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## 14. LEIBNIZ AND RUSSELL

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### *The number of all numbers and the set of all sets\**

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

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In *My Philosophical Development* Bertrand Russell wrote:

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There is one major division in my philosophical work: in the years 1899–1900 I adapted the philosophy of logical atomism and the technique of Peano in mathematical logic. This was so great a revolution as to make my previous work, except such as was purely mathematical, irrelevant to anything that I did later. The change in these years was a revolution; subsequent changes have been of a nature of evolution. (Russell 1959: 11)

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It is well known that, precisely during these years, Russell was intensively occupied in lecturing and writing a book on Leibniz. It is less well known to what extent and in what ways Leibniz's work influenced Russell. It is fairly clear, nonetheless, that his engagement with Leibniz's philosophy significantly influenced Russell – both in positive and negative ways. For example, Russell noted that it was through his study of Leibniz that he realized the importance of relations. The logic of relations is one of Russell's most significant contributions to logic and philosophy in general, and, it goes without saying, to that of the English-speaking world in particular. Incidentally, "The Logic of Relations" was Russell's early title for what was later titled *Principia Mathematica* (1903).

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It is also largely due to Russell's pioneering role that philosophy in the English-speaking world has become mathematical or, as we have come call it, analytical.<sup>1</sup> Although Leibniz might have been a source of inspiration for the establishment of a mathematically oriented philosophy,<sup>2</sup> Leibniz was the "other" with respect to Russell's logic of relations. With regard to Russell's (and Frege's) fundamental innovative logic, namely that all predicates are types of relations, some being monadic and some being polyadic, Leibniz was the adversary.<sup>3</sup> At the time that Russell was producing his book on Leibniz he set himself two major objectives: (1) to reduce mathematics to logic and (2) to replace the traditional subject-predicate logic with his own logic of relations (that is, to analyze predication by using propositional functions). There is little doubt that it was in light of these objectives that Russell wrote:

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I found what so many books on Leibniz failed to make clear – that his metaphysic was explicitly based upon the doctrine that every proposition attributes a predicate to a subject and (what

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01 seemed to him almost the same thing) that every fact consists of a substance having a property.  
 02 I found that this same doctrine underlies the systems of Spinoza, Hegel, and Bradley [...].  
 03 (Russell 1959: 61)

04 A substantial portion of Leibniz's scholarship in the twentieth century was devoted  
 05 to grappling with this claim – showing that, however insightful and interesting it  
 06 may be, it is strongly overstated, if not entirely misguided. What led Russell to this  
 07 view of Leibniz's system wasn't just his attempt to reduce all notions to logical  
 08 ones (his logicism) but also the role Leibniz played in his philosophical agenda  
 09 of refuting the traditional subject-predicate Logic. Russell argued that Leibniz's  
 10 commitment to the subject-predicate logic, on the one hand, and his use of relations,  
 11 on the other, rendered his system incoherent.<sup>4</sup> In this way, Leibniz's work provided  
 12 Russell with a formulation of the doctrine he was trying to refute and to produce  
 13 an alternative for. Although Russell's agenda led him to serious misinterpretations  
 14 of Leibniz (which are familiar by now), Russell and Frege's Logic of relations has  
 15 known a great success, so much so that it has become the common language of  
 16 contemporary philosophers and logicians.<sup>5</sup>

17 As far as the logic of relations is concerned, Leibniz played the role of the  
 18 "other" – an illustration why an altogether different approach to relations is needed.  
 19 In this respect, Russell's agenda was a very successful one. Curiously enough, it  
 20 seems that Leibniz played quite a different role in the development of Russell's  
 21 agenda and, consequently, in the development of logic, mathematics and philosophy  
 22 in the English-speaking world.  
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## 25 2. THE NUMBER OF ALL NUMBERS AND THE CLASS 26 OF ALL CLASSES

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 28 It is well known that Russell's logicist programme (presented in *Principles of*  
 29 *Mathematics*, 1903) to reduce all mathematical notions to logical ones was unsettled  
 30 by a paradox. Frege showed how to define numbers by means of classes. Russell  
 31 noticed that this gives rise to the notion of the class of all classes. He then asked  
 32 whether this class is a member in the class of all classes (or in it self). As it  
 33 turns out, both options, viz., that it is a member of itself or not, are impossible.  
 34 Hence, the definition of numbers in terms of classes seems to generate a paradox.  
 35 Russell himself did not at first see the devastating effect of the paradox he had  
 36 discovered. This was conveyed to him in a letter from Frege who wrote: "not only  
 37 the foundations of my arithmetic, but the sole possible foundations of arithmetic,  
 38 seem to vanish."<sup>6</sup> As Lavine remarks, this is how Russell's "conundrums" became  
 39 Russell's Paradox and changed the course of his agenda.

40 Whether the paradox constitutes a problem for Cantor's set theory or for set  
 41 theory in general is a controversial matter (see especially Lavine 1994). What  
 42 is clear beyond any controversy is that the paradox had enormous influence on  
 43 Russell's philosophy, on the development of set theory, on logic and on the  
 44 project of providing a foundation for mathematics and for knowledge through logic.

