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JÓZEF ALOJZY DMOWSKI SJ (1799-1879) PRECURSOR OF THE RENEWAL OF THOMISM

Józef Alojzy [Josephus Aloisius] Dmowski was one of the precursors of the nineteenth century renewal of Thomism and this was a few dozen years before the promulgation of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Aeterni Patris* (1879). He was one of the most famous Christian philosophers of the nineteenth century. His work was also the first extensive philosophy textbook of that time which included all the disciplines of the time, published by the Jesuits after the re-establishment of the Order in 1814. (The suppression took place in 1773).¹

Until now Dmowski's philosophy has not been the subject of an extensive study. I aim to remedy this in the present article.

Biography and publications

Józef Alojzy Dmowski was born on the twenty-fifth of November 1799 in Żytomierz (now the Ukraine). He joined the Society of Jesus on the sixth of June 1818 in a Belarussian Province. After the exile of the Jesuits from Russia in 1820, he left for Italy and continued his studies of rhetoric in Genoa². Next he carried out philosophical studies in Forli and Genoa (1821-1824), and theological studies in Rome at *Collegium Romanum* (1824-1828). In Rome he was ordained in 1828. His profession of the four vows took place in Rome on the fifteenth of August 1835.

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¹ Josephus Angiolini SJ as early as in 1819 published *Institutiones philosophicae*, in Polock but it did not contain any ethics.

 $^{^2}$ Catalogus Prov. Russiae, 1820, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (abbreviation: ARSI), Russ., 8, f. IV.

From 1829 Dmowski was a professor of philosophy, in particular logic, metaphysics and ethics (1829-1837). He was a professor of dogmatic theology and for a while, also of moral theology (1835-1836, 1838-1844) in *Collegium Romanum* (presently the Pontifical Gregorian University). Then for many years he was a superior in various Jesuit houses in Italy, among others he was the rector of the college in Modena (twice) and in Reggio Emilia. At the beginning of the sixties he was a superior in Verona and then he worked in Venice. From 1866 he was the rector in the house of the third probation in Rome (at Saint Eusebio). In 1870 he resided in *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome where he privately taught students philosophy, mainly metaphysics as well as acting as their spiritual father. In 1877 he was also the general prefect of studies at *Collegium Romanum*. He died on the second of February 1879 in Rome³.

Dmowski published the following works:

Logica et metaphysica, quae traditur in Collegio Romano S.I. exeunte anno 1835 et proximo 1836, an anonymous text, duplicated lithographically. — It is considered a work of Dmowski's by J. A. Ventosa Aguilar in the book by the title of: El sentido común en las obras filosóficas del Padre Claudio Buffier S.J., Barcelona 1957, p. 139, footnote 72 (reference to Dmowski also on page 143). J. Petrirena writes about this in the book La certeza libre [...], p. 8, footnote 4. It does not include further information, for example about the length or location of Logic and metaphysics.

Institutiones philosophiae auctore Josepho Aloisio Dmowski e Societate Jesu in Collegio Romano philosophiae moralis professore. Vol. I continens institutiones logicae et metaphysicae [ontolgia, theologia naturalis, psychologia, principia cosmologiae]. Editio Romana ab Auctore emendata plerisque notionibus aucta, Romae 1840, 21 x 14 cm, VIII + 464 p. Vol. II. continens institutiones ethicae sive philosophiae moralis, Romae 1840, 21 x 14 cm, 288 p.

Institutiones philosophicae auctore Joseph-Aloisio Dmowski, e Societate Jesu, in Collegio Romano philosophiae moralis professore. In Uden, Lovanii 1840, 3 vol.: Vol. I. Continet institutiones logicae et metaphysicae generalis, VI + 168 p. Vol. II. Continet institutiones metaphysicae specialis, 317p. Vol. III. Continet institutiones philosophiae moralis, 1841, 21 x 14,5 cm, 272 p. - 1843, 3 vol.

³ The biographical data above are based on sources from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; ARSI; R. Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu ab a. 1814 ad a. 1970*, Rome 1972, p. 91, no. 32. – Several earlier publications provide slightly different biographical data.

Institutiones philosophicae [...]. Editio Taurinensis ab auctore emendata et quibusdam notionibus aucta. An. 1841, Taurini [Torino], vol. 1-2, VIII + 380 + 136 p.

Institutiones philosophicae auctore Josepho Aloisio Dmowski, e Societate Jesu, in Collegio Romano philosophiae moralis professore. Vol. I. continet institutiones logicae et metaphysicae generalis. Vol. II. continet institutiones metaphysicae specialis. Vol. III. continet institutiones philosophiae moralis, Lovanii, Moguntiae 1843, 23 x 14,5 cm, 168 + 318 + 272 p.

Institutiones philosophicae auctore Josepho Aloisio Dmowski, e Societate Jesu, in Collegio Romano philosophiae moralis professore. Editio quarta, altera Romana, ab auctore emendata et novis additionibus illustrata. Romae 1845, 22 x 14,5 cm. Vol. I. continens institutiones logicae et metaphysicae, VIII+ 342 p. Vol. II. continens institutiones philosophiae moralis, 240 p.

