

Logic and Metaphysics in Vilnius during 16th–18th Centuries: The Most Important Sources of Vilnius Libraries

Introduction

The project *Polonica Philosophica Orientalia: Filozofia w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII w. i historiografia filozofii w Polsce, Litwie, Białorusi*,¹ which officially started on the 12th of February, 2018, and is going to last for five more years (until the 11th of February, 2023), has the aim to unite the scholars from Poland, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania specializing in the history of philosophy of those regions. The intended outcome of the project is to provide a comprehensive overview of the philosophical thought which originated or is in any significant way related to the region of Rzeczpospolita during the 16th–18th centuries. At the initial phase of the project, the participants of the project have been working

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¹ Project number 31H 17 0438 84.

in the libraries of various institutions in their countries, looking for various sources that pertain to the relevant period, especially the ones that have not been investigated yet and are in need of philosophical, historiographical and philological analysis. This paper was prepared on the basis of the presentation made at the conference *Archiwalia*, which was a part of this project and took place on July the 2nd–4th, 2018. Its main objective is to present the most relevant sources pertaining to the fields of logic and metaphysics that were either written in Vilnius or imported to it during the 16th–18th centuries and are accessible in Vilnius.

**Types of manuscripts contained
at The Library of Vilnius University
and The Wróblewski Library of The Lithuanian
Academy of Sciences**

During the initial months of the project *Polonica Philosophica Orientalia*, the attention was focused on two major libraries of Vilnius that contain the most of the sources relevant to the project – The Library of Vilnius University and The Library of the National Academy of Sciences. To begin with the most general impression, the nature of the philosophical thought during the 16th–18th centuries in Lithuania is almost exclusively educational: the most of our investigated sources are the manuscripts of lecture courses delivered for the students of Vilnius University or other schools. That should not be surprising as this is the common feature of all the European philosophy of that time: the monographies of the professors very often originated on the basis of the lectures that they delivered in various schools, colleges or universities, and the purpose of those monographies was often didactical. The manuscripts and printed editions found in the aforementioned libraries can be grouped into three very general categories. First, there are the lecture courses

that were delivered at other European universities. Second, there are the lecture courses that were delivered at Vilnius University and other schools. Third, there is quite an extensive number of student theses prepared either for the disputes that were a significant part of an educational process at various schools at that time, or for obtaining a bachelor's or master's degree.

In the remaining part of the paper, each of the sections will be discussed in more detail, providing the descriptions of the most prominent examples of the manuscripts and printed editions that fall within each category.²

Lecture courses delivered at other European universities

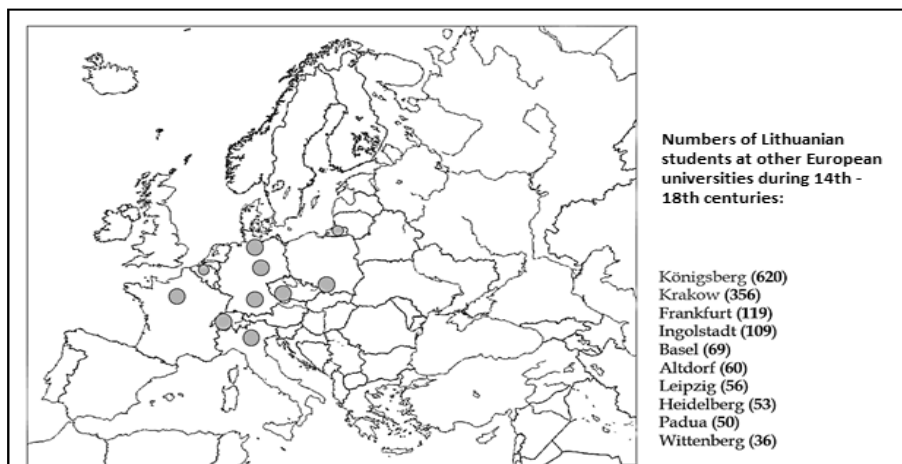
The Library of Vilnius University and The Wróblewski Library of The Lithuanian Academy of Sciences contain quite an extensive number of the manuscripts of philosophy courses that were delivered in Poland, Germany, Italy, France and other countries and written down by the students of these universities. The explanation of how they appeared here is very simple: in the 14th century, a lot of young people, who were mostly the children of Lithuanian nobility, started to travel abroad and attend various Catholic universities. Below we see the map of the most popular destinations of that time: during the 14th–18th centuries Lithuanian students studied in Kraków, Prague, Königsberg, Leipzig, Rostock, Ingolstadt, Wittenberg, Basel, Leuven, Paris (and the list could go on).