01 I will therefore assume that the impact of Russell's paradox on Anglo American  
02 philosophy requires no further argument.

03 Let us first take note of some reference points in the chronology of Russell's  
04 discovery of the paradox:<sup>7</sup>

- 05 • In 1895 Cantor discovered that the assumption that the system of all numbers  
06 is a set leads to contradictions. He called such a set an inconsistent absolutely  
07 infinite multiplicity.<sup>8</sup>
- 08 • In 1896, Russell learned about Cantor's work.<sup>9</sup>
- 09 • During 1899–1900 Russell was writing his book on Leibniz and translating  
10 passages from the Latin into English for the appendix to his book.<sup>10</sup>
- 11 • By early March 1900, Russell completed his *Critical Exposition of the Philosophy*  
12 *of Leibniz* (RCP liii).
- 13 • In May 1901, Russell discovered a paradox but, as Lavine remarks, “he did not  
14 discuss at the time the class of all classes that are not members of themselves,  
15 but only the class of all predicates that cannot be predicated of themselves. The  
16 class version (‘There is no class of all classes that do not belong to themselves  
17 as members’) appears only a year later in his letter to Frege” (Lavine 1994: 60–1  
18 note 21).
- 19 • In June 1902, Russell wrote to Frege and Peano about the paradox.
- 20 • While Frege was devastated by Russell's Paradox, Russell set out to develop his  
21 theory of Types in an attempt to avoid the paradox.

22 Long before he first formulated “Russell's paradox” in May 1901, in 1899 and  
23 1900, Russell was preoccupied with what he variously called “the contradiction of  
24 infinity” or “the antinomy of the greatest number.” For example, in a draft of the  
25 *Principles of Mathematics* (of 1899–1900) he wrote:

26 Mathematical ideas are almost all infected with one great contradiction. This is the contradiction of  
27 infinity. All antinomies, I believe, so far as they are valid at all, will be found reducible to the antinomy  
28 of infinite number. (RCP vol. III, Paper #1, 70 and 11)

30 As G. H. Moore notes in his introduction to *The Collected Papers of Bertrand*  
31 *Russell*, “In 1899, in ‘Fundamental Ideas’, he [Russell] had been very concerned  
32 with the antinomy of infinite number. He wrote that the totality for ‘classes seems  
33 necessary; but if we make it so, infinite number with its contradictions becomes  
34 inevitable, being the number of concepts or of numbers” (Russell 1899b: 266).<sup>11</sup>

35 In the same chapter Russell spells out the antinomy as follows: “there are many  
36 numbers, therefore there is a number of numbers. If this be  $N$ ,  $N + 1$  is also a  
37 number, therefore there is no number of numbers” (Russell 1899b 265 and xxi).<sup>12</sup>

38 This reasoning gives rise to Russell's summary of the Antinomy of Infinite Number  
39 (in *Fundamental Ideas*, Chapter VII), as follows: “This [the Antinomy] arises most  
40 simply from applying the idea of a totality to numbers. There is, and is not, a  
41 number of numbers” (Russell 1899b: 267/RCP xx).

42 The formulations in terms of the number of all numbers will ring familiar to  
43 Leibniz's readers (and especially to readers of his early texts). Leibniz explicitly  
44 and quite frequently stated that “The number of all numbers is a contradiction”

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01 (e.g. A VI iii, 463/P 7). We already noted that Russell was studying and trans-  
 02 lating Leibniz's texts intensively at the time. In his book on Leibniz, Russell  
 03 cites him as saying that the number of all numbers implies a contradiction<sup>13</sup> and  
 04 adds: "Leibniz denied infinite *number*, and supported his denial with very sound  
 05 arguments."<sup>14</sup>

06 As Russell notes, Leibniz not only stated that the number of all numbers is a  
 07 contradiction but also explained it in some detail. Although his arguments are not  
 08 perspicuous, they are worth quoting. For example, in his Paris notes, he wrote:

09 The number of finite numbers cannot be infinite; from which it follows that there cannot be an infinity  
 10 of square numbers, taken in order starting from one. From which it seems to follow that an infinite  
 11 number is impossible. It seems that one only has to prove that the number of finite numbers cannot  
 12 be infinite. If the numbers are assumed to exceed each other continuously by one, the number of such  
 13 finite numbers cannot be infinite, for in that case the number of numbers is equal to the greatest number,  
 14 which is assumed to be finite. It has to be replied that there is no greatest number. But even if they  
 15 were to increase in some way other than by ones, yet if they always increase by finite differences, it is  
 16 necessary that the number of all numbers always has a finite ratio to the last number; further, the last  
 17 number will always be greater than the number of all numbers. From which it follows that the number  
 18 of all numbers is not infinite; neither, therefore, is the number of units. Therefore there is no infinite  
 number, or, such a number is not possible. (A VI iii, 477/ P 31–3)<sup>15</sup>

19 In alluding to Galileo's paradox (that there are as many natural numbers as square  
 20 numbers), Leibniz is explicitly arguing here that the number of all finite numbers  
 21 cannot be a number since it cannot be either finite or infinite. Therefore, he  
 22 concludes that such a notion is contradictory or impossible.