Institutiones philosophicae auctore Josepho Aloisio Dmowski e Societate Jesu in Coll. Rom. prius logicae et metaphysicae, deinde philosophiae moralis prof[essore]. Vol. I continens institutiones logicae et metaphysicae [ontologia, theologia naturalis, psychologia, principia cosmologiae]. Editio quinta, tertia Romana, ab auctore emendata et novis additionibus illustrata, Romae 1851, 20,5 x 14 cm, VIII + 376 p. A second volume containing ethics probably also appeared, however I was unable to locate it.

It is nothing strange therefore, that – in the presence of so many publications by Dmowski – Fryderyk Klimke in his *History of Philosophy* claims that *Institutiones philosophicae* was very widespread⁴.

Apart from this, Dmowski published two polemical works in Italian on the subject of defining natural law, as a discussion with Rosmini:

Analisi dello scritto intitolato: Risposta di Antonio Rosmini-Serbati ad alcune osservazioni critiche del R. P. Giuseppe Luigi Dmowski della Compagnia di Gesù intorno alla definizione della legge morale (Lugano as well as (seperately!) Lucca 1841, the format 8° and 12°, resp. 19 and 28 pages).

Alcune considerazioni sulla ristampa milanese dello scritto aretino del Sign. Abate Antonio Rosmini-Serbati intorno alla definizione della legge morale coll'Analisi d'un altro scritto del medesimo autore intorno alla teoria dell'essere ideale in risposta al P. Giuseppe Luigi Dmowski [...] (Lugano 1842, 8°, pp. 75, as well as (seperately!) Lucca, December 1842, 8°, pp. 111). – See below, in section: Moral philosophy.

⁴ F. Klimke, Institutiones historiae philosophiae, Rome 1923.

MORE IMPORTANT VIEWS

In this work I will present Dmowski's views, particularly those which are more important existentially and those which are characteristic for the philosophical trend he undertook.

A concept of philosophy

Dmowski defines philosophy in the following way: It is "a science of reaching truth and good, achieved by a correct use of reason"⁵. Philosophy can be divided into speculative, whose task is to achieve truth, and moral, whose task is achieving good. Speculative philosophy in turn can be divided into logic and metaphysics. Within the limits of metaphysics, general metaphysics or ontology and detailed metaphysics (m. specialis) are singled out. The latter embraces natural theology, psychology and cosmology. Dmowski also notes, that "philosophy is like a servant to theology"⁶.

Logic

According to Dmowski, logic is an ability for correct reasoning and discovering the sources of truth.⁷

Logic is divided into two parts. In part one the following themes were touched on: The first operation of the mind (forming concepts). The second operation of the mind (forming judgements). The third operation of the mind (reasoning; among other things here about analytic and synthetic methods of learning).

In the second part are discussed: Truth. Sources of truth (the evidence as criterion of truth). The inner sense (sensus intimus) – inner experience, consciousness. It has been shown, that cognition of our own existence, of our "I" is an original and basic cognition.

Further themes: Reason in general; the constituent elements of human rationality (*Diversa rationalitatis nostrae constitutiva exponuntur*). General ideas (here is included among others his polemic with nominalists).

The author claims, that the first principles of reason are absolutely certain. Then he discusses the problem of certainty, demonstrating

⁵ "Scientia veri et boni assequendi, recto rationis usu comparata". *Institutiones philosophicae*, Lovanii-Moguntiae 1843, vol. I, p. 1. – I make further use of this publication in discussing Dmowski's views.

⁶ "[...] philosophiam esse quasi ancillam Theologiae". Ibidem, p. 1.

⁷ "[Logica] Est facultas recte ratiocinandi fontesque veri deprehendendi". Ibidem, p. 4.

several of its types. Turning to the problem of the existence of bodies, he claims (in opposition to idealists) that it is undeniable.

He supports the thesis, that sensory cognition can be and is a source of definite cognition and that human authority can, under certain circumstances, become an undoubted norm of truth (here the author rejects, among others, the view represented by de la Mennais).

Equally in logic, as in other disciplines, the author devotes a lot of time to discussion with those who have, over history, voiced other views. Relatively often he comes out against sensualists and idealists especially. He also often refuted various accusations, usually *in forma*, so making use of syllogisms and applying diverse distinctions.

Metaphysics

Within the limits of general metaphysics, i.e. ontology, Dmowski discusses the following subjects: The relation of necessary and contingent truths (mainly about the principle of non-contradiction and adequate reason); Existence, the possibility and essence of beings; Substance, subsistence, the person and the individual; The problem of relationships; An understanding of finite and infinite being, of contingent and necessary; Principle and reasons and their division.

