

Filosofijos istorija

THE FIRST POLISH TRANSLATION OF KANT'S *THE CONTEST OF THE FACULTIES* IN THE COLLECTIONS OF VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY*

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Abstract. *The collection of Vilnius University Library contains an incomplete, anonymous manuscript of a Polish translation of The Contest of the Faculties by Immanuel Kant. Numerous features of the manuscript (terminology, syntax and handwriting) confirm that it is a fragment of the lost translation by Józef Władysław Bychowiec, one of the most important popularisers of Immanuel Kant's philosophy in Poland and Lithuania at the beginning of the 19th century. The manuscript is the earliest known work by Bychowiec, probably completed during his philosophical studies in Königsberg.*

Keywords: *Immanuel Kant, Józef Władysław Bychowiec, history of philosophy, Polish philosophy, Lithuanian philosophy*

Józef Władysław Bychowiec (1778–1845, long-time resident of Vilnius) is the most important Polish translator of philosophical works by Immanuel Kant of the first half of the 19th century. In an authorised biographical

note for Glücksberg's¹ *Encyklopedia powszechna* [Universal Encyclopaedia] (1838) Bychowiec lists his translations of Kant's works as his first scientific achievements:

In 1796 he went to Germany, where he visited universities in Frankfurt (Oder), Göttingen, and Königsberg, when Kant was still alive. There, he explored German philosophy and translated three works by Kant, which were

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¹ The Glücksberg family ran a printing house and a bookshop in Vilnius those days.

published in 1801 and 1802: *Wyobrażenie do historii powszechnej we względzie kosmopolitycznym* [Idea for Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose]; *Do pokoju wiecznego* [Perpetual Peace], and *Spór Filozofii z Teologią, Prawoznawstwem i Medycyną* [The Contest of the Faculties]. (Chlebowicz, Rogalski 1838: 739)

An entry in the University records from October 30, 1796 proves that he undertook studies in Frankfurt, as *Jos. Bychowice* (Friedländer et al. 1888: 554). Additionally, the father's name (Ignaz, nobilis Polonus) and birthplace (Chmielniciae in districtu Slonimensi) confirm unquestionably that Józef Bychowiec is the said person. The records also include nationality (Lithuanian), place of previous education (Vilnius), and the student's age. The latter information, however, is not accurate. Bychowiec's age given in the records (23) does not correspond with the date of birth we know (1778) (Orgelbrand 1860: 716). Did Bychowiec overstate his age by five years? Maybe the date of birth is incorrect?² The records in Albertina feature no information about the age, and Bychowiec's name was peculiarly misspelt like in the previous example (Bychowice). Yet another inaccuracy was an erroneously entered student's first name (Johann). The remaining information is the same: "Bychowice Joh., nobil. Polonus, ex academia Francofurtana ad Viadrum advena, matricula instructus" (Erlor 1911-1912: 650). This note certifies that Bychowiec (not Johann, but Joseph), a Polish nobleman who came from the University of Frankfurt

² If Bychowiec had been 23 years old in 1796, then in 1845 he would have been 72. His death certificate (Jadacki 2015: 266) states that he was 70 years old but, according to the information provided by Glücksberg, Orgelbrand, Łukaszewicz and others, he lived until the age of 67.

(Oder) on October 12, 1799 in the winter term became a student of the Medical Faculty of Albert University in Königsberg. The fact that Bychowiec studied in Königsberg while Kant was still alive is undisputable. Although Kant was no longer a lecturer at that time and held no positions at the University, he did host Bychowiec like many other people interested in getting to know the great philosopher³.

