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Hourya Benis Sinaceur

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Part III

Intuitionism and Constructive Mathematics

Tarski's Practice and Philosophy: Between Formalism and Pragmatism

Hourya Benis Sinaceur

1 Some General Facts About Formalism

1.1 Definitions

The term 'formalism' may have at least three different meanings. First, 'formalism' can be understood as referring to a *mathematical* way of operating. A formalist way of doing mathematics shows how one can get new and innovative results from the mere inspection of symbolic expressions used or coined for mathematical entities or properties. In this wide sense, which is internally connected with a permanent aspect of mathematical practice, one usually speaks of a «formal» rather than of a «formalist» point of view. Leibniz was a great supporter of such a view, promoting symbols and diagrams, be they arithmetical (differential operator, series, determinants) or geometrical (objects of the *analysis situs*), as one way of the «*ars inveniendi*». This point of view is highly represented, from the XIXth century onwards, by the study of mathematical structures defined by axiom systems. Mathematical structuralism aims at more generality, increasing simplicity and unification, deeper understanding and richer fruitfulness. In a second meaning, 'formalism' means a *philosophical* attitude, which seeks an answer not to the question: «how can one do mathematics in a general and very efficient way?» but to the question: «how or on what to ground mathematical practice?» Mathematical structuralism aims at grounding mathematics on the most abstract and general structures, such as those laid for arithmetic or set theory. For instance, Dedekind based the theory of whole numbers on an abstract theory of «simply infinite systems» which presents N as an ordered set satisfying some characteristic conditions. The third and more specific sense of 'formalism' comes from Hilbert's metamathematics, which combines logical analysis of mathematical procedures with philosophical views on the foundations of mathematical practice. This third sense is linked to Hilbert's concern

H.B. Sinaceur (✉)
IHPST (Institut d'Histoire et Philosophie des Sciences et des Techniques),
CNRS-Université Paris 1
e-mail: sinaceur@canoe.ens.fr

01 with formal systems of mathematical theories, to his syntactic study of mathemati-
 02 cal proof [*Beweistheorie*], and, notably, to his search for consistency proofs which
 03 would secure the soundness of mathematical reasoning against the paradoxes of set
 04 theory and would permit to avoid restrictions on classical logic.

07 ***1.2 Hilbert's Formalism: Words and Subject.*** 08 ***The Paradigm of Algebra***

10 In his essays on the foundations of mathematics, Hilbert did use the German word
 11 '*Formalismus*', but *not* to characterize a philosophical attitude towards questions on
 12 the nature of mathematical objects or practice. '*Formalismus*' meant 'formal system'
 13 or 'formal language', both *technical* concepts of mathematical logic. Sometimes,
 14 Hilbert used the word '*Formalismus*' as meaning 'formalization', which is
 15 again a *technical* process of mathematical logic.¹ Thus '*Formalismus*' is either the
 16 result of a process of formalization or the process itself. Even when Hilbert alluded
 17 in his 1931 essay to Brouwer's «reproach of formalism», he took '*Formalismus*'
 18 *only* in the technical sense and explained that the use of formulas, i.e. formalization,
 19 is a necessary tool of logical investigation.

20 Mostly, '*Formalismus*' is contrasted and correlated with '*Inhaltlichkeit*' or with
 21 '*inhaltliche Überlegungen*', and there may be naturally different formalisms or formalized
 22 constructions of the same content. The *relationship* between formal processing
 23 and informal thinking was nevertheless considered as an *epistemological problem*,
 24 just as the consistency problem.² And just as for the consistency problem,
 25 Hilbert aimed at a logical-mathematical solution, which would make obsolete the
 26 epistemological way of questioning and answering. I will briefly sketch this solution
 27 below, in 1.4. However, one may note that philosophers of mathematics did not stop
 28 until now to be concerned with the relationship between formal setting and content.

29 Otherwise, Hilbert used the German word '*Formeln*' to speak of mathematical
 30 formulas. He distinguished between numerical formulas, such as $2 + 3 = 3 + 2$ or
 31 $2 < 3$, and formulas involving variables, namely literal expressions of algebra, such
 32 as $a + b = b + a$ or $a < b$. The first ones convey a content which is immediately
 33 understandable, while the latter, the «right» formulas, are '*selbständige formale*
 34 *Gebilde*' which have no immediate meaning and are nothing but «objects submitted
 35 to the application of our rules».³ Numerical formulas are formalized through algebraic
 36 *formale Gebilde*, which constitute the customary formal part of mathematics.
 37 Being entirely determined by definite rules, the formal part of mathematics is con-
 38

40
 41 ¹ Hilbert [29], in Hilbert [36, p. 153]; [30], in Hilbert [36, pp. 165, 170]; [33, pp. 67, 77]; [35,
 42 p. 493].

43 ² Hilbert [29], in Hilbert [36, p. 153]. As Wolenski suggested to me, it is worth recalling that the
 44 contrast between 'form' and 'content' (*Form, Inhalt*) was very popular in Neo-Kantian philosophy,
 45 which was very influential at the break of XIX/XX century.

³ Hilbert [33, p. 72] (my translation).

01 trollable. Hilbert argued that the «*formaler Standpunkt*», eminently illustrated by
 02 algebraic methods, should be expanded to all of mathematics.

03 «In algebra we consider the expressions formed with letters to be independent objects
 04 in themselves, and the propositions of number theory, which are included in algebra, are
 05 formalized by means of them. Where we had numerals, we now have formulas, which
 06 themselves are concrete objects that in their turn are considered by our perceptual intuition,
 07 and the derivation of one formula from another in accordance with certain rules takes the
 08 place of number-theoretic proof based on content.

09 Thus algebra already goes considerably beyond contentual number theory.»⁴

10 As a parallel result of this extension, Hilbert upheld a «new formal standpoint»,⁵
 11 which suited the finitistic building of proof theory. '*Formeln*' came then to be con-
 12 trasted with the usual mathematical sentences and to designate the corresponding
 13 counterpart of the latter in some convenient formalism;⁶ they became also «ideal
 14 sentences» in a sense analogical to that of Kummer's ideal numbers.

15 In Hilbert's *early views* the formal standpoint was conceived of as a *conceptual*
 16 one and opposed to the algorithmic point of view, supported at that time by Paul
 17 Gordan and, to some extent, by Leopold Kronecker. It was then Gordan's calculat-
 18 ing methods which were considered as «absolute formalism» in the sense that
 19 «formulas were the indispensable supports of the formation of his thoughts, his
 20 conclusions and his mode of expression».⁷ Hilbert balanced out the exclusive use
 21 of symbolic calculations and developed an abstract way of *thinking* and proving
 22 that he notably introduced in the theory of algebraic invariants. As we know, Hilbert
 23 found out an indirect (through *reductio ad absurdum*) and general (valid for every
 24 system of algebraic forms of n variables) proof of the finite basis theorem (1888).
 25 Hilbert did not calculate, for each n , the effective number k of the basic invariants,
 26 but showed the *existence* of a finite basis for *any* system and for *all* n , by showing
 27 that the assumption of the negation of the statement asserting this existence leads to
 28 contradictions. Thus, very early in his career, Hilbert advocated the formal point of
 29 view first and foremost because it is conducive to general proofs, which make salient
 30 structural properties of the problem under consideration. Moreover, the clear distinc-
 31 tion between meaning and structure, objects and rules permits to handle uniformly
 32 and at once objects of different kinds. Now, the internal efficiency of the formal point
 33 of view as well as the applicability of mathematical structures to extra-mathematical
 34 phenomena are recognized as valuable. But, from the philosophical standpoint, what
 35 is at stake in axiomatic definitions and in structural existence proofs is the meaning
 36 of mathematical existence. Does existence follow from the supposed compatibility
 37 of some selected axioms as long as no contradiction appears in their consequences?
 38

39
 40 ⁴ Hilbert [33, pp. 71–72]; English translation in van Heijenoort [76, p. 469]. The standpoint of formal
 41 algebra is presented in a different way in Hilbert and Bernays [37, pp. 29–32]: the elementary
 42 algebra, defined as the elementary theory of rational functions with integer coefficients, is included
 43 in the domain of elementary contentual inference.

44 ⁵ Hilbert [30], in Hilbert [36, p. 168].

45 ⁶ Hilbert [30, p. 174]; [31, p. 179]; [32, p. 175]; [33, p. 66].

⁷ Reid [50, p. 30].

01 Or are existential statements «empty inventions of logicians»⁸ as long as we don't
 02 have an actual realization?
 03
 04

05 *1.3 Brouwer's Criticism*

06
 07 Brouwer, who stood up for the second opinion, was *the one* who used for the
 08 first time the word 'formalism' as denoting the first opinion. In a 1909 review
 09 of Mannoury's *Methodologisches und Philosophisches zur Elementar-Mathematik*,
 10 Brouwer wrote that «the formalist conception recognizes no other mathematics than
 11 the mathematical language and it considers it essential to draw up definitions and
 12 axioms and to deduce from these other propositions by means of logical principles
 13 which are also explicitly formulated beforehand. This has two consequences . . . ,
 14 namely the priority of infinite over finite numbers and the belief in higher cardinal-
 15 ities than that of the continuum».⁹ In his famous 1912 essay, Brouwer added other
 16 considerations, the analysis of which shows that he took formalism as purely and
 17 simply antithetic to his intuitionism.¹⁰ By the label 'formalism', Brouwer referred
 18 to a global *philosophical* attitude involved in classical methods of analysis as well
 19 as in set theory and in modern axiomatic theories, which use the language and the
 20 means of symbolic logic. According to Brouwer [9], formalism encompasses three
 21 main assumptions. First, formalism admits the existence of an entity on the grounds
 22 of its supposed non-contradictory definition. Such an existence, says Brouwer, is
 23 merely a linguistic existence, which corresponds to the method of posing mean-
 24 ingless axioms and deducing from meaningless relations some other meaningless
 25 relations in the language of symbolic logic. The second point is a consequence of
 26 the former: being meaningless, formalist assertions miss intuitive thinking and put
 27 forward logical support for self-evident principles, such as the principle of complete
 28 induction. In particular, the aim at consistency-proofs is anchored in a logical, i.e. a
 29 *non-mathematical, conviction* of legitimacy. Using the term 'conviction', which is
 30 Brouwer's word,¹¹ means that even logical procedures may be rooted in (or sup-
 31 ported by) a subjective belief. That is a harsh criticism against the supposed absolute
 32 objectivity of logic, which formalists put in contrast with subjective intuition. More-
 33 over, and more seriously, the aim at consistency-proofs leads to a vicious circle, as
 34 Poincaré [49] already pointed out. Last but not least, the third point highlighted
 35 by Brouwer is the Platonist assumption of a universe of mathematical entities,
 36
 37

38 ⁸ H. Weyl [80], English translation in Mancosu [44, p. 133].

39 ⁹ Brouwer [14, p. 121].

40 ¹⁰ Brouwer [9], in Brouwer [14, pp. 123–137].

41 ¹¹ Brouwer [14, p. 125]: «It is true that from certain relations among mathematical entities, which
 42 we assume as axioms, we deduce other relations according to fixed laws, in the conviction that in
 43 this way we derive truths from truths by logical reasoning, but this non-mathematical conviction
 44 of truth or legitimacy *has no exactness* whatever and is nothing but a vague sensation of delight
 45 arising from the knowledge of the efficacy of the projection into nature of these relations and laws
 of reasoning» (my emphasis).

01 subsisting independently of our thought and, so to speak, ready to be structured
 02 according to the laws of classical logic and set theory.

03 Brouwer took just the opposite views on the three points: he advocated intuition
 04 as the original *material source* and *justification* of mathematical practice; he argued
 05 that the language is a «non-mathematical auxiliary» for helping memory or convey-
 06 ing communication (along with misunderstanding); he rejected the Platonist static
 07 view, defending a dynamic conception in which an entity exists for a mathemati-
 08 cian if it is actually constructed by some effective process. According to Brouwer,
 09 formalist purported foundations of mathematical laws on the axiomatic method are
 10 nothing but mere linguistic explanations, devoid of content, which, as such, don't
 11 really (materially) explain anything. By contrast, intuitionism explains the accuracy
 12 of mathematical reasoning by the material self-development of human mind from
 13 one original insight. The original insight [*Urintuition*] is the *a priori* insight of time,
 14 from which is derived, by «abstraction»,¹² the first mathematical insight, namely
 15 the intuition of the number 2 and, step by step, the intuition of whole numbers and
 16 of any mathematical construct grounded on whole numbers. The intuition of two-ity
 17 is the fundamental phenomenon of mathematical thinking.

18 It is worth noting that Brouwer acknowledged the mediating role of mathemati-
 19 cal abstraction in the very first intuitive process. Mathematical abstraction produces
 20 indeed the very first empty form, which constitutes the first *substratum*, «as basic
 21 intuition». That is to say that Brouwer did not oppose intuition to form in the
 22 *substantial* mathematical process. It is quite the contrary, as it is clear from the
 23 passages quoted in footnote 12. Brouwer did naturally not reject the *formal way of*
 24 *practice*. What he rejected was locating the *justification* of mathematical substance
 25 in symbolic schemas and formal deductions, which are, according to him, only an
 26 *external dressing*. Brouwer rejected also formalism, not as a mathematical way, but
 27 as *philosophy*, or, more accurately as mathematical project to solve philosophical
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 32 ¹² See Brouwer [11], in Brouwer [14, pp. 418–419], English translation in Mancosu [44, p. 46]:
 33 «Mathematical action can only reach its full development at the higher stages of civilization when
 34 *mathematical abstraction* comes into play. By means of mathematical abstraction man strips two-
 35 ity of its material content and retains it as an empty form, the common substratum of all two-
 36 ities. This common substratum of all two-ities forms the *Primordial Intuition of Mathematics* (*die*
 37 *Urintuition der Mathematik*), which in its self-unfolding also introduces the infinite as a thought-
 38 reality and produces the collection of natural numbers. . . , as well as the real numbers, and finally
 39 the whole of pure mathematics» (Brouwer's emphasis).