Being, according to him is "that which in some way exists". In the question of the difference between essence and existence he opts for Suarez's concept (accepting between them only the difference in thought9). He also accepts – again following in the steps of Suarez – the modi, or the actual modification of substance. Modus can be for example, quality or ailment10. He accepts a modal difference at last. It occurs, for example, between an object and its colour or shape, or between the mind and a thought – thinking is a modus of the mind. In the first case (object and its colour or shape) occurs a modal difference in thought, in the second – an actual (real) difference11. It seems that

^{8 &}quot;[...] quod aliquo modo est". Ibidem, p. 100.

⁹ "Quod si essentia accipiatur pro ipsis proprietatibus, quae actu naturam entis constituunt, tunc nulla est ratio distinguendi essentiam istam actualem ab existentia, quasi nempe haec esset entitas quaedam realis, seu forma superaddita essentiae. Etenim optime intelligo, ens aliquod existere, dummodo ejus proprietates essentiales in rerum ordine ponantur, seu reducantur ad actum. Unde compositum ex essentia actuali et existentia est tantum metaphysicum; haec enim duo ratione nostra dumtaxat distinguuntur". Ibidem, p. 124.

¹⁰ "Reflexione adhibita super conceptus nostros objective reales, satis claram et distinctam *Substantiae* et *Modi*, seu *Qualitatis* vel *Accidentis* notionem comparamus". Ibidem, p. 124.

^{11 &}quot;His additur quoque distinctio modalis, quae statuitur inter modos, e. g. albedinem

even in Dmowski's definition of self-existence of beings (*subsistentia*) appears a Suarez concept of $modi^{12}$.

Dmowski describes a person as a self-existing being (*subsistentia*), rational, voicing several reservations and explanations to the definition expressed by Boëthuis.

In answer to the question, about whether original elements, of which matter is made up of, are simple or not, Dmowski is inclined towards the opinion, that continuous quantity (continuum quantum) is made up of very small elements, which however are extendible and not simple. As in the opposite case an actual existence of extendibility would be, in his opinion, threatened. In this context, the possibility of division of matter into infinity is discarded, as the consequence of that kind of division would be an infinite number of actual (actu) existing parts, which is unacceptable (repugnat)¹³.

Speaking about the causes, he underlines heavily – particularly in opposition to occasionalists – that secondary (created) reasons are real generating causes and – appropriate to their nature – are distinguished by real activity, whose result can be various consequences¹⁴.

Natural theology

In the treaty *natural theology* (included in the edition discussed here vol. II, p. 1-123), in which "in the light of reason God and his perfections are penetrated", Dmowski touches on three groups of problems: the existence of God, the essence of God and the attributes of God.

Rejecting on the one hand the ontological argument, according to which God is known *per se*, that his existence does not demand proof, and on the other hand both an agnostic and an atheistic attitude, Dmowski states that for man, the existence of God is something obvious, equally thanks to the easy deduction of this truth from direct principles, as to the aims of its rational nature.

Among the evidence, the author distinguishes three types of argument: metaphysical, physical and moral. From the metaphysical, he discusses two extensively: from the view of essential being and from

et rotunditatem objecti; vel inter subjectum et modum, e. g. animum et ejus cogitationem; et haec dici potest *realis modalis:* subjectum enim potest realiter existere sine tali modo, quamvis hic sine illo existere nequeat". Ibidem, p. 135.

¹² "Hinc Subsistentia a nonnullis definitur: Modus ille existendi, qui naturam entis reddit sui ipsius propriam, et adaequatum principium suarum operationum". Ibidem, p. 129

¹³ Ibidem, p. 136-138.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 153-155.

the view of uncreated being¹⁵. The fact of omitting other "ways" of finding God, presented by Thomas Aquinas, shows that Dmowski, similar to other thomists of the trend known later as Lovanium's trend – provides metaphysical proof about the existence of God to a certain type of synthesis of evidence from the contingency of beings and from their causal relationships.

From physical evidence, he also presents two: the lasting order reigning in the universe thanks to the permanent laws of nature and the subordination of intentional causes¹⁶. While from moral evidence he equally discusses two: the belief of the peoples and the idea of the highest legislator. In this context he dedicates considerable attention to the affairs of atheists and atheism.

He discussed briefly the problems concerning the essence of God: on only four pages (40-43). He allocated the rest of the treaty to a lecture on the attributes of God, which he divides mainly into absolute attributes (infinity, invariability, eternity, simplicity, spirituality, immeasurability, the mind and the will of God, the oneness of God, the good of God – here among others the problem of evil) as well as relative attributes (creation of the world, its preservation, interaction with the creation, the Providence of God).

Psychology

Dmowski dedicates more attention and space to psychology than to natural theology (pp. 124-264). At the very beginning he claims, that cognition of oneself, not only from the point of view of morality but also from a metaphysical point of view, which is achieved mainly in psychology, is the most sublime task of man. Knowledge in other areas would not help us much if we did not know what our "condition" (conditio), aim, possibilities and future were. Psychology firstly deals with exactly these types of problems. It is necessary to note at once that we are talking here about philosophic psychology, rational and metaphysical and not about psychology in today's understanding of the term.