23 Given the obvious similarity between the number of all numbers and the class of  
 24 all classes, it is interesting to consider the relation between Leibniz's formulations  
 25 of the impossibility of the number of all numbers and Russell's paradox. It is  
 26 significant in this regard that Russell has three different formulations of the paradox.  
 27 As we have seen, he first formulated the paradox (or antinomy) in terms of numbers.  
 28 He then formulated it in terms of predicates, namely, "the predicate of a predicate  
 29 being impredicable of itself" (in RCP xxxvii); and finally in the now familiar terms  
 30 of classes (the class of all classes that do not belong to themselves). The first  
 31 formulation in terms of numbers sounds very Leibnizian. The second, in terms of  
 32 predicates, also has interesting relations to Leibniz.

33 If one recalls Leibniz's use of the *in-esse* principle, that is, the inclusion of a  
 34 predicate in a subject, a principle which Russell placed at the center of Leibniz's  
 35 philosophy, and if one interprets the notion of a number of all numbers in these  
 36 terms, i.e., a number, seen as a subject term including all numbers as its proper  
 37 predicates, it becomes clear that such a number has to include itself as a predicate.  
 38 If this number be  $N$ , then it is clear that it does not include  $N + 1$  as a predicate.  
 39 But, if so, it is not the number of all numbers for there is a number that it does not  
 40 include.

41 The third formulation in terms of classes, with the precise definitions of classes  
 42 and of the membership-relation is altogether foreign to the seventeenth century  
 43 context. These notions were spelled out rigorously by Cantor. The concepts intro-  
 44 duced in Cantor's set theory clearly stand between Leibniz notion of the greatest

01 number and Russell's Paradox. Furthermore, this formulation utilizes classes in an  
 02 extensional sense (which was foreign to Leibniz). It seems reasonable to suppose  
 03 that Russell's paraphrase of the paradox in extensional terms (i.e., in terms of  
 04 classes) is related to his attempt to engage Frege in the problem (as testified by his  
 05 letter to him). Russell's initial formulation in terms of predicates does not make  
 06 sense in the context of Frege's system. In order to engage Frege, he had to formulate  
 07 the problem in extensional terms.<sup>16</sup>

08 Yet it seems that the intuition, as well as the basic logical structure of the  
 09 paradox, can be read into Leibniz's formulations, that is, *if* they are interpreted with  
 10 Cantorian concepts in mind. It is therefore arguable that Russell's paradox could  
 11 be generated by applying Cantor's set theory to Leibniz's notion of the number of  
 12 all numbers. This is the exercise I propose to engage in.

13 Let me be very clear on this point. I do not suggest that Russell's paradox was  
 14 invented by Leibniz. Such a claim is not only false but is a significant distortion  
 15 in the sense that it ignores the subtle historical context in which both Leibniz and  
 16 Russell's formulations arise. Yet the syntactical similarity between the number of  
 17 all numbers and the class of all classes is striking and suggestive. It is an interesting  
 18 exercise, therefore, to bring out points of similarity as well as points of difference  
 19 between Leibniz's claim that the number of all numbers is a contradiction and  
 20 Russell's paradox.

21 A particularly interesting question in this regard is whether the self-reflexivity  
 22 of Russell's formulation, (viz. the class of all classes which is not a member of  
 23 itself) is already implicit in Leibniz's formulations. From a current perspective, it  
 24 seems that Leibniz's observation that the notion of the number of all numbers is  
 25 inconsistent anticipates some of the dramatic consequences and discoveries about  
 26 number, infinity, and some well-known paradoxes. For example, Leibniz's argument  
 27 that "there is no infinite number" or that "the number of all numbers is not a  
 28 number" anticipates Cantor's treatment of infinite cardinality as powers rather than  
 29 as numbers in the traditional sense. More generally, Leibniz's argument points to  
 30 the insight that infinite magnitudes cannot be quantified by numbers or cannot be  
 31 expressed by numbers. One can see Cantor's development of infinite cardinality  
 32 as closely related to Leibniz's arguments that the number of all numbers is not a  
 33 number.

34 One can also see in Leibniz's argument an anticipation of Wittgenstein's remark  
 35 that Russell's paradox (as well as other confusions regarding the infinite) stem from  
 36 a problematic extension of the notion of number from the context of finite numbers  
 37 to that of infinite numbers.<sup>17</sup>

38 Leibniz's argument against the number of all numbers does seem to employ,  
 39 though not explicitly, the self-referential aspect of this notion. As is well known,  
 40 self-reference is endemic to some well-known paradoxes. We have seen that, in  
 41 Russell's formulation, "the class of all classes which is not a member of itself",  
 42 self-reference is essential to the paradox. Self-reference is most explicit in the liar  
 43 paradox in its various formulations (e.g. "this sentence is false" or "what I am  
 44 now saying is false"). It is also worth observing that Gödel incompleteness proof

01 also employs self-referential claims. In fact, it is arguable that Gödel's proof is  
 02 a very sophisticated mathematical recast of the liar paradox. In any event, it is  
 03 clear that self-reference plays an important role not only in Russell's paradox but  
 04 also in other important paradoxes and theorems.