40 See also Brouwer [12], in Brouwer [14, p. 482]: «Mathematics comes into being, when the
 41 two-ity created by a move of time is divested of all quality by the subject, and when the remaining
 42 empty form of the common substratum of all two-ities, as basic intuition of mathematics, is left
 43 to an unlimited unfolding, creating new mathematical entities in the shape of *predeterminedly or*
 44 *more or less freely proceeding infinite sequences* of mathematical entities previously acquired, and
 45 in the shape of *mathematical species* i.e. properties supposable for mathematical entities previously
 acquired and satisfying the condition that if they are realized for a certain mathematical entity, they
 are also realized for all mathematical entities which have been defined equal to it» (Brouwer's
 emphasis).

01 problems.¹³ He especially disputed the prominent role that formalists, as well as
 02 logicians, gave to logic in the foundations of mathematics. He summed up the debate
 03 between formalism and intuitionism in the following ironic words: «The question
 04 where mathematical exactness does exist, is answered differently by the two sides;
 05 the intuitionist says: in the human intellect, the formalist says: on paper.»¹⁴

06 Three observations need to be made. Firstly, just as it is a mistake to believe
 07 that, in Brouwer's mind, intuition excludes abstraction, it would be wrong to trust
 08 the popular image of formalism and to believe that for «formalist» mathematicians
 09 intuition plays no role at all. From the structural point of view, it is for the sake of
 10 a flawless rigor that intuition must be submitted to a logical and axiomatic analy-
 11 sis, as, for instance, Dedekind did for Number theory¹⁵ and Hilbert for Euclidean
 12 geometry.¹⁶ Intuition is admitted as giving the matter to be analyzed, criticized, and
 13 generalized, but this chronological priority does not legitimate an *ontological* or
 14 *epistemological* primacy.

15 Second remark. The belief in a pre-existent universe of mathematical objects
 16 characterizes more sharply logicism than formalism. Now in his 1912 essay, Brouwer
 17 did not even mention logicism as a separate point of view. According to the title,
 18 he distinguishes only two contrary options: formalism and intuitionism, which,
 19 he thinks, cannot understand each other, because «they do not speak the same
 20 language». And indeed, grounding both on the laws of classical logic, and in
 21 particular on the principle of excluded middle, logicism and formalism speak, in
 22 Brouwer's opinion, the same language. In the 1909 review Brouwer mentioned
 23 among the formalists Dedekind, Peano, Russell, Hilbert and Zermelo. In a later
 24 paper he added Cantor and Couturat to the list:

25 «... the *Old Formalist School* (Dedekind, Cantor, Peano, Hilbert, Russell, Zermelo,
 26 Couturat), for the purpose of a rigorous treatment of mathematics *and logic* (though not
 27
 28

29 ¹³ Kreisel [42, p. 158], observed similarly that «the real opposition between Brouwer's and
 30 Hilbert's approach was not at all between formalism and intuitive mathematics, but between the
 31 conception of what constitutes a foundation».

32 ¹⁴ Brouwer [14, p. 125].

33 ¹⁵ See [17, pp. 99–100]: «How did my essay [*Was sind und was sollen die Zahlen?*] come to be
 34 written? Certainly not in one day; rather it is a synthesis constructed after protracted labor, based
 35 upon a prior analysis of the sequence of natural numbers just as it presents itself, in experience,
 36 so to speak, for our consideration. What are the mutually independent properties of the sequence
 37 N , that is, those properties that are not derivable from one another but from which all others
 38 follow? And how should we divest these properties of their specifically arithmetic character so that
 39 they are subsumed under more general notions and under activities of the understanding *without*
 40 which no thinking is possible at all but *with* which a foundation is provided for the reliability and
 41 completeness of proofs and for the construction of consistent notions and definitions?».

42 ¹⁶ See Hilbert's *Grundlagen der Geometrie*, 1968, p. 1: «Die Aufstellung der Axiome der Geome-
 43 trie und die Erforschung ihres Zusammenhanges ist eine Aufgabe, die seit Euklid in zahlreichen
 44 Abhandlungen der mathematischen Literatur sich erörtert findet. Die bezeichnete Aufgabe läuft
 45 auf die *logische Analyse* unserer räumlichen *Anschauung* hinaus» (my emphasis). See Webb's
 valuable comments on Hilbert's geometrical methods, Webb [77, Chapter III]: in short, Hilbert did
 not eschew space intuition, he made the axioms of geometry more explicit «in order to determine
 both explicit and implicit uses of space intuition» (p. 110).

01 for the purpose of choosing the subjects of investigation of these sciences) rejected any
 02 element extraneous to language and logic.»¹⁷

03 It is clear that Brouwer made no difference between logicians and formalists.
 04 There were two major reasons for gathering them under the same label. First, logi-
 05 cists and formalists both distrusted intuition as being an unreliable access to math-
 06 ematical objects and a shaky ground for mathematical practice. Second, they both
 07 developed projects that were intended to ground mathematics on logic, logic being
 08 understood as yielding schemas of correct derivation for a formal theory, especially
 09 that of natural numbers, the base of the rest. Hilbert's aim was to establish a simulta-
 10 neous foundation of the laws of arithmetic and logic.¹⁸ But, while logicians believed
 11 that mathematical entities were *discovered* by purely logical thought, formalists ad-
 12 vocated explicitly the *free creation* or construction of new *concepts* [*Begriffsbildun-*
 13 *gen*],¹⁹ even of old familiar notions such as that of whole numbers. For Dedekind
 14 indeed numbers are «free creations of the human mind», which «serve as a means
 15 of apprehending more easily and more sharply the difference of things».²⁰ They are
 16 also *objective instruments* for grasping the multiplicity. In a similar spirit, and as a
 17 justification for the transfinite numbers, Cantor argued that «the human mind has
 18 an unlimited ability to progressively construct classes of numbers . . . with increas-
 19 ing *powers* (*Mächtigkeiten*)».²¹ Here again, the mathematical universe (including
 20 infinite sets) is originating from the human mind. Hilbert supported this view: in
 21 his opinion the theory of transfinite numbers was «the most admirable flower of
 22 the mathematical intellect and in general one of the highest achievements of purely
 23 rational human activity».²²

24 Rigorously speaking, this conception of a creative mind would entail a philo-
 25 sophical subjectivism, i.e. the conception of a *subjective* existence of those created
 26 concepts. Now, «subjective existence» might mean existence *in* our mind, or exis-
 27 tence *dependent* of our mind. Formalists generally choose the second (weaker)
 28 meaning while Brouwer assumed the first too.²³

31 ¹⁷ Brouwer [13, p. 508] (Brouwer's emphasis).

32 ¹⁸ Sieg [54] showed how Hilbert moved progressively from «a critical logicism through a radical
 33 constructivism toward finitism».

34 ¹⁹ Typical expression of Hilbert's style. See, for instance [28, p. 183]; [32, p. 170]; [33, p. 65]
 35 (translated by [ways of] «forming notions» and by «mathematical definitions» in van Heijenoort
 36 [76], respectively on p. 376 and p. 464; the literal translation: «concept-formations» of Mancosu
 37 [44, p. 189], seems preferable to me).

38 ²⁰ Grounding on the text quoted in footnote 15, one must precise that what Dedekind considered
 39 as «a free creation of the human mind» were not the familiar numbers of our naive arithmetical
 40 experience, but the «shadowy forms» that Dedekind was making free from any particular con-
 41 tent and which «are always the same in all ordered simply infinite systems, whatever names may
 42 happen to be given to the individual elements» (Dedekind [16], Definition 73).

41 ²¹ Cantor [15, p. 177] (Cantor's emphasis).

42 ²² Hilbert [32, p. 167], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 373].

43 ²³ See the passages quoted above in footnote 12 and the following excerpt: «The fullest con-
 44 structural beauty is the *introspective beauty of mathematics*, where instead of elements of playful
 45 causal acting, the basic intuition of mathematics is left to free unfolding. This unfolding is *not*

01 Dedekind and Hilbert rejected no less vigorously than the logicians (Bolzano or
 02 Frege) subjectivism as meaning existence *only in our mind*.²⁴ They conceived of ax-
 03 iomatic definitions as objective structural laws of mathematical processes *in concor-*
 04 *dance with the laws of thought*. Such a conception fits the Kantian view according
 05 to which the human mind [*Verstand*] is entitled with the legal power of organizing
 06 experience: mathematical concepts depend on the structure of the human mind *and*
 07 they help to organize the phenomenal world.²⁵ But, while focusing on what they
 08 accepted as laws of mind, formalists generally did not accept the *apriority* of space
 09 and time as the formal setting making experience possible through the application
 10 of categories. – On his side, Brouwer abandoned the apriority of space but advo-
 11 cated resolutely the apriority of time. – Formalists admitted at the same time that
 12 mathematical concepts were created (constructed) rather than discovered and that
 13 the construction was neither arbitrary nor conventional but corresponded to some
 14 objective phenomenal connections. I would say that the creationist view was bound
 15 with the assumption of the objective adequacy of mind with the physical world.
 16 Such an adequacy, if it holds, leads to assume a kind of *immediate* consistency of
 17 the created concepts, which become questionable only when some contradiction
 18 appears in their consequences.

19 Third remark. Denying a foundational status to intuition, as Hilbert did firstly, is
 20 hardly compatible with a coherent and strict Platonism (such as that one defended
 21 by Gödel). – But associating anti-Platonism with foundational intuition, as Brouwer
 22 did, is not less problematic, unless intuition does not mean intuition *of* something
 23 exterior to the mind and reduces to mere introspection. An implication accepted by
 24 Brouwer, as I recalled right above. – In fact, matters were (and are) really com-
 25 plicated and the difficulties inherent to connecting a one-sided and clear-cut philo-
 26 sophical attitude with the multi-faceted mathematical practice have been explained
 27 in Bernays' famous essay on Platonism in mathematics.²⁶ Developing a criticist
 28 remark passed by Hilbert on Frege's «extreme conceptual realism»,²⁷ Bernays dis-
 29 tinguished two kinds of Platonism: (1) the restricted one, which considers abstract
 30 entities as nothing but a sort of «ideal projection of a domain of thought» (a precise
 31 explanation of the meaning of this expression would lead to some difficulties, that
 32 we do not want to address in this paper); (2) the extreme Platonism in the sense of
 33 a conceptual realism, which postulates an independent world of ideas containing all

35 *bound to the exterior world*, and thereby to finiteness and responsibility», Brouwer [14, p. 484]
 36 (my emphasis).

37 ²⁴ Hilbert [33, p. 80], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 475]: «it is part of the task of science to liberate us
 38 from arbitrariness, sentiment, and habit and to protect us from the subjectivism that already made
 39 itself felt in Kronecker's views and, it seems to me, finds its culmination in intuitionism».

40 ²⁵ Such a view leads often to some kind of instrumentalism. Since formalists generally reject the
 41 idea of an ontological foundation for mathematics, they tend to support a positivistic justification,
 42 according to which mathematical methods are *epistemological tools* in coping with the empirical
 43 world.

44 ²⁶ Bernays [7]. Reprint in P. Bernays, *Philosophie des mathématiques*, Paris, Vrin, 2003,
 45 pp. 83–104.

²⁷ Hilbert [30, p. 162].

01 the objects and relations of mathematics. According to Bernays, Russell's antinomy
 02 ruined only the extreme Platonism (which was supported by Bolzano and Frege, and
 03 not by Dedekind or Hilbert). The minimal assumption of a restricted Platonism is
 04 to admit the set of natural numbers. Bernays observed that for some theories even
 05 this minimal assumption is not necessary: Kronecker introduced algebraic numbers
 06 without supposing the totality of whole numbers. But for other domains, such as
 07 infinitesimal analysis or function theory, the minimal assumption is needed. The
 08 strongest assumptions of Platonism are made in Cantorian set theory.

09 The fact is that, in his 1912 paper, Brouwer explicitly aimed to challenge the
 10 validity of the axioms of set theory stated by Zermelo in 1908. It was therefore
 11 natural that Brouwer associated Platonism, a kind of which supported, at least *tac-*
 12 *itly*, the underlying universe of sets, with the general formal point of view. Now,
 13 working with actual infinite sets does not necessarily means that one believes that
 14 they exist prior to and independently of their being thought. A formalist, even if he
 15 is a set-theorist, need not to support an extreme Platonist view of pre-existing sets;
 16 he may content himself with some restricted view. *But certainly*, applying to infinite
 17 sets the principle of excluded middle is rightfully questionable in any case. Brouwer
 18 did not reject the infinite. He simply understood it as a «thought-reality» (see above,
 19 footnote 12) and he did not accept higher cardinalities than those of natural numbers
 20 and real numbers. But, he definitely rejected the general use of the principle of
 21 excluded middle, which has been classically used by mathematicians for centuries,
 22 and he replaced the static «spatial» conception of sets involved in it with a dynamic
 23 self-unfolding of *spreads* based on the apriority of time.

24 Although Brouwer's [9] paper did not make explicit reference to Hilbert, the
 25 attack against Hilbert's 1904 (published in 1905) paper on the foundations of logic
 26 and arithmetic was very clear. In particular, Brouwer repeated Poincaré's devastating
 27 argument [49] against the admission of the principle of complete induction *as an*
 28 *axiom*, instead of accepting it *as intuitively evident*.

31 ***1.4 Hilbert's Defense of Formalism***

32
 33 As is well known, Hilbert took Poincaré's and Brouwer's objections seriously and
 34 he associated the latter with Kronecker's reductionism to whole numbers. From
 35 1918 to 1931, he published a series of essays, in which he introduced a «new
 36 mathematics», namely metamathematics, and developed technically and philosophically
 37 his famous finitistic program. It is not my purpose to enter in the technical
 38 details of this program²⁸ and its subsequent reorientations. I would like only to
 39 point out some philosophical modifications it involved.²⁹ Hilbert supported indeed
 40
 41

42 ²⁸ See in particular the recent paper by R. Zach [86] on ε -calculus and consistency proofs in
 43 Hilbert's school.

44 ²⁹ See Sieg [54] for a thorough analysis of Hilbert's unpublished notes of lecture courses from
 45 1917 to 1922.

01 a *new* formal point of view, which incorporated what he called «the constructivity
02 principle» and some other intuitionistic insights in a much more systematic and
03 radical «formalism» than that (1905) which aroused Brouwer's polemic notion of
04 formalism. Brouwer's criticism acted in a performative way and pushed Hilbert to
05 present logical inferences as «purely formal operations with letters»³⁰ and to play
06 fully the formula game in a constructive way.

