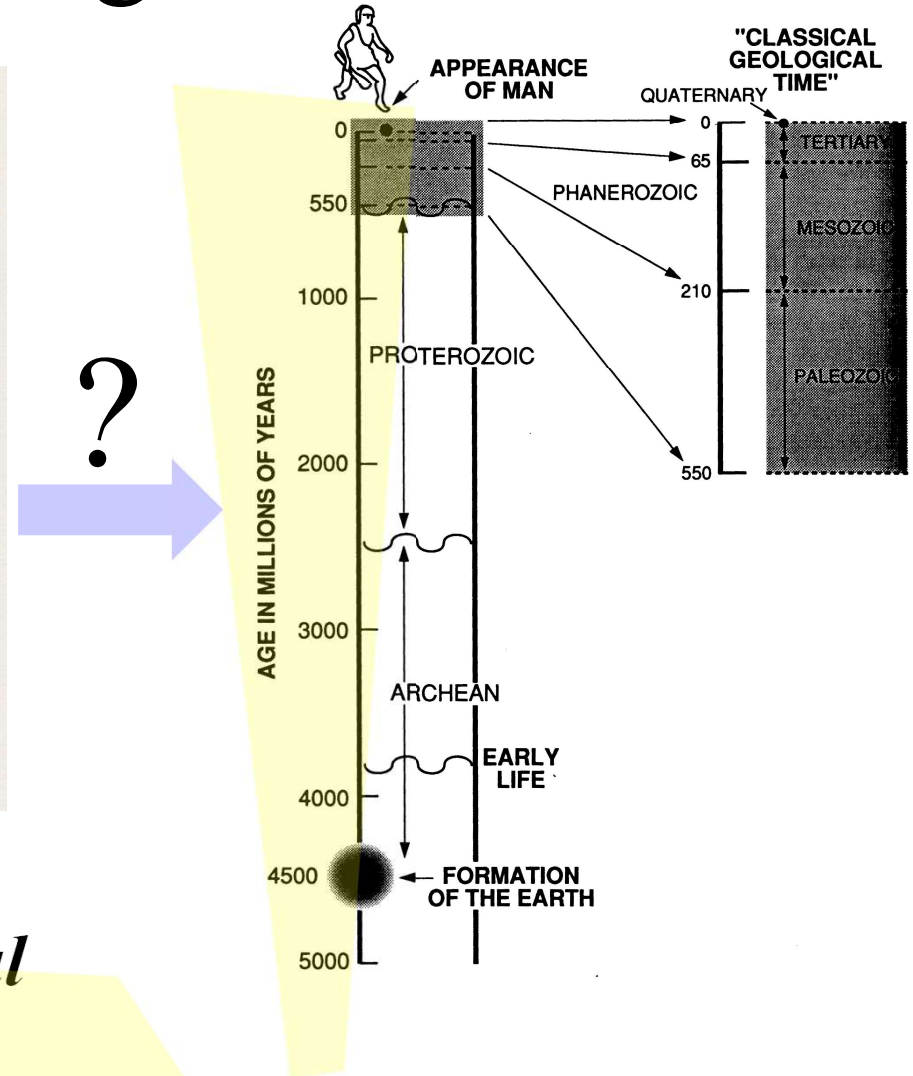
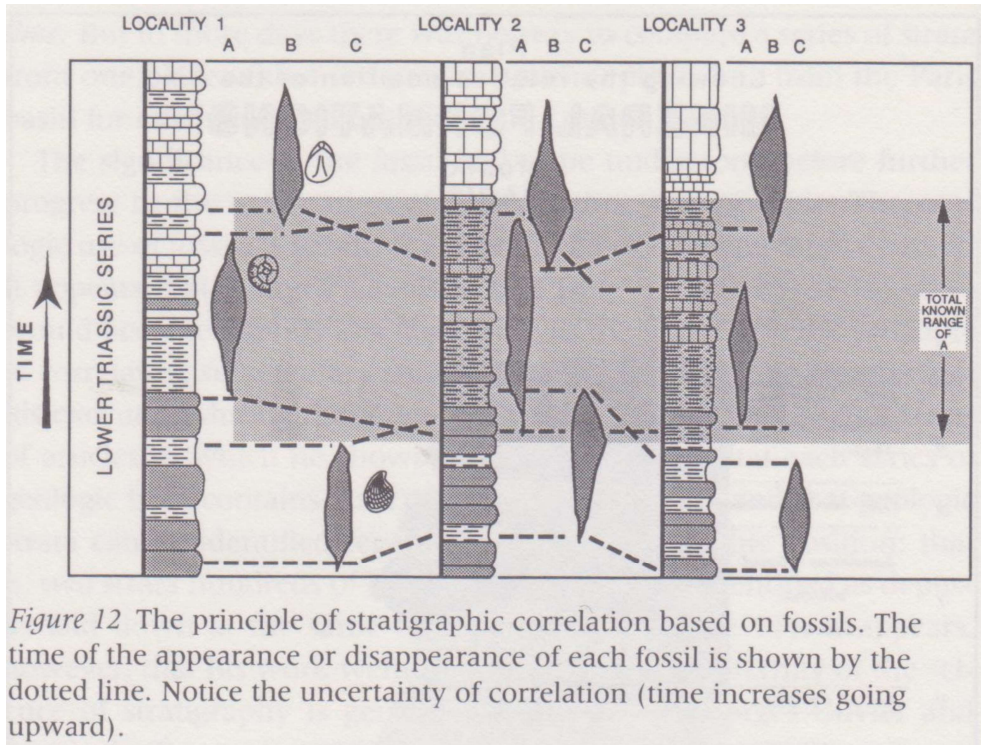


What Makes the Historical Sciences Tick? Geochronology and the Ontology of Scientific Methods

George Borg
University of Pennsylvania
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National Science Foundation



Measuring Geological Time



How was an absolute geological timescale established?