To our knowledge, the greatest number of the students was in the universities of Königsberg (620) and Kraków (356), the main reason being the fact that they were the nearest universities. They were followed by the universities of Frankfurt (119), Ingolstadt (109), Basel (69), Altdorf (60), Leipzig (56) Heidelberg (53), Padua (50) and Wittenberg (36). It is estimated that in total, during the 14th–18th

² The more detailed view of the manuscripts that were found in those libraries and will not be mentioned in this article is provided in a regularly updated website of the project: *Polonica Philosophica Orientalia* (<http://ppo.jwstudio.pl/>).

centuries, there were about 2000 Lithuanian students in various European universities where they acquired bachelor's or master's degrees. The first student that we know who studied abroad was the grandchild of Kęstutis, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (1297–1382), and he studied at the university of Prague at the end of the 14th century.³

FIGURE 1
Numbers of Lithuanian students at other European universities during 14th–18th centuries



Source: the work of the author of the article.

The reason why such a great number of the manuscripts of the notes of lecture courses delivered by foreign professors are here, in Vilnius, should already be clear: such manuscripts were brought back home by the Lithuanian students who for some time had studied abroad as a highly cherished and valuable thing. The fact that the value of such manuscripts was considered to be

³ This and other related statistical data is provided by Romanas Plečkaitis. R. Plečkaitis, *Lietuvos filosofijos istorija*, t. 1: *Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas*, Vilnius 2004, p. 31–45.

exceptionally high is evident from the inscriptions in them which indicate that these written lecture courses were often dedicated to other people and even given as presents. Some of the lectures contained in those manuscripts are indeed of a very huge historical importance. Two such prominent manuscripts are the notes of the lectures by the famous Italian Renaissance philosopher Cesare Cremonini (1550/1552–1631) that he delivered at the university of Padua,⁴ and also the sets of notes of the lecture courses delivered by Pierre Lemonnier (also Le Monnier, 1675–1757), who at the beginning of the 18th century was a very prominent figure in the fields of astronomy and mathematics.⁵ Both these manuscripts are contained at The Library of Vilnius University and need to be investigated more thoroughly; however, it is possible to provide some preliminary remarks both about their form and content. Speaking about the manuscripts of the lectures of Cremonini, although it is still not clear when exactly he delivered the lecture courses as this data is not given by the author of the manuscripts (who is the most likely to have been not Cremonini himself, but rather some student of him – the differing handwriting also indicates that there must have been at least two of them), they can be approximately dated the first or the second decade of the 17th century.⁶ Two different sets of notes of lecture courses delivered by Cremonini are accessible to us: the first one, which is 708 pages long, contains two treatises⁷ and mostly deals with natural philosophy, or physics, while the second

⁴ *Cesaris Cremonini Centensis In Schola Palavina Philosophi Primae Sedis De Intelligentiis Tractatus*, VUB, F3 – 2015; *Excellentissimi Doctoris D. Cesaris Cremonini Centensis, In Gymnasio Palavino Papali Aristotelis philosophiam profitentis In secundum librum de anima Lectura incipit*, VUB, F3 – 2057.

⁵ P. Lemmonier, *Cursus Philosophicus. [Tomus I]. Finis Logicae quem in Harcuriano Collegio assecutus dictante celleberimo professore eregia Societate academia Le Monnier ejusdem disciplinum Metaphisicum inchoavi di decimo february anno Dni Muellesimo 739*, VUB F3 – 809-1.

⁶ A similar opinion about the date of the manuscripts of Cremonini lectures is expressed by Plečkaitis. R. Plečkaitis, *Č. Kremoninio traktatai Lietuvoje*, “Problemos” 1969, No. 1 (3), p. 59.