05 Intuitively, it seems that the notion of "the number of all numbers" is self-  
 06 referential. The syntactical form of the phrase strongly supports this intuition.  
 07 Further, the semantics also speaks in favor of this intuition. After all, the subject  
 08 of the phrase is a number, which numbers (or quantifies over) all numbers. Let us  
 09 call this number  $N$ . Since (by hypothesis)  $N$  is a number, the phrase "the number of  
 10 all numbers" must also apply to itself. In this sense, the phrase "the number of all  
 11 numbers" is clearly self-referential. Likewise the phrase "the class of all classes"  
 12 refers to itself in the sense that it includes itself. Thus Russell's formulation seems  
 13 to make explicit what was implicit in Leibniz's formulation.

14 As I have already noted, Russell's antinomy of infinite number became a paradox  
 15 in the context of the Frege-Russell programme. The goal of Russell's logicist  
 16 programme was to define all concepts in logical terms. The definition of numbers  
 17 was as difficult as it was crucial to the success of this programme. To define number  
 18 in logical terms, Russell used classes as the logical objects and membership as the  
 19 logical relation (Russell 1903: 166–7). As Lavine put it, "for Russell, a number  
 20 was a class of all systems equinumerous to any member of the class. For example,  
 21 on Russell's account, the number 2 is the class of all pairs" (Lavine 1994: 66).<sup>18</sup>  
 22 When numbers were recast as classes, Russell's "antinomy of infinite number"  
 23 became a severe problem for this programme. We have already noted that Russell  
 24 articulated the problem in the form of the following contradiction: "there is and  
 25 is not a greatest number". Once numbers are defined in terms of classes and the  
 26 membership relation in a class, so that one can think of the number 2 as including  
 27 the class of all pairs and the class of all units, it becomes natural to recast the notion  
 28 of the number of all numbers as the class of all classes. Since the number of all  
 29 numbers is to "number" all numbers, and, since it is itself a number, it also has to  
 30 number or include itself or, in short, it has to refer to itself. In terms of classes, this  
 31 notion is naturally rendered as a class of all classes that includes itself as a member.  
 32 In this way, it is fairly easy to see how the self-reflexive character implicit in 'the  
 33 number of all numbers' becomes explicit in Russell and Frege's attempt to define  
 34 all numbers in terms of classes and membership in a class. By rendering Russell's  
 35 formulation "there is and is not a number of all numbers" in terms of classes we  
 36 would get the more straightforward paradoxical formulation: "there is and there is  
 37 no class of all classes that do not belong to themselves."

38 Thus it seems that the definition of numbers in logical terms can naturally lead  
 39 from Leibniz's argument to Russell's paradox. This also explains why it was such  
 40 a devastating effect on the logicist programme of Russell and Frege. As we know,  
 41 Frege was indeed entirely devastated – both personally and professionally. By  
 42 contrast, Russell didn't give up the programme; rather, he set out to solve the  
 43 paradox and save the programme. The result was his theory of types. Whether  
 44 the theory of types saved the reductive programme is doubtful. In any event,

01 the theory of types pays a heavy price for elegance and simplicity. In the end,  
 02 it seems fair to conclude with Lavine that, “Russell’s logicist programme failed as  
 03 a result of the paradox” (Lavine 1994: 73).

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### 3. THE GREATEST NUMBER AND THE GREATEST BEING

07 Thus far I have stressed the striking similarity between Leibniz and Russell’s  
 08 formulations. I would now like to show that they arose in very different contexts  
 09 and play very different roles in each thinker’s agenda. Let us turn to Leibniz’s  
 10 agenda. Leibniz’s point that the number of all numbers is a contradiction makes its  
 11 appearance in the context of an altogether different programme. In 1675–76, the  
 12 period during which Leibniz develops his views about infinity (see Levey 1998),  
 13 Leibniz is also engaged, among many other projects, in distinguishing possible  
 14 and impossible notions. More precisely, in the texts from this period, Leibniz is  
 15 attempting to demonstrate that some notions are possible while others are impos-  
 16 sible. Leibniz presupposes a fairly crystallized theory of possibility. In brief, he  
 17 identifies the possible with the thinkable or the conceivable in God’s mind and  
 18 he explicates the thinkable (or the intelligible) in terms of self-consistency among  
 19 the terms of complex notions. Leibniz also presupposes a universally applicable  
 20 method to distinguish possible notions from impossible ones. Leibniz’s method  
 21 can be stated roughly as follows: if the terms which compose a given notion are  
 22 consistent *inter se*, then the notion indicates a possible thing; if the terms are incons-  
 23 sistent so that they imply a contradiction, the notion indicates an impossible thing.  
 24 The method involves the analysis of complex notions into their constituents and in  
 25 this way the determination of whether they involve internal contradictions.