How was a timekeeper found?

Technology in the Historical Sciences

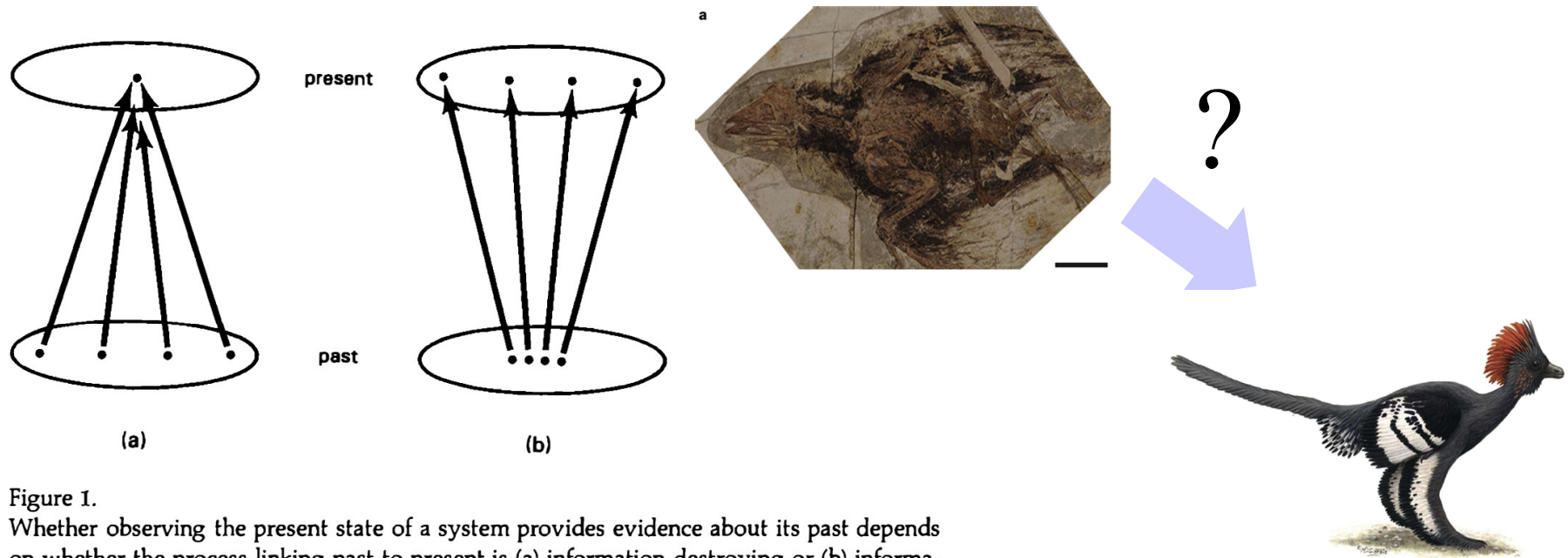


Figure 1.
Whether observing the present state of a system provides evidence about its past depends on whether the process linking past to present is (a) information destroying or (b) information preserving.

In general, the role of technological progress has been construed as one of enabling historical scientists to mitigate information destruction



Productivity in Geochronology

How do we make a concept measurable in a new domain?

Scientific techniques:

- *Spell out what the concept means in a specific research context*
- *Determine the concept's range of application*

Proposal: Radiometric techniques play this role for the concept of age in isotope geochronology

$$t = \frac{1}{\lambda} \ln \left\{ \left[\frac{D - D_0}{N} \right] + 1 \right\}$$

'Apparent age'

interpretation



Geological age

Measuring Time

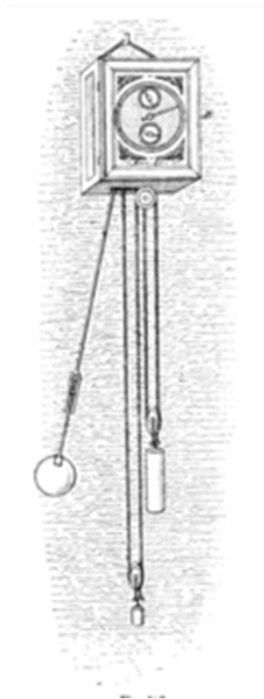
- *Continuous flow processes*

- *Oscillatory processes*

Exhibit constancy (and irreversibility)

Problem for historical scientists: 'Asymmetry of manipulability' (Turner)