The remark on the translations "in ... Königsberg, when Kant was still alive" in the fragment quoted above, should probably be understood literally as referring to the three titles mentioned (*Idea for Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose; Perpetual Peace; The Contest of the Faculties*). This is confirmed by Bychowiec in a letter to Joseph I. Kraszewski⁴ in which he remarks on the content of the aforementioned note from the *Universal Encyclopaedia* (annexed to the letter):

You shall find there, at the very beginning, three works by Kant translated into Polish. I did this while studying at the Royal University, in the days of my youth. I wanted to experience whether Kant's philosophy could be instilled in Poland. I ordered only 300 copies of each to be printed in Königsberg; they

³ "H. E. Graf von Byctowitz aus Warschau will mich Morgens nach 12 Uhr besuchen und ist willens sich künftig beim diplomatischen Corpus In Berlin ansetzen zu lassen" [Count Bychowiec from Warsaw wishes to pay me a visit past midday tomorrow and he would like to be assigned to a diplomatic corps in Berlin in future.] (Żelazny 1995a: XX). The meeting with Kant did in fact take place, but he cannot have attended his course lectures. The incorrect information about Bychowiec's alleged participation in Kant's lectures formulated for the first time by nineteenth-century biographers, is still reproduced: "he would sit in on Kant's philosophy courses" as written by Lesław Łukaszewicz (Łukaszewicz 1860: 729). Cf. also: Jadacki 2015: 266.

⁴ Józef I. Kraszewski (1812-1887) was a writer, editor, historian, and politician; the author of a monograph about Vilnius (*Wilno od początków jego, do roku 1750*).

sold out, but did not make a strong impression in the minds, which was strongly opposed by John Śniadecki⁵.

The first publication of all the titles quoted by the author is known, i.e., a translation of Kant's essay from 1784 published in Königsberg: *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht*. This translation was published in 1799 by Gottlieb Lebrecht Heering and Georg Carl Haberland, then unknown to anyone. For many years Heering and Haberland were associated with Hartung, a well-known royal publishing house, but in 1798 they established their own business specializing in publishing Polish and Lithuanian books (Meckelburg 1840: 44; Kaunas 2004: 166). The title page of the 1799 edition makes no mention of the source language and the author of the translation while the title page in the 1832 Korn edition features a comment "translated from German by J. W. Bychowiec". It is very likely that Bychowiec translated the text on the basis of the French edition (this is suggested by French terms given in brackets in five places, i.e., on pages 20, 31, 35, 38, and 41)⁶. In any case, he certainly used the translation by Villers published in *Le Spectateur du Nord* in 1798, as evidenced by the identical footnotes of the translator⁷.

⁵ Bychowiec's letter to J. I. Kraszewski, March 21, 1843, Jagiellonian Library, ms 6456 IV, p. 36.

⁶ I. Kant, *Idée de ce que pourrait être une histoire universelle dans les vues d'un citoyen du monde...* [traduit par Ch. Villers], „Spectateur du Nord”, 1798, Vol. VI, p. 1–39 [second ed.: F. de Neufchateau (ed.), *Le Conservateur*, Paris 1800, Vol. II, p. 57ff.]. The following pages in the French text: 10, 18, 21, 23 and 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34–37. Cf. I. Kant, *Wyobrażenie do historii powszechnej we względzie kosmopolitycznym przez Kanta*, [Idea for Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose], Królewiec 1799, p. 53–56. Bychowiec translated footnotes 2, 3, 4 from Villers' translation literally and in their entirety and partly footnotes 6, 8, 10, and

The aforementioned translation was published during Bychowiec's lifetime again in 1832 by Wilhelm Bogumił Korn, a well-known publishing house in Wrocław⁸. However, if we compare the two editions, it turns out that this is not the second edition but the so-called title reissue. Korn (it is unknown whether it was Julian, John, or Wilhelm Bogumił) probably bought the circulation from the 1799 edition (from the Königsberg publisher or his heirs) and, after replacing the title page, he offered the owned copies for sale. This is why the text in both editions is identical. Such practice was very common and undoubtedly applied in the case of Bychowiec's translation (it remains unknown whether this was done with the knowledge and consent of the author)⁹. Bychowiec knew about this "reprint", but he considered it a new edition which was full of mistakes (as if he was unaware of the fact that it did not differ from the first edition)¹⁰.

From the titles mentioned in the note to Glücksberg's *Encyclopaedia*, the second translation of Kant's political dissertation (which, by the way, directly referred to the political situation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), namely, the translation of the treatise *Zum ewigen Frieden*, has not yet been found. The first known Polish edition of this treatise is Szymon Bielski's transla-

12. In the latter case, the Polish translator made abbreviations, added clarifications directly related to the situation in Poland and expanded remark 12 to which he added general information about critical philosophy.