07
08 a) Hilbert was urged by Brouwer's and Weyl's objections to make precise the concept
09 of formal system through a kind of *material* implementation. He considered that one
10 must have something primitive and irreducible to begin with. He then changed his
11 mind about intuition and logic and accepted to give intuition a basic role in the
12 formal treatment. From 1922 onwards, he gave up Frege's and Dedekind's idea to
13 provide for arithmetic a foundation that would be independent of all intuition and
14 experience and he claimed that «as a condition for the use of logical inference and
15 the performance of logical operations, something must already be given to our faculty
16 of representation, certain extra-logical concrete objects that are intuitively present
17 as immediate experience prior to all thought». ³¹ Thus, Hilbert admitted that the
18 mathematician starts with an intuitive notion of natural numbers, what was Kronecker's,
19 Poincaré's and Brouwer's common claim. However, what he regarded as intuitive
20 was not a familiar or naïve notion but a finite stock of symbols given to spatial
21 perception and having, in themselves, no meaning at all. The objects of (formal)
22 arithmetic are not numbers but numerals, mere shapes or types of the actual signs
23 written down on a sheet of paper. The sign '1' is a number as well as any finite
24 sequence beginning and ending with 1 provided that the sign '+' is placed between
25 two successive 1. Thus, instead stating by an existence axiom that «each number has
26 a successor», Hilbert introduced a progressive construction. Answering Poincaré's
27 objection Hilbert distinguishes this combinational way to construct finite numbers
28 as numerals from the principle of complete induction; the latter is a formal principle
29 based on the induction axiom, which uses the general concept of whole number,
30 while the former is a contentual [*inhaltlich*] composition. Hilbert maintained
31 however that the formal principle, along with the other axioms of his formal
32 system for natural numbers, has to be justified by a consistency proof.³²

35
36 ³⁰ Sieg [54, p. 9]. Sieg notes that this presentation requires «a formal language (for capturing
37 the logical form of informal statements), the use of a formal calculus (for representing the structure
38 of logical arguments), and the formulation of 'logical' principles (for defining mathematical
39 objects)». Sieg highlights Hilbert's and Bernay's contribution to the creation of modern mathematical
40 logic (pp. 11–12).

41 ³¹ Hilbert [30, p. 162]; [32], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 376]; [33], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 464].

42 ³² Weyl [81] gave right to Poincaré: even if a consistency proof could justify the formal principle,
43 it would not justify the intuitive one. Therefore one need not express mathematical induction as an
44 axiom; one may just make its self-evidence and primarity explicit and accept it as a characteristic
45 mark of contentual mathematical thought [76, p. 483]. In a similar way, Brouwer [10] pointed out
again the circularity of the endeavor of justifying the formal proposition by a consistency proof,
«since this justification rests upon the (contentual) correctness of the proposition that from the

01 The trick of the new formal point of view was to apply to mere types of signs a
 02 contentual constructive process and, thus, to reverse the traditional relationship
 03 between formal and content: the perceptible object is formal and it is submitted
 04 to a contentual process. Mathematical thoughts, in the customary sense, are mir-
 05 rored by concretely exhibited formulas, which are either primitive sentences or
 06 sentences provable, at some stage, from those primitive ones, and the whole of
 07 mathematics is duplicated by a stock of formulas. Besides mathematical signs,
 08 those formulas contain logical signs, which are, too, divested of all meaning.
 09 In turn, proofs are indeed perceptible arrays or sequences of formulas, which
 10 concretely present the formal images of customary mathematical inference so
 11 that «contentual inference is replaced by *manipulation* of signs according to
 12 rules». ³³ Thus, Hilbert confirmed Brouwer's account of formalism ³⁴ and went
 13 even further: he understood insight as physical perception and formalism as a
 14 mechanistic operating with mere signs, formulas and arrays. The latter are in-
 15 deed, according to his new point of view, the concrete and surveyable objects of
 16 metamathematics, which is «the contentual theory of formalized proofs» ³⁵ and
 17 which would use only contentual arguments for establishing the consistency of
 18 the formalized system of arithmetic. The contentual character ultimately rests, on
 19 the one hand, upon Hilbert's conviction that metamathematical induction, oper-
 20 ating on finite existing totalities, was contentual, ³⁶ just as intuitive composition
 21 and decomposition of numerals, and, on the other hand, upon the fact that the
 22 consistency proof amounts to show that one cannot derive the formula $0 \neq 0$
 23 in the system under consideration, «a task that fundamentally lies within the
 24 province of intuition». ³⁷ Hilbert wanted to renounce neither Cantor's paradise
 25 nor Aristotle's laws of logic. He aimed at justifying them contentually and by
 26 finitistic, i.e. strictly constructive, means. ³⁸ To restore the security shaken by
 27

28
 29 consistency of a proposition the correctness of the proposition follows, that is, upon the (con-
 30 tentual) correctness of the principle of excluded middle» [76, p. 491].

31 ³³ Hilbert [32], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 381] (my emphasis).

32 ³⁴ See Brouwer [10]: «the differentiation between a construction of the 'inventory of mathematical
 33 formulas' and an intuitive (contentual) theory of the laws of this construction» . . . penetrated into
 34 the formalistic literature with Hilbert [30]». Brouwer mentioned that he spoke with Hilbert on
 35 that issue in the autumn of 1909 and hence he did not appreciate naming 'metamathematics',
 36 without «observing proper mention of authorship», what was, according to him, his notion of
 37 'mathematics of the second order'.

38 ³⁵ Hilbert [31, p. 181] and Hilbert [32], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 385].

39 ³⁶ See the comments on Hilbert's metamathematical induction in the introductory note to Weyl's
 40 1927 paper in van Heijenoort [76, pp. 480–482].

41 ³⁷ Hilbert [33], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 471].

42 ³⁸ Hilbert never spelled out the exact boundaries of finitistic means. However, Hilbert [31] men-
 43 tioned explicitly induction and recursion on existing finite totalities. Hilbert [32] (in [76, pp. 377–
 44 378]) explained how to prove that there exist infinitely many primes by proving first the partial
 45 proposition: for a fixed prime p there exists a prime q such that $p < q \leq p! + 1$. In the latter
 proposition the existential quantifier is bounded (applied to a finite totality) and can be replaced
 by a finite disjunction. Hilbert's device here is similar to Skolem's method of restricted domains
 of existence (Skolem [55], in [76, pp. 302–333]). Sieg [54 pp. 28–29] shows that Hilbert's idea is

01 the paradoxes and the attacks against the actual infinite, Hilbert saw no other
 02 way than a finitary consistency proof of the «ideal» picture of mathematics he
 03 constructed step by step.

- 04 b) Hilbert thought that it was necessary to consider the formal picture of customary
 05 mathematics. The reason is the following:

06 «... *even elementary mathematics* contains, first formulas to which correspond con-
 07 tentual communications of finitary propositions (mainly numerical equations or inequal-
 08 ities, or more complex communications composed of these) and which we may call the
 09 *real propositions* of the theory, and, second, formulas that – just like the numerals of
 10 contentual number theory – in themselves mean nothing but are merely things that are
 11 governed by our rules and must be regarded as the *ideal objects* of the theory.»³⁹

12 Therefore, Hilbert fully assumed the formula game. He maintained that

13 «the formula game enables us to express the entire thought-content of the science of
 14 mathematics in a uniform manner and develop it in such a way that, at the same time, the
 15 interconnections between the individual propositions and facts become clear. To make
 16 it a universal requirement that each individual formula then be interpretable by itself is
 17 by no means reasonable; on the contrary, a theory by its very nature is such that we do
 18 not need to fall back upon intuition or meaning in the midst of some argument.»⁴⁰

19
 20 Moreover, Hilbert credited the formula game with a philosophical significance;
 21 he claimed that it expressed the «technique of our thinking». According to
 22 Hilbert, his proof theory provided «a protocol of the rules according to which our
 23 thinking actually proceeds».⁴¹ This is clearly a mechanistic view of mathematical
 24 thought.⁴²

25
 26
 27
 28
 29 «strikingly similar to Weyl's viewpoint» in Weyl [79]. On his side, Zach [86] establishes (p. 220)
 30 that the general schema of primitive recursion was already mentioned in Hilbert's unpublished
 31 course of 1921–1923. Moreover, he argues that Hilbert's outlook was «markedly different» from
 32 Skolem's [55] (suggesting that there was no influence either way). Third, he challenges the gener-
 33 ally admitted thesis, according which 'finitistic' means 'primitive recursive', stressing that Hilbert
 34 considered Ackermann's 1924 proof to be finitistic, although this proof used transfinite induction
 up to $\omega^{\omega^{\omega}}$ (I thank P. Mancosu for drawing my attention to Zach's paper).

35 ³⁹ Hilbert [33], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 470] (Hilbert's emphasis, my underlining). Sieg [54]
 36 throws new light on this point. He quotes the following passage from Hilbert's notes for the winter
 37 term 1920: «We have to extend the domain of objects to be considered; i.e. we have to apply our
 38 intuitive considerations also to figures that are not number signs» ... «the figures we take as
 39 objects must be completely surveyable and only discrete determinations are to be considered for
 40 them. It is only under these conditions that our claims and considerations have the same reliability
 and evidence as in intuitive number theory».

41 ⁴⁰ Hilbert [33], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 475].

42 ⁴¹ Hilbert [33], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 475].

43 ⁴² Contrast with Heyting [26], in Mancosu [44, p. 311]: «every language, including the formalistic
 44 one, is only a tool for communication. It is in principle impossible to set up a system of formulas
 45 which would be equivalent to intuitionistic mathematics, for the possibilities of thought cannot be
 reduced to a finite number of rules set up in advance».

01 c) Hilbert did acknowledge that the validity of the principle of excluded middle
 02 was contentually limited to finite sets,⁴³ but he sought the means to legitimately
 03 extend it to the transfinite. For this purpose he introduced the logical «transfinite
 04 axiom» by means of the tau or epsilon-function so that he could introduce
 05 the quantifiers and derive the principle of excluded middle. Thus, he used the
 06 epsilon-function to carry out pure existence proofs that he advocated once more,
 07 insisting on the brevity and the economy of thought they allow. Moreover, Hilbert
 08 noted that even if one were not satisfied with consistency, which actually consti-
 09 tuted the core of his proof theory, one had to acknowledge the significance of the
 10 consistency proof as a general method of obtaining from general proofs finitary
 11 proofs carried out by means of the epsilon-function.⁴⁴ This perspicuous remark
 12 inspired later a whole trend of proof-theoretic work, notably illustrated by some
 13 known papers of G. Kreisel.⁴⁵

14 Concluding this rough sketch, I have to stress that I was concerned here only with
 15 aspects of Hilbert's work which may illustrate the formalist view he supposedly
 16 championed. I did not aim at supporting Brouwer's opposition to Hilbert, but at
 17 understanding what Brouwer meant by 'formalism' and to what extent Hilbert's
 18 methods and reflections matched the label Brouwer created. However, not only
 19 Hilbert's achievements transcended the boundaries of this label in many respects,
 20 but also the notion of formalism evolved so much as to *not* coincide at all with
 21 Brouwer's description.

24 2 Tarski's Semantic Formalism

26 2.1 *Metamathematics Reoriented*

28 Although he borrowed and transformed many technical elements and some views
 29 from each of the three standpoints: logicism, formalism and intuitionism, Tarski
 30 supported explicitly and exclusively the philosophy of none of them. Moreover,
 31 he repeatedly claimed he could develop his mathematical and logical investigations
 32 without reference to any particular philosophical view concerning the foundations of
 33 mathematics. He was eager to disconnect his results from any definite philosophical
 34 view, as well as from his personal (varied and variable) leanings. He believed that
 35 scientific precision was inversely proportional to philosophical interest, even though
 36 he had strong interest in philosophical issues.

39
 40 ⁴³ Hilbert [31], in Hilbert [36, pp. 181–182]. See Brouwer's comment in Brouwer [10].

41 ⁴⁴ Hilbert [33], in van Heijenoort [76, p. 474].

42 ⁴⁵ For instance Kreisel [40, p. 156]; Kreisel [41, pp. 361–362]; Kreisel [42, p. 162]: «As far as
 43 piecemeal understanding is concerned, its [Hilbert programme] importance consists of having led
 44 to the fruitful study of the constructive aspects of axiomatic systems . . . My own interest . . . does
 45 not go one way, i.e. the elimination of non-constructive methods, but I find that greater facility with
 non-constructive methods comes from a study of their constructive aspects».

01 We are in front of a new fact in the history of modern mathematical logic: the non-
 02 tacit and expressively assumed splitting between logical work as such, on the one
 03 hand, and, on the other hand, assumptions or beliefs about the effective or legitimate
 04 ways of doing that work and about the nature of the mathematical and logical entities
 05 linked with those ways.

06 Russell aimed to make philosophy as accurate as mathematics. Hilbert aimed to
 07 substitute mathematics to philosophy for tackling some important questions falling
 08 within the theory of mathematical knowledge – this was the epistemological aim
 09 of his metamathematics, which led him to the technicalities of his syntactic study
 10 of proof.⁴⁶ Tarski wanted to separate logical results from ontological and episte-
 11 mological problems of the foundations of mathematics, so that those results be-
 12 come easily understandable and usable by working mathematicians. He did not
 13 take sides in the fight about how to get mathematical entities well grounded and
 14 mathematical practice rightly justified. He was fighting for a *new place* for logic
 15 within mathematics, showing how to use fruitfully logical tools in the mathematical
 16 research. Solomon Feferman, who studied with Tarski at Berkeley from 1948 to
 17 1957, testified that Tarski did have a very strong motivation, not only to make logic
 18 mathematical (Hilbert had the same aim, and before many logicians as well), «but
 19 also and at the same time to make it of interest to mathematicians».⁴⁷ This is why
 20 Tarski objected to *restricting* the role of logic to the foundations of mathematics.
 21 He always kept taking his initial aim, which was to make metamathematics a full
 22 mathematical field in its own right, like *any other* mathematical discipline, such
 23 as arithmetic or geometry. He claimed in a 1930 paper that «formalized deductive
 24 disciplines form the field of research of metamathematics roughly in the same sense
 25 in which spatial entities form the field of research in geometry».⁴⁸ This claim of
 26 constituting metamathematics as a mathematical discipline was not fundamentally
 27 different from Hilbert's viewing *Beweistheorie* as a «new mathematics». And we
 28 may add that, in some respect, Tarski agreed with Hilbert's positivist claim, accord-
 29 ing to which «mathematics is a science without [philosophical] assumptions».⁴⁹
 30 But while Hilbert kept investigating mathematical-logical foundations, in order to
 31 eradicate philosophical dogmatism and, eventually, to interpret Kant's *a priori* as
 32 the finite mode of thought,⁵⁰ Tarski did not think he was (only) contributing to the
 33

34
 35 ⁴⁶ Hilbert [32, p. 180]; in van Heijenoort [76, pp. 383–384]: «our proof theory . . . is not only able
 36 to secure the foundations of the science of mathematics; I believe, rather, that it also opens up a path
 37 that . . . will enable us to deal for the first time with general problems with fundamental character
 38 that fall within the domain of mathematics but formerly could not even be approached.» See also
 39 Bernays' comment: «The great advantage of Hilbert's procedure rests precisely on the fact that the
 40 problems and difficulties that present themselves in the grounding of mathematics are transferred
 41 from the epistemological-philosophical domain into the domain of what is properly mathematical.
 42 Mathematics here creates a court of arbitration for itself, before which all fundamental questions
 43 can be settled in a specifically mathematical way. . . »; Bernays [5], in Mancosu [44, pp. 221–222].