Need a process that is constant, theoretically tractable, and leaves traces



19th-Early 20th c.: “Classical” Geochronometers

- *Tree-rings (O)*
- *Sediment deposits in lakes (varves) (O)*
- *Correlation of glacial and interglacial periods with astronomical cycles (O)*
- *rates of morphological evolution (C)*
- *Rock strata (O/C)*
- *Ocean salt accumulation (C)*
- *Alleged cooling of the Earth (C)*
- *Slowing of the Earth’s rotation (C)*

**Lack of constancy,
irreversibility**

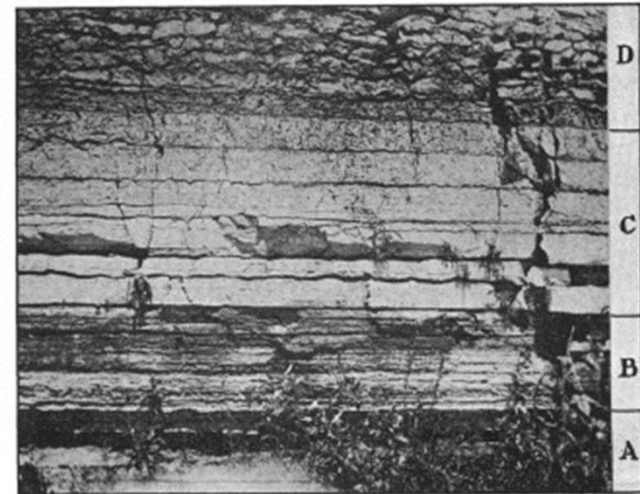


FIGURE 2.—CONTACT OF LOWVILLE AND BLACK RIVER LIMESTONES, NEWPORT, NEW YORK
Photograph by P. E. Raymond

LIMESTONE EXPOSURES IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK

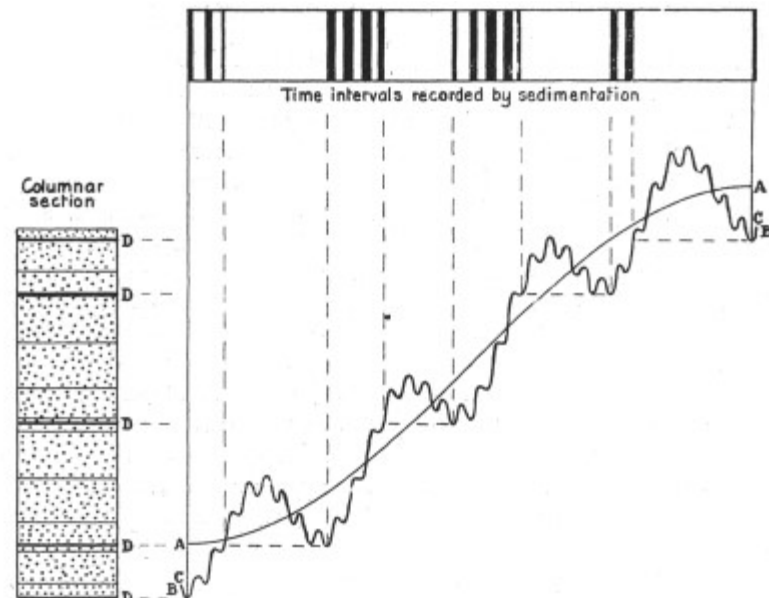
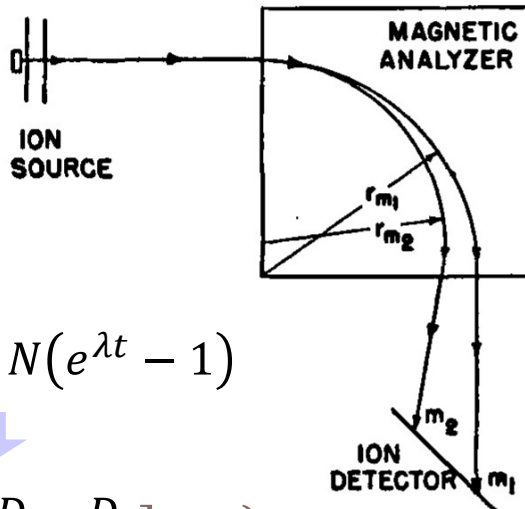


FIGURE 5.—Sedimentary Record made by harmonic Oscillations in Baselevel

A-A. Primary curve of rising baselevel.
B-B. Diastrophic oscillations, giving disconformities D-D.
C-C. Minor oscillations, exaggerated and simplified, due largely to climatic rhythms.
Equation of curve C-C: $y = \sin x - .25 \cos 8x - .05 \cos 64x$.

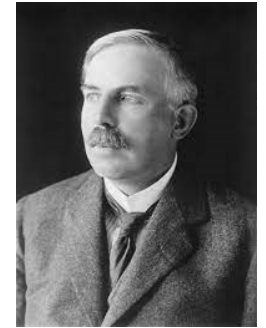
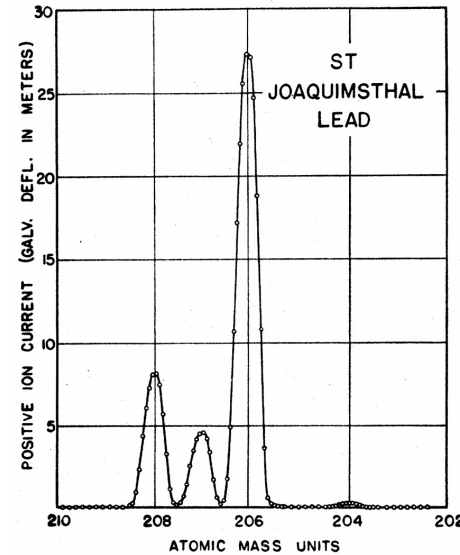
1896-mid-20th c.: Birth of Radiometric Geochronology



$$D = D_0 + N(e^{\lambda t} - 1)$$



$$t = \frac{1}{\lambda} \ln \left\{ \left[\frac{D - D_0}{N} \right] + 1 \right\}$$



