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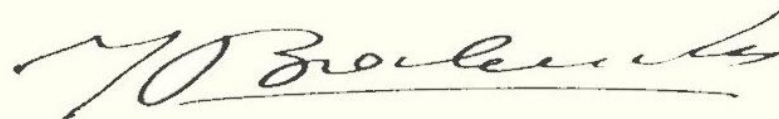


The correspondence between Józef M. Bocheński and Heinrich Scholz (1947–1954)

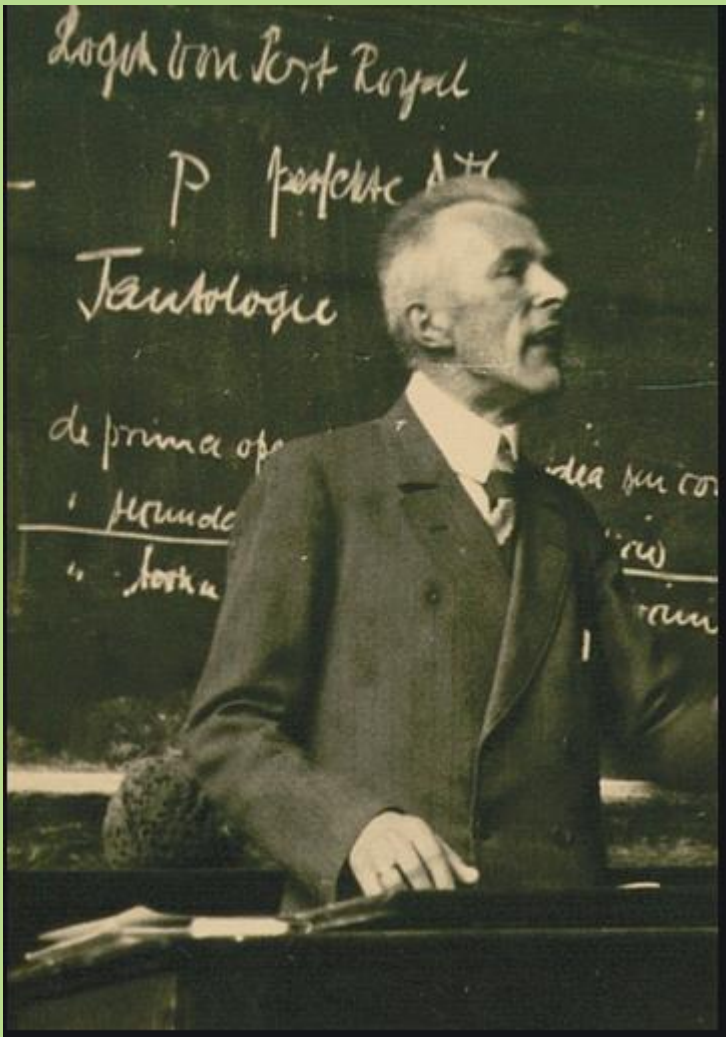
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THE LOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE WORLD. AN AXIOLOGICAL VISION OF PATRIOTISM

On the XXV. anniversary of the death of J. M. Bocheński



USKW, Warsaw, October 15-16 2020



Motto:

„Es ist schön, auf diese Art zu erfahren, dass es auch in der schlechtesten der möglichen Welten immer noch gute Mensch gibt.“



Scholz – Bocheński, 06.08.1947

Heinrich Scholz (1884–1956)