This psychology reveals numerous similarities to modern philosophy of man. The author especially displays the spiritual element, or the

¹⁵ "Supremi Numinis existentia invicte probatur sub conceptu entis necessarii et improducti, sive entis a se [...]". *Institutiones philosophicae*, vol. II, *Theologia naturalis*, p. 3.

¹⁶ "Admirabilis hujus mundi ordo, COMPLETE et ADAEQUATE sumptus, ejusque constantia per leges stabiles determinata, nec non causarum finalium subordinatio, existentiam Dei, sub conceptu entis SUMME intelligentis, invicte demonstrat". Ibidem, p. 17.

soul, since the soul, more than anything else determines the ontic status of man. For this reason, it is the direct and main object of interest of Dmowski. From this point on, he discusses in turn the nature of the human soul, its origin, essence, how it is connected to the body and the powers of the soul (reason and will).

He claims that the soul is a being substantially different from the body. Its powers and actions exclude a physical compound, it is therefore a simple being, or non-complex. These powers, and particularly the actions resulting from them show values opposing and opposite to the proper values of matter, therefore they have a spiritual quality. The soul is therefore spiritual¹⁷. This spirituality is justified by various arguments resting particularly on the following principle: the behaviour of a being is according to its nature¹⁸, and finally on the principle of causality. Because man performs at least some actions, particularly in the field of reason, which are not material, their subject, basis and source therefore must have a non-material character, they must be spiritual. Among the examples of this kind of intellectual activity are mentioned, among others: cognition of my own self, a concept of unity, a concept of truth, cognition of coherence or incoherence of judgment with reality, connection between the premises and conclusion in reasoning¹⁹. In this context the author forcibly stresses that matter does not posses the ability to think.

Let's point out the more important thesis for the philosophy of man taken from the scope of psychology:

The human soul, being spiritual is indestructible and immortal.

God directly creates the human soul and it's probably then, when the body is formed enough to be capable of carrying out some of life's activities²⁰.

The human soul is connected with the body in a physical way and together with it forms a substantial, complex unity (*unum substantiale compositum*), therefore one human nature which comes about from two substances (soul and matter).

The soul works through its main powers: cognition (reason) and acts of the will. As well as sensory cognition, intellectual cognition is also

¹⁷ "Facultates et operationes animae nostrae manifeste excludunt ab ipsa compositionem physicam; est igitur simplex. Ostendunt quoque contrariam et contradictoriam oppositionem cum proprietatibus materiae; est igitur spiritualis". *Psychologia*, p. 137.

¹⁸ "[...] ergo talis necessario erit natura entis, quales sunt ejus operationes". Psychologia, p. 138.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 138.

²⁰ "[...] tunc animam a Deo creari, quando corpus humanum ita est efformatum, ut quibusdam vitalibus operationibus peragendis sit idoneum instrumentum [...]". Ibidem, p. 185.

discussed widely here. The main feature of will is free choice, whose existence is justified first of all (1) on the basis of inner experience (consciousness of freedom precedes human choice, accompanies it and follows after it), (2) from the concept of natural law, which places on man the duty to act according to reason and conscience — with the hope of reward or under threat of punishment, depending on the type of action, as well as, (3) from the common conviction of humanity about the freedom entitled to man.

Cosmology

The part concerning cosmology, Dmowski entitled: *The principles of cosmology* (Principia cosmologiae). Certainly by this title he meant, that he would treat this section briefly; and indeed this part takes up little more than forty pages of print (pp. 265-306 as well as 316-317, index).

The author notes at the beginning, that he has expounded a few of the problems from the sphere of cosmology earlier, especially in ontology, for example about space, time and parts of component material. While in cosmology he deals with those problems, which in a particular way belong to the world considered as *one being*, therefore a collection of all "sensory" beings.

Assuming that which is proved in natural theology (that the world was created by God) he undertakes in particular, the following problems:

Was the world, and in particular matter, which is a basic component of all bodies appearing in this world, created from nothing? — To which he responds: matter is not an necessary being; it was therefore created by God from nothing.

Has the world existed eternally, or at least could it exist eternally? – The world was not created eternally, it did not always exist, neither could it exist eternally, because eternity constitutes a value of absolutely necessary being (God).

Were there any necessary conditions for the creation of the world? – Space and location were necessary (spatium et locus). In relation to this, Dmowski discusses the problem: is the simultaneous existence of the same being possible in many places? He responds that in a natural way this is not possible, however with the "power of God" (virtute Divina) it is possible.

²¹ "Nunc ea aggredimur, quae peculiari ratione pertinent ad mundum consideratum per modum *unius entis*, seu aggregati omnium entium sensibilium". *Principia cosmologiae*, pp. 265–266.

Why does the world exist, or to what aim did God create it? – The author first notes, in opposition to Leibniz, that the world in which we live in, is not the best possible. While God's aim in creating the world was a disclosure of his attributes with benefit for creation.

Moral philosophy

The third volume of Dmowski's work *Institutiones philosophicae* numbers 272 pages and is dedicated to ethical problems, which among the philosophical disciplines represented in the work were most extensively discussed.