⁷ (1) *Cesaris Cremonini Centensis In Schola Palavina Philosophi Primae Sedis De Dietis Medicorum Adversus Aristotelem Disputatio* and (2) *Cesaris Cremonini Centensis In Schola Palavina Philosophi Primae Sedis De Intelligentiis Tractatus*. More on both of those treatises see *ibidem*.

one, which is significantly shorter (312 pages long), is the general, introductory course to philosophy.⁸ The content of the lectures is mostly Aristotelian; however, it contrasts highly with the typical scholastic manner of presenting of Aristotle – Cremonini distances himself from various medieval theological interpretations of Aristotle that seemed to make his philosophy compatible with Christianity and provides his own understanding of basic Aristotelian concepts (which at that time was often seen as highly controversial⁹). Less can be said about the lectures of Lemonnier, who, although at that time was best known as a physician and a mathematician, was teaching not only physics, but logic and esthetics as well. Dated 1739, the lectures were delivered at College d'Harcourt (*Collegium Harcurianum*) in Paris.¹⁰ Although the exact content of the lectures has not yet been thoroughly investigated, the fact that Le Monnier was a recognized member of both the Royal Society and the Prussian Academy of Sciences allows us to speculate that the students of him must have been introduced to the newest and the most original achievements in physical sciences.¹¹

⁸ *Excellentissimi Doctoris D. Cesaris Cremonini Centensis, In Gymnasio Palavino Papali Aristotelis philosophiam profitentis In secundum librum de anima Lectura incipit.*

⁹ One such notable case where Cremonini disagreed with the medieval theologians was the understanding of the concept of prime matter (*materia prima*) – a matter with no substantial form of its own which endures various changes and is neither created nor destructible. The latter feature of prime matter seemed to be incompatible with the Christian understanding of the world according to which everything that is not God (i.e. the Creator) is created by Him – therefore, in the medieval scholastic philosophy prime matter was claimed to be created *ex nihilo*. Such interpretation of prime matter was rejected by Cremonini who claimed that God is the creator neither of the prime matter, nor of the world, being rather the first mover that gives an impulse to all the existing movement. As a result, some of the Cremonini's treatises (notably *De caelo*) were prohibited by the Catholic Inquisition.

¹⁰ [...] *quem in Harcuriano Collegio assecutus dictante celleberimo professore eregia Societate academia Le Monnier ejusdem disciplinum Metaphisicum inchoavi di decimo februaryi anno Dni Mulesimo 739.*

¹¹ Le Monnier's inovative investigations of the phenomenon of electricity are mentioned and described in another significant manuscript that is contained in the library of Vilnius University: the lecture courses of metaphysics, logic and physics delivered by Dionysius Działowski (Dionizy Działowski, 1729–?). D. Działowski, *Philosophia*, VUB F3 – 432. The most interesting and original part is that of physics: the author discusses the newest scientific achievements and various physical theories of 17th–18th centuries (Newtonian physics, Copernicus system (which is defended), the theory of dynamical atomism).

The lecture courses delivered at Vilnius University and other schools

As it was mentioned before, Lithuanian students traveled abroad quite intensively, but the inverse process also took place – professors of philosophy from other countries used to come and teach at Vilnius University, colleges and various monastery schools. As a matter of fact, Lithuanian professors of philosophy started to teach actively only at the end of the 16th century. Before that, the lecturers were Spanish, German, Croatian, Scottish, Italian, French, Danish, Scandinavian and, of course, Polish: to name a few, John Hay¹² from Scotland, Pedro Viana,¹³ Diego Ortiz¹⁴ from Spain, Marcin Śmiglecki,¹⁵ Hieronim Stefanowski¹⁶ from Poland and others.

It is crucial to mention that the official beginning of the professional philosophy in Lithuania is dated back to 1507 – in that year, the Dominican order founded the so-called *schola particularis*, where

¹² Heius Ioannes (1546–1608) – a professor of mathematics, philosophy and theology. Born in Scotland, studied in Leuven and Rome, later travelled to Vilnius, where he taught logic and philosophy, published various theses and organized disputes. After spending some time in Vilnius, Hay left for Paris, where he was a professor in the college of Pont-a-Moussone and later died.

¹³ Viana Petrus (1549–1609) – a philosopher and theologian born in Spain. Studied in Alcalá, Toledo and Rome, in 1573 moved to Poland, a year later – to Vilnius, where he taught philosophy and theology during 1574–1578. In Vilnius, there have been published at least 11 compilations of philosophy and theology theses that were prepared under the supervision of Viana. Some of those theses are contained in Poland, *Biblioteka Kórnicka (BK, Cim. Qu. 2583, 2589, 2596, 2585, 2591, 2590)*, and their microfilms are also contained in the library of Vilnius University.