- He was a logician, philosopher and theologian, one of the most important German academics in 20th century.
- **1917–1919** – a professor of philosophy of religion and theology in Schlesische Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Breslau.
- **1919–1928** chair of philosophy at the Christian-Albrecht University of Kiel.
- **1921** - got acquainted with B. Russell's *Principia Mathematica* and henceforth worked in the field of mathematical logic.
- **1928–1952** was employed at Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität (Münster, Germany) and organized a group of academics working more or less together on mathematical logic there.
- Before the second war Scholz had the scientific legacy of **Gottlob Frege** and **Ernst Schröder**. He wanted to be the first posthumous editor and publisher of Frege's papers. Frege's legacy was over 30,000 pages and 32 notebooks. It is not clear what happened to the two legacies during the war, most of it was destroyed.
- During the war he substantially helped at least four Polish academics: Jan Łukasiewicz and his wife Regina, Alfred Tarski's family, Jan Salamucha, a colleague from Cracow, Professor Kowalski.
- Scholz knew Polish at least well enough to be able to read logical texts (Mostowski – Scholz, 05.02.1947).
- Bocheński included Scholz among top **analytical philosophers**, next to Quine, Austin, Tarski and Popper.

Heinrich Scholz's heritage (Nachlass Heinrich Scholz)

- In the summer of 2018 it was transferred from Institut für mathematische Logik und Grundlagenforschung der Universität Münster (Germany) to Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster.
- There are many documents from the 1930s to 1950s that testify to the cooperation of the local university community interested in mathematical logic with the Polish logicians: Ajdukiewicz, Czeżowski, Łukasiewicz, Mostowski, Słupecki, Sobociński, Tarski and Wajsberg.
- There is also Bocheński – Scholz correspondence.
- <https://www.ulb.uni-muenster.de/sammlungen/nachlaesse/nachlass-scholz.html>

Scholz – Bocheński: Preserved and lost letters (22 documents altogether)

- I do not know anything regarding the beginning of their collaboration. However, it started **before the Second World War**. Already during the war Bocheński sent his paper on Theophrastus to Scholz to protect it.
- There are **two original typed letters** written by **Bocheński** as well as **13 carbon copies** of typed letters written by **Scholz**.
- Contextual information makes it plausible to assume that there are missing documents from this correspondence. Bocheński wrote **at least six more letters**, Scholz **at least one more**, all of which have been lost until now. From the content of the preserved letters we have a little of lost letters' content.
- They stayed in touch for over eight years.
- The Bocheński – Scholz correspondence has not been published yet.

- 1946.07.18, Scholz to Bocheński*
- 1946.08.20, Scholz to Bocheński
- Before 29.01.1947, **Bocheński to Scholz***
- 1947.01.29, Scholz to Bocheński
- **1947.02.11, Bocheński to Scholz**
- 1947.08.06, Scholz to Bocheński
- **1947.08.13, Bocheński to Scholz**
- 1947.10.20, Scholz to Bocheński
- 1949.04.14, Scholz to Bocheński
- 1949.12.22, Scholz to Bocheński
- Around 08.07.1951, **Bocheński to Scholz***
- 1951.08.30, Scholz to Bocheński

- Between 1951.08.30 and 1951.09.08, **Bocheński to Scholz***
- 1951.09.08, Scholz to Bocheński
- Between 1951.09.08 and 1951.10.22, **Bocheński to Scholz***
- 1951.10.22, Scholz to Bocheński
- 1952.03.01, Scholz to Bocheński
- Between 1952.03.01 and 1952.08.09, **Bocheński to Scholz***
- 1952.08.09, Scholz to Bocheński
- Between 1952.08.09 and 1954.03.10, **Bocheński to Scholz***
- 1953.03.16, Scholz to Bocheński
- 1954.03.10, Scholz to Bocheński

The topics raised in the correspondence:

1. Polish logicians who survived the war and their current place of work.
2. Reorganization of a scientific environment, didactic activities, duties (academic and non-academic research), scientific trips.
3. Current research topics, prospects for post-war publications and future publishing plans.
4. Exchange of information about Jan Łukasiewicz, Bolesław Sobociński and Joachim Metallmann.
5. Personal matters, Scholz's health problems in particular.