In the *Preface*, the author notes that this section of rational philosophy [i.e. based on reason], which concerns itself with good and considers laws, on which the happiness of the whole of human society and of particular unities depends, is called "the study of natural, public and private law, or moral philosophy"²². He gives two definitions of this. According to the first, moral philosophy is "a practical study concerned with human deeds, directing them towards honesty"²³; according to the second: it is "a study examining the principles and giving clues, thanks to which, human actions are directed in a free way towards honesty and consequently towards happiness—in accordance with a rule portrayed in the light of good reason"²⁴.

Moral philosophy in Dmowski's case is divided into four main parts:

- 1. The problem of happiness (felicitas), which is based on a perfect cognition and "use" (fruitio) of the highest good (God), as the ultimate aim of man. Acts of man in general and in particular: their nature, imputability (imputabilitas) and moral character. The morality of an action is defined by the object, circumstances and aim.
- 2. A rule, or the [general] norm of human acts, i.e. Natural law. The conscience as a direct, individual norm of human acts.
- 3. The state of humanity (natural and resulting from this, civil) versus principles of public law; criticism of views, expounded by Rousseau, Hobbes and Pufendorf. State power comes ultimately from God, the Creator and the Lord of human nature. This power has the

 $^{^{22}\,\}textit{Juris}$ naturalis publici et privati scientia, seu philosophia moralis. Philosophia moralis, p. 1.

 $^{^{23}}$ "[...] scientia practica, quae circa actus humanos ut ad honestatem dirigendos versatur". Ibidem.

²⁴ "[...] scientia, principia inquirens et praecepta tradens, quibus libere hominum actiones ad honestatem et per consequens ad felicitatem dirigantur, juxta regulam rectae rationis lumine manifestatam". Ibidem, p. 1.

right, among others to make use of the death penalty. The monarchy seems to him to be the best form of leadership.

4. Responsibilities of man resulting from natural law. Here the author stressed, among other things the responsibility of caring for the spiritual culture (cultura animi) of man and presented the need for dialogue, giving its conditions (in an interesting and fairly extensive interview by the title.: De mutuo officio sermocinantium, pp. 241-246). He also expressed the view that war, considered as "a violent method of achieving public peace and returning justice"²⁵, in some cases can be justified.

Speaking about natural law, Dmowski defines it as "a reflection of eternal law in a rational being"26. In relation to this he criticizes among others, the concept of natural law, given to him by his contemporary Father Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1797-1855) in the work Principi della scienza morale as well as in the book Filosofia della morale (Milano 1838): "La legge morale non è che una nozione della mente"²⁷. Rosmini's views provoked a polemic on Dmowski's side concerning the definition of natural law and the theory of the ideal (mental) being. They both defended their views also in writing. Rosmini published a pamphlet by the title of: Risposta ad alcune osservazioni critiche del R. P. Giuseppe Luigi Dmowski della Compagnia di Gesù intorno alla definizione della legge morale (Arezzo 1841). Dmowski in turn answered with the pamphlet: Analisi (see above: Publications). Rosmini replicated the work under the title. Sulla definizione della legge morale e sulla teoria dell'essere ideale. Risposta di Antonio Rosmini-Serbati prete Roveretano alle osservazioni del R. P. Giuseppe Luigi Dmowski, della Compagnia di Gesù (Milano, 14 III 1842, 8°, ss. 52). Dmowski would not be won over and published: Alcune considerazioni (see above: Publications) – See, in relation to this: Institutiones philosophicae [...] Volumen secundum continens institutiones ethicae, Rome 1845, p. 80.

At the end of *Ethics* (and the whole work) there is an anex, in which four problems are discussed: Virtues and passions, Moral virtues in particular, passions in general and passion in particular²⁸.

²⁵ "[Bellum est] violentus modus quaerendi publicam tranquilitatem et laesae justitiae reparationem". Ibidem, pp. 235-236.

²⁶ "[...] participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura". Philosophia moralis, p. 80.

²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 81-82.

²⁸ Rosmini, whose some thoughts were condemned in the middle of XIX century was re-approved by the Holy See in 2001 – See: Karl-Heinz Menke, *Lehramtliche Selbstkorrektur. Zur Rehabilitierung von Antonio Rosmini*, "Herder Korrespondenz", 55: 2001, Heft 9, pp. 457-460.

Conclusion

The Lovanium editors of Dmowski's work *Institutiones philosophicae* (Louvain and Mainz 1843) preceded it with an introduction, in which they have included, among others the following view of the author and his work:

"Joseph-Aloisius Dmowski, a Priest of the Society of Jesus, an outstanding man, an exceptionally learned professor of philosophy at Collegium Romanum, yielding to the suggestions of many, agreed to the publication of the work Institutiones philosophicae, equally rich in content, as in the language in which it is written, a language desired by all in the use of educating the young. It does not have a complex style, it does not boast with an improper erudition and lecture. Our author also does not follow any – as they say – system. On the contrary, he tries hard to dissuade the young from this, by example as well as by its writing, he teaches adherence to the truth, wherever this truth should come from. The work of the respected author is not weighed down by superfluous questions, however it does not lack in that which is essential.