¹⁴ Ortisius Jacobus (1564–1625) – a professor of theology and philosophy born in Andalusia. Studied in Cordoba and Seville, taught in Lublin, Poznań and Pułtusk; actively fought against reformation.

¹⁵ Smiglecius Martinus (1563–1618) – a professor of philosophy and theology, born in Lviv. Studied in Lviv, Pułtusk and Rome, taught mostly in Vilnius University, was the rector of the collegia in Pułtusk, Poznań, Kalisz. His treatise *Logica* was very popular in a lot of European universities. The microfilm of the lectures delivered at Vilnius University is contained in the Library of Vilnius University and have also been published in Warsaw in 1987 under the name *Commentaria in Organum Aristotelis*. See M. Smiglecius, *Commentaria in Organum Aristotelis*, t. 1–2, ed. L. Nowak, Warszawa 1987.

¹⁶ Hieronymus Stefanowski (1568–1606) – a jesuit philosopher and theologian, taught in Poznań and Vilnius. The manuscript of his lectures delivered at Vilnius University during 1598–1599 is contained in the Library of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (rkp. 606 I), while the microfilm is in the library of Vilnius University.

they taught liberal arts, theology and philosophy. Unfortunately, we do not have any manuscripts of that period left, so we can only speculate about the exact content of the lectures delivered there. As this *schola particularis* was founded by the Dominicans, the type of the philosophy taught there was certainly Thomistic (although we are not sure whether it was *via moderna* or *via antiqua*), and most probably the school was intended for the future members of the Order, not for the general population. It was Jesuits who started the secular academic teaching of philosophy. In 1571, they started to teach philosophy in the academic gymnasium, or college, that they had founded in Vilnius just a year before that, in 1570. Undoubtedly the most important event in the development of philosophy in Lithuania was the foundation of Vilnius University in 1579 (which was one of the 24 universities that Jesuits have founded). Philosophy studies there lasted for three years: the first year was dedicated to logic, the second – to physics or natural philosophy, and the third one – to metaphysics and ethics. Sometimes physics course was extended even to the third year, and that became a tendency as modern philosophy and science gained more and more influence.¹⁷

¹⁷ After the beginning of the 18th century, almost all of the manuscripts of the philosophy courses indicate that students in Vilnius were introduced to the newest scientific achievements and the state of the natural sciences in Europe at that time: for instance, in the manuscript of philosophy lectures delivered by Dionysius Dzialtowski (*Philosophia: Introductio ad universam philosophiam. Prolegomena dialecticae. Logica. Metaphysica*, VUB, F3 – 432), which is almost 400 pages long, there are discussed the newest physical theories of 17th–18th centuries (Newtonian physics, Copernicus system (which is defended), also the theory of dynamical atomism); in the manuscript of general physics course delivered by Ludovicus Kiwillowicz (L. Kiwillowicz, *Physica sive scientia naturalis. Ad mentem divi Thomae Aquinatis angelici ecclesiaeque doctoris in principiis Aristotelis veterum et recentiorum philosophorum secundum quod consonant sensui eiusdem S. Doctoris*, VUB, F3 – 880) we see an attempt to combine the modern science and philosophy with some of the traditional scholastic views. However, there have been found a few manuscripts written in the mid-18th century that still demonstrate the typical scholastic manner of reasoning and pay little attention to then recent achievements of modern philosophy and science (for instance, the manuscript of philosophy course delivered by Jacobus Dziejewski (J. Dziejewski, *Lidius seu lapis philosophicus [...] Per cursu biennali consumando in Chodkiewicziano collegio crosensi Soc. Iesu anno 1742 in annum 1743*, VUB, F1 – D34), constituted of scholastic natural philosophy and metaphysical lectures, expresses a very traditional philosophical content, closely adapted to the basic Jesuit principles).

