehumanized” test-mania).

In 1985, she left the United States and settled permanently in London, where she lectured at the Polish University Abroad. In her last years, she visited Poland several times.

She passed away on September 26, 1996, in London.

## Closing remarks

**W**hat is the significance of the phenomenon of women from the Lvov-Warsaw School for the contemporary World?

The heroines of this book were guided by two great and ever-relevant ideals: the ideal of freedom and the ideal of equality. In the LWS, the ideal of freedom for women was promoted and implemented as their unrestricted access to education at all levels and an open path to an academic career. The ideal of equality, on the other hand, was equated with a fair evaluation of women's work and achievements.

In Poland, both ideals have taken mainly root. However, on a global scale, the situation is far less favorable. In many parts of the world, girls and women still lack access to education and are not given the freedom to choose their life paths. It seems that recalling the achievements of the women of this great Polish philosophical school may help other communities break down barriers and overcome prejudices in this regard.

Let us add that in some societies, the ideals of freedom and equality are misunderstood: freedom

as unrestricted license, and equality as privilege without merit. No such overinterpretations occurred within the LWS.

Moreover, the biographies of several women from Twardowski's School, outlined in this album, demonstrate that this intellectual environment fostered two universal virtues: rigorous thinking and effective action. Members of the School believed that those who learn to think clearly and methodically also gain the ability to rationally assess their goals and the means to achieve them, as well as a moral imperative to put their abilities into practice. An essential complement to the life stance of the women from the LWS was the principle of kindness and mercy in practical endeavors and human relations.

These remarkable women embodied not only the virtues of reason and kindness but also civic courage. In doing so, they proved that, contrary to stereotypes, these virtues are not mutually exclusive but require each other. One should never forget this truth.

The Lvov-Warsaw School is the most prominent Polish philosophical school and an important branch of 20th-century scientific philosophy. Founded by Kazimierz Twardowski in Lwów, it later established a second center in Warsaw and thrived during the interwar period (1920-1939).

An often-overlooked but remarkable aspect of the Lvov-Warsaw School is the significant involvement of women in its intellectual life. This School produced the first women to earn doctoral degrees in philosophy, psychology, and logic at Polish universities. In the first two generations of the School's activities, nearly seventy women were affiliated with it, meaning that approximately one-third of its members were women. This proportion is extraordinary, especially considering that women were only granted the right to study at universities in the final years of the 19th century. No other center of scientific philosophy at the time had such a strong female representation.

Around thirty women from the Lvov-Warsaw School pursued academic careers in fields such as philosophy, logic, psychology, pedagogy, and sociology. About half of these women obtained habilitations and later became university professors, making them some of the first women to hold such positions at Polish universities. Additionally, other women associated with the School became pioneers in various areas, including social work, education, and journalism.

This album showcases the profiles of several female representatives of the Lvov-Warsaw School and contributes to a broader narrative about these remarkable women.



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