Let it not be thought, however that our author discusses only those problems, which are generally discussed in school. Being totally conscious of how important it is to give young people an appropriate weapon against the errors of day to day, he speaks at length about all the problems, which these days touch the minds of some pitifully cheated people"²⁹.

Marian Morawski, one of the most famous Polish philosophers of the nineteenth century wrote with great respect about Dmowski as early as 1876, and therefore still within his lifetime:

²⁹ "Joseph-Aloysius Dmowski, sacerdos Societatis Jesu, vir clarissimus, Philosophiae in Collegio Romano Professor doctissimus, superiore anno morem gerens suadentibus non paucis, in lucem edi consensit *Institutiones philosophicas*, cum doctrina uberrimas, tum scriptas eo dicendi genere, quale quisque ad institutionem adolescentium vel maxime cuperet. Nullae hic styli ambages, nullaque inopportunae eruditionis et doctrinae ostentatio: nullum denique auctor noster systema, ut aiunt, sectatur; contra adolescentes illinc avertere vehementer contendit, ac tum exemplo, tum scripto veritatem, undecunque tandem ipsa prodeat, docet amplectendam. Ac sicuti Cl. auctoris institutiones non sunt oneratae quaestionibus supervacaneis, ita nec deficiunt necessariis.

Nec vero, quod quis sibi forte persuadeat, tractavit Noster auctor eas tantummodo quaestiones, quae vulgo in scholis tractari solent; verum optime gnarus, quam multum intersit, ut contra novos in dies succrescentes errores peculiari ratione juvenes armis instruantur, et de iis omnibus quaestionibus disserit, quas nostris diebus misere delusorum hominum quorundam movit ingenium". *Institutiones philosophicae*, vol. I, Lovanii-Moguntiae 1843, p. V.

"The credit for the initiative in this renewal [of scholasticism] goes, in our opinion, to two men: B a l m e s, the famous Spanish publicist, known for his political, historical and especially philosophical works, and to our fellow-countryman D m o w s k i, who, thirty years ago was a professor of philosophy at Collegium Romanum and published the valuable and famous for its time: Institutiones philosophicae³⁰. The former, with a firmness of thought true to himself and a freeness of style, pointed out the falsity of German idealism and the shallowness of French sensualism. He recalled the learned world of Saint Thomas and turned minds towards scholastic principles. While the latter revived the ancient scholastic precision, and rejecting the fragmented research of his forebearers, thoroughly developed and justified the great truths of philosophy following in the steps of the ancient scholastic masters. Balmes promoted scholasticism in the opinion of the learned world. Dmowski promoted it in scholastic institutions, perhaps not so much through his publication, as through the direction he gave to philosophy at Collegium Romanum, where the finest publicists and professors were later to be educated, and who promote scholasticism today"31.

Morawski's opinion of Dmowski after the third edition of his book (1881) shares and almost literally repeats F. Winterton in his work *The Lesson of Neo-Scholasticism*:

"Father [Joseph Aloysius] Dmowski, S. J., born in Podolia in 1799, wrote, when professor in the *Collegium Romanum*, his remarkable work, *Institutiones Philosophicae*, based on a purely Scholastic foundation, though it does not enter so much into the details of the system as later works, and is rather less orthodox upon secondary points. It ran through five editions in a short time, and was once the text-book in many Catholic seminaries and universities. Father Dmowski was the first founder of Neo-Scholasticism, for he was the first to put into execution its plan of campaign, viz., to break away from the traditions of the Old School as regards puerile and useless questions, and to accept frankly and without reserve every con-

³⁰ [in the original note no.: 1] "This work ran through five editions in a short time and rapidly became known in Catholic universities and seminaries. Józef Alojzy Dmowski was born in Podolia in 1799. In his nineteenth year he joined the Society of Jesus and today he still lives in Rome at *Collegium Germanicum*".

³¹ M. Morawski, *Philosophy and its task*, Lviv 1876, edition of Father Edward Podolski, pp. 238-239. I am using an edition unknown to bibliographers, which appeared as early as 1876 [!]. (copy in the Jesuit Philosophical Library in Cracow, No: III-2993); the same text is in the edition from 1877. Later editions of Morawski's books, which appeared during the life of the author in 1881 and 1899 (p. 311), contain minimal differences.

clusion and discovery of modern science. Besides, his position, in what is perhaps the most famous Catholic seminary in the world, gave him much influence over the minds of the rising generation; indeed, most of the later upholders of Neo-Scholasticism amongst the Jesuits were formed by him. Balmes, a man incomparably and deservedly better known in a different way, thought out and wrote his Fundamental Philosophy and other works at about the same time - i.e., during the first half of this century. The Spanish philosopher produced a work which, little as it is known in England, may on many accounts be styled a masterpiece. Cool and impartial criticism of adverse theories is hardly the distinctive quality of Southern minds; but we cannot without injustice refuse to acknowledge the depth of his thought, the simplicity of his ornate style. Whether he went so far as Dmowski in the number of doctrines that united him with the School, it would be impossible to say before having read all his works; but the book just mentioned, of which there is a very readable French translation, suffices to justify the title of Neo-Scholastic here applied to him"32.