Polish logicians who survived the war and their current place of work

It is a thought-provoking quotation presenting a post-war situation of Polish logicians:

Was unsere polnische bekannten angeht, so kann ich Ihnen nun das folgenden mitteilen: **Kotarbinski** – Rektor in Łódź (teil der Warschauer Univ.); **Ajdukiewicz** – Breslau; **Zawirski** – immer in Krakau; **Mostowski** – doziert in Warschau; **Jaśkowski** – Thorn (neue Univ.); Łukasiewicz – hat jetzt eine einstündige Vorlesung in Dublin; beklagt sich, dass er keine Nachrichten von Ihnen bekommt; **Sobocinski** – 57, rue Faider, Bruxelles; sucht Möglichkeiten seine Arbeiten in „europäischen“ Sprachen zu veröffentlichen. **Hetper**, **Chwistek** u[nd] a[ndere] gestorben. (Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947)

Mostowski – Scholz, 05.02.1947

Der Zustand der polnischen Logik ist, wie Sie wahrscheinlich wissen, sehr beklagenswert. Es genügt zu sagen, dass es viel leichter ist, die Namen der Logiker aufzuzählen, die noch in Polen wirken, als die Verluste anzugeben. Herr **Ajdukiewicz** ist in Poznań, Herr **Zawirski** in Kraków, Herr **Jaśkowski** in Toruń, Herr **Słupecki** in Lublin und ich selbst in Warschau. Und das sind wir alle.

Reorganization of a scientific environment, didactic activities, duties, scientific trips

Scholz

- **Winter semester 1946/1947:**

A four-hour-long lecture on logic calculation [*Logik-Kalkül*] for a group consisted of more than 100 mathematicians/students. (Scholz – Bocheński, 27.01.1947)

Classes in topology,

a two-hour-long lecture on Kant and the contemporary situation in research on the foundations of mathematics and physics. (Scholz – Bocheński, 20.10.1947)

- **Summer semester 1946/1947:**

for the first time Scholz taught mathematical logic, part II and presented: Theory of Description's Axiomatisation, Theory of Identity, Boole's Algebra, elementary descriptions-free [*Kennzeichnungsfreier*] part of the theory of relations. (Scholz – Bocheński, 06.08.1947)

- **Winter semester 1947/1948:**

Scholz's lecture: The concept of order in Mathematics. (Scholz – Bocheński, 20.10.1947)

Bocheński

- Bocheński taught mathematical logic and thought of some history of logic's PhD students. (Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947)
- Bocheński was a professor of contemporary philosophy, which was a position he would never have accepted in normal times. He lectured on existential philosophy because it was of great interest to many students. However, he himself did not have a good opinion of this philosophy. (Bocheński – Scholz, 13.08.1947)
- Scholz also lacked love for existential philosophy, which he called kitsch, and considered dealing with it a waste of time for Bocheński. (Scholz – Bocheński, 20.10.1947)
- Bocheński believed that there was a crisis in European culture and was glad to find ten students interested in logic. (Bocheński – Scholz, 13.08.1947)

Other activities

- Bocheński informed Scholz about his plans to visit **Paris** in a lost letter. (Bocheński - Scholz, written between 01.03.1952 and 09.08.1952)
Scholz also wanted to be there and meet old friends, however, his health was not good enough. (Scholz – Bocheński, 9.08.1952)
- The head of the institute is no longer Scholz but Professor Hans Hermes. (Scholz - Bocheński, 10.03.1954)

Current research topics, prospects for post-war publications and future publishing plans

Topics investigated and discussed in Scholz's school

- **Scholz – Bocheński, 29.01.1947:**

New formalisation of theory of descriptions' calculation [*Kennzeichnungskalküls*];

Constitution [*Konstituierung*] and theory of the semantic inference concepts for the predicate calculus of the first level.

- **Scholz – Bocheński, 06.08.1947:** Omega incompleteness models.

- **Scholz – Bocheński, 14.04.1949:**

Theory of definable sets, based on Mostowski's paper;

Translation of Mostowski's "Logika matematyczna", the most important was the proof of Gödel's completeness and incompleteness theorems;

Quine's semiotic proof of the incompleteness theorem based on his last paper;

Hilbert-Bernays unsolved problem;

Słupecki's papers on the axiomatization of Aristotelian logic;

Tarski's new, long-awaited work on the decision problem.