44 ⁴⁷ See Duren [19, p. 402].

45 ⁴⁸ Tarski [58], in Tarski [70, I, p. 313].

⁴⁹ Hilbert [33 p. 85].

⁵⁰ Hilbert [34], in Hilbert [36, pp. 383–385].

01 foundations of mathematics. He thought he was building a new mathematical branch
 02 on its own. Let us note, in passing, that the implicit epistemological attitude behind
 03 this thought was squarely opposed to the intuitionistic view according to which
 04 logic is extraneous to mathematical substance. The success of Tarski's enterprise
 05 came neither rapidly nor obviously. Still in 1955 Tarski was insisting on the bridge
 06 to be built or reinforced, in order to bring mathematicians close to logical methods.
 07 He and Leon Henkin wrote to E. Hevitt a letter (September 26, 1955) for supporting
 08 the idea of a summer institute on logic at Cornell University; they argued as follows:

09 «There are some mathematicians who are not familiar with the many directions in which
 10 this field [of logic] has recently developed. These mathematicians have the feeling that logic
 11 is concerned exclusively with those foundation problems which originally gave impetus to
 12 the subject; they feel that logic is isolated from the main body of mathematics, perhaps
 13 even classify it as principally philosophical in character. Actually such judgments are quite
 14 mistaken. Mathematical logic has evolved quite far, and in many ways, from its original
 15 form. There is an increasing tendency for the subject to make contact with other branches
 of mathematics, both as the subject and method.»⁵¹

16 Indeed, Tarski strove to give logic a *heuristic* role in the growth of mathematical
 17 theories. As I pointed it out elsewhere,⁵² Tarski had no scruples about using formal
 18 methods and expanding them from mathematics to mathematical logic. It was he
 19 who initiated, in the 1930s, the *heuristic shift* in modern logic. A long time after the
 20 beginnings of this shift, Georg Kreisel commented as follows: «the passage *from*
 21 the foundational aims for which various branches of modern logic were originally
 22 developed *to* the discovery of areas and problems for which logical methods are
 23 effective tools . . . did not consist of successive refinements . . . but required radical
 24 changes of direction.»⁵³

25 Thus, the heuristic shift reoriented the direction of foundational studies, breaking
 26 the hope that the latter would yield a final guarantee (*Sicherung*) of mathematical
 27 reasoning. Tarski thought that the aim to provide for mathematicians «a feeling of
 28 absolute security» was «far beyond the reach of any human science»; it pertained
 29 to «a kind of theology».⁵⁴ Therefore, the non-theological aim of metamathemat-
 30 ics was not to secure mathematics but to develop it. Tarski showed through some
 31 very significant examples, especially that of definable sets of real numbers, that
 32 metamathematics is nothing but just a new branch of «ordinary» mathematics.⁵⁵ He
 33 stressed many times the following opinion:
 34

35 «The distinction between mathematics and metamathematics is rather unimportant. For
 36 metamathematics is itself a deductive theory and hence, from a certain point of view, a part
 37
 38

39
 40 ⁵¹ Tarski's papers, Bancroft Library, quoted by Joseph W. Dauben [18, p. 233].

41 ⁵² Sinaceur [2], Part IV and Sinaceur [4, pp. 56–57].

42 ⁵³ Kreisel [43, p. 139] (Kreisel's emphasis).

43 ⁵⁴ Tarski [73, p. 160].

44 ⁵⁵ It is today well known that the basic concept of real algebraic geometry, i.e. the concept of semi-
 45 algebraic sets originates, conceptually if not through actual historical development, in Tarski's
 concept of definable sets of real numbers.

01 of mathematics. . . Also from a practical point of view, there is no clear-cut line between
 02 metamathematics and mathematics proper».⁵⁶

03 Tarski rejected also the clear-cut border that Hilbert put between the two con-
 04 nected fields, in order to neutralize Poincaré's criticism.⁵⁷ But bringing metamath-
 05 ematics near to mathematics is bringing it far from philosophy. After Tarski, I will
 06 therefore distinguish the logic-mathematical level from the philosophical one. I pro-
 07 pose to consider first Tarski's formalism in his mathematical and metamathematical
 08 *practice*, and to leave for a third part of this paper Tarski's *philosophical* considera-
 09 tions.
 10

11

12 **2.2 Tarski's Version of Formalism**

13

14 To begin with, one must again highlight one significant fact. From the start of his ca-
 15 reer, Tarski was combining different technical ways which might have been judged
 16 previously incompatible.

17 I have noted this multi-sided methodology a long time ago.⁵⁸ J. Wolenski ex-
 18 plains it as a consequence of the philosophical liberalism and the scientific ideology
 19 of the Warsaw School of logic.
 20

21 «Since the school did not consider itself restricted by any philosophical assumption, it could
 22 freely observe the principle of 'logic for logic's sake' and take up, without any a priori
 23 prejudices, all those investigations that were interesting from the logical point of view».⁵⁹

24 However, the general spirit of Tarski's logico-mathematical work was formalist,
 25 in a sense I shall explain right now.
 26

27 a) First of all, Tarski adopted axiomatics and Hilbert's metamathematics, word
 28 and concept. However, the issue at stake was for him not only the structure of
 29 mathematical proof in a formal system, but rather the structure of the *deductive*
 30 *theories*⁶⁰ themselves, with a special eye on the most ancient and daily practiced
 31 mathematical domains, such as Euclidean geometry and real numbers. Tarski
 32

33

34

35 ⁵⁶ Tarski [66], in Tarski [70, II, p. 693].

36 ⁵⁷ Hilbert [30, p. 165]: Hilbert explained that he would develop a standpoint which makes possible
 37 «a strong and systematic separation, in mathematics, between formulas and formal proofs on the
 38 one hand and, on the other hand, contentual considerations». Herbrand believed that the very strict
 39 distinction between mathematics and metamathematics would put an end to discussions on the
 40 foundations of mathematics, Herbrand [38, p. 39].

41 ⁵⁸ H. Sinaceur [2, Part IV].

42 ⁵⁹ J. Wolenski [82, p. 192].

43 ⁶⁰ Tarski distinguished between deductive systems and deductive theories. See, for instance, Tarski
 44 [61], in Tarski [69, p. 343, footnote 1]: «By deductive theories I understand here the *models* (real-
 45 izations) of the axiom system which is given in Section 1. . . . On the other hand, deductive systems
 (in the domain of a particular deductive theory) are certain special sets of expressions which I shall
 characterize at the beginning of 1 as well as in Definition 5 of Section 2».

widened the scope of metamathematics, which no longer coincided with proof theory and the search for finitary consistency proofs. In his practice, he did not hesitate to use infinitistic and impredicative methods and he admitted first-order logic with infinitely long expressions, even though he actively participated in the early forties (with Carnap and Quine) to the endeavour to construct a finitistic language for science.⁶¹ Retrospectively, Tarski noted:

«As an essential contribution of the Polish school to the development of metamathematics one can regard the fact that from the very beginning it admitted into metamathematics *all fruitful methods*, whether finitary or not. Restrictions to finitary methods seem natural in certain parts of metamathematics, in particular in the discussion of consistency problems, though even here these methods may be inadequate. At present time it seem certain, however, that exclusive adherence to these methods would prove a great handicap in the development of metamathematics».⁶²

- b) Second, studying some deductive theory, Tarski paid attention to all the possible meanings of its axioms system. Confirming Lesniewski's idea, and therefore in connection with Husserl's phenomenology and the Vienna semantic tradition, Tarski used to stress that any formalized theory consists of *meaningful* sentences. Let us quote a famous passage from the *Introduction to Logic*:

«From time to time one finds statements which emphasize the formal character of mathematics in a paradoxical and exaggerated way; although fundamentally correct, these statements may become a source of obscurity and confusion. Thus one hears and even reads occasionally that no definite content may be ascribed to mathematical concepts; that in mathematics we do not really know what we are talking about, and that we are not interested in whether our assertions are true. One should approach such judgments rather critically. If, in the construction of a theory, one behaves as if one did not understand the meaning of the terms of this discipline, this is not at all the same as denying those terms any meaning. It is, admittedly, sometimes the case that we develop a deductive theory without ascribing a definite meaning to its primitive terms, thus dealing with the latter as with variables; in this case we say that we treat the theory as a FORMAL SYSTEM. But this situation (which was not taken into account in our general characterization of deductive theories given in Section 36) occurs only if it is possible to give several interpretations for the axiom system of this theory, that is, if there are several ways available of ascribing concrete meanings to the terms occurring in the theory, but if we do not desire to give preference in advance to any one of these ways. A formal system, on the other hand, for which we could not give a single interpretation, would presumably, be of interest to nobody.»⁶³

Such an explanation corresponds to the semantic shift in modern logic, which has been so much commented. Tarski did not initiate it from scratch,⁶⁴ but he turned

⁶¹ See the rich materials recently published by P. Mancosu [46].

⁶² Contribution to the discussion of P. Bernays, Colloque International de Logique, Bruxelles, 1953, *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 27–28 (1954), 18–19; in Tarski [70, IV, p. 713] (my emphasis).

⁶³ Tarski [68, pp. 128–129].

⁶⁴ One source of the semantic shift is well identified by Wolenski's account: «Tarski grew up in a so-to-speak protosemantic atmosphere. The Lvov-Warsaw school was strongly influenced by the

01 it into a heuristic shift. Tarski wanted indeed the formalization be closely tied
 02 to concrete interpretations and not lead too far from «ordinary» or «normal»⁶⁵
 03 mathematics, which used to make no reference to the syntax of the language.

- 04 c) Third, Tarski made a tight link between Hilbert's syntactic analysis of axiom
 05 systems and deductive proof on the one side and, on the other side, algebraic
 06 methods of logic as developed by Peirce, Schröder, Löwenheim and Skolem.⁶⁶
 07 As Feferman wrote, Tarski «would axiomatize and algebraicize whenever he
 08 could».⁶⁷ In and of themselves, algebraic methods involve the correlation of a
 09 formal aspect induced by the use of variables and a semantic aspect anchored
 10 in the many interpretations we may possibly give to the variables. 'Meaning'
 11 is thus specified as 'interpretation', i.e. as 'model'. In Tarski's development of
 12 semantic methods converged the philosophical-logical semantic tradition, which
 13 originated from Brentano, and the trend of algebraic logic. This trend and its
 14 interpretative aspect were in fact present in Hilbert's *Foundations of Geometry*
 15 and in his development of metamathematics [54]. But what has been specific
 16 in Tarski's own contribution was the study of *the class of models* (all possible
 17 models) of a given formal system, instead of considering only one definite model.
- 18 d) Fourth, Tarski aimed at constructing a general theory of semantic concepts in
 19 a formal deductive way. For instance, he notably axiomatized the consequence
 20 operation. Now, what basic concepts his formal semantics consisted in? In
 21 "Grundlegung der wissenschaftlichen Semantik" [63], he wrote the following:

22 «We shall understand by semantics⁶⁸ the totality of considerations concerning the con-
 23 cepts which, roughly speaking, express certain connections between the expressions of a
 24 language and the objects and state of affairs referred to by these expressions. As typical
 25 examples of semantic concepts we may mention the concepts of denotation, satisfaction,
 26 and definition [. . .] The concept of truth – and this is not commonly recognized – is to be
 27 included here, at least in his classical interpretation, according to which 'true' signifies
 28 the same as 'corresponding with reality' .»⁶⁹

31

Brentanist tradition . . . [Brentano's] thesis that mental acts are intentional has in himself a semantic
 32 dimension. When Polish philosophers began to speak about names and sentences instead of presenta-
 33 tions and judgments, this changed intentional relations into semantic ones, that is reference and
 34 truth. Moreover, the Brentano legacy decided that linguistic expressions were to be considered to
 35 be meaningful. This aspect of language almost automatically invited semantic studies.» Wolenski
 36 [84, pp. 10–11]. Another well known source was the development of mathematics, since at least
 37 the emergence of non-Euclidean geometries (for more see Webb [78]).

38 ⁶⁵ Tarski [60], English translation in Tarski 1983, p. 111.

39 ⁶⁶ Tarski's main technique, the elimination of quantifiers, is an outstanding example of the conflu-
 40 ence of an usual practice of the algebra of logic with Hilbert's formulation of the decision problem.
 41 See the Introduction and the Notes 4, 5, 11, 21 of Tarski [64].

42 ⁶⁷ Duren [19, p. 402].

43 ⁶⁸ See Wolenski's historical account: «The word 'semantic' became popular in philosophy in the
 44 thirties. . . Poland was an exception in this respect. In *the twenties* Polish philosophers began to use
 45 the word 'semantyka' for considerations for the meaning-aspect of language.» Wolenski [84, p. 1]
 (my emphasis).

⁶⁹ Tarski [63], in Tarski [69, p. 401].

01 It is clear that Tarski aimed at building a theory of reference, and not at a theory
 02 of meaning. 'Meaning' is not a semantic term in Tarski's formal semantics.⁷⁰ We
 03 have to keep in mind this fundamental feature, in order to understand correctly
 04 some consequences we shall discuss later.