At the beginning of his article F. Winterton admits (in a footnote): "I wish here to acknowledge my obligations to Rev. F. Morawski, S. J., from whose polemical and historical work, *Philosophy and its task*, many statements contained in the following sketch are taken".

A beautiful testimony was also issued to Dmowski in a memorial book for the one hundred year revival of *Collegium Romanum*:

"For many years Józef Dmowski lectured here, first philosophy (1829-1842), and then theology; he was the first and I think the most successful, along with P. Ballerini, an opponent of the fundamental mistakes of the Rosmini system. Through his *Institutiones philosophicae*, published in 1840 and several times re-issued, he gave an excellent example, as to the methods and the doctrines themselves, in premendis vestigiis S. Thomae [in the steps of St. Thomas]. He subjects new philosophical systems, from sensualism to idealism and from traditionalism to ontologism, to harsh and profound criticism, which prepares for the firmer steps which Catholic philosophy would have taken through Felice Sopranis and Giuseppe Pecci, if their teachings had not been interrupted, almost at the beginning by the events of 1848"³³.

 $^{^{32}}$ F. Winterton, *The Lesson of Neo-Scholasticism*, "Mind", 13, 1888, pp. 383-404 (quoted from J. Gułkowski).

³³ "Ma inoltre qui insegnò molti anni Giuseppe Dmowski, prima filosofia (1829-1842) e poi teologia, il primo e forse il più efficace oppugnatore, insieme al P. Ballerini, degli errori fondamentali del sistema rosminiano. Egli con le sue *Institutiones philosophiae*

Dmowski's books are characterised by their cohesion and systemation, their order and clarity of lecture as well as their high level of argumentation and their highly developed critical sense, proof of the intelligence of the author. In the history of philosophy they mark the transition from the then reigning sensualism and eclecticism to neothomism.

In the Introduction to his work, the author recommends ten more recent authors, naming the works of some of them; among them are: Baldinotti, Storchenau, Genovesi, Imre, Degérando (Histoire comparée des systèmes de philosophie) and Pasquale Galluppi³⁴. While at the beginning of Ethics, he claims that from the more recent ones, the following were praiseworthy in their ontake of moral philosophy: Finetti Gerdil, Spedalieri, Zallinger, Muratori, Stellini, Piccadori, Galluppi, Rosmini, Pacetti and others³⁵. He thus points at the sources, besides the classics of Christian thought, from which he drew, and to which he yielded.

In his work he often cites various authors and philosophers, often including quotations, also contemporary, usually in the original language (in some editions he puts a Latin translation of cited texts at the end of the treaty, e.g. in the Louvain edition from 1843). He usually does this to support his views, but sometimes also critically. This shows us Dmowski's great erudition.

Taking into account the whole of Dmowski's work and the views contained in it, it must be stated here that he most often relies on Thomas Aquinas³⁶ as an authority in several places. He often shares his view without an obvious expression of this. By this he displays a thorough knowledge of his work.

uscite in luce nel 1840, e varie volte ristampate, diede un esempio notabile, per il metodo, e per la dottrina stessa, in premendis vestigiis S. Thomae. Sistemi filosofici moderni, dal sensismo all'idealismo, dal tradizionalismo all'ontologismo, vengono da lui sottoposti ad una critica acuta e profonda: che prelude ai passi più decisivi che, certo, la filosofia cattolica avrebbe fatti con Felice Sopranis e con Giuseppe Pecci, se il magistero di questi non fosse stato interrotto quasi agli inizi dagli avvenimenti del '48" (Università del Collegio Romano, p. 13; The author of this part of book is signed as: P. P.).

³⁴ "Qui uberiorem enarrationem philosophiae habere cupit, consulat *Prolegomena* philosophiae Log. p. 1. Cl. Baldinotti; Storchenavii [Storchenau] et Genuensis [Genovesi] *Tom.* 1; Imre *Tom.* 1 et 2; Degerandum [Degérando] *Histoire des systèmes comparés de la* philosophiae [!] [...]. *Institutiones philosophiae*, Rome 1840, p. 4.

³⁵ "Ex nostris recentioribus in exornanda morali philosophia laudabile studium et operam navarunt [...]. *Institutiones philosophiae*, Roma 1840, vol. II, p. 9.

³⁶ Dmowski more than 50 times clearly cites Thomas Aquinas, usually quoting his texts, among others v. I, pp. 116-119, 154; v. II, p. 115, 169, 171, 201, 225, 249, 264, 291; v. III, p. 18, 19, 36, 43, 53-56, 62, 68, 73, 88, 113, 114, 116, 122, 125, 132, 139, 140, 145, 146, 155, 171, 196, 203, 215, 219, 222, 242, 248.