26 It is very clear that Leibniz is using the notion of the number of all numbers  
 27 in this context as an illustration of an impossible notion, i.e., one whose internal  
 28 constituents imply a contradiction. For example, he states that the number of all  
 29 numbers is a contradiction and goes on to discuss the twofold origin of impossibility.  
 30 He writes: “The number of all numbers is a contradiction, i.e., there is no idea of  
 31 it; for otherwise it would follow that the whole is equal to the part, or that there are  
 32 as many numbers as there are square numbers” (A VI iii 463/ P 7). Immediately  
 33 after that he writes that, “Impossible is a two-fold concept: that which does not  
 34 have essence and that which does not have existence...” (A VI iii 463/ P 7). ‘The  
 35 number of all numbers’ is an example of the first type of impossibility.<sup>19</sup>

36 At the same time, he is also using the notion of the number of all numbers in a  
 37 more specific context, namely *in contrast* to a notion whose possibility he is very  
 38 keen to prove, namely, the notion of the greatest or the most perfect being (*Ens*  
 39 *Pefectissimum*) (A VI iii, 572/ P 91).<sup>20</sup> His objective in this context is to support  
 40 Anselm’s argument, revived by Descartes, according to which God exists since  
 41 existence is included in his notion as one of his perfections. For Anselm’s argument  
 42 to be valid, one has to show that the definition of the greatest being is possible.  
 43 As he writes, “God is a being from whose possibility (or, from whose essence) his  
 44 existence follows. If a God defined in this way is possible, it follows that he exists”

01 (A VI iii, 582/ P 105). Descartes, as well as the rest of the tradition, simply assumed  
 02 that the definition of the most perfect being is non-problematic. Leibniz points out  
 03 that this supposition requires proof. In *A Specimen of Discoveries* (c.1686), Leibniz  
 04 writes:

05 A real definition is one according to which it is established that the defined thing is possible, and does  
 06 not imply a contradiction. For if this is not established for a given thing, then no reasoning can be safely  
 07 taken about it, since if it involves a contradiction, the opposite can perhaps be concluded about the same  
 08 thing with equal right. And this was the defect in Anselm's demonstration, revived by Descartes, that  
 09 the most perfect or the greatest being must exist, since it involves existence. For it is assumed without  
 10 proof that a most perfect being does not imply a contradiction; and this gave me occasion to recognize  
 11 what the nature of real definition was. (RA 305–7)

12 While Leibniz's preoccupation with the notion of the greatest being is familiar, it has  
 13 not been recognized that Leibniz traded on the connection between the possibility  
 14 of the greatest being and the impossibility of the greatest number. I will try to show  
 15 that this connection is evident – both textually and conceptually – and that it has  
 16 very interesting implications. Leibniz defines the notion of the most perfect being  
 17 as “the subject of all perfections” (A VI iii, 580/ P 103) – “one which contains  
 18 all essence, or which has all qualities, or all affirmative attributes” and attempts to  
 19 demonstrate that this notion “is possible or (*seu*) does not imply a contradiction”  
 20 (A VI iii, 572/ P 91). It appears in these formulations that the notion of God as the  
 21 greatest being is closely related to the notion of a totality taken in a quantitative  
 22 sense; for it is defined as that which contains all essence, all perfections, all qualities  
 23 or all affirmative attributes. In short, the notion of God is defined in quantitative  
 24 terms and as the subject of *all* perfections or attributes.

25 Now we might wonder why Leibniz is anxious to show that such a notion is  
 26 possible. Why does he see it as something requiring a proof? Why should the  
 27 possibility of the greatest being – a traditionally accepted and apparently innocuous  
 28 notion – be in question at all? After all, Leibniz fully accepts the traditional view  
 29 of God as entailing all knowledge, as entailing all power, all wisdom and all Being.

30 A general answer to this question derives from what I have already mentioned,  
 31 namely that Leibniz was deeply committed to the project of distinguishing  
 32 between possible and impossible notions by analyzing complex concepts into their  
 33 constituents and examining their internal consistency. This general reply, however,  
 34 does not explain Leibniz's particular interest in proving the possibility of the notion  
 35 of the greatest being, which otherwise would seem non-problematic. This is why  
 36 a more specific reply is needed. I suggest the following: Leibniz is concerned  
 37 about the possibility of the notion of a totality and, in particular, about God as the  
 38 maximal totality because he clearly sees that similar notions, namely, the notion of  
 39 the greatest number (and that of the most rapid motion and the greatest shape) are  
 40 problematic. The syntactical similarity between the notion of the greatest number,  
 41 seen as the totality of all numbers, and that of the greatest being, seen as the totality  
 42 of all perfections, is clear. Hence it is likely to have evoked Leibniz's intellectual  
 43 concerns about the traditional notion of God.<sup>21</sup> It hardly needs mentioning that, if it  
 44 turned out the notion of the *Ens Perfectissimum* would be inconsistent, disastrous