Ernest Rutherford
1871-1937



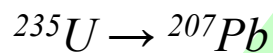
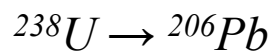
Alfred Nier
1911-1994



Arthur Holmes
1890-1965

The basic method, ca. 1940s:

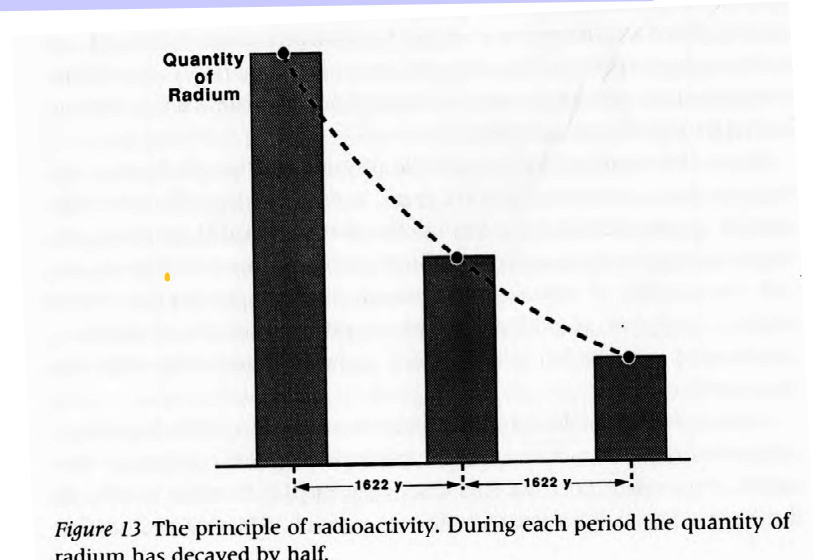
1. *Analyze, chemically, elemental Pb and U*
2. *Separate Pb isotopes by mass spectrometry*
3. *Measure relative proportions from spectrum*
4. *Calculate apparent age*
5. *Correct and interpret to get geological age*



A More Promising Geochronometer

$$t = \frac{1}{\lambda} \ln \left\{ \left[\frac{D - D_0}{N} \right] + 1 \right\} = \frac{1}{\lambda} \ln \left[\frac{N_0}{N} \right]$$

Fractional rate of decay (λ) extremely stable



Decay irreversible

- *Decay law satisfied conditions of constancy and irreversibility*
- *The apparent age depends only on the chemical and isotopic composition of the sample*
- *Certain conditions required for it to have full physical and geological significance*
- *Derivation of decay law expresses the fact that decay is constant regardless of environmental conditions*
- *Implies extremely broad range of application (subject to conditions)*

Decompositionism



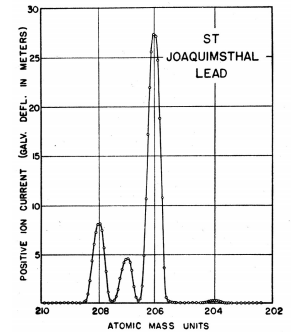
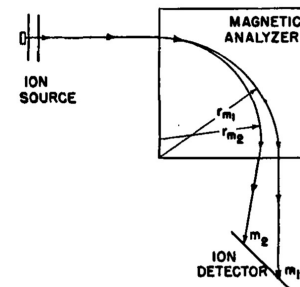
Rock or mineral



analysis



“pure” element



isotopes

- *An ontological commitment: a world structured by compositional levels of organization*
- *“Hierarchical divisions of stuff ... organized by part-whole relations, in which wholes at one level function as parts at the next (and at all higher) levels” (Wimsatt)*
- *Shift to a different level typically involves a change of the size or size ranges of the entities, as well as a change of the regularities of their behavior*
- *Entails possibility that the constituents may have radically different properties than the object they constitute*
- *Claim: Success of radiometric methods resulted (in part) from an ontological shift to a lower level of organization*

Level-switching

- *Historical processes unfold within a context, and a process at a given level of organization will be affected by its context to a greater or lesser degree*