⁸ In fact, the publishing house was then run by Wilhelm Bogumił's grandson, Julius Korn (d. 1837).

⁹ We are grateful for the information on the practices of publishers and the relevant bibliographic guidelines to Prof. Iwona Imańska from the Institute of Information Science and Book Studies of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń.

¹⁰ Cf. Bychowiec's letter to J. I. Kraszewski of 1843, Jagiellonian Library, ms 6456 IV,

tion based on a popular French edition¹¹. There is no reason to question the truthfulness of Bychowiec's declaration as to the fact that he had made the translation of *Zum ewigen Frieden*: "Bychowiec himself refers to this translation on numerous occasions, but in 1815, when writing a letter to Adam Czartoryski¹² with a request for support and enclosing evidence of his scientific achievements, i.e., the works published to date, he was unable to present a copy of it" (Żelazny 1995a: XXII). The content of the preserved writings by Bychowiec confirms his knowledge of the treatise content and most probably it simply proves that he was using a ready, previously prepared translation (Żelazny 1995a: XXII–XXIII; Marciniak, Żelazny 2008: 10ff). Extensive fragments of Bychowiec's essay titled *List o wojnie y przeznaczeniu żołnierza przez Józefa Bychowca świadka oczywistego przeszley Kampanii Francuskiej 1809 przeciw Austryakom z Ems 28 kwietnia 1809 r.* [A Letter on War and Soldier's Fate by Józef Bychowiec, a Witness of the French Campaign Against the Austrians from Ems of April 28, 1809] undoubtedly constitute a summary of *Zum ewigen Frieden* (Żelazny 1995a: XXIII)¹³. This publication confirms

¹¹ *Projekt wieczystego pokoju; rozważa filozoficzna przez E. Kanta z języka francuskiego z nowymi autora dodatkami*, [Perpetual Peace: a Philosophical Sketch by E. Kant from French with Author's Additions] transl. from French by Szymon Bielski, Königsberg 1796, Warsaw 1797. Cf. Żelazny 1995b: 124. On the erroneous dating of the translation cf. Żelazny 2005: 58–60.

¹² Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861), a curator of Vilnius scientific district (including Vilnius University) since 1803.

¹³ A critical edition of the essay in a bilingual version (Polish and German): *List Józefa Bychowca O wojnie i przeznaczeniu żołnierza (Ein Brief von Józef Bychowiec Über den Krieg und die Bestimmung des Soldaten, Übersetzung R. Michalski)* [Józef Bychowiec's Letter on War and Soldier's Fate], ed. M. Żelazny and R. Michalski, *Filo-Sofija* 2007, R. 7, no 1, p. 255–277.

that in 1809 Bychowiec had a copy of the translation of Kant's thesis which he lost most probably in 1812 during a war expedition against Russia. These facts are linked in the aforementioned letter to Prince Czartoryski of September 7, 1815:

Missing amongst these are the translations on the *Perpetual Peace*, eight volumes of motifs for Napoleon's code, the teachings of the Burgraves which I translated at the command of J.W. Lubieński and now they are kept in the Ministry of Justice Library. Additionally, two volumes of the *Military Encyclopaedia* manuscript are also missing as I left them with my host Mr. Rakiel as I was embarking on my journey in 1812. He died and now I am requesting to get them back, which is hard.¹⁴

The Bychowiec's translations of Kant's dissertation (*Der Streit der Fakultäten*) mentioned in a note in Glüksberg's *Encyclopaedia* has so far been equated with a passage from one of his later books, *Sztuka zapobiegania chorobom* [The Art of Preventing Illnesses] (Vilnius 1843). Indeed, on pages 88–112 of the publication, there is a faithful translation of *Der Streit der Fakultäten*, and more specifically, of the third part of the treatise (chapter *Grundsatz der Diätetik*; Kant 1917: 100–114). It can thus be said that so far only two out of three translations listed by Bychowiec have been known (with one of them only as a fragment preserved in another work by Bychowiec).