- 05 e) Fifth, in studying deductive theories from the semantic point of view, one has
 06 therefore to study *the semantics of formal systems*. This study constituted a new
 07 direction of metamathematics. It consisted of examining the interconnections be-
 08 tween syntactic properties of formal systems and mathematical properties of their
 09 models. The type of problems Tarski considered was the following:

10 «Knowing the formal structure of axiom systems, what can we say about the *mathe-*
 11 *matical* properties of the models of the systems; conversely, given a class of models
 12 having certain *mathematical* properties, what can we say about the formal structure of
 13 postulate systems by means of which we can define this class of models? As an example
 14 of results so far obtained I may mention a theorem of G. Birkhoff (*Proceedings of the*
 15 *Cambridge Philosophical Society* 31, 1935, 433–454), in which he gives a full mathe-
 16 matical characterization of those classes of algebras which can be defined by systems of
 17 algebraic identities. An outstanding open problem is that of providing a mathematical
 18 characterization of those classes of models which can be defined by means of arbitrary
 19 postulate systems formulated within the first-order predicate calculus».⁷¹

20 As is well known, Tarski defined the concept of model [62, 63],⁷² which was
 21 informally employed by many previous mathematicians and logicians. He paid
 22 attention to the relations of a language to its models and, inversely, of a class of
 23 models to a set of axioms able to express the formal theory of the class under
 24 consideration. This back-and-forth method between axioms systems and classes
 25 of models constituted Tarski's original way of practicing «conceptual analysis»
 26 for *mathematical purposes*, though it had been introduced and mainly used by
 27 modern logicians, notably by Frege, Russell, and Hilbert for *foundational* pur-
 28 poses. As a result of this new way of thinking, model theory came into being.

- 29 f) Sixth, as a further consequence of the semantic-heuristic shift he achieved, Tarski
 30 claimed that there was no universal formal language, no universal metatheory for
 31 the whole domain of mathematics. As early as 1930, he observed that «strictly
 32 speaking, metamathematics was not to be regarded as a single theory. For the pur-
 33 pose of investigating each deductive discipline a special metadiscipline should be
 34 constructed». This is contrary to the logicist view holding that logic is the univer-
 35 sal metalanguage. Hilbert had assumed relativism *within* mathematics, since he

37 ⁷⁰ According to Quine's later account «The main concepts in the theory of meaning, apart from
 38 meaning itself, are *synonymy* (sameness of meaning), *significance* (or possession of meaning) and
 39 *analyticity* (or truth in virtue of meaning). Another is *entailment*, or analyticity of the conditional.
 40 The main concepts in the theory of reference are *naming*, *truth*, *denotation* (or truth-of), and
 41 *extension*. Another is the notion of *values* of variables.» *From a logical point of view*, Cambridge
 42 (Mass), 1953, p. 130 (quoted after [84]).

43 ⁷¹ Contribution to the discussion of P. Bernays; in Tarski [70, IV, p. 714] (my emphasis) – The
 44 open problem is the definition of elementary classes, the solution of which will be given later
 45 through the method of ultraproducts.

⁷² For a recent historical account of this concept in Tarski's work see Mancosu [47].

01 stressed that a proof was relative to the chosen set of axioms for the theory under
 02 consideration.⁷³ But, on the logical level, not only had Hilbert never explicitly
 03 disclaimed the view of (syntactic) logic as being the universal language, but he
 04 also suggested his own conception of proof theory should succeed where Frege's
 05 failed, since it aimed at giving a consistency proof for a formal system of arith-
 06 metic. We know that Gödel's second incompleteness theorem (1931) destroyed
 07 this aim, at least in the form and scope Hilbert ascribed to it. Developing seman-
 08 tic considerations and stating the distinction language/metalinguage as the king
 09 road to avoid antinomies led Tarski to a *logical relativism*, namely a *semantic rel-*
 10 *ativism*: semantic concepts «must always be related to a particular language».⁷⁴
 11 However and at the same time, Tarski thought that the concepts of logic pene-
 12 trate the whole domain of mathematics and that the methodology of deductive
 13 sciences is «a general science of sciences». Logic, wrote Tarski, is «a disci-
 14 pline which analyzes the meaning of the concepts shared by *all* the sciences,
 15 and states the general laws ruling those concepts».⁷⁵ It is clear that logic is here
 16 not only a very fruitful tool for getting new mathematical results, but the tool
 17 «par excellence» for laying the basic laws of general semantic concepts which
 18 are involved in the analysis of deductive theories. This sounds like a kind of
 19 logicism, namely a *semantic logicism*, in comparison with Frege and Russell's
 20 syntactic logicism.

21 One may see a tension or even a conflict⁷⁶ between Tarski's semantic relativism
 22 and his semantic logicism. And a similar tension exists also in respect to other
 23 issues on which Tarski, nearly at the same time or even in the same paper,⁷⁷
 24 sustained views seemingly not fully compatible with each other. For the point
 25 that we are now discussing, I think that the «tension-problem» has been resolved
 26 by Feferman's detailed analysis of the two sides of Tarski's efforts.⁷⁸ Feferman
 27 argued that Tarski was first and foremost a mathematician and that he actually
 28 took a straightforward, though first informal, *model-theoretic way* since at least
 29 1924; therefore he used the notions of definability and truth in a relative sense, as
 30 he undoubtedly did in his paper on the definable sets of real numbers (1931). On
 31 the other hand, «Tarski thought that as a *side result* of his work on definability
 32 and truth in a structure, he had something important to tell the philosophers that
 33 would straighten them out about the troublesome semantic paradoxes such as the
 34
 35
 36

37 ⁷³ Hilbert [30, p. 169]: «the concept 'provable' is to be understood as relative to the underlying
 38 axioms system. This relativism is in accordance with the nature of things and necessary.»

39 ⁷⁴ Tarski [63], in Tarski [69, p. 402].

40 ⁷⁵ Tarski 1960, p. XII (my emphasis, in order to stress that here Tarski meant not only the deductive
 41 sciences, but also the experimental sciences). The scope of logic is even wider, since Tarski aimed
 42 to create «a unified conceptual apparatus which would supply a common basis for the whole of
 43 human knowledge». See S. Feferman's comments in Feferman [23].

44 ⁷⁶ J. Wolenski [83, p. 331].

45 ⁷⁷ That happened at least twice: in Tarski 1960 and in Tarski [66], Sections 22 and 23.

⁷⁸ Feferman [22].

01 Liar, by locating for them the source of those problems. . . » In the *Wahrheits-*
 02 *begriff* (1933/36), according to Feferman, «we are not talking about *truth in a*
 03 *structure* but about *truth simpliciter*, as would be appropriate for a philosophical
 04 discussion, at least of the traditional kind». But the idea of a universal logical
 05 language is abandoned in the famous Postscript,⁷⁹ and, over time, Tarski qualified
 06 the logicist aspect of his first claims on the universality of logic. This is particu-
 07 larly clear in the way he answered the question ‘What are logical notions?’ [71],
 08 that we will discuss below (3.2 and Section 3.5). Moreover, Tarski always kept
 09 considering the whole domain of logic as a branch of «ordinary» mathematics
 10 and giving much evidence for his opinion through considerable work, even if
 11 he was willing to grant that the part of logic which is mathematics «does not
 12 *perhaps* exhaust logic». ⁸⁰

13 Another example of how Tarski moved far from the logicist stance is his treat-
 14 ment of type theory. As we know, Tarski used, in an informal way, the language
 15 of the simple type theory in his early essays, for instance in the paper on the defin-
 16 able sets of real numbers and in the *Wahrheitsbegriff*. That certainly represented
 17 an acknowledgement of Russell’s logical program. But, it is well known too that
 18 Tarski preferred set theory, with just one type of individual variables, and came
 19 to abandon type theory in favor of the latter.⁸¹ Therefore, he replaced *logical*
 20 *universality* with *mathematical universality*. It would be fine here to comment
 21 on F. Rodriguez-Consuegra’s useful ramification of the concept of universality,
 22 which has been first suggested by Hintikka [39, pp. 13–15]. But, for my purposes,
 23 I need only to subscribe to the following point: on account of Tarski’s footnote
 24 2 to his *Wahrheitsbegriff* ⁸² and of his 1995 posthumous paper, F. Rodriguez-
 25 Consuegra argues that Tarski regarded more and more the language of set theory
 26 as a *mathematically universal* language with one *universal domain* of individu-
 27 als.⁸³ It should just be added that Tarski regarded more and more the language of
 28 a sort of general algebra as fitting better his ambition to yield a universal language
 29 for mathematics, which would eliminate the current problems of set theory. He
 30 proposed already in 1953 a formalization of set theory without variables.⁸⁴

31
32
33 ⁷⁹ Feferman [22, p. 94]. While recognizing this fact, Feferman maintained for reasons that can-
 34 not be detailed here that, in the *Wahrheitsbegriff*, Tarski was after the concept of absolute truth
 35 (Feferman’s emphasis and my underlining).

36 ⁸⁰ Tarski [74, p. 27] (my emphasis).

37 ⁸¹ See Carnap’s account in Mancosu [46, pp. 335–336]: «The Warsaw logicians, especially
 38 Lesniewski and Kotarbinski saw a system like PM – Principia Mathematica – (but with simple type
 39 theory) as the obvious system form. This restriction influenced strongly all the disciples; including
 40 Tarski until ‘The Concept of Truth’ (where the finiteness of the level is implicitly assumed and
 41 neither transfinite types nor systems without types are taken into consideration; they are discussed
 42 only in the Postscript added later). Then Tarski realized that in set theory one uses with great
 43 success a different system form. So he eventually came to see this type-free system form as more
 44 natural and more simpler».

43 ⁸² English translation, Tarski [69, p. 210].

44 ⁸³ F. Rodriguez-Consuegra [53]. See also Feferman [22, 23], and Hintikka [39].

45 ⁸⁴ Tarski [70, IV, p. 605–606].

2.3 Tarski's Permanent Formal Leanings

The most striking trait of the formal way of working is certainly the search for invariant elements under changing conditions. This is a typical method in algebra. Tarski applied it in semantics as well.

Tarski had indeed a permanent attraction for purely algebraic methods and their potential links with logical operations. He invested much work in the rigorous algebraic reformulation and generalization of classical theorems, e.g. Sturm's theorem (on how many real roots a polynomial has in a given interval) that he transformed into a quantifier elimination principle.⁸⁵ – One has to point out, in passing, the finitistic character of this principle. – Tarski was also strongly interested in algebraic structures modeling logical operations, especially in Boolean algebras and cylindric algebras. He developed (together with Steven Givant) an algebraic approach to set theory which dispenses with variables: this general algebra was conceived of to provide a basic language for the whole field of mathematics. Algebra represented for Hilbert a paradigm for formal processing and extending the domain of surveyable objects. Tarski sought in it the means to avoid the logic of quantification. Hilbert introduced the transfinite axiom in order to justify the use of quantifiers, Tarski found out a mathematical device (Sturm's theorem) to eliminate quantifiers in the elementary theory of real numbers and Cartesian geometry.

3.1. A first example of Tarski's use of an invariant style is his semantic definition⁸⁶ of completeness: a theory is complete iff all its models are elementarily equivalent, i.e. iff a first-order sentence which is true in one model is also true in any other model of the theory. In other words, a theory is complete iff the set of first-order sentences that are proved in terms of one particular model remains invariant, so that one does not need to prove them again within another model. Tarski proved what was at his time an impressive result: the completeness of the first-order theory of real numbers and Cartesian plane geometry. As a consequence, he deduced that every first-order theorem about real numbers is already satisfied by algebraic real numbers. Thus, from a first-order logical point of view there is no difference between the field of algebraic real numbers, the underlying set of which is *countable*, and the field of real numbers, the underlying set of which is *uncountable*. This result may be considered as a corollary to Löwenheim's theorem that two non-isomorphic structures can be indistinguishable from the point of view of first-order logic (cardinality is neutralized). But Tarski shed a new light on it, presenting it as a logical invariance principle, which is weaker than algebraic isomorphism though none the shallower. Indeed, under the name 'transfer principle', it would have a great future and play a remarkable role not only in model theory, but also in some other mathematical branches: algebra, real algebraic geometry and analysis among others.

⁸⁵ Tarski [64, 65] (see [2, Part I, II and IV]).

⁸⁶ The syntactic definition is the following: a theory is complete iff every sentence of the language of the theory is provable or refutable. For first-order theories the two definitions are equivalent.

01 Early on, Tarski aimed at constructing a general theory of the equivalence relation
 02 involved in this principle. The notion of elementary equivalence appeared in print
 03 in the appendix to the second part of 'Grundzüge des Systemenkalküls' [61]. Tarski
 04 was then aware that he opened up a wide realm of investigation, and he proposed
 05 to carry out with mathematical methods. Ten years later, closing his Address at the
 06 Princeton University Bicentennial Conference, Tarski put forward the notion and
 07 suggested again further study of the subject. Later on, he gave an outline of the
 08 theory of elementary classes [67] and elaborated, in collaboration with R. Vaught,
 09 the notion of elementary extension (1957).

10 3.2. A second well known example is his explanation of the notion of logical
 11 operation in the type structure over a basic domain of individuals. This is to be found
 12 in the posthumous paper edited by J. Corcoran [71], in which Tarski addressed the
 13 following question: «What are Logical Notions?». Tarski's procedure was to extend
 14 to the domain of logic Felix Klein's *Erlanger Programm* (1872) for the classification
 15 of geometries according to their invariant elements under some group of transfor-
 16 mations. For instance, the notions of metric Euclidean geometry are those invariant
 17 under isometric transformations, the notions of projective geometry under projective
 18 transformations, etc. Tarski proposed to consider logic as an invariant theory⁸⁷ and
 19 logical notions as those invariant in respect to any automorphism of the basic domain
 20 (any permutation of the domain) of the chosen universe of discourse. Considering
 21 a notion as logical depends on which formal language one chooses to define the
 22 term denoting this notion. Thus, if the formal language is that of type theory as
 23 developed by Whitehead and Russell in *Principia Mathematica*, then every notion
 24 is logical. Indeed, in this frame, set theory, within which the whole of mathematics
 25 can be constructed, is simply a part of logic, since the membership relation (\in) is
 26 invariant under the extension to higher types of any permutation of the domain of
 27 individuals. Thus, it appears that type theory was built in such a way as to justify
 28 logicist reductionism. Otherwise, if the language for formalizing set theory is Zer-
 29 melo's first-order system – in which we have no hierarchy of types, but only one
 30 universe and the membership relation between individuals as *a primitive term* –,
 31 then mathematical relations are *not* logical. Indeed, the membership relation is *not*
 32 logical, since the only binary relations invariant under any permutation of the basic
 33 domain are the empty relation, the universal relation, the identity relation and its
 34 complement.⁸⁸ Tarski concluded his essay stressing that the given definition did
 35

36
 37 ⁸⁷ Feferman [20, footnote 5], noted that Tarski seems to have been unaware of the first proposal of
 38 that type by F. I. Mautner, An extension of Klein's Erlanger Programm: logic as invariant theory,
 39 *American Journal of Mathematics* **68** (1946), 345–384. On his side, P. Mancosu states in his recent
 40 paper [46] that the idea of using Klein's strategy was first suggested by Alexander Wundheiler
 41 on the ground of a method expounded by Tarski and Lindenbaum, Über die Beschränktheit der
 42 Ausdrucksmittel deduktiver Theorien, *Erg. Math. Koll.*, **VII** (1936), 15–22. Wundheiler took part
 43 in the 10 January 1941 meeting, which was one of the series Tarski, Quine and Carnap had together
 44 during the academic year 1940–1941 at Harvard.