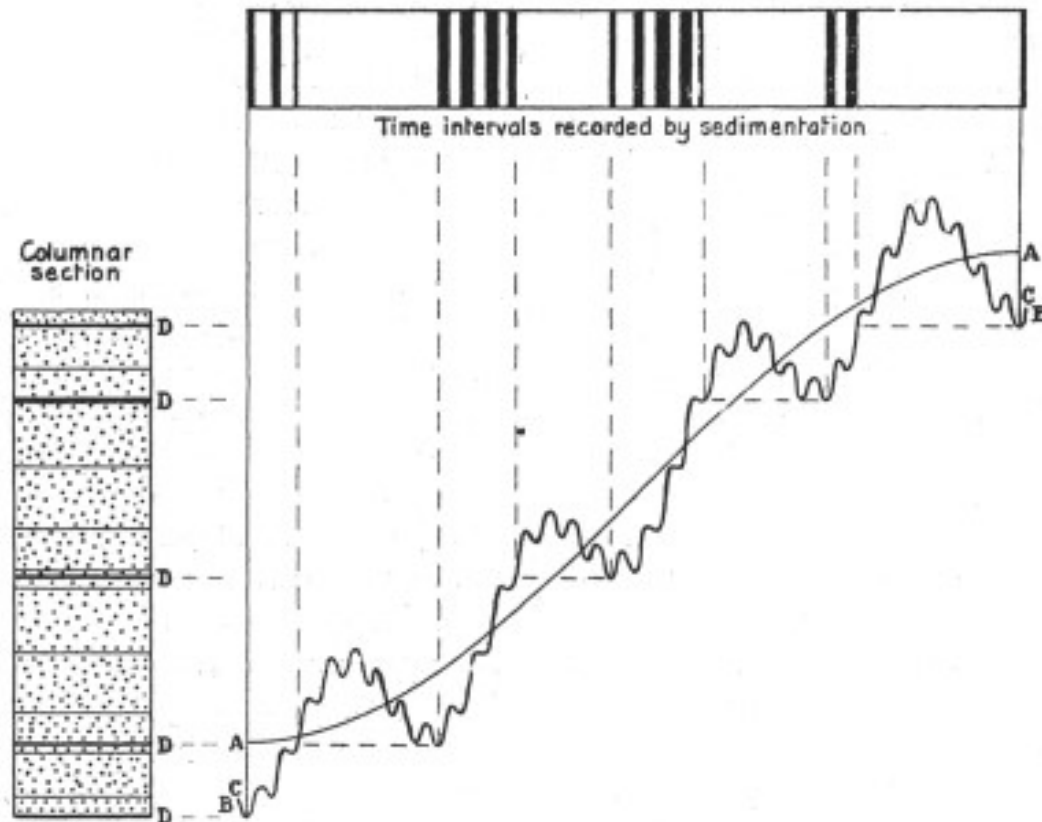


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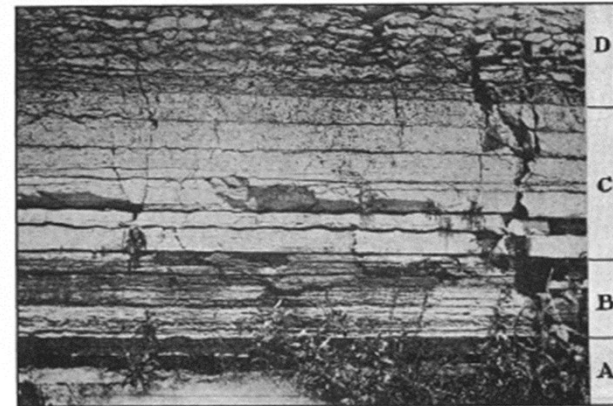


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Level-switching

Phylogeny based on nucleotide differences in the gene for cytochrome c

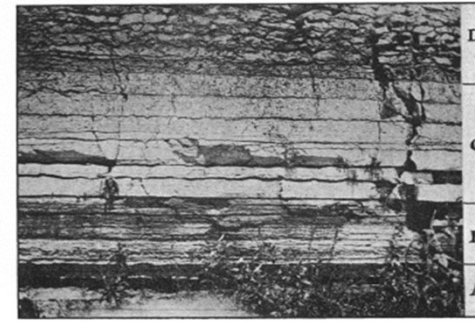
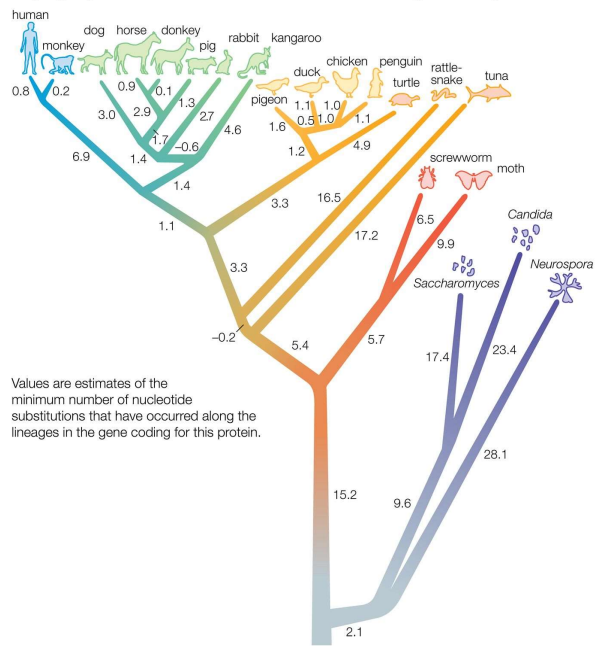
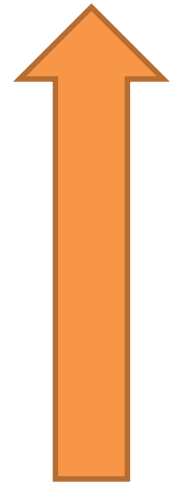
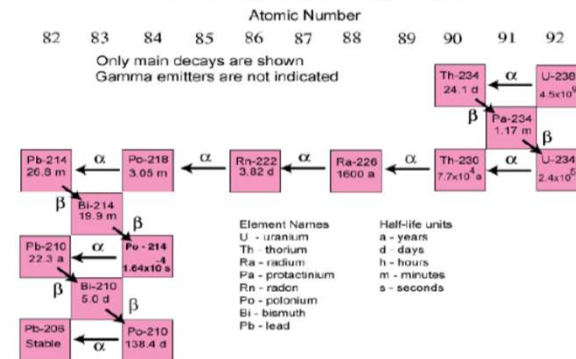