However, *The Art of Preventing Illnesses* is not Bychowiec's independent work which he supplied with the translation of Kant's work he had prepared earlier, but a translation of a dissertation written by a Viennese doctor and scholar, Leopold Fleckles (1805–

¹⁴ A letter by J. W. Bychowiec from Warsaw of September 7, 1815, to A. J. Czartoryski. The Prince Czartoryski Library, ms. 5450.

1879), entitled *Die Kunst Krankheiten vorzubeugen, oder Anweisung, wie man Körper und Geist vor Uebelnmanherlei Art. Bewahren, Krankheiten entfernen und wie ein allgemeines Wohlbefinden zu befördern ist, nebst Ideen neben Macht des Gemüths von Kant*, which contained a fragment of *The Contest of the Faculties* as its integral part. Bychowiec used the 1838 edition (Bychowiec 1844: 265) since the 1833 edition did not contain the fragment from *The Contest of the Faculties*. It was much more extensive, edited in a completely different manner, and the translation contained a number of his own reflections added (or borrowings from other “physicians”).

It is therefore necessary to literally interpret the remark left by Bychowiec on the title page where he noted “short and composed by German doctors” under the title borrowed from Fleckles (the phrase “art of preventing illnesses” is a faithful translation of the phrase “die Kunst Krankheiten vorzubeugen”). This note is missing from the book by the Austrian scholar. It may therefore be conjectured that we are dealing here with a compilation that consists of fragments from more than one book, supplemented with original texts by Bychowiec. The meticulously translated title of Fleckles’s book, on the other hand, created an impression of a literal translation of one work by one author. It is anything but this at all.

In this case, Bychowiec certainly did not use the previously prepared translation of *The Contest of the Faculties* (referred to in the note from the *Encyclopaedia*) but translated the book by Fleckles in its entirety, together with the fragment of *The Contest of the Faculties*, which was its integral part. This is evidenced by a small

error which was preserved in Bychowiec’s translation. On page 90 of *The Art of Preventing Illnesses*, the text in the second paragraph is numbered “2”, whereas number “1” is missing from the earlier paragraph. This error is only present in the Fleckles edition, and it is not included in Kant’s original text (in the first edition of *Der Streit der Fakultäten*). Bychowiec mechanically repeated Fleckles’s error, which means that while preparing his translation he must have used only Fleckles’s, not the original edition of *The Contest of the Faculties*, or even less probably, his own earlier translation¹⁵. This was because he was no longer in possession of some of his earlier works, most probably also the translation of *The Contest of the Faculties* (he writes about it in a letter to Prince Adam Czartoryski dated September 7, 1815). But why was the ready translation not published?

Bychowiec, as we know, applied for a post at the University of Warsaw in 1816, but his candidacy was rejected because he was not accepted by Stanisław Staszic¹⁶ who had decisive influence with regard to the staff of the Department of Philosophy¹⁷. Bychowiec was among the ranks of famous supporters and popularisers of German philosophy which at that time was fiercely attacked by the most influential representatives of Polish science (Śniadecki, Staszic,

¹⁵ “It may be [...] assumed that old Bychowiec decided to publish the translation which he had made many years before as a young student, but he could not afford it, or, which is more likely, that he translated it again” (Żelazny 1995a: XXII).

¹⁶ Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826), Polish geographer, geologist, and politician. One of the reformers of Polish education and science, proponent of the Enlightenment, co-founder of the University of Warsaw (in 1816).

¹⁷ Cf. J. W. Bychowiec’s letter to J. Römer of July 21, 1819 (Kupś 2014: 24-25; Bieliński 1912: 747).

and earlier Kołłątaj). It was also known that he shared radical views on religion, which had undoubtedly been shaped by Kant's long-established philosophy, including *The Contest of the Faculties*. For this reason, he was considered a "dangerous person". Such was the conclusion of Antoni Andrzejowski's¹⁸ account of the meeting with Bychowiec which took place at Rev. Alojzy Osiński's home (the prelate of Lutsk, a lecturer at the Lower Secondary School of Wołyń, and later, from 1833, a professor at the Academy of Theology in Vilnius):