01 consequences would follow: not only for rational theology in general but also for  
02 the very foundations of Leibniz's own metaphysics.<sup>22</sup>

03 That the relations between the notions of the greatest being and the greatest  
04 number concern Leibniz is evident. He juxtaposes and contrasts these definitions  
05 in the very same papers and notes from the Paris writings (e.g. A VI iii, 520/ P  
06 79). In this very paper Leibniz explicitly draws an analogy between the essence of  
07 God and the essence of the number 6 as being composed of six units (A VI iii,  
08 518/ P 77). He is clearly toying with the analogy between God as the subject of all  
09 perfections and number as subject of units. Direct evidence for Leibniz connecting  
10 the notions of the greatest being and the greatest number appears in a later text. He  
11 wrote explicitly that Descartes agrees to the analogy between these notions:

12 Mons. Des Cartes in his reply to the second objections, article two, agrees to the analogy between the  
13 most perfect Being and the greatest number, denying that this number implies a contradiction.<sup>23</sup> It is,  
14 however, easy to prove it. For the greatest number is the same as the number of all units. But the number  
15 of all units is the same as the number of all numbers (for any unit added to the previous ones always  
16 makes a new number). But the number of all numbers implies a contradiction, which I show thus: To  
17 any number, there is a corresponding number equal to its double. Therefore, the number of all numbers  
18 is not greater than the number of all evens, i.e., the whole is not greater than its part. (GP I, 338; cited  
19 from Russell's appendix, 244)

20 It seems reasonable to suppose that Leibniz's clarity about the impossibility of the  
21 greatest number (as well the most rapid motion and the greatest shape) plays a role  
22 in his concerns about the possibility of the greatest being – which is partly why its  
23 possibility required a proof in the first place.

24 In any event, it is clear that Leibniz is investigating these notions by comparing  
25 and contrasting them. In Leibniz's eyes, these examples provide paradigmatic cases  
26 of possible versus impossible notions. It is also clear that each of these notions is of  
27 great consequence to Leibniz's philosophy. For this reason, the relations between  
28 them are all the more interesting. Yet it is very curious that, while these concepts  
29 have a striking structural similarity and both seem to imply infinite quantity the  
30 concept of the greatest being serves Leibniz as a paradigm of a *possible* notion and  
31 the notion of the greatest number serves as a paradigm of an *impossible* notion.

32 Since these notions seem analogous, Leibniz's position is very intriguing. What  
33 makes the notion of the greatest being a paradigm of possibility and that of the  
34 greatest number a paradigm of impossibility? As we shall see, the distinction  
35 between these notions points to a deep insight in Leibniz's metaphysics. To see  
36 this, let us try to advance the analogy a bit further. As we noted, Leibniz analyzed  
37 the notion of the greatest being in quantitative terms, i.e. as "the subject of all  
38 perfections" (A VI iii, 580/ P 103), "one which contains all essence, or which  
39 has all qualities, or all affirmative attributes." In the same texts he also draws  
40 an explicit analogy between God's essence and whole numbers.<sup>24</sup> In this analogy,  
41 numbers consist of units as God's essence consists of simple forms or perfections.  
42 Since Leibniz defines whole number as consisting of units, the greatest number  
43 is seen as including all units. Since he defines God as consisting of all essence  
44 or all perfections, the greatest being is seen as the subject of all perfections. Just

01 as there are infinitely many units in the notion of infinite number, so there are  
 02 infinitely many perfections in the notion of God. In this sense, these notions seem  
 03 perfectly analogous. Therefore, it seems that they should be considered to be equally  
 04 problematic. Yet we have seen that Leibniz considers the one as a paradigm of  
 05 possibility, the other as a paradigm of impossibility. What then is the dissimilarity  
 06 Leibniz sees between these notions? What makes him consider the one notion to  
 07 be possible and the other to be impossible?

08 Let me make a conjecture. In spite of the close similarity between these notions,  
 09 there is in fact substantial difference between them. The dissimilarity stems from the  
 10 difference between beings and numbers – a distinction that cuts deep in Leibniz’s  
 11 metaphysics. We know that Leibniz does not consider numbers to be true beings.  
 12 As he writes, “Numbers, modes, and relations are not entities” (A VI iii, 463/ P 7).  
 13 A major difference between these notions might hinge on the distinction between  
 14 the concept of the greatest being and that of a greatest non-being. While numbers  
 15 are universal, non-active, and not true units, beings for Leibniz, are individual,  
 16 active units. In short, beings, for Leibniz, are agents.

17 Furthermore, the notion of God or the greatest being serves as the paradigm of  
 18 Being. It is the first being and the source of all created beings. In fact, it also serves  
 19 as the model for Leibniz’s notion of created beings – individuals that have power  
 20 and internal source of activity. Even so, the question why the notion of the greatest  
 21 being, seen as consisting of infinitely many perfections, is possible stands. Let us  
 22 not forget that Leibniz’s strategy to prove that the greatest being is possible is to  
 23 show that all positive perfections or attributes are compatible *inter se* and therefore  
 24 may be included in one subject. So, how is such a notion possible if the notion of  
 25 infinite number is not?