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The Uranium-238 Decay Chain



organization

- **Heuristic:** if a process at a given level is too context-dependent to be reliable, then look for a lower-level process that can accomplish the same goal.
- **The behavior of entities at higher levels of organization tends to be more context-dependent than that of entities at lower levels.**
- **Hope:** Information-destroying processes at the higher level will be avoided at the lower

The Flourishing of Post-WWII Isotope Studies

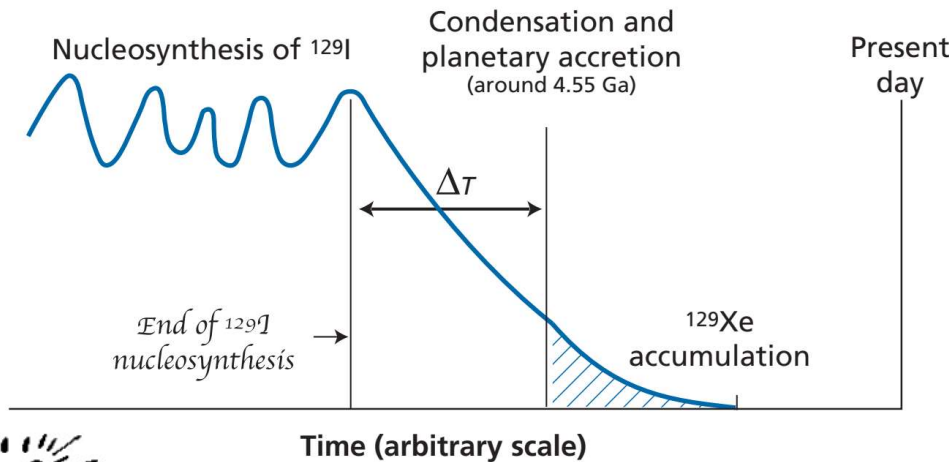
The age of the Earth



The computation of the ages of the worlde.

The ages of the world after the computation of	1	The creation of the worlde	To the deluge.	1656
	2	The deluge	To Abrah.	292
	3	Abrahams natiuice	To the departyng of Israel out of Egypt	503
	4	The departyng out of Egypt	To the temple buildyng.	481
	5	Buildyng the temple.	To the captiuitie of Babil.	414
	6	The captiuitie of Babil	To Christ.	614
	7	Christ	To this yere.	1560
	8	Christ	To the deluge.	2242
	9	The deluge	To Abraham.	942
	10	Abrahams natiuice	To David.	941
11	David	To the captiuitie of Babil.	485	
12	The captiuitie of Babil	To Christ.	589	
13	Christ	To this yere.	1560	
Eusebius and the latine cro.				
The summe of the ages of the world after the counpote of		The Hebrews	5521.	
		Divandusa	5041.	
		Eusebius	6737.	
		Augustine	6891.	
		Alphense.	8522.	

FINIS.



The history of the solar system



The Flourishing of Post-War Isotope Studies

The history of the climate

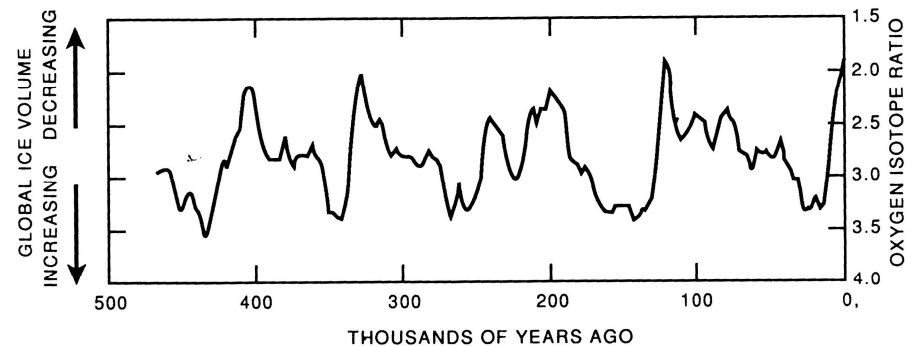
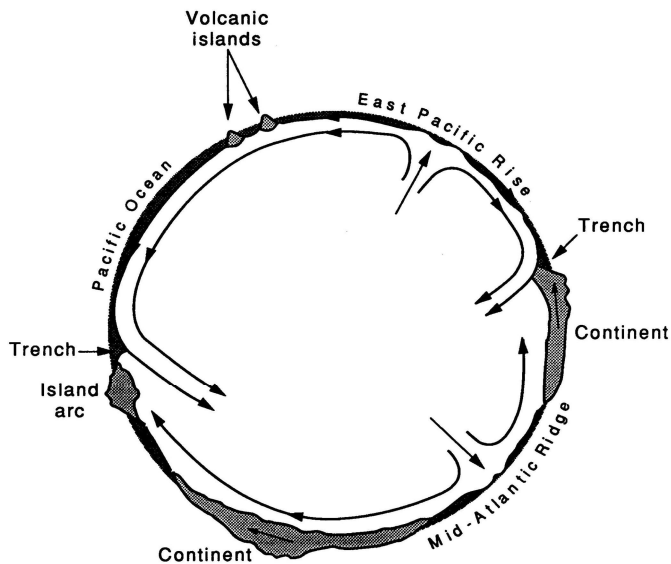