He takes up a large part of the work with a critical discussion with various philosophers and authors, especially in the paragraphs dedicated to accusations (difficulties, *difficultates*, "satis fit difficultatibus") against the author's theses as well as generally extensive and fairly exhausting answers to them. Both are often given *in forma*, or in the form of syllogisms.

From the point of view of philosophical doctrines, the philosophy contained in the work is in its essential definition an Aristotle's and Thomas's philosophy with a slight lean towards Augustine and Suarez. He also takes into account several newer trends, especially in *ethics*.

Kazimierz Wais in his work *Scholastyka i neoscholastyka* [Scholasticism and Neo-scholasticism] notes that Dmowski "did not recognize [...] many fundamental scholastic studies, for example: hylemorphism and the formation of general concepts through abstraction" (pp. 29-30). But closer to the truth would be not to say that Dmowski didn't recognise them but to say that he didn't write about them. It is necessary however to admit, that the philosophy undertaken by Dmowski is not "pure scholasticism" but this statement should not be treated as an accusation.

P. Pirri looks at this problem from a slightly different point of view, he considers Dmowski to be far from pure thomism, but that he has made a gigantic step towards it, with regards to method and views, and he prepared the way for more progress in the direction of thomism³⁷. The anonimous author of the article in "La Civiltà Cattolica" evaluates the merit of Dmowski in this field: "It is right to admit that Dmowski and [Matteo] Liberatore [SJ] in an age of contemptuous and not uncompromising aversion to everything, where a middle-age adherence to doctrine was felt, they managed to purify the field of religious thought, then directing young minds as far as the edge of scholasticism: the times did not then allow for any more"³⁸.

Dmowski himself at the beginning of his work, carefully acknowledges Thomas. He expressed it as follows:

"As I found these kinds of general concepts – solidly, clearly laid out and justified – almost exclusively expressed by those Doctors who were not far from the steps of St. Thomas, I was also not idle to

³⁷ "Col P. Dmowski siamo ancora lungi dal puro tomismo, questo nondimeno, quanto a metodo, ed anche quanto alla sostanza delle dottrine, faceva con lui un passo gigantesco, e preparava la via ai progressi ulteriori". *Il P. Taparelli* …, art. cit., p. 407.

³⁸ "E' ben giusto riconoscere che il Dmowski e il Liberatore, in un periodo di sdegnosa e intransigente avversione a tutto ciò che sapeva di medioevalismo dottrinale, seppero sgombrare il campo del pensiero religioso, fin d'alora indirizzando le giovani menti fino alle soglie della scolastica: i tempi alora non censentendo di più". Il P. G. Roothaan e gli studi sacri nella prima metà del secolo XIX, "La Civiltà Cattolica", 80 (1929), III, p. 129.

sometimes follow in the same steps, firstly because in our times there is no lack of great, learned men who show him profusely the necessary respect also in philosophical disciplines."³⁹

He clearly follows Thomas Aquinas in Metaphysics:

"As it is necessary to also highly value the teachings of Saint Thomas in philosophical problems, especially where reasoning is based on general principles, it is worth giving a bit of information according to the thought of such a distinguished Doctor on the subject of the nature of possibilities. Since he does not only assumes our opinion as certain, but also teaches positively about it in many places in *Summa Theologica*" [...]⁴⁰.

To conclude, it is necessary to agree with the view of Jerzy Gułkowski, who finishes his article about Dmowski in the following way: "[...] the mentioned textbook [by Dmowski], to a no lesser degree than the similar textbook by Liberatore, contributed towards the preparation of a breeding ground for the scholastic restoration in a peripatetic-thomistic spirit. Dmowski certainly overcame the unwillingness shown towards scholastic methods of teaching and issues. Going even further than this, he showed that it is possible to make use of the ancient scholastic method in presenting the still relevant problems of Catholic philosophy and their confrontations with contemporary positions in a creative way that remains in agreement with contemporary methodical and epistemological demands³⁴¹.

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³⁹ "Quia autem hujusmodi notiones [universales] solide et dilucide expositas ac vindicatas fere penes eos dumtaxat Doctores reperi, qui a premendis vestigiis S. Thomae nimis alieni non fuerunt, me quoque non piguit eadem vestigia interdum premere; eo vel maxime quod hac ipsa nostra aetate non desint eruditissimi viri qui eidem S. Doctori debitum laudis honorem etiam circa philosophicas disciplinas abunde persolvunt". *Institutiones philosophicae*, vol. 1, Rome 1840, *Praefatio*, s. VI.

⁴⁰ "Quia porro doctrina S. Thomae etiam in philosophicis quaestionibus, praesertim ubi ex communibus principiis ratiocinatur, magni momenti est habenda, juvat haec pauca circa possibilitatis naturam, ad mentem tanti Doctoris innuere; ipse enim sententiam nostram non solum tamquam certam supponit, sed etiam positive docet pluribus in locis Summae theologicae [...]. T. I, p. 116.

⁴¹ Art. cit., p. 246.

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JÓZEF ALOJZY DMOWSKI SJ (1799-1879) PREKURSOR ODNOWY TOMIZMU

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