26 In fact, this is precisely what becomes clear when we compare the notion of God  
 27 to that of infinite number. Unlike the notion of a number, the notion of God (and,  
 28 if fact, of any true being) is not additive; it is not *composed* of infinite units or of  
 29 perfections. It is not a sum of all perfections; rather, it is initially a *subject* which  
 30 includes all perfections. In this context, the notion of a subject seems to indicate  
 31 individuality, unity and activity.<sup>25</sup> Unlike numbers, ideas and other incomplete  
 32 notions, subjects act. Subjects, for Leibniz, are agents. God, of course, is the primary  
 33 agent. This indicates that, unlike the notion of number, the notion of God is not  
 34 purely quantitative. The source of being, according to Leibniz, is intrinsic activity.  
 35 God’s intrinsic activity is also the source of its unity and perfection. In fact, the  
 36 notion of the *Ens Perfectissimum* is more accurately rendered as the highest being  
 37 or the most perfect being, which points that the highest or most perfect being need  
 38 not pertain primarily to a quantitative aspect but rather to a qualitative one.

39 This also clarifies the grounds for Leibniz distinction between true entities and  
 40 aggregates. Beings or true unities are not composed. He writes, for example, that,  
 41 “...no entity that is truly one [*ens vere unum*] is composed of parts. Every substance  
 42 is indivisible and whatever has parts is not an entity but only a phenomenon”.<sup>26</sup>  
 43 This distinction becomes all the more significant when we consider the context of  
 44 infinity. The context of infinity clarifies that the greatest number is impossible while

01 and greatest being is possible. Unlike a number, a being is not defined quantitatively  
 02 or compositionally; rather, it is defined through its basic ability to act.<sup>27</sup> Similarly,  
 03 Leibniz defines created beings (as well as their infinite concepts) by their unique  
 04 method of production or law of formation, not as a sum of their predicates.<sup>28</sup> This  
 05 is why Leibniz can accept infinite beings while rejecting infinite numbers. In this  
 06 light, it becomes rather clear why Leibniz states the following: “It is not surprising  
 07 that the number of all numbers (*numerum omnium numerorum*), all possibilities,  
 08 all relations or reflections, are not distinctly understood; for they are imaginary and  
 09 have nothing that corresponds to them in reality” (A 399/ P 115).

AQ3

## NOTES

13 <sup>1</sup> Consider his book *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* (1919) and his explicit desire to establish  
 14 a school of Mathematical Philosophy as evidence.

15 <sup>2</sup> Leibniz wrote: “Ma Metaphysique est toute mathematique, pour dire anisi, ou la pourroit devenir”  
 16 (Letter to de l’Hospital, GM II, 258, cited from Couturat 1901: 281–2).

17 <sup>3</sup> I thank Meir Buzaglo for an illuminating discussion of this point.

18 <sup>4</sup> In his *A Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz*, Russell described Leibniz as attempting  
 19 to reduce all relations and polyadic predicates to monadic ones. Since such a reduction has shown to be  
 20 formally impossible, Russell argued that Leibniz’s system fails.

21 <sup>5</sup> From a perspective of the history of philosophy in the English-speaking world (which has of  
 22 course enormous influence on the philosophical world at large) this point is evidenced by two simple  
 23 observations: (1) Logic – that is, mathematical Logic – has become an obligatory course in almost  
 24 any academic philosophical training (so that formal logic became an essential part of a philosopher’s  
 25 knowledge and one of his or her basic working tools). (2) The logic taught in the basic philosophy  
 26 courses is the logic of relations introduced by Russell and Frege.

27 <sup>6</sup> Letter to Russell, cited from Lavine 1994: 55. See p. 293 for a translation of the whole letter.

28 <sup>7</sup> This chronology is mainly based on two sources: G. H. Moore’s introduction to RCP and Lavine  
 29 1994.

30 <sup>8</sup> Lavine 1994: 56–7.

31 <sup>9</sup> In his *Autobiography* (Russell 1967–69: 200) he later wrote: “At the time I falsely supposed all his  
 32 arguments to be fallacious, but I nevertheless went through them in the minutest detail. This stood me  
 33 in a good stead when later on I discovered that all the fallacies were mine.” (See Lavine 1994: 57).

34 <sup>10</sup> Incidentally, the majority of his correspondence with Moore at the time deals with questions of  
 35 these translations. Russell also corresponds with Louis Couturat who invites him to participate in the  
 36 Paris conference, where his first encounter with Peano (mentioned above) takes place.

37 <sup>11</sup> Moore goes on to remark: “Here again, he [Russell] stood at the brink of the Paradox of the Largest  
 38 Cardinal” (RCP xxiii).

39 <sup>12</sup> Here is another one of Russell’s formulations of this point: “...there is a number after any given  
 40 number and therefore no number N that may be specified is the number of all numbers” (RCP III, 32).

