monarch counselors, and in the permissions and prohibitions stated by the general superiors and general congregations. Many heavy prohibitions were put on Jesuits especially after J. Mariana's book: *De regis institutione* [...] was published.

Jesuit papers represent different orientations that depend on the writers' nationality and the writers' philosophical roots. Some of them followed Suárez who thought that the power had his source in the people's will, others evoked Bellarmino's idea, which called for the close cooperation between the State and the catholic Church. The most popular theologians who wrote about politics were: M. Becanus and G. Botero.

In their schools the Jesuits wanted to prepare the youth for the service of the Church and the State. Political problems belonged to the philosophical lectures though they were also presented during theology, law and rhetoric courses. Jesuits supported mainly the hereditary monarchy (rarely electoral monarchy) as the most perfect model of the state (L. Kraker, J. Klein), but they broadly discussed the essence and the aim of the State and also the civil virtues which were needed for the welfare of the State (A. Nowak, W. Sokołowski). Polish Jesuits underlined the need to solve the most urgent social problems and to take care of the weakest classes of citizens. In the face of the State emergency, the Jesuit professors pointed out the faults in the structures of the State and proposed remedies (T. Elżanowski, J. Chądzyński).

In order to remain impartial, Jesuits did not write papers only concerning politics, but some of their works could be treated as political works (P. Skarga-Pawęski, A. A. Olizarowski, J. Chądzyński). They condemned anarchy and wrongs done to lower social classes in their papers but they also proposed to reform civil administration and to found the State on wise and confident state officers as it was in neighboring countries.

However, Polish Jesuits efforts were largely unsuccessful, their political opinions remain actual.

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The subject of this study is the process of change which affected the teaching of philosophy in the secondary education system in the first
phase of the Polish Enlightenment in the mid-18th century. Historians of science and philosophy have treated those changes as a spontaneous and uncritical attempt to include the problems of modern natural science seventeenth century systems of philosophy, and ethical and social issues of the Enlightenment into the systematic exposition of Christian aristotelianism, all despite the avowed opposition to these modes of culture. Hence the contemporary so called 'philosophia recentiorum' has usually been regarded as a form of eclecticism, that is as a form structurally and culturally inconsistent, transitory, incomplete and dependent. Emphasis has also been laid on the impact Ch. Wolff allegedly had on the first stage of the Polish Enlightenment, the impact then replaced by English and French influences.

The analyses in this study are based on the published works by the pioneers of the school reform in the years 1740-1773 (i.e. beginning with the opening of the Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw, one of the most influential schools for nobility, and ending with the creation of the ministry of public education, called National Education Commission) such as the professors from the Piarist order, in particular S. Konarski, A. Wiśniewski, S. Chróścikowski, K. Narbutt and C. Kaliszewski. A comparison of their work with the well-known and much used in Piarist schools manuals by such recognised West-European authors as – besides Wolff – E. Pourchot, E. Corsini, A. Genovesi, F. Jacquier, J. Redlhammer and J.A. Nollet, and another comparison with the native output of Jesuits (e.g. S. Szadurski, B. Dobszewicz, J. Rogaliński) who adopted and spread the Piarist reform, made it possible to find out the general characteristics of the sort of philosophy which was then cultivated and taught, to define the dynamism of changes and the extent and direction of foreign influences on Polish thought. To achieve that, after a presentation of declarations concerning the programme, particular branches of philosophical inquiry have been examined in detail, and then a comparison has been drawn with the then prevalent philosophical currents.

One should see in the modifications of the philosophical curriculum carried out in Polish church schools a realisation of the educational and didactic ideals of the denominational school which – also in accordance with Enlightenment ideals – was expected to give foundations for new culture, new forms of social, political and economic life, modelled after the Christian principles and those modern ideals which were compatible with Christianity. This conscious eclecticism, accepted as a legitimate and efficient method of research and essential in creation of a 'Christian philosophy' capable of counteracting the antireligious tendencies of the Enlightenment, can also be seen in the practice of teaching. Within the traditional 'cursus philosophicus' the elements of scholasticism were
combined with achievements of the 17-th and 18-th century science and philosophy as far as contents, methods and the ways of justification and exposition were concerned.

The Polish 'philosophia recentiorum' was, therefore, a way of modernising scholasticism and it manifested itself in the maximalist concept of the function of philosophy as a foundation of formal education and general knowledge in the shape of a causalist and finalist system. The subject of thus conceived philosophy was the whole spectrum of traditional branches of philosophical inquiry. This approach accounts for the continuation of the traditional course of ontology (with the essentialist wolffian-suaresian concept of being) and cosmology (both ontology and cosmology disappeared from the schools after the year 1773) as well as continued use of some aristotelian notions, particularly the notion of hylemorphism. The traditional scholastic connection of philosophy and theology (for which philosophy formulated so called preambula fidei) shows up in the use of biblical arguments (or even in taking into account the opinion of the Church, as in the geocentrism versus heliocentrism controversy) but also in placing more or less value upon a particular philosophical tenets according to its consequences for people's outlook on life (thus occasionalism was appreciated for its stress on the separation of the human body and soul but was criticised from the point of view of the question of free will). In defiance of modern legalism (the will of the state law-giver constitutes the ethical norm) ethics (following thomism) emphasised the dependence of values on the order of being in order to safeguard the objective character of moral values.