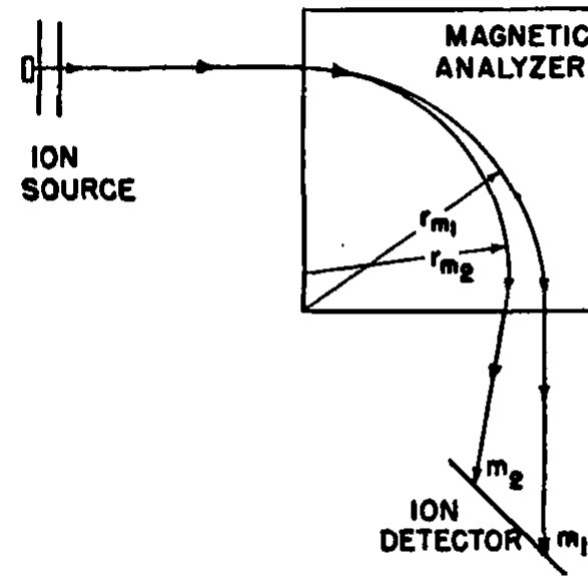
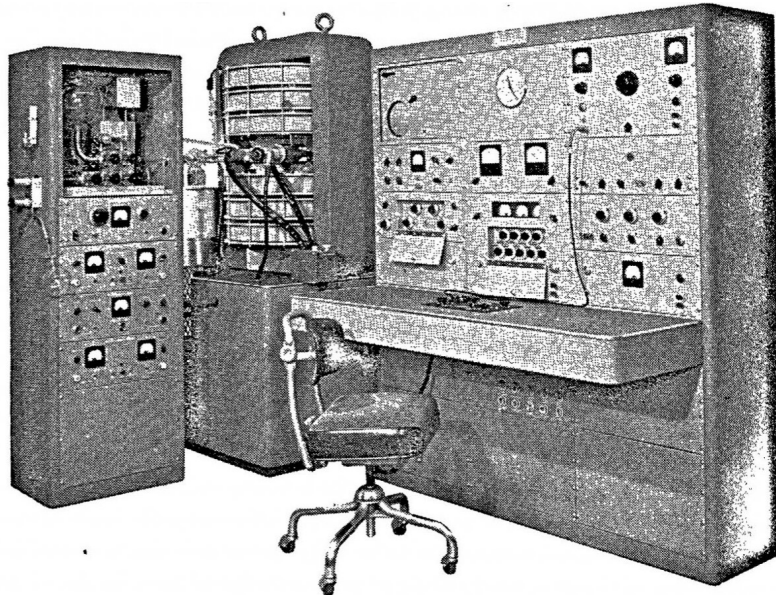
Figure 64 The variation in oxygen isotopes in seawater over the last million years, which reflects the variations in the average temperature of the surface as represented by the volume of ice in the ice cap.