45 ⁸⁸ V. McGee showed that the logical operations in Tarski's sense are exactly those which are de-
 finable in the language $L_{\infty, \infty}$: Logical operations, *Journal of Philosophical Logic* **25** (1996), 567–
 580, quoted after Feferman [20]. Solomon Feferman bases on McGee's result two objections. The

01 not, in and of itself, imply a definite answer to the addressed question. Once again
 02 he emphasized that his logical work was free from any philosophical opinion, –
 03 which naturally does not mean free from set-theoretic methods. Conversely, technical
 04 results did not, by themselves, settle philosophical questions connected with
 05 them. That is to say that, in Tarski's view, the connection between logic and philosophy
 06 is a one-to-many relation. Tarski's emphatic and persistent professed neutralism
 07 towards philosophical views and his pluralism (that Wolenski called «liberalism») match
 08 this kind of connection and suggest a rather positivist philosophical attitude.

09 If a characteristic way of formal thinking is first and foremost reasoning in terms
 10 of variables (having many possible meanings) and invariants (under such or such
 11 transformation), then Tarski was a very enthusiastic «formalist» mathematician, in
 12 a sense, however, which encompasses none of the three main features that Brouwer
 13 highlighted in his 1912 essay (see above 1.2). Tarski indeed dealt with meaningful
 14 sentences, understood consistency in the sense of satisfiability by a model, and
 15 alleged that he would not support a Platonistic existence for abstract entities. This
 16 apparently paradoxical result has a twofold explanation: (1) Tarski really provided
 17 formalism with a new substance, (2) Brouwer's influence really contributed, even if
 18 by no direct and not always acknowledged ways, to important aspects of the shift
 19 from a relatively dominant syntactic view to the alliance of syntax and semantics.

20 3.3. Early on, Tarski asserted that the union of syntax and semantics, that he initiated,
 21 could be «theoretically» placed under the spirit of Lesniewski's «intuitionistic formalism»,⁸⁹
 22 while he claimed at the same time the independency of his technical achievements from
 23 any philosophical view. As it seems clear from the expression coined from the two previously
 24 contrasted terms, the «intuitionistic formalism», assumed as «an agreement in principle»⁹⁰
 25 with Lesniewski's standpoint, might have been also a way to achieve the conciliation,
 26 initiated by Hilbert, between Brouwer's demand for contentual constructs and the formal
 27 processes of axiomatic and logic. That does not mean that Tarski accepted Brouwer's
 28 philosophical subjectivism, according to which one has to completely separate mathematics
 29 from language, especially from its description by logic, and to recognize mathematics
 30 as a «languageless activity of the mind having its origin in the perception of
 31 a *move of time*»,⁹¹ which constitutes the basic *Urintuition*. Moreover, working to
 32 bring closer logic and «ordinary» mathematics, Tarski could not share the idea of a
 33 separate autonomy for each of the two domains, upon which Brouwer insisted.

37 first one is that Tarski assimilates logic to set-theoretical mathematics, what was indeed Tarski's
 38 own permanent aim. Second, Tarski failed to explain logicity across domains of different sizes.
 39 Feferman proposes a homomorphism invariance criterion to correct this failure. He also mentions
 40 the proof-theoretic approach of J.I. Zucker and R.S. Tragesser (The adequacy problem for inferential
 41 logic, *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 7 (1978), 501–516), which leads to characterize logical
 42 operations as exactly those of the first-order predicate calculus.

42 ⁸⁹ Tarski [59], in Tarski [69, p. 62].

43 ⁹⁰ Tarski quoted the page 78 of S. Lesniewski, Grundzüge eines neuen Systems der Grundlagen
 44 der Mathematik, Sections 1–11, *Fundamenta mathematicae* 1 (1929), 1–81.

45 ⁹¹ Brouwer [13, p. 510].

01 To stress the contrast with Brouwer's *Urintuition*, J. Wolenski replaced 'intuition-
 02 istic formalism' by 'intuitive formalism' in his account of Lesniewski's systems.⁹²
 03 Now, the word 'intuition' may rapidly induce a philosophical commitment, either
 04 to intuitionism – in a purely subjective option – *or* to Platonism if one holds that
 05 the subjective intuitive faculty is connected with an objective independent world *or*
 06 *also* to some kind of Kantian *a priori* as it was differently understood by mathe-
 07 maticians, for instance by Poincaré, Brouwer, Hilbert. But Tarski did not elaborate
 08 any specific theory of intuition. As Wolenski pointed out to me, Lesniewski and
 09 Tarski understood 'intuition' 'quite customary, namely as an ability to grasp con-
 10 tents (meaning)'. Therefore, it seems to me more appropriate to characterize Tarski's
 11 real way of working simply and merely as a *semantic formalism*, in opposition to the
 12 syntactic formalism shared by Frege, Dedekind and, to some extent, Hilbert. Those
 13 three hoped first and foremost to catch the *entire* content of a mathematical theory
 14 through a logical analysis of the syntactic properties of its fixed axioms system,
 15 while Tarski aimed at knowing under which logical conditions one can *extend the*
 16 *content* of a definite model of the theory.

17 Anyway, Tarski changed his mind: in a footnote added in 1956 in the English
 18 translation of his essay he pointed out that the «intuitionistic formalism» could no
 19 longer appropriately mirror his new attitude. What was no more convenient in this
 20 expression: 'intuitionistic', 'formalism' or both? Unfortunately, Tarski did not go
 21 so far as to positively describe what his new attitude was. Did Tarski keep silent
 22 because he separated philosophical thinking from scientific logical work? Certainly
 23 yes, even though there might have been other reasons.

26 3 Tarski's Philosophical Pluralism

28 Now, it becomes difficult to say that Tarski's *explicitly assumed* philosophical atti-
 29 tude matched the undoubtedly formal orientation of his practice. The path from the
 30 latter to the former is not straightforward. And that is not astonishing, since Tarski
 31 aimed to disconnect scientific reasoning from philosophical principles and, there-
 32 fore, thought that a mathematical or logical technique made no philosophical point
 33 of view mandatory. Wolenski's judgment is right: it was *not* a problem for Tarski that
 34 his philosophical attitude did not fully agree with his own research practice in logic
 35 and mathematics.⁹³ On the one hand, I do confirm the agreement between what I
 36 have called 'semantic formalism' and Tarski's actual practice. 'Semantic formalism'
 37 seems to me the right expression to characterize how Tarski actually worked. But, on
 38 the other hand, we have to take into account the following facts: (1) Tarski changed
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40
 41 ⁹² Wolenski [82, p. 145]. According to Wolenski, Lesniewski was a «radical formalist in the
 42 sense of requiring an unambiguous codification of the language of a given formal system», but he
 43 firmly rejected the conception of logic and mathematics as a game of symbols devoid of meaning.
 44 More generally, the *interpretative style* of cultivating logic in the Warsaw School went back to
 45 Twardowski's tradition.

⁹³ Wolenski [82, p. 192] (my emphasis).

01 his mind and upheld, tacitly or explicitly, *different* philosophical attitudes without
 02 explaining the reasons of those changes. (2) Moreover, he used to propose on the
 03 same issue, *at the same time*, several options and to leave the choice open. This
 04 causes us a relative embarrassment. A way out is indeed to consider that Tarski was
 05 willing to construct arguments, not to give free rein to his belief. Therefore, he was
 06 trying different consistent arguments, as it was usual in the Ancient philosophical-
 07 logical tradition, at least in the part called 'dialectic' by Aristotle. Tarski's alleged
 08 philosophical neutrality was actually a real and very commendable philosophical
 09 option. In my view, it is perhaps the only tenable, though uncomfortable, option.
 10 After all, philosophical thinking is not just adapting argumentation to prior belief.

11 That being said, we still have the task to distinguish what Tarski claimed explic-
 12 itly from what he did in fact, and to take into account the arguments he developed
 13 as dialectic exercises or, with a more modern scientific term, as '*Gedankenexperi-*
 14 *mente*'. *Grosso modo*, one might say that, while he kept an anti-metaphysical gen-
 15 eral attitude (inherited from the Lvov-Warsaw School and strengthened by contacts
 16 with the Vienna Circle), Tarski stood on at the junction point of at least three views:
 17 a self-evident, though non-explicitly advocated, semantic realism, a strong logical
 18 nominalism with finitistic requirements, that he supported but moderately practiced,
 19 and an effective pragmatism, which finally permeated different levels of his thought.

22 **3.1 Tarski's Explicit Rejection of Ontological Realism**

24 Tarski's well known definition of truth is the classical one: truth as «correspon-
 25 dence» with reality. But what sense has to be given to «reality»? Tarski (1933) [66]
 26 rejected the realistic interpretation of his definition, in particular Gonsseth's reproach
 27 of uncritical realism, i.e. of pre-Kantian realism. Tarski argued that classical formu-
 28 lations of the adequacy-relation between truth and reality, which are assumed to
 29 convey a realistic conception of truth, are neither precise nor clear enough. He pre-
 30 ferred Aristotle's formulation, that he carefully recalled.⁹⁴ And he recognized that
 31 his *formal* definition corresponded to the *intuitive content* of Aristotle's formulation.
 32 But he claimed that there was no necessary bound between his semantic definition
 33 and any of the following standpoints: realism, idealism, empiricism, metaphysical
 34 attitude. That means that Tarski did not *base* his semantic explanation on *a priori*
 35 or initial realistic (nor idealistic, nor empiricist nor metaphysical) assumptions; – if
 36 one seeks philosophical understanding, it would perhaps be better to go the other
 37 way around: to get a philosophical understanding, and probably not a one-sided
 38 one, from the scientific explanation. Tarski's explanation does not give a criterion
 39 to confront the sentence 'snow is white' to the real factual conditions under which
 40 we may affirm or not the sentence under consideration. The explanation shows the

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 43 ⁹⁴ «To say of what is that it is not, or of what is not that it is, is false, while to say of what it is
 44 that it is, or of what it is not that it is not, is true». (Tarski [62], in Tarski [69, p. 155, footnote 2]).
 45 It is worth noting that Tarski pointed out (p. 153) that he set aside, for instance, the utilitarian
 conception, according to which 'true' reduces to 'useful'.

01 *equivalence between two sentences*, traditionally referred to as the T-schema: the
 02 sentence 'snow is white' is true iff snow is white. Right to 'iff' we have a sentence
 03 and left to 'iff' we have the same sentence between quotation marks, i.e. we have
 04 the name of the sentence. *We do not go out of the universe of discourse*; we stay
 05 on a purely semantic level. The semantic definition states what truth is, not how to
 06 confirm or infirm it. Tarski meant that such a formal and non-effective definition
 07 needed not be backed up by a metaphysical or an epistemological conception. Se-
 08 mantics is indeed a scientific theory in its own right, and as a scientific theory it
 09 is supposedly philosophically neutral. Even if, with some right, one takes Tarski's
 10 claim concerning the neutrality of semantics *cum grano salis*, it should be taken for
 11 granted that Tarski rejected that pre-Kantian form of philosophical realism, which
 12 is also named 'essentialism' or 'ontological realism'.

13 14 15 16 **3.2 Tarski's Possible Acceptance of «a Moderate Platonism»** 17 **and Actual Semantic Realism** 18

19 Tarski wrote indeed that he was never able to understand what is «the essence» of
 20 a concept.⁹⁵ This means that a definition of a concept does not aim to capture, in
 21 a Platonist style, the essence of what is designated by the concept. Indeed, when
 22 Tarski set a definition for a notion (truth, logicity), he constantly insisted upon the
 23 fact that his definition, constructed within the frame of theoretic semantics, suited
 24 the effective meaning or use of the notion. Clearly enough this indicates that Tarski
 25 deliberately kept distance from Platon's way of constructing «essential» definitions.

26 But, Platonism does not only consist in the search for «essential definitions».
 27 It means also the belief in an ideal existence of the essences assumed to be the
 28 objects of such definitions, namely the belief in the autonomous existence of abstract
 29 entities.

30 Now, it is not a paradox to claim that a formal way of doing mathematics and
 31 logic may lead to some form of Platonism. We have seen above several degrees
 32 in the scale of Plato's assumptions analyzed by Bernays, the top of the scale being
 33 reached by set theory. For his part and on the one hand, Tarski *used* abstract methods
 34 and set-theoretic concepts involving infinitistic and non effective ways of reasoning.
 35 This might have implied a positive *affirmation* of the ideal existence of those abstract
 36 entities. But Tarski never committed himself to such an ontological statement. He
 37 did not admit the usual Platonistic understanding of the axioms of set theory, ac-
 38 cording to which sets exist independently of any human constructions. Moreover,
 39 he generally did not use predicate variables or higher types in his metamathe-
 40 matical analysis of mathematical theories, and he restricted himself to first-order
 41 language, in accordance with his algebraic bent, which led him to his quantifier
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43

44
45 ⁹⁵ Tarski [66, Section 18).

01 elimination technique.⁹⁶ An interesting interpretation sees in Tarski's attitude an
 02 «as-if-realism», that is to say that Tarski mathematically behaved *as if* abstract
 03 entities existed, though his philosophical stand imposed restriction to individuals.⁹⁷
 04 This interpretation may have some loose connection with Tarski's acknowledgement
 05 in the discussion period for a 1965 meeting on the philosophical significance of
 06 Gödel's incompleteness theorems.⁹⁸ Tarski said indeed that he, «perhaps in a 'future
 07 incarnation', would be able to accept a sort of moderate Platonism». In all likelihood
 08 Tarski said that he would accept a milder version of Gödel's standpoint, which was
 09 an outright Platonism. This version could consist, for instance, in accepting *only* the
 10 sequence or the totality of natural numbers.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Tarski meant he would
 11 «accept», not advocate.