I visited Rev. Osiński several times. On one such occasion Mr. Bychowiec came by. He looked very much the same as twenty years before. The same vivacity, the same pronunciation, the same philosophical sophisms. I recognised him immediately. The prelate introduced me as his student, but I made no mention that I had long known Bychowiec. Mr. Bychowiec was an author and at that very moment he brought his philosophical work for the prelate to review. After the philosopher had left I told the prelate that I had known Mr. Bychowiec for a long time and after that a long discussion ensued. Rev. Osiński gave justice to his reasoning and his science, but he deemed him a dangerous man and had no good sentiments for him whatsoever. (Andrzejowski 1914b: 199–200)

Andrzejowski first met Bychowiec years before, when he studied drawing with Joseph Oleszkiewicz (already a well-known artist then, and later a very influential Freemason in the Russian lodges as well). Another interesting account by Andrzejowski comes from that time – it could take place only just after Bychowiec's return from Königsberg:

Les esprits forts like Bychowiec, Tomaszewski, Cejzik, young Niemczewski, Liboszyć, Korwell, Petrusiewicz, Damel and many others whose names I do not recall, gathered at Oleszkiewicz's place. Their conversations were as free as their morals; as for their philosophy - I would not dare mention; and their favourite authors were all those who opposed religious morality and the principles of religion. (Andrzejowski 1914a: 183)

Without doubt, Bychowiec, with his updated and competent knowledge of political and religious writings by Kant, stood out in the social meetings at Oleszkiewicz's residence in Vilnius. It is known that Polish supporters of Kant's philosophy were recruited to a large extent from the Jacobin movement; in patriotic circles, Kant's writings were read with an intention to capture allusions to the political situation in which the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth found itself as a result of illegal expansion of its powerful neighbours¹⁹.

The collections of the Vilnius University Library contain a manuscript of a previously unknown fragment of the translation of *Der Streit der Fakultäten* made by Bychowiec – the first part of the *Dispute Between the Philosophical and Theological Faculties*²⁰. The text is defective – it lacks the first pages, which were probably once in place. The manuscript presents the features of a fair copy – it is almost devoid of correction.

In some places, there are translator's remarks; in others, there are annotations

¹⁹ For example, a copy of the translation of the *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* made by Anna Sapieżyna (Prince Adam Czartoryski's wife) (Kupś 2014: 97ff).

²⁰ The Vilnius University Library: ms. F1-D1298. The catalogue only provides the title of this anonymous manuscript (*Dispute Between the Philosophical and Theological Faculties*) but the characteristic handwriting reveals the doubtless authorship of Bychowiec.

¹⁸ Antoni Andrzejowski (1785–1868). Biologist, geologist, writer, and diarist. Explorer of the nature of Lithuania, Volyn, and Ukraine. A Lecturer in Kremenets Lyceum.

prepared for comments that Bychowiec intended to add during the final revision. This unexpected discovery allows us to hope that all the information given in the note from Glücksberg's *Encyclopaedia* will be in time confirmed and, thanks to systematic archival research, not only will the remaining fragments of the translation of *The Contest of the Faculties* but, above all, the translation of the *Zum ewigen Frieden* be found.

The fact that Bychowiec translated the fragment of *The Contest of the Faculties* "from scratch" in 1843, when publishing the *Art of Preventing Illnesses*, raises the question: what period does the Vilnius manuscript of the *Dispute Between the Philosophical and Theological Faculties* originate from?

Let us first make note of some of the comments added by the translator. One of them (p. 54r of the manuscript) contains a reference to the Latin meaning of the translated German term "Werkheiligkeit", which Bychowiec rendered with a Polish phrase "holiness of the work" and provided its Latin equivalent in a footnote: "*fiducia operum suorum, fiducia sanctitatis vitae*". This remark is missing from Kant's work; it was done by the translator. However, Bychowiec was not its author, as he copied it from the entry for the word "Werkheiligkeit" in the German-Latin dictionary of Immanuel Johann Gerhard Schellers (from 1798). Bychowiec must have used the dictionary to prepare his translation (Schellers 1789: 2621)²¹. The translator must have used a