It is estimated that currently in various Lithuanian libraries, archives and museums we have more than 600 manuscripts of philosophy courses, and the number is still rising as new sources are being found. The earliest known manuscript of philosophy course that was taught in Vilnius University is by Laurentius Bartilius – that is the lectures of logic delivered at 1605–1606.¹⁸ The biggest concentration of philosophy courses is in the second part of the 17th century and the first part of the 18th century. When the manuscripts of the lectures that delivered by the same professor but written down by different students are compared with each other, it is very often seen that they are absolutely identical. The trend of strict dictation was inevitable as the books were too expensive to be given to each student. Needless to say, all the philosophy courses are almost exclusively written in Latin, and professors used to write in national languages only when creating treatises for the general public.¹⁹

The important fact that sometimes makes the classification of those manuscripts of philosophy courses a little bit more difficult is that quite often the front pages of them are missing, and, as is well known, those pages contain all the essential information on where, when and by whom the lectures were delivered and who wrote them

¹⁸ L. Bartilius, *Logica*, part 1: *In universam Aristotelis philosophiam prooemium* (1–42); part 2: *Logica* (42–458); 2.1: *Disputatio de secundo actu intellectus* (302–338); 2.2: *Disputatio de scientia* (339–458), VUB, F3 – 2067.

¹⁹ One of the best known treatises of that period written by a professor of Vilnius University in a national language and contained in the library of Vilnius University is *Cathechisme critique, moral et politique* by Pierre François Gatey (Petrus Gatey, 1742–?). P. Gatey, *Cathechisme critique, moral et politique. A l'usage des jeunes seigneurs polonois, qui apprennent la langue francoise par mr. L'able Pierre Gatey Ci-devant jesuite*, 1774, VUB, IV – 22953. Gatey, who taught mathematics, philosophy and French language at Vilnius Noble Academy of Jesuits and since 1772 had worked in the astronomy observatory of Vilnius University, wrote this 132-page-long book in the 'question-response' form. The author attempts to prove that the principles of science are not in conflict with religion (especially catholic morality) and encourages the society to be obedient to the ruling class of feudalists. Another famous treatise in a national language is by Józef Boreyko (1729–1762), a professor of rhetorics at Vilnius Noble Collegium and taught rhetorics for 10 years in various other Lithuanian collegia: called *Nauka o krasomówstwie z ksiąg M.T. Cicerona* (VUB, IV – 22450), this treatise in Polish language presents the basics of Ciceronian rhetorics, as well as various deliberations on the significance of education, right upbringing and science – young people are encouraged to be patriotic, responsible against society, while science and education are seen as an instrument to reform the society.

down. However, there are some creative methods that allow us to find out these facts even without the presence of the front pages. To begin with, some information is acquired by investigating the style of language, method of teaching and type of argumentation, various postscripts and notes. Based on that, we can speculate, for instance, what order the author of the lectures belonged to. Secondly, if we know the year that the lectures were delivered at, we can tell the exact name of their author based on some very useful registration books: for example, Jesuits and other orders had very extensive catalogues that tell us what each member of that order did at some particular year. There also exists a registration book called *Laurea academicae*²⁰ which contains all the information on when, to whom and what degree was provided at Vilnius University, and it is also of an utmost help for a historian of philosophy. The last and the most interesting way of identifying the author, the place and the date of the manuscript is by investigating the examples that are found in it. Luckily, a lot of professors who taught at Vilnius University, especially those of physics and logic, seemed to explain their theories in a very understandable manner, therefore, the examples that they provided are often the ones that they saw around them. As a result, in some of the manuscripts of lecture courses we can find allusions and hints at where, when and by whom that course was delivered.²¹ Such examples were very useful not only for the students of that period, but also for us, as a means to gain more bibliographical information about the manuscript.²²

²⁰ Full title: *Laurea academicae seu liber continens ritum promovendi et catalogum promotorum ad gradum doctoratus, licentiatus, magisterii et baccalaureatus*, Academia Vilnensi Soc. Iesu comparatus et ordinatus anno 1650. It was published in Lithuanian in 1997. See *Akademijos laurai (Laureae Academicae seu Liber continens ritum promovendi et catalogum promotorum ad gradum doctoratus, licentiatus, magisterii et baccalaureatus in alma Academia Vilnensi Soc. Iesu comparatus et ordinatus anno 1650)*, ed. M. Svirskas, I. Balčienė, Spindulys, Vilnius 1997.

²¹ For instance, in the manuscript of philosophy course delivered by Andreas Grački in Vilnius Franciscan School in 1608 the place is clear from the scientific discussions about the concept of *locus*, p. 603, where the author says „here, in Vilnius”. The manuscript is contained in Jagiellonian Library (No. 2592).

²² More on these and other methods of identification of the manuscripts, as well as some particular examples see Plečkaitis, *Lietuvos filosofijos istorija...*, 19–20.