12 On the other hand, the search for invariant principles might include the philo-
 13 sophical question about *identity* and *persistence* of some mathematical or logical
 14 content. For instance Tarski's transfer principle allows to transpose one and the
 15 same content from one model to another irrespective of the particular formal setting
 16 in which it is encapsulated. The transfer principle points out the persistency of a
 17 property, a meaning, through different formal frames. It is not a formal extension
 18 principle from intuitive operations to abstract ones («formal permanency law» in
 19 the language of the XIXth century), but an extension of the same concrete meaning
 20

21
 22 ⁹⁶ I did stress [2, Parts II and IV] the link between the idea of quantifier elimination and Hilbert's
 23 achievements, both on geometry where the aim was to determine the scope of the continuity axi-
 24 oms, the independency of which he proved through the construction of a non-Archimedean model,
 25 and on metamathematics, the goal of which was to check the consistency of formulas (ideal propo-
 26 sitions) through the reduction of proofs to numerical equations or non-equations (real contentual
 27 propositions without variables).

28 ⁹⁷ See Rodriguez-Consuegra [53, p. 240]. The schema of an as-if attitude is already present in
 29 Hilbert [31, p. 187]: «In my proof theory it is not asserted that one can always effectively pick up
 30 an object among infinitely many objects, but that one can always, without risk of mistake, do as
 31 if the choice were made» (p. 187). See also Bernays [6], in Bernays [8, p. 60], in Mancosu [44,
 32 p. 262]: «The view at which we have arrived concerning the theory of the infinite can be seen
 33 as a kind of philosophy of the 'as if'. However, it differs entirely from the so-called philosophy
 34 of Vaihinger in the fact that it emphasizes the consistency and the stability [*Beständigkeit*] of the
 35 idea-formations. . . ». Mancosu [45, p. 316], noted that the same idea was previously developed
 36 by H. Behmann in his 1918 Dissertation (Hilbert was supervisor). The idea is still attractive for
 37 formalists. See Robinson [51], *Selected Papers*, II, p. 507: «My position concerning the founda-
 38 tions of Mathematics is based on the following two main points or principles. (i) Infinite totalities
 39 do not exist in any sense of the word (i.e. either really or ideally). More precisely, any mention,
 40 or purported mention, of infinite totalities is, literally, *meaningless*. (ii) Nevertheless, we should
 41 continue the business of Mathematics 'as usual', i.e. we should act *as if* infinite totalities really
 42 existed» (Robinson's emphasis).

43 ⁹⁸ Typescript of extemporaneous remarks during the discussion period for a symposium held in
 44 Chicago at a joint meeting of the Association of Symbolic Logic and the American Philosophical
 45 Association, 29–30 April 1965, Bancroft Library. Briefly quoted in Wolenski [83, p. 336]. A longer
 excerpt is quoted in Feferman [21, p. 61], and in Anita Burdman Feferman and Solomon Feferman
 [24, p. 52]. The topic is discussed at length in Rodriguez-Consuegra [53].

⁹⁹ This interpretation matches the requirement Tarski imposed on the construction of a nominalistic
 language. See Mancosu [46, p. 336], quoted below.

01 to other formal languages. In *The completeness of elementary algebra and geometry*
 02 [64], Tarski noted that, in order to determine whether or not a classical theorem of
 03 geometry belongs to his elementary formal system, «it is only the *nature* of the
 04 concepts, not the character of the means of proof that matters».¹⁰⁰ What Tarski
 05 highlighted here is that an elementary (first-order) theory may encompass concepts
 06 expressible or provable under non-elementary conditions, which are known to be
 07 satisfied in some particular model of the (complete) theory, for instance in real
 08 numbers. That is to say, a first-order theory may capture much more properties than
 09 *first-order definable* properties. From a logical (technical) point of view, this fact is,
 10 in and of itself, significant. From an epistemological point of view, this fact means
 11 that understanding a concept is not reducible to the technique of reasoning about it
 12 in some well-defined frame. Last but not least, from an ontological point of view,
 13 the insistence on a mathematical content independent of its formal definability or
 14 its proof has undoubtedly a Platonistic flavor, even if we cautiously distinguish 'nature'
 15 from 'essence'. But how «the nature» of a concept has to be understood? The
 16 reasonable answer in the frame of Tarski's mode of work seems to me the follow-
 17 ing: just as truth is not exhausted by deductive verification (Gödel's incompleteness
 18 theorem and Tarski's undefinability theorem), meaning is not exhausted by formal
 19 expression.

20 But again what is 'meaning'? This is a philosophical issue, which Tarski did *not*
 21 tackle. As we saw above, formal semantics did not comprise a theory of meaning.
 22 Wolenski pointed out that Tarski did *once* in 1936 made a remark on the subject in a
 23 discussion of a paper by M. Kokoszynska.¹⁰¹ Tarski simply observed that the concept
 24 of formal language was clearer and logically less complicated than the concept of
 25 meaning. But Tarski *showed* (notably through the transfer principle) that meaning
 26 transcends formal language. This naturally leads to a realist view of meaning, in
 27 the same sense as the undefinability theorem leads to a realistic understanding of
 28 truth, *in contrast with a constructive view*. Now, as noted above, Tarski did reject the
 29 possibility of a logical link between semantic results and philosophical assumptions.
 30 He did reject metaphysical realism. Is there some real tension or, as Wolenski wrote
 31 some «cognitive dissonance»?¹⁰² I do not think so, at least concerning this specific
 32

33
 34 ¹⁰⁰ Tarski [70, IV, pp. 305–306] (my emphasis). The remark is repeated in the later in California
 35 published version [65], Tarski [70, III, p. 307].

36 ¹⁰¹ I thank Professor J. Wolenski for drawing my attention to this remark and for the translation
 37 of it from Polish; see Tarski [70, IV, p. 701]. The discussion took place in Krakow during the 3rd
 38 Polish Philosophical Congress after Kokoszynska's talk 'Concerning relativity and absoluteness of
 39 truth', and the translation of the remark is the following:

40 «It follows from the words of the speaker [that is, M. Kokoszynska – J. W.] among others
 41 things that the concept of truth – in one of its interpretations – should be relativized to the concept
 42 of meaning. Would not be simpler to relativize to the concept of language, which is clearer and
 43 logically less complicated than the concept of meaning?

44 Kokoszynska replied that the concept of language implicitly involves the concept of mean-
 45 ing. Hence, a double relativization should be made (1) to the stock of shapes or sounds; (2) to
 meaning».

¹⁰² Wolenski [82, p. 192].

01 point. If we adopt Wolenski's distinctions between different kinds of realism, in
 02 particular between metaphysical realism and semantic realism,¹⁰³ we may say that
 03 Tarski's views on truth and on mathematical concepts pertain to semantic realism,
 04 not to ontological realism. Moreover, as Wolenski showed, Tarski's semantic realism
 05 *does not imply* metaphysical realism, just as Tarski himself claimed. This explains
 06 why Tarski could uphold at the same time a realist attitude within the semantic
 07 sphere and a dislike of Platonism, which is, he thought, «unsatisfactory as an end-
 08 point in philosophical analysis».¹⁰⁴

11 3.3 *Logical Nominalism*

13 In fact, Tarski invested a valuable amount of energy to avoid Platonism. – As for
 14 intuitionism or logicist reductionism he apparently felt no need to keep clear of
 15 them. – Influenced by Lesniewski and Kotarbinski, Tarski developed a strong nom-
 16 inalistic bent. It is worth recalling that nominalism emerged in the Middle Ages
 17 in the debate about universals and particulars. According to Mycielski [48], Tarski
 18 was familiar with this debate through Twardowski's book *Six Lectures on Medieval*
 19 *Philosophy* and with the distinctions between nominalism, Platonism and conceptu-
 20 alism. To clarify things, I recall a brief characterization. Nominalists admitted only
 21 the existence of particulars. Conceptualists admitted the existence of concepts or
 22 forms, especially when the universals were represented in individuals. Platonists
 23 admitted the existence of concepts and forms independent of human mind. What
 24 distinguished conceptualists from nominalists is that they did not reduce concepts
 25 to mere signs or names: concepts were contentual operations of thought; then, their
 26 existence was understood as a thought-existence. What distinguished conceptualists
 27 from Platonists is that they did not detached the existence of concepts from the
 28 operating thought: concepts did not exist on their own, prior to thought, they did not
 29 play the role of the essences of empirical things.¹⁰⁵ In the view of this tripartition, it
 30 seems to me that one could consider conceptualism as very near to semantic realism,
 31 despite the fact that Tarski spoke neither of conceptualism nor of semantic realism.
 32 His concern was to stress his opposition to Platonism. Indeed, Tarski described
 33 himself as a nominalist. In the typescript of the remarks at the 1965 symposium
 34 on Gödel's incompleteness theorems, Tarski said:

40
 41 ¹⁰³ Wolenski [85, pp. 135–148]. Wolenski defines semantic realism by the fact or supposition that
 42 meaning transcends use. Here I assume that semantic realism means also that meaning transcends
 43 language.

44 ¹⁰⁴ Quoted by Mancosu [46, pp. 334, 348].

45 ¹⁰⁵ We may note, in passing, that Hilbert's and Bernays' designation of Platonism as «conceptual
 realism» was literally adequate.

01 «I happen to be, you know, a much more extreme anti-Platonist. . . . I represent this very
 02 crude, naïve kind of anti-Platonism,¹⁰⁶ one thing which I could describe as materialism, or
 03 nominalism with some materialistic taint, and it is very difficult for a man to live his whole
 04 life with this philosophical attitude, especially if he is a mathematician, especially if for
 05 some reason he has a hobby which is called set theory. . . . »

06 Thus, Tarski avowed himself the tension between his philosophical views and his
 07 mathematical needs. And he maintained this duality (which supports the «as-if-
 08 Platonism» interpretation). Later on indeed, at the closing of his seventieth birthday
 09 symposium (1976), Tarski said:

10 «I am a nominalist. This is a very deep conviction of mine. It is so deep, indeed, that even
 11 after my third reincarnation, I will still be a nominalist. . . . People have asked me, 'how can
 12 you, a nominalist, do work in set theory and logic, which are theories you do not believe
 13 in?' . . . I believe that there is value even in fairy tales and the study of fairy tales».¹⁰⁷

14 This might be interpreted as a joke. But a joke is also an usual way *not* to give
 15 one's last word on some issue.

16 In fact, there is a deep connection between Tarski's professed nominalism and
 17 his actual formal practice, which was strongly impregnated with an algebraic spirit.
 18 Tarski would have probably not disapproved Brouwer's judgment, according to
 19 which abstract entities exist only «on paper». Working in set theory does not neces-
 20 sarily mean believing in a hypostastic existence of sets. After all, it is possible to
 21 deal with concepts without reifying them, i.e. without transforming them into «real»
 22 objects, «real» being interpreted either as having a material character through con-
 23 catenations of signs or as a Platonist universe of timeless objects. But, was it not
 24 Tarski's aim to disconnect the semantic sphere, to which mathematical concepts be-
 25 long, from the ontological one and, therefore, at eliminating unnecessary ontological
 26 suppositions? Naturally 'yes', and we have even stressed that semantic realism does
 27 not necessarily entails ontological realism.

28 Nevertheless, we need, I think, to have an idea of the philosophical status that
 29 Tarski might have attributed to meaning, which he used as an informal notion. From
 30 the *model-theoretic point of view*, 'meaning' is 'interpretation' or 'realization' (and
 31 truth is equivalent to the existence of a model). Now, there are interpretations with
 32 infinite basic domains. Then, in Tarski's mind, what would have been the satisfac-
 33 tory *philosophical* final view on interpretations/meanings of the abstract theo-
 34 ries, i.e. his final view on abstract *entities*? Might Tarski have accepted, in accom-
 35 dance with the formalist tradition, abstract entities as beautiful and fruitful fictions
 36 («fairy tales»), something similar to Leibniz differential operator or to Hilbert's
 37 ideal elements, the justification of which is the ultimate reduction to finite entities?
 38 If the answer were 'yes', then Tarski's position would result in a combination of
 39
 40

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 42 ¹⁰⁶ See also Mycielski [48, p. 217]: in 1970 Tarski mentioned to Mycielski «the Platonic belief of
 43 Gödel that sets can be seen (seen, not imagined) in our minds almost like physical objects», and
 44 added that this belief «is bewildering».

45 ¹⁰⁷ Anita Burdman Feferman and Solomon Feferman [24, p. 52]. Also Mycielski [48, p. 216]:
 «Tarski told me that he is a nominalist».

01 nominalism and finitism. As we shall see in the next paragraph, some evidence is
 02 now available for associating Tarski's nominalism with finitism.

03 But, from the *philosophical point of view*, has Tarski really thought that mean-
 04 ing belongs to the world of fairy tales? Was meaning, in Quine's words, a myth?
 05 Would Tarski have agreed with Quine's reductionism, and would he have *ultimately*
 06 admitted an elimination of meaning in favor of its linguistic medium, that he found
 07 clearer? I do not think so, because accepting the linguistic reduction of meaning
 08 would tip the whole enterprise of formal semantics into a mere linguistic analysis,
 09 what it *is not*. Then, might Tarski have considered meaning as a mental act or pro-
 10 cess? A positive answer to this question would lead him near either to the medieval
 11 conceptualism or to modern intuitionism. But, on the basis of the available evidence
 12 relative to his cultural background, we cannot suppose that Tarski would have ac-
 13 cepted to go Brouwer's road. On the other hand, Tarski did not express himself about
 14 conceptualism. Then the question of what acceptable philosophical status could be
 15 given to meaning from Tarski's point of view remains open.