Scholz's activities:

- **Scholz – Bocheński, 08.05.1951:** Preparing a journal “**Archiv für mathematische Logik und Grundlagenforschung**“. The first issue appeared in 1951.
- **Scholz – Bocheński, 16.03.1953:** evaluation of a new book, J. Zürcher: *Aristoteles' Werk und Geist*, Paderborn, Schöningh, 1952 where *Corpus Aristotelicum* is presented as a result of Theophrastus' radical reorganization of the Aristotelian estate.

Topics investigated by Bocheński

Bocheński: “Ich bringe ja in diese Jahre [1947] nicht weniger als fünf Bände heraus“

- ***Petri Hispani Summulae logicales quas e codice manu scripto Reg. Lat. 1205.*** Ed. I.M. BOCHEŃSKI. Torino, Domus Editorialis Marietti, 1947, where Scholz is mentioned (Bocheński – Scholz, 13.08.1947).
- New edition of Theophrastus. *La Logique de Théophraste*. Fribourg, Librairie de L'Université de Fribourg, 1947.
- ***Précis de logique mathématique.*** Amsterdam, Bossu, 1949. Published with prof. Bath's help.
- ***Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium d. Philosophie.*** Hrgs. J.M.B. I. Bern, 1948.
- ***Europäische Philosophie der Gegenwart.*** Bern 1947, pp. 350, originally written by the author in French and then translated into German.
(Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947)

In addition:

- Bocheński's investigations into history of modal logic is mentioned in Scholz's *Philosophie des Auslandes*. „Philosophisches Jahrbuch” 1946, vol. 56, p. 110. Scholz encouraged Bocheński to continue his work on it and publish in German or English rather than in French. It could have been discussed between Scholz's associates (Scholz – Bocheński, 20.08.1946)
- Bocheński asked Scholz whether he would like to write a part **on Leibniz or on German philosophers** for *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium d. Philosophie*. Alternatively, Scholz could find an author to realize this task. There was only one condition laid down by Bocheński: it had to be a good specialist in the given area, who can write on the topic objectively. (Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947)
- Bocheński was chairman of Kommission der Schweizerische Philosophische Gesellschaft für die Ausgabe von Klassischen Texten. (Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947).
- Bocheński wrote on Polish collection of philosophical-religions papers and published it in London: *La philosophie. Ex Pologne 1919 -39*. (Scholz – Bocheński, 11.02.1947)
- Bocheński's editorial works on logical papers in the journal „Methodos” (1949-1951), in a section dedicated to logic. (Scholz – Bocheński, 30.08.1951)
- Scholz congratulated Bocheński on: 1. transparent work on existentialism; 2. publishing success: worldwide sales of 50,000 copies of a book whose "translation into German was exemplary." (Scholz – Bocheński, 08.09.1951) Maybe they thought about BOCHEŃSKI J.M.: *Europäische Philosophie der Gegenwart*.

Theophrastus' story

- Bocheński sent the manuscript of his work on Theophrastus logic to Scholz to keep it safe during **the war**. Being in London Bocheński read about Münster bombing by the Allies and this copy was in fact lost during the war. However, another manuscript, on which the post-war edition was based, survived in Rome. (Bocheński, *Memoirs*, pp. 126-127)
- Bocheński wrote about preparing the **new edition of Theophrastus**. He wanted to add there “Vorgeschichte des Buches”, in which Scholz was mentioned. Bocheński treated it as a kind of word of thanks to Scholz for the help during the war, which was especially important to Scholz after the war because he was a German (Bocheński an Scholz 11.02.1947; 13.08.1947.)
- BOCHEŃSKI J.M.: *La Logique de Théophraste*. Fribourg, Librairie de L'Université de Fribourg, 1947.
- Scholz wrote its review: SCHOLZ H.: [Rez.] *I.M. Bocheński, La Logique de Théophraste, 1939*. „Zeitschrift für Mathematik und ihre Grenzgebiete” 1940, Bd. 22.
- Bocheński is the best expert in Theophrastus' logic (Scholz – Bocheński, 16.03.1953)

Exchange of information about Jan Łukasiewicz,
Bolesław Sobociński and Joachim Metallmann.