Needless to say, even all those methods taken together are often insufficient, therefore, in our libraries and archives we still have about 100 manuscripts of philosophy courses that are yet unidentified and need some further investigation.

Printed editions of philosophical theses and original theses

Section (1.3) constitutes the minority of the sources and the main information that we get is from the manuscripts of lecture courses – that is, from sections (1.1) and (1.2). Printed editions of philosophical theses and original treatises started to appear in the 16th century: The Library of Vilnius University and The Wróblewski Library of The Lithuanian Academy of Sciences contain some monographies, educational or introductory books and quite an extensive number of philosophical theses that were prepared either for the disputes that were often held at the university, or, most often, to obtain a scientific degree. It must be said that the number of original philosophical monographies and treatises is very sparse, as most of the professors did not have very huge creative ambitions: up to mid-18th century original philosophical books were published only by a few professors of Vilnius University – Śmiglecki, Žygimantas Liauksminas,²³ Kazimieras Kojelavičius,²⁴ Łukasz Załuski,²⁵ Aaron Alexander Olizarovius²⁶

²³ Ž. Liauksminas, *Praxis oratoria sive praecepta artis rhetoricae, quae ad componendam orationem scitu necessaria sunt*, VUB, III – 7836. This book, which at that time was extremely popular and had numerous editions abroad, contains the essentials of scholastic logic and rhetorics.

²⁴ Kojelavičius was best known for two treatises: *Miscellanea rerum ad statum ecclesiasticum in Magno Lithuaniae Ducatu pertinentium* (VUB, III – 18483) – a historical treatise describing the state of the Christian church in Lithuania at that time, and *Oculus ratione correctus... De vacuo* (VUB, II – 2046) – a philosophical treatise about the fundamental principles and elements of the reality, based mostly on the scholastic Aristotelianism.

²⁵ L. Załuski, *Universa philosophia* (VUB, III – 8024) – a philosophical treatise dedicated to practical philosophy, logics and physics.

²⁶ A.A. Olizarovius, *De politica hominum societate* (VUB, PD – 1507) – an original treatise dedicated to political philosophy. Expresses innovative ideas (condemnation of serfdom and tyranny), Renaissance ideals, and contains a lot of allusions to various ancient classical sources (Plato, Seneca, Cicero, Sextus Empiricus and others).

and Wojciech Tytkowski.²⁷ The case with the student theses is the opposite: in the Library of Vilnius University, there is a great number of printed theses of the university students and graduates – most often they were written for the disputes that were a significant part of an academic tradition then, or to acquire a bachelor's or master's degree in philosophy. A few of the most interesting student theses that are contained in The Library of Vilnius University are the ones defended by Theodorus Billewicz in 1675,²⁸ by Mykolas Moygis in 1690²⁹ and 50 theses prepared by a yet unidentified student and printed in 1703.³⁰ Billewicz, Moygis, and the anonymous student must have had generous financial supporters as printing one's own theses was a very expensive thing to do: it is known that some of the poorest students used to defend the exact same theses by simply changing the front cover where the name is in order to save money. The earliest such theses defended at the university that we know of are by Hadrian Jung under the supervision of prof. Kraker in 1585 – the original (which is not printed but written by hand) now is at the University of Uppsala. The very earliest theses were prepared in 1574 at The Jesuit College under the supervision of John Hay, and the original also in the University of Uppsala.

²⁷ W. Tytkowski, *Philosophia curiosa* (VUB, U – 97268) – a treatise contained of several books that pertain to metaphysics and physics; the ideas expressed in it reflect mostly the philosophical thought of second scholastics.

²⁸ T. Billewicz, *Triplex philosophia rationalis, naturalis et moralis*, VUB, III – 14771. They were probably prepared to obtain a master's degree in liberal arts and philosophy. 44 theses in total are presented: 13 from moral philosophy, 23 from natural philosophy, and 8 from theoretical philosophy (i.e. logic). Ethical theses are highly abstract, have little connection to the pragmatical, everyday affairs. Billewicz combines Aristotelian philosophy with Christian dogmas, there are also some novel ideas in the natural philosophy part: matter is seen as a fundamental and independent foundation of reality. Clear opposition to modalism and nominalistic tendencies are observed (which were the most probably an influence of prof. J. Sadkowski who was the supervisor of the theses).