²¹ Another footnote added by the translator also seems to be interesting. At the beginning of the chapter entitled "Allgemeine Anmerkung. Von Religionssecten" (Kant 1917: 48) Kant added a comment which referred to Christian sects. He draws attention to the peculiarity of the German term referring to "Christians" (*Christen*), which is simply a plural form of "Christ" (*Christ*).

bilingual dictionary from 1789 and was referring to the first edition of Kant's work from 1798 (as evidenced by the *in extenso* translation of the table of contents which was an integral part of the first edition). Although these are not arguments to exclude the creation of the translation relatively late, in Vilnius, they are sufficient to ask why Bychowiec did not use the later edition of *The Contest of the Faculties*, and why he referred to a dictionary from the end of the 18th century. It is perhaps due to the fact that the translation was made earlier, in accordance with the information given in the note from Glücksberg's *Encyclopaedia*, while Bychowiec was still studying in Königsberg.

In three cases, Bychowiec left a free space or introduced a marking by which he meant to supplement the text with comments: on page 35v and 36r and on page 13v. In the last case, with a view to clarifying the meaning of the term "*a priori*" in his translation of the essay *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* published in 1799, he widely comments on this aspect of critical philosophy and makes a distinction between *a posteriori* and *a priori* cognition²². If the translation of *The Contest of the Faculties* had been made later, Bychowiec would probably have had no reason to think about explaining the

Bychowiec commented on this as follows: "This footnote seems to concern only the German language but every attentive reader speaking any foreign language, and therefore also the Polish language, will see through the author's clever intention" (p. 47r of the manuscript). This observation, too, seems to be based on Schellers' dictionary and corresponds thematically to note no. 9 added by Bychowiec to the *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*.

²² I. Kant, *Wzobrażenie do historii powszechnej w zględzie kosmopolitycznym* [Idea for Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose], Königsberg 1899, p. 56.

term. This is yet another argument that the translation of *The Contest of the Faculties* had been made earlier, before the translation of the essay *Idea for a Universal History*.

In two places, Bychowiec drew attention to the Polish terms of his choice, which he had used to express important German terms. On page 8r he explains that he had rendered the German term “Autonomie” with “własne sądownictwo” [own judicature], whereas on page 32v (VII 36 in the original version) he translated the German term “Willkür” with an uniquely-sounding word “wolobiór” [free choice] (he translates the verbs and adjectives based on “Willkür”²³ by analogy in a similar manner). Interestingly, this translation idea does not appear in the later translation of Herder’s²⁴ work, in which Bychowiec consistently uses other words which have a much more contemporary sounding, i.e., “samowolność”, “samowola” [self-will] (vol. 1, p. 34, 41, 90, vol. 2, p. 318, vol. 3, p. 56, 153), or “dowolność” [freedom, arbitrariness] (vol. 3, p. 87, 101, 102). It is a serious argument that the manuscript from the Vilnius University Library had been written before the publication of the translation of Herder’s work. We suggest that it could perhaps be during Bychowiec’s stay in Königsberg.

“Wolobiór” [free choice] and “własne sądownictwo” [own judicature] were not the only unique words that Bychowiec used to express German terms. The manuscript holds a selection of other words which sound unique: “Inbegriff” is rendered as

“zawiór” [totality], “Vorstellung” is translated as “przedstaw” [presentation], and the adjective “subjective” is translated as “wmiotnie” [subjective]. The latter word appears several times on the pages of the manuscript (20v, 28v, 33r, 51v, 54r), but it is no use looking for it, nor any other translation constructs, in other well-known works by Bychowiec. Neither will we find them in the dictionary by K. C. Mrongowiusz²⁵, in which the mentioned German terms are expressed with very contemporarily sounding Polish words: “samowolność”, “arbitralność”, “przedstawienie” [self-will, arbitrariness, presentation]. The archaisms used in the manuscript of the *Dispute Between the Philosophical and Theological Faculties* which are absent from the later manuscripts or later publications by Bychowiec provide strong evidence that this translation had been made earlier.