Jan Łukasiewicz

- Łukasiewicz is mentioned in almost every letter: five times by his whole name, only by capital letter L., *mein Freund in Dublin*, *Herr L.*, *Unser gemeinsamer guter Freund in Dublin*, *mein guter Jan*.
- Scholz and Łukasiewicz were both Platonics and great logicians of their time (Bocheński, *Zur modernen Deutung der Aristotelischen Logik*).
- Bocheński wrote also:

*[...] a similar union of love for rigour and beauty was not quite new with Łukasiewicz. It was already present in some Neo-Platonic thinkers, like Alexander of Alexandria. Łukasiewicz shared that attitude with another important logician of my time, Heinrich Scholz; this explains the friendship that existed between them (Bocheński: *Morals of Thought and Speech. Reminiscences*. In: *Philosophical Logic in Poland*. Ed. J. Woleński. Springer 1994, p. 4.)*

Scholz wrote about his letter to Łukasiewicz and complained about Łukasiewicz's lack of reply:

I habe bis jetzt keine Antwort von ihm. Ich verstehe nicht, warum ich bis jetzt überhaupt kein Zeichen von ihm erhalten habe. Ich fürchte, dass irgend etwas ihm zugestossen ist. (Scholz – Bocheński, 20.08.1946)

- Scholz informed that Łukasiewicz had finally written to him. Scholz wanted Łukasiewicz to move to Münster, where he would be very welcome. He believed that Łukasiewicz had no chance of being employed in the USA. (Scholz – Bocheński, 29.01.1947)
- In August the same year Scholz complained that in 1947 Łukasiewicz had not written to him and Scholz thought that “es ihn nicht sehr gut geht”. Scholz wondered again whether Łukasiewicz should, however, move to Münster. (Scholz – Bocheński, 06.08.1947)
- Bocheński replied quickly and let Scholz know that he regularly received cards from Łukasiewicz - one card every nine months. Bocheński apologized to Łukasiewicz for not writing as often as Scholz expected. (Bocheński – Scholz, 13.08.1947)
- Scholz remembered about Łukasiewicz’s 70th birthday and sent him a postcard. Łukasiewicz replied very quickly this time. (Scholz – Bocheński, 14.04.1949)
- More than two years later Scholz complained again that he had had no message from “their friend in Dublin” and asked Bocheński to let him know what was going on there. (Scholz_Bocheński, 30.08.1951)
- In the last of the found letters Scholz informed Bocheński that Łukasiewicz had finally decided to move to Münster. However, at that time, Scholz had to say that he was sorry but it was no longer possible. Scholz also mentioned that Łukasiewicz was accused of acting against Jews during the war. (Scholz – Bocheński, 10.03.1954)

Bolesław Sobociński (1906 – 1980)

- 29.01.1947, Scholz – Bocheński: Sobociński survived the war, he was in Brussels but Scholz did not know his address and asked Bocheński for it.
- 11.02.1947, Bocheński – Scholz: Sobociński's address: 57, rue Faider, Bruxelles (57 Faider Street, Brussels); he „sucht Möglichkeiten seine Arbeiten in „europäischen“ Sprachen zu veröffentlichen“.
- 06.08.1947, Scholz – Bocheński: Scholz sent him three letters and received no answer.
- 30.08.1951, Scholz – Bocheński: Bocheński recommended a piece of Sobociński's beautiful work for the mathematische „Zentralblatt“.

Joachim Metallmann (1889-1942, Buchenwald)

Vielleicht können Sie mir auch etwas zu dem Schicksal von Frau Metal[l]mann sagen. Ich habe mit ihr korrespondiert, so lange es überhaupt möglich war. Ich habe mich lange vergeblich bemüht, ihren Man aus Buchenwald zu retten. Es geht mir immer noch nach.