²⁹ M. Moygis, *Theses ethico-politicae*, MAB, L-17/1100. Moygis prepared the theses to obtain a master's degree at Vilnius University. There are 9 theses in total, the content is mostly Aristotelian, based on *Politics* and *Nicomachean ethics*, slightly modified to fit the Christian dogmas.

³⁰ *Conclusiones ex universa philosophia*, VUB, IV – 30586. They could have been prepared either for a dispute or to obtain a degree in philosophy. There are the most common and traditional views of scholastic philosophy presented. From 50 theses in total, 1–8 belong to logic, 9–46 – to physics and 47–50 – to metaphysics.

The Nature of Logic and Metaphysics in Lithuania during 16th–18th Centuries

After the very general overview of the main types sources contained in The Library of Vilnius University and The Wróblewski Library of The Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, some general remarks need to be given about their content: that is, the nature of philosophical and logical thought expressed in them.

Speaking about both logics and metaphysics, pure scholastic Aristotelianism is noticed up to the mid-18th century: many lecture courses are called *Introductio ad logicam Aristotelis*, *Logica Aristotelis sive philosophia rationalis*, *In universam Aristotelis philosophiam prooemium* and so on. There is nothing surprising in that as all the study process was strictly regulated by the *Ratio studiorum*, and, as is well known, every professor should have shown his theses to the principals of the academy before delivering them to the audience. It is very obvious that initially, modern philosophy and science was strongly rejected or, to be more precise, ignored. Although the library of Vilnius University contained the treatises of modern philosophers and scientists such as Nicolaus Copernicus, Pierre Gassendi, Hugo Grotius and others, they were all kept separately, and the students were not allowed to read them. However, even in such circumstances some of the bravest professors managed to deliver some information about the newest scientific discoveries of that time and introduced students to the theories of Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, Bruno and others. When the attention to the modern thought was finally given, it was initially very negative: the main objective of a great number of investigated manuscripts of philosophy courses or philosophical theses (mostly dated back at the early 18th century) was to show how wrong the modern philosophy and science are and to indicate the ways they should be opposed.³¹ In the manuscripts that are

³¹ For instance, in the manuscript of philosophy course titled *Philosophia naturalis sive physica* (VUB, F3 – 860) and dated 1721 we find one of the harshest criticisms of modern scientists (Copernicus, Galileus, Descartes and others).

dated the second part of the 18th century the situation begins to change. With time, very gradually, modern scientific discoveries were accepted and less and less attention was given to purely theoretical speculations which were replaced by the knowledge based on empirical experience. Generally speaking, the later the manuscripts, the more importance is given to natural philosophy and physics instead of metaphysics.

The newly emerged form of thinking is best illustrated by a couple of notable examples printed in the second part of the 18th century. The first one is *Commentariolum philosophiae* by Antonius Skorulski (1715–1750) printed in 1755.³² The full title of *Commentariolum* indicates that the treatise includes both the ancient and scholastic, as well as the very recent philosophical ideas (*Philosophiae, ex variis cum veterum, tum recentiorum placitis collectae*). This *commentariolum* includes the descriptions of experiments conducted by Torricelli, Newton's mechanics and other newest scientific achievements of that time. A treatise very similar to Skorulski's *Commentariolum* was published just a few years later – that is *Placita recentiorum philosophorum* (“The opinions of the recent philosophers”) – by Benedictus Dobszewicz (1722–?).³³ In this treatise, printed in Vilnius in 1760, a great attention is paid to the exposition of Newtonian physics, also the completely new terminology is used when discussing modern science, there are a lot of references to Descartes, Gasendi, Locke and Berkeley (who is harshly criticised for his idealist views). Speaking generally about the nature of logic at that time, the lecture courses of scholastic, Aristotelian logic undoubtedly constitute the absolute majority of the manuscripts that have been investigated yet. A great number of the professors who delivered those courses were familiar with the logic of Aristotle not from the original sources, but from the commentaries by Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Francisco Suarez and others. Until the mid-18th century, the topics that we most often

³² A. Skorulski, *Philosophia naturalis sive physica*, VUB, IV – 21457.