Juxtaposing the Polish 'philosophia recentiorum' with modern philosophical developments one can see some similarities to the Scottish common sense philosophy. In particular this holds good of the extensive epistemological analyses which steer clear of the one sided solutions of rationalism and empiricism (both intellectual intuition and sensual perception, either external or internal are valid) and which serve to justify the reality of both the ego and the external world, as opposed to G. Berkeley's idealism. The emphasis on natural principles of thinking and on the natural law corresponds to Th. Reid's concept of 'necessary truths' or axioms which give foundation to various sciences and modes of cognition.

The early positivist influences, indicative of the positivism of the Encyclopaedia, can be seen in the extensive treatment given to phenomemonalist and mathematical natural science (physics took more place in the curriculum than other branches of philosophy) at the expense particularly of ontology and cosmology, which were to be replaced with a quasi-systematic scientific interpretation (e.g. physics
could be regarded as a sort of ontology, and such a fundamental question as that concerning the nature of the so called corpus naturale might be shifted into physics). The notions of traditional natural philosophy were in use and attempts were made to justify them on phenomenalist (physical) grounds. Instead of a systematic interpretation (only some phenomena were treated mechanistically) a description of natural phenomena was offered and attempts at interpretation took shape of ontologies of a sort, inconsistent and detail-oriented. Particular branches of physics increasingly replaced the abstract analyses of general physics. The application of empirical arguments in the solution of particular metaphysical problems also bears the trademark of early positivism, as does the inclusion of physiological analyses into philosophical anthropology and indirectly, into epistemology.

The predominant feature, however, of this mode of thought was unifying and pragmatically oriented Christian Enlightenment eclecticism. The systematic framework of scholasticism was discarded, the problems typical of scholasticism were regarded as useless or insoluble, attention was paid above all to problems useful in individual, cultural (religion, morality), social, political and economic life. Within the field of logic an epistemology was developed, dealing with the discussion of criteria (the value of various sources of cognition instead of a metaphysics of cognition or even formal logic) and methodological issues (problems of scientific discovery). Metaphysics was chiefly preoccupied with justifying the essentials of the Christian dogma, threatened by modern religious agnosticism. Ethics was also involved in countering these unfavourable influences by demonstrating the world of true moral values and holding up a personal ideal with piety as the basic option in life, and also by discussing at length the social duties of man. Natural philosophy gave up speculation and focussed instead on technical applications of phenomenalist and mathematical physics. The option for the Enlightenment in the 'philosophia recentiorum' also manifests itself in the methods of verification, either in empirical and inductive natural science, or in historical and cultural analyses in metaphysics and ethics, or in rationalist and naturalist arguments in theology (emphasis was laid on the rational character of the act of faith or of the principles of morality, softened however and supplemented with the data taken from the Christian revelation. All these influences account for the character of the discussion with secular morality, which was conducted in modern terms. Manual-like doctrinal expositions were increasing by replaced with monographs concerning moral and social problems and their importance for one's outlook on life. These monographs often took the form of pamphlets, which was so popular in the Enlightenment. The level of philosophical discussion dropped as a result of giving up much
of the traditional concern with ontology and cosmology, and of methodological chaos in anthropology, where strictly philosophical reasoning was mixed up with physiological and in ethics, also theological considerations. This was, however, offset by the cultural benefits of eclecticism which made it possible for the contemporary Polish thought to come out of the ghetto of traditional scholasticism and enter a dialogue with contemporary philosophical and scientific developments. The defence of the autonomy of philosophical research against the straightjacket of the 'philosophy of authority' which was upheld by conservative ecclesiactical circles as a sort of religious ideology, combined at the same time with a criticism of anti-religious tendencies, is a point Polish 'philosophia recentiorum' has in common with the German eclectic school Enlightenment. The Polish eclecticism of that time, however, is closest to the current known as the 'Christian Enlightenment', or, being more precise about its denominational source, the 'Catholic Enlightenment' and the 'Protestant Enlightenment'. These developments, being a form of critical participation in modern European culture, enjoyed the support of the Church (e.g. pope Benedict the XIV-th) in such countries as Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland. The Polish Christian Enlightenment matches its Western counterparts in terms of the chronology of its occurrence and dissemination, its content and formal structure. It was a typical expression of contemporary school culture and philosophy, albeit relatively independent and not devoid of certain originality. The claim about an alleged direct dependence of the Polish achievements on Wolff's solutions has not been borne out. There are differences both in methodological terms (e.g. the Piarist eclecticism obviously contrasts with Wolff's systematic approach) and in terms of the general outlook (opposition to Wolff's rationalism). One should rather say that many contemporary standard handbooks which were a bonum commune of the whole European educational system, were used and put together in a non-systematic way. In time, the empirical tendency becomes more and more pronounced, this however has to do with the widespread preference for natural science rather than with a substitution of the English empiricism for the French apriorism.