In the letter to Joseph I. Kraszewski of February 10, 1843, which has already been commented on, (to which Bychowiec attached a note from the *Universal Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 3, pp. 739-740 and a copy of the recently published *Art of Preventing Illnesses*), there is an unexpected confirmation of the knowledge of Kant’s *Contest of the Faculties*: “Kant’s ideas about the power of mind to control illnesses are very important and true. I have known them for forty years and have experienced their benefits in practice”²⁶. Could the manuscript from the Vilnius University Library be a part of the translation of *The Contest of the Faculties*

²³ Cf. pages: 12v, 13r, 27v, 28r, 31v, 32v.

²⁴ J. G. Herder, *Pomysły do filozofii dziejów rodzaju ludzkiego... Dzieło przełożone z języka niemieckiego z dodatkiem przedmowy i opisu życia autora*, [Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind. A work translated from German with the addition of a preface and a description of author’s life] vol. 1–3, Vilnius 1838.

²⁵ *Dokładny niemiecko-polski słownik. Ausführliches deutsch-polnisches Wörterbuch...* [Precise German-Polish Dictionary], Königsberg, 1837 (second edition).

²⁶ Bychowiec’s letter to J. I. Kraszewski of 1843, Jagiellonian Library, ms 6456 IV,

made “forty years before” in Königsberg by Bychowiec?

The Vilnius manuscript has one more feature which proves its early creation. The translator rendered the German original very faithfully. Not only does he express German terminology literally in Polish and keeps the order of the German original but, above all, he refrains from dividing extremely long sentences²⁷. This practice is not in agreement with the declaration made by Bychowiec in the *Art of Preventing Illnesses...*: “Whoever would like to translate such wisdom [i.e., Kant’s] into foreign languages with clarity would have to, in addition to cleansing hard

²⁷ It is easy to provide more examples. On the first page of the manuscript, p. 1r, one sentence takes the entire page (and the text is interrupted), and again, two pages later, a sentence goes on from p. 1v to p. 2v. An equally long sentence takes two pages 8r-8v and also nearly a whole page on 25r.

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terminology, divide the breathtakingly long sentences into pieces” (Bychowiec 1843: 114). It seems that this last sentence is spoken by an experienced translator, who has gained confidence, which is altogether absent from the Vilnius manuscript of the *Dispute Between the Philosophical and Theological Faculties*.

If the translation entitled *Wyobrażenie do historii powszechnej we względzie kosmopolitycznym* [Idea for Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose] (Königsberg 1799) was indeed based on the French edition, as we have suggested at the beginning, then we would have to assume that the earliest Polish translation of Kant’s work known today and made by Bychowiec on the basis of the German original is the manuscript entitled *Spór filozoficznego wydziału z teologicznym* [Dispute Between the Philosophical and Theological Faculties] from Vilnius.

of 1841. Jagiellonian Library, Krakow, ms. 6459.

Bychowiec, J. W., Letters to Adam J. Czartoryski. The Prince Czartoryski Library, Krakow: (letter from Warsaw of 7th September 1815) ms. 5450, (and from Vilnius of 11th/23rd September 1821 and 24th October 1821) ms. 5477.

mieckich, pomnożona wstępem, wskazaniem przesądów miejscowych względem zachowania zdrowia, pomysłami do higieny religijnej i obszernym wykładem przepisów higienicznych, z przydaniem rozprawy filozoficznej o mocy umysłu przez Kanta. Vilnius: Dworc.

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PIRMASIS KANTO „FAKULTETŲ GINČO“ LENKIŠKAS VERTIMAS VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETO BIBLIOTEKOS FONDUOSE

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Santrauka. Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos fonduose saugomas nebaigtas, anoniminis Immanuelio Kanto „Fakultetų ginčo“ vertimo į lenkų kalbą rankraštis. Daugybė rankraščio ypatumų (terminologija, sintaksė ir rašysena) patvirtina, jog tai Józefo Władysława Bychowico, vieno svarbiausių XIX a. pradžios Kanto filosofijos populiarintojų Lenkijoje ir Lietuvoje, neišlikusio vertimo fragmentas. Rankraštis yra anksčiausias žinomas Bychowico darbas, veikiausiai atliktas jo filosofijos studijų Karaliaučiuje metu.

Pagrindiniai žodžiai: Kantas, Józef Władysław Bychowiec, filosofijos istorija, Lenkijos filosofija, Lietuvos filosofija

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