³³ B. Dobszewicz, *Placita recentiorum philosophorum*, VUB, IV – 20870.

see in the logic courses are the square of opposition, the problem of universals (which today would be considered as a problem pertaining to metaphysics and not to logic) and the discussions of semantical antinomies.³⁴ The later the manuscript, the more epistemological problems are incorporated into it: in the second part of the 18th century, logic more and more resembles epistemology or even psychology as here one starts to ask how we acquire knowledge and what are the principles of human cognition. This tendency, although in a quite moderate form, is seen in another treatise published by Dobszewicz in Vilnius just a year later than *Placita recentiorum philosophorum*: titled *Praelectiones logicae*,³⁵ it provides a detailed discussion of the modern logical conceptions. The treatise demonstrates an easily noticeable influence of Christian Wolff and Gottfried Leibniz, the author also defends the conception of innate ideas and intellectual intuition by René Descartes and adopts the classification of propositions proposed by the Port-Royal logicians.

Some Further Prospects of Investigation

After providing a general overview of the main types of the philosophical material that pertains to logic and metaphysics, some final remarks will be given on how and where this investigation might be continued.

It is important to note that the manuscripts of the lecture courses that were delivered at various Vilnius schools are scattered not only in the libraries of Lithuania, but also in the whole Europe. It is known for certain that some of the manuscripts are contained in Poland (The Cathedral Library in Gniezno, The National Library

³⁴ The early period of logic, especially the works of Śmiglecki and Ortiz, has been thoroughly investigated by Vytis Valatka, also by Dalius Jonkus. V. Valatka, *Scholastinė logika Lietuvoje XVI a. antrojoje pusėje*, doctoral dissertation, Vilnius 2001; *idem*, *Pirmasis logikos amžius Lietuvoje: gnoseologinis universalijų teorijos lygmuo*, "Logos" 2006, No. 46, p. 72–78; D. Jonkus, *Būties problema F. Suarezo "Metafizikos disputacijose" ir M. Smigleckio "Logikoje"*, "Problemos" 1996, No. 50, p. 5–19.

³⁵ B. Dobszewicz, *Praelectiones logicae*, VUB, IV – 18201, 18710.

of Poland, also The Library of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań and Jagiellonian Library) and in Ukraine (The Library of The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). In Uppsala University in Sweden there are located the first printed pieces of professional Lithuanian philosophy, and some of the manuscripts of Lithuanian lectures of philosophy are even in Matenadaran, Armenia.

As of today, there has been investigated only a part of the resources that are contained in the two major libraries of Vilnius. There is still much work to be done: after finishing the work there, other archives and museums of the city (such as The Archive of the History of Lithuania, Martynas Mažvydas Library and The National Museum of Lithuania) will have to be thoroughly examined. What is more, there is a serious ground to believe that some of the very interesting manuscripts might be contained in some smaller cities and towns of Lithuania, that, to our knowledge, have not yet received the attention of the professional scholars. That definitely has to be and will be corrected during the course of the project.

Logic and Metaphysics in Vilnius during 16th–18th Centuries: The Most Important Sources in Vilnius Libraries

The aim of the article is to present the results of research conducted as part of the project *Polonica Philosophica Orientalia*: namely, to give an overview of the most important logical and metaphysical treatises (both manuscripts and printed editions) written in Vilnius between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries that are currently accessible in some of the Vilnius libraries. Although the research focused primarily on the Vilnius University Library and its resources, some interesting results were also obtained while researching the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. Most sources containing information about the state and the nature of metaphysical and logical investigations conducted in Vilnius during the period discussed are the manuscripts of lecture courses delivered for the students of Vilnius University and other schools. The analysis of those manuscripts has revealed a strong and long-lasting influence of scholastic Aristotelianism in both logic and metaphysics. Namely, up to the mid-eighteenth century, the main

questions discussed in logic were Aristotelian syllogism, the square of opposition and the medieval topics of semantical antinomies, modalities and supposition theory, while investigations into metaphysical issues were limited to commentaries on Aristotle's theoretical treatises without seriously questioning their main theses. In the second part of the eighteenth century, a moderate shift towards subjectivism and psychologism was observed in both of these disciplines. This was influenced by modern epistemologists (George Berkeley, John Locke and others). Logicians and metaphysicians of Vilnius University developed an interest in the topics of human understanding and cognition. However, this shift did not take a radical form – while the majority of eighteenth-century authors sought a combination of scholastic and modern ideas, a critical and even hostile stance towards modern philosophy and science is still noticeable in many of the analysed sources. An overview of the research supported by statistical data is followed by some preliminary remarks on how and where investigation of this topic might be continued in the future.

Keywords: Lithuanian philosophy, Vilnius University, history of logic, history of metaphysics.