(Scholz -Bocheński, 06.08.1947)

Other persons mentioned in the correspondence:

- **Dr. Lorenzen** from Bonn visited and lectured on „a new, significantly simplified CF-proof for elementary number theory on the basis of lattice theory" [*einen neuen wesentlich vereinfachten WF-Beweis (Widerspruchsfreiheitsbeweis - GB) für die elementare Zahlentheorie auf Verbandstheoretischer Grundlagen*]. (Scholz – Bocheński, 29.01.1947)
- **Bernays** planned a 14-day-long visit. Scholz added: “Wir freuen uns sehr“. (Scholz – Bocheński, 06.08.1947)
- In the next letter he reported that this visit took place, **Bernays** delivered all lectures during 14 days in September. (Scholz – Bocheński, 20.10.1947)
- Also: prof. [K.] Beth, prof. Dürr, [R.] Feys, prof. o. Gigon, prof. [E.] Gilson, Greenwood, dr. Hasenjaeger, prof. [Hans] Hermes, Werner Jaeger, prof. Jaspers, Jolivert, Marcel, G. Maritain, Räber, Philippe, Max Pohlenz, Quine, Sciacca, dr Schröter, Wyser, **a Franciscan who learned Polish to translate Jan Salamucha's work on Ockham.**

Personal matters

- Bocheński wanted to sent Scholz a package, but to do so Bocheński needed money, 50 pounds, which he hadn't got back from Grocholski living in London. Grocholski did not respond to Bocheński's letters, Scholz wrote to him as well. (Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947; 13.08.1947)
- Scholz asked Bocheński for help in completing library collections, in particular the missing magazine issues (Scholz – Bocheński, 09.08.1952)
- Post-war evaluation of Scholz's attitude during the war (Bocheński – Scholz, 11.02.1947; Scholz – Bocheński, 20.10.1947).
- Invitation to visit Münster in August or September 1954 (Scholz – Bocheński, 10.03.1954).
- Scholz suffered from stomach problems all his life, in some letters he mentioned morphine. Bocheński developed pneumonia. (Bocheński – Scholz, 13.08.1947)
- Judging by the headlines of their letters, their intimacy increased from 14.09.1949.

J. Bocheński: *Ueber die Bedeutung der mathematischen Logik fuer die Philosophie und ihre Geschichte*, date 08.07.1951.

- The archive in Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster includes this paper.
- In fact this text may be either a copy of Bocheński's work or Scholz's (or his associates) notes on Bocheński's work with the title of this text given by Scholz. I have not found this title in Bocheński's published works from that period.
- The copy was rather not typed by Bocheński because his other letters are full of crossings out and corrections.

Conclusions and questions:

- There are many documents from the 1930s to 1950s that testify to the cooperation of the Münster's academic community interested in mathematical logic with the Polish logicians: Ajdukiewicz, Czeżowski, Łukasiewicz, Mostowski, Słupecki, Sobociński, Tarski and Wajsberg.
- The Scholz - Bocheński correspondence provides evidence of growing friendship and scientific cooperation.
- Bocheński's correspondence with Scholz mainly concerns the organization of university life and publishing plans. Private threads are related to health or common friends. For comparison, another scientific correspondence, by Gottlob Frege, concerns mainly discussions on specific logical problems or in the field of the philosophy of language.

Until now I have not found answers to the following questions:

1. Are there any documents that testify to Scholz's cooperation with Polish logicians in Polish archives?
2. Was the contact between Polish logicians and the community in Münster broken off after Scholz's death in December 1956?
3. How well did Scholz know Polish? Just enough to read texts on logic?
4. Do you know following people mentioned in the correspondence:
 - „a colleague from Kraków, professor **Kowalski**”? Maybe Tadeusz Jan Kowalski, Polish orientalist?
 - **Hepter** who „died during the war”;
 - a **Franciscan** who learned Polish to translate Jan Salamucha's work on Ockham.

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Thank you very much for your attention.
If you have any questions, I will be happy
to answer them.