16 Now, how can we understand Tarski's alliance of nominalism with materialism
 17 in his claim at the Chicago meeting? On Wolenski's account,¹⁰⁸ nominalism *and*
 18 materialism (physicalism) were typical of Kotarbinski's reism. Wolenski thinks that
 19 Tarski was much more attracted to reism than Mostowski admitted¹⁰⁹ and he sug-
 20 gests understanding materialism as being an empiricism. Tarski stressed indeed that
 21 between logical and empirical statements «there is only a mere gradual and subjective
 22 distinction»¹¹⁰ and that logical sentences might be just as revisable as the factual
 23 ones.¹¹¹ Thus, we have necessarily to take into account a «time coefficient» and to
 24 refer any hypothesis to a given historical stage of the development of a science. This
 25 empiricist basic option sheds substantial light on Tarski's nominalism and make a
 26 bridge with the logical empiricism of the Vienna Circle, but does not answer the
 27 question why fairy tales keep being attractive. In other words, how is it possible to
 28 reconcile semantic realism with logical nominalism?

31 ***3.4 Nominalism, Finitism, Constructivism***

32
 33 Linked with his professed nominalism, Tarski upheld two other views, as we newly
 34 became aware through P. Mancosu's work on an important set of notes found in
 35 Carnap's Nachlass in Pittsburgh, the edition of which is being prepared by Greg
 36 Frost-Arnold. Carnap reported indeed that, during the Fall of 1940, he regularly
 37 met Quine and Tarski at Harvard, and discussed with them on the construction of
 38 a finitistic mathematical language for science. This language was intended to be
 39

40
 41 ¹⁰⁸ Wolenski [82, Chapter XI].

42 ¹⁰⁹ A. Mostowski, Tarski, Alfred, *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 8, P. Edwards ed., 1967, New
 43 York, Macmillan, 77–81; Wolenski [83, footnote 2, p. 340].

44 ¹¹⁰ Quoted in Mancosu [46, p. 328].

45 ¹¹¹ Tarski [72].

01 type-free: P. Mancosu highlights the shift that was taking place in Tarski's thought
 02 (and in logic in general) from type-theoretic to first-order languages.

03 In developing their project Carnap, Quine and Tarski agreed on three points: the
 04 language should be nominalistic, (weakly) finitistic and constructivistic. It is worth
 05 quoting after Mancosu the whole passage [46, p. 336]:

06 « . . . We agreed that the language must be nominalistic, i.e., its terms must not refer to
 07 abstract entities but only to observable objects or events. Nevertheless, we wanted this
 08 language to contain at least an elementary form of arithmetic. To reconcile arithmetic with
 09 the nominalistic requirement, we considered among others the method of representing the
 10 natural numbers by the observable objects themselves which were supposed to be ordered
 11 in a sequence; thus no abstract entities would be involved. We further agreed that for the
 12 basic language the requirements of finitism and constructivism should be fulfilled in some
 13 sense. Quine preferred a very strict form; the number of objects was assumed to be finite
 14 and consequently the numbers occurring in arithmetic could not exceed a certain maximum
 15 number. Tarski and I preferred a weaker form of finitism, which left open whether the
 16 number of all objects is finite or infinite. Tarski contributed important ideas on the possible
 17 forms of finitistic arithmetic.»

18 First of all, one notes that here 'nominalism' is understood in its medieval sense:
 19 only particulars were admitted. No mention was made of the modern sense given to
 20 the term by members of the Vienna Circle, especially Carnap, who advocated the
 21 view that mathematics is reducible to some syntax of language. I guess Tarski would
 22 not have supported this view. Nevertheless, the material published by P. Mancosu
 23 shows the driving role Tarski played in these discussions and the influence he had
 24 in the early development of twentieth century analytic philosophy.

25 Second, as Mancosu stresses, no clear distinction was made in the Carnap's notes
 26 between nominalism and finitism. On 10 January 1941, Tarski unfolded his view on
 27 finitism¹¹² by stating that he basically «understood» only languages, which satisfy
 28 the following conditions: finite (later on, he also allowed for infinite) number of
 29 individuals, the individuals are physical things (Kotarbinski's reism), there are no
 30 variables for universals (classes and so on), i.e. there is no Platonic assumption.
 31 Tarski brought a precision, which seems to me important, because it makes very
 32 clear how pivotal were his algebraic leanings. He added indeed: «Other languages
 33 I 'understand' only the way I 'understand' [classical] mathematics, namely as a
 34 calculus». This is an *explicit* acknowledgement of one of the basic views Tarski
 35 had from the beginning of his work: even if it was not until the 1950s that model
 36 theory flourished as a discipline in its own right, the model-theoretic view of math-
 37 ematical language as an reinterpretable calculus has been permanently present in
 38 Tarski's mind and practice from the beginnings of his work. This algebraic view
 39 did not totally preclude the opposite view of set-theoretic language as a universal
 40 mathematical language. But it became more and more prominent, so that it led to
 41 the project of a general algebra as fundamental base for the whole mathematics. This

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43
44
45 ¹¹² Mancosu [46, p. 343].

01 project has been embodied in his posthumous book (together with Steven Givant):
 02 *A Formalization of Set Theory without Variables*.¹¹³

03 Now, one may wonder whether «the method of representing the natural num-
 04 bers by the observable objects themselves which were supposed to be ordered in
 05 a sequence» really dispenses with *the set* of natural numbers, which is involved,
 06 at least potentially, in the notion of sequence. But for Tarski the distinction be-
 07 tween potential and actual infinity was not an essential one.¹¹⁴ The main problem
 08 for him was whether logic and mathematics, which are «an indispensable tool for
 09 scientific research in empirical science» . . . «can be constructed or interpreted
 10 nominalistically». ¹¹⁵ Since he wanted to have elementary arithmetic, Tarski sug-
 11 gested to reformulate Peano's axioms so that no axiom of infinity is included and
 12 to construct a recursive arithmetic.¹¹⁶ He also chose a constructive definition of
 13 elementary arithmetic.

16 *3.5 Effective Pragmatism or the Final View on Meaning*

18 In his early period, Tarski sometimes and somehow defended the intrinsic interest
 19 of metamathematical research. For instance, he declared the following:

20 «Being a mathematician (as well as a logician, and perhaps a philosopher of a sort), I have
 21 had the opportunity to attend many discussions between specialists in mathematics. . . I do
 22 not wish to deny that the value of a man's work may be increased by its implications for
 23 the research of others and for practice. But I believe, nevertheless, that it is inimical to
 24 the progress of science to measure the importance of any research exclusively or chiefly in
 25 terms of its usefulness and applicability. We know from the history of science that many
 26 important results or discoveries have had to wait centuries before they were applied in any
 27 field. And, in my opinion, there are also other important factors which cannot be disregarded
 28 in determining the value of a scientific work. It seems to me that there is a specific domain
 29 of very profound and strong human needs related to scientific research, which are similar in
 many ways to aesthetic and perhaps religious needs.»¹¹⁷

30 But, at the same time, Tarski repeatedly stressed the independence of his techni-
 31 cal results from any philosophical assumption and their mathematical usefulness. It
 32 seems to me that over time Tarski came closer and closer to the outlook most fitting
 33 the scientific practice in general, namely a pragmatist outlook. By pragmatism I
 34 understand here simply an attitude primarily determined by the ways and needs of
 35 actual mathematical practice. Pragmatism rests upon the primacy given to use, but
 36 does not necessarily entails utilitarianism, which says that 'true' is nothing more
 37 than 'useful'.

41 ¹¹³ Tarski and Givant [75].

42 ¹¹⁴ Mancosu [46, p. 345].

43 ¹¹⁵ Letter to Woodger, 21 November 1948, quoted by Mancosu [46, p. 347].

44 ¹¹⁶ For more see Mancosu, pp. 350–354.

45 ¹¹⁷ Tarski [66], Tarski [70, II, p. 693].

01 Indeed, from the 1950s onward, much as an «ordinary» mathematician, he raised
 02 the question of applicability of metamathematical methods in a very straightfor-
 03 ward manner. In particular he strove to show that his theory of elementary classes
 04 «had good chances to pass the test of applicability . . . [and to] be of general in-
 05 terest to mathematicians».¹¹⁸ On many other occasions, Tarski professed taking
 06 the practice into consideration, especially when he aimed to set a precise defini-
 07 tion for a notion, the meaning of which has been previously vague or understood
 08 only in an informal way. One of the constraints he placed upon the definition is
 09 that it has to match the mathematical or logical *use*. Defining itself may be just
 10 setting criteria for using the notion. Thus, in the above quoted lecture 'What are
 11 logical notions?', Tarski explained that answers to questions such as the one he
 12 addressed may be of different kinds. In some cases, one may give an account of
 13 the prevailing usage of the expression denoting the *definiendum*: this is a descrip-
 14 tive definition. In other cases, one may set criteria for future usage, relatively in-
 15 dependent from the current usage: this is proposing a normative definition. Tarski
 16 claimed to have set in his paper a normative definition, namely to have suggested
 17 a possible use for the expression 'logical notion'. This possible use fits the math-
 18 ematical use, which originates from Klein's outstanding procedure to distinguish
 19 various systems of geometry. Anyway, be it actual or potential, usage keeps to be
 20 one of the basic conditions that the construct of a definition must satisfy. More-
 21 over, Tarski explicitly added that the aim of «catching the proper, true meaning of
 22 a notion, something independent of actual usage, and independent of any norma-
 23 tive proposals, something like the platonic idea behind the notion» constituted, to
 24 his eyes, «so foreign and strange an approach», so that he would simply ignore
 25 it. Now, may one not infer from this passage and from some other brief remarks
 26 including those on the concept of definable sets of real numbers [60],¹¹⁹ on the
 27 semantic definition of truth [62, 66] that I have quoted above, and on the character-
 28 ization of semantic concepts¹²⁰ that, in Tarski's *philosophical final view*, meaning
 29 was use?

30 Whatever the answer to this question might be and so surprising the union of
 31 pragmatism and semantic realism might seem, the gradually more salient role of
 32 usage in Tarski's thought and practice, as well as his basic and permanent motiva-
 33 tion to making logic useful for the working mathematician, allows one to claim that
 34 Tarski's *effective* philosophical attitude was in keeping with a kind of pragmatism.
 35 All fruitful methods are welcome, he thought and wrote. The study of fairy tales is
 36 worthwhile, because they can be submitted to experiments so that they gain a firm
 37

38
 39 ¹¹⁸ Tarski [67], Tarski [70, III, p. 473].

40 ¹¹⁹ English translation, Tarski [69, p. 112]: «We then seek to construct a definition. . . which, while
 41 satisfying the requirements of methodological rigour, will also render adequately and precisely the
 42 actual meaning of the term ['definable set of real numbers']».

43 ¹²⁰ Tarski [63], in Tarski [69, p. 402]: «the task of laying the foundations of a scientific semantics,
 44 i.e. of characterizing precisely the semantical concepts and of setting up a logically unobjectionable
 45 and materially adequate way of *using* these concepts, presents no further insuperable difficulties
 [as soon as we take into account the relative character of these concepts]» (my emphasis).

01 ground in our culture and they manifestly are «very useful and very helpful in the
 02 development, in the progress achieved» [by mathematics, therefore by physics and
 03 other sciences].¹²¹ They provide with important results, either theoretic ones, which
 04 permit a better intrinsic understanding of the subject under consideration, or techni-
 05 cal ones which can be applied, through physics, to the external world. As a helpful
 06 means of investigation, fairy tales do not contravene empiricism and, precisely be-
 07 cause we are aware that they lack reality, they are compatible with nominalism. Last
 08 but not least, fairy tales satisfy inescapable human needs.¹²²

11 Conclusion

13 I used in this paper expressions such as ‘semantic formalism’, ‘semantic relativism’,
 14 ‘semantic logicism’, ‘semantic realism’. Those expressions, which may seem at first
 15 sight either surprising or finally trivial, must not be taken as a mere trick. Actually,
 16 they are stressing again and again that Tarski’s fundamental aim was to establish
 17 formal semantics as a new branch of metamathematics. As a consequence of his aim,
 18 Tarski was constantly highlighting the semantic aspect of any method he adopted
 19 and any view he defended, and he was also constantly concerned with establishing
 20 the scientific autonomy of formal semantics. He contributed mostly to develop by
 21 rigorous means and to let largely known the interpretative style of the Polish School
 22 of logic.

23 Thus, while developing formal methods in this interpretative style, Tarski was
 24 greatly concerned with the idea of keeping close to mathematical practice and of
 25 holding non-dogmatic philosophical views. He was willing to experiment different,
 26 and even opposite, ways of constructing mathematical and logical theories. Accord-
 27 ing to Steven Givant, Tarski very early developed an experimental style of work-
 28 ing. In particular, the seminar on mathematical logic conducted by Lukasiewicz, to
 29 which he participated in the years 1920–1924, was viewed as «a kind of logico-
 30 mathematical laboratory where [the participants] could conduct experiments in as-
 31 sessing the expressive and deductive powers of various theories».¹²³ Much later,
 32 Tarski claimed to be «quite interested in attempts at constructing set theory on
 33 the basis of some non-classical logics, *simply as an experiment*. We shall see to
 34 what it will lead».¹²⁴ «Try and see» seems to have been a guiding principle of his
 35 logico-mathematical experimentation, and it was thus natural to make many differ-
 36 ent attempts with no *a priori* expectation of the result. In a fundamentally empiricist
 37 and pragmatic way, Tarski managed to blend nominalism, which is the philosophical
 38 counterpart of a finitistic requirement, which in its turn matches his empiricistic or

40
 41 ¹²¹ Quoted by Rodriguez-Consuegra [53, p. 248].

42 ¹²² Compare with Weyl 1925–1927, in Mancosu [44, p. 141]: «there is a theoretical need, simply
 43 incomprehensible from the merely phenomenal point of view, with a creative urge directed upon
 44 the symbolic representation of the transcendent, which demands to be satisfied».

45 ¹²³ Givant [25, p. 52].

¹²⁴ Typescript of Tarski’s contribution at the 1965 Chicago meeting. Quoted by F. Rodriguez-
 Consuegra [53, p. 250].

01 physicalistic fundamental perspective, with a semantic realism, which is needed not
 02 only to develop beautiful theories, but also to support the *semantic* view that truth
 03 is not just proof, and meaning not just language. If one stands on this view *at a*
 04 *philosophical level*, then one has to pay the price for it, and the least one is just *not*
 05 *to accept* the reduction of truth or meaning to something else, whatever it might be.
 06 But, if, practically, i.e. for the working mathematician, showing the truth is *nothing*
 07 *but* proving some assertion and if meaning is *only* use, in accordance with rules
 08 (already established or to be formulated), then pragmatic considerations become
 09 primary, even in the study of the world of fairy tales.

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