41 <sup>13</sup> See Moore and Garciadiego 1981.

42 <sup>14</sup> For which he cites GP VI, 629; GP I, 338; GP II, 304–5; GP V, 144; Langley ed. 1896: 161 (Russell,  
 43 1937: 111).

44 <sup>15</sup> See also the following argument from 1672: “Or perhaps we should say, distinguishing among  
 infinites, that the most infinite, or all the numbers, is something that implies a contradiction, for it were  
 a whole it could be understood as made up of all the numbers continuing to infinity, and would be much  
 greater than all other numbers that is, greater than the greatest number” (A VI iii, 168/ RA 116).

<sup>16</sup> This point is due to Haim Gaifman.

<sup>17</sup> See Shanker 1987: 187. Wittgenstein wrote: “It seems to me that we can’t use generality – all, etc. –  
 in mathematics at all. There’s no such thing as ‘all numbers’, simply because there are infinitely many”.  
 Wittgenstein 1974: §126.

01 <sup>18</sup> Russell and Frege adopt the extensional interpretation of numbers because they attempt to reduce  
 02 all concepts (particularly, number concepts) to logical concepts. But in response to the question “What  
 03 is numbered?” they cannot refer to any non-logical objects. For this reason they use equi-numerosity  
 04 between classes as their basic notion. On this see Lavine 1994: 65–6. Lavine writes: Russell was  
 05 a logicist. He wished to show that mathematics and logic are one by showing how to develop all  
 06 of mathematics within a framework free of any special conditions or empirical and psychological  
 07 assumptions. That is a programme substantially similar to Frege’s for arithmetic and analysis. Frege  
 08 and Russell faced a common problem: mathematics is apparently about objects (numbers and so forth),  
 09 and yet the assumption that objects exist apparently goes beyond logic [...] Russell used classes as the  
 10 logical objects and membership as the logical relation (Russell 1903: 166–7).  
 11

12 <sup>19</sup> I do not discuss in this paper the other (very interesting) type of impossibility.

13 <sup>20</sup> In a letter to Conring (1677) Leibniz writes: “*At qui subtiliores sunt adversarii ajunt Ens perfectis-*  
 14 *sumum tam implicare contradictionem quam numerum maximum*” (A II i, 325).

15 <sup>21</sup> “There cannot be a most rapid motion or a greatest number. For number is something discrete,  
 16 where the whole is not prior to its parts, but conversely. There cannot be a most rapid motion, because  
 17 motion is a modification, and is the transference of a certain thing in a certain time. (Just as there cannot  
 18 be a greatest shape.) There cannot be one motion of the whole, *but there can be a kind of thinking of all*  
 19 *things*. Whenever the whole is prior to its parts, then it is a maximum, as in space and in a continuum.  
 20 If matter is like a shape, namely that which makes a modification, then it seems that there is no totality  
 21 of matter” (A VI iii, 520/ P 79, my italics).

22 <sup>22</sup> In 1678, Leibniz writes to Elizabeth: “Mais à présent, il me suffit de remarquer, que ce qui est le  
 23 fondement de ma caractéristique l’est aussi de la demonstration de l’existence de Dieu” (A II i, 437).

24 <sup>23</sup> In his second objection to Descartes’s *Meditations* Caterus argued that humans may invent or think  
 25 out the concept of the greatest being from their own resources, just as they may think the concept of the  
 26 greatest number though it is impossible.

27 <sup>24</sup> “It seems to me that the origin of things from God is of the same kind as the origin of properties  
 28 from an essence; just as  $6 = 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1$ , therefore  $6 = 3 + 3, = 3 \times 2, = 4 + 2$ , etc. [...] So just  
 29 as these properties differ from each other and from essence, so do things differ from each other and  
 30 from God” (A VI iii, 518–9/ P 77. See also A VI iii, 523/ P 83; A VI iii, 512/ P 67 for similar analogies  
 31 and A VI iii, 521/ P 81).

32 <sup>25</sup> See Fichant 1997.

33 <sup>26</sup> Cited from Brown, G. 2000: 41.

34 <sup>27</sup> This point might have interesting bearing on the debate between Richard Arthur and Gregory Brown  
 35 (in *The Leibniz Review* 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001) regarding Leibniz’s denial of infinite number and  
 36 infinite whole. The question I discuss above, what justifies Leibniz to regard the notion of an infinite  
 37 being as possible and that of an infinite number impossible is at the background of the debate between  
 38 Arthur and Brown.

39 <sup>28</sup> A very interesting corollary to this view is Leibniz’s definition of infinite series. He does not define  
 40 infinite series as a sum of numbers but as a product of its formation rule. In this connection see the  
 41 interesting discussion in Couturat 1973: 476. Couturat cites this passage from the letter to des Bosses  
 42 (of 11 March 1706): “*Neque enim negari potest, omnium numerorum possibilium naturas revera dari,*  
 43 *saltem in divina mente, adeoque numerorum multitudinem esse infinitam*” (cited from Couturat, 1973:  
 44 476).