Tectonics and terrestrial evolution



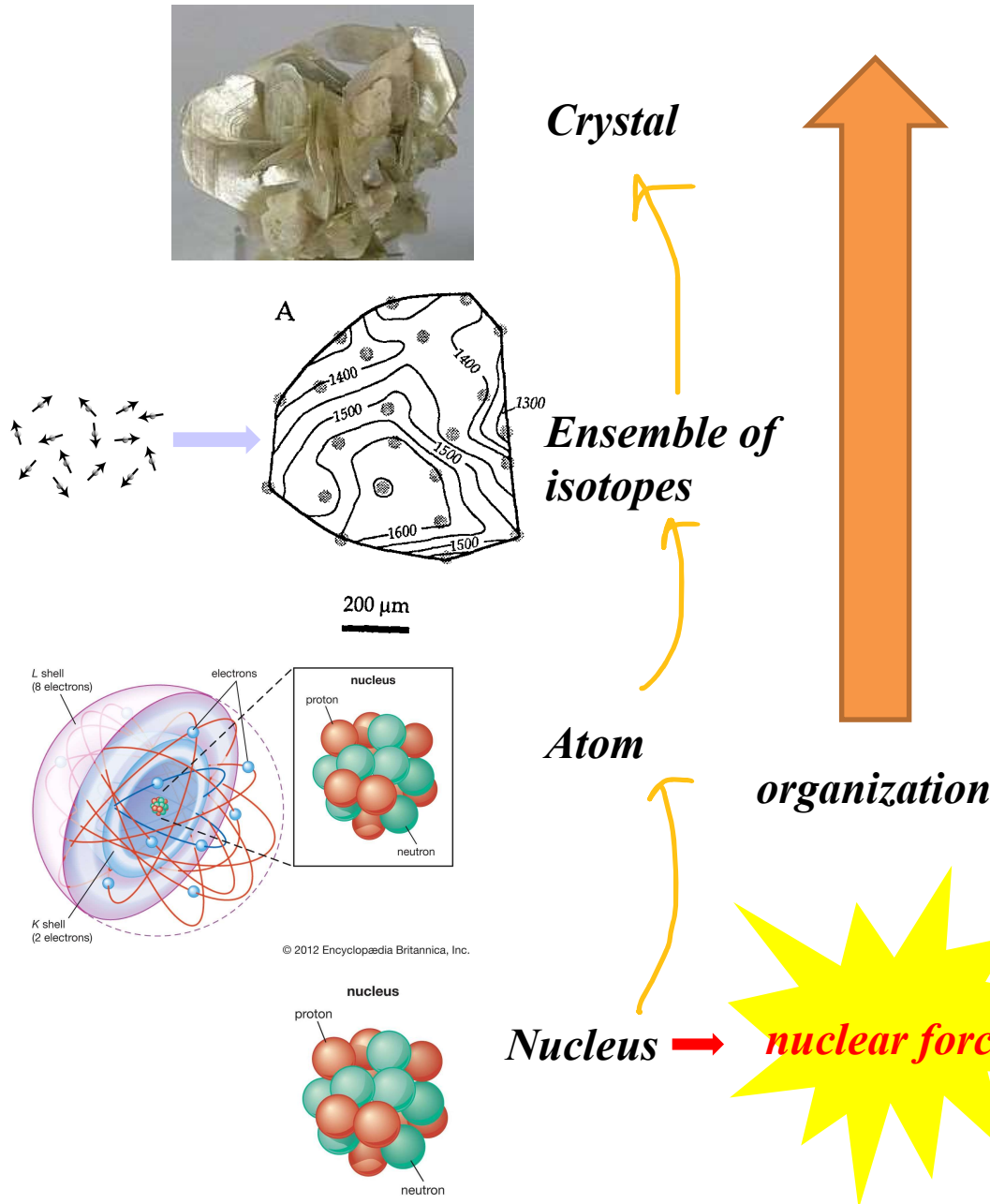
- ***Overall impact: Isotope methods shattered spatial and temporal limits of traditional geology***
- ***Also expanded number of parameters whose history could be studied***

Role of Mass Spectrometry in Level-Switching



- *Required for isotope separation*
- *Complements decay law: use of MS not associated with any specific kind of geologic context, and so can take samples from widely different sources*
- *More generally, techniques enables scientists to access desired levels in a level-switching strategy*
- *Need flexibility of technology to access levels with sufficiently different properties to solve the problem*

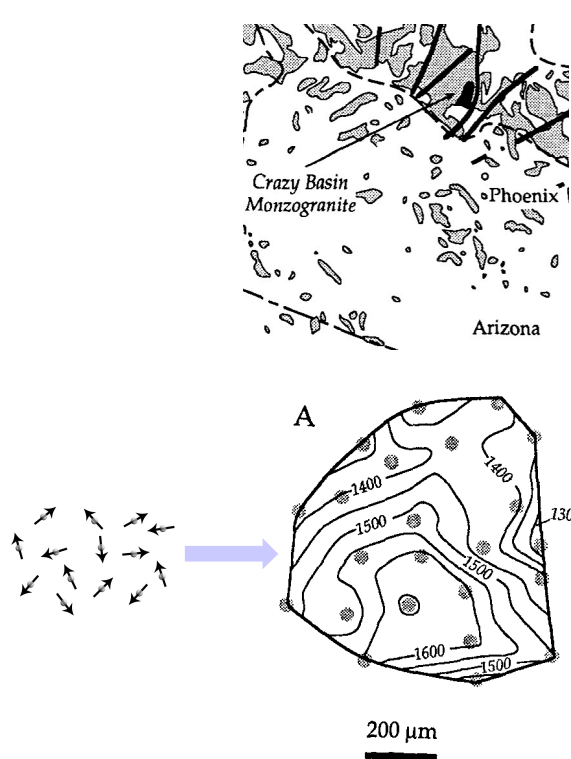
Example: A crystal



“The quantum theory provides a reason for this insensibility of the radioactive elements to external influences. It is not difficult to remove electrons from the outer part of an atom, but radioactivity is a property of the nucleus, and the latter cannot be affected except by the application of radiation as energetic as its own. In the case of uranium the radiation emitted corresponds ... to the unimaginable temperature of 5,800,000,000°C. Evidently the conditions encountered by rocks in the earth’s crust are unlikely to affect atomic nuclei.”

-Arthur Holmes, 1937

Role of Context is Level-Dependent



Ensemble of isotopes

organization

Two key assumptions:

- i. No migration of parent or daughter elements into or out of system since solidification*
- ii. Distribution of isotopes was homogeneous at time of solidification*

$$t = \frac{1}{\lambda} \ln \left\{ \left[\frac{D - D_0}{N} \right] + 1 \right\} = \frac{1}{\lambda} \ln \left[\frac{N_0}{N} \right]$$

- Homogeneity depends on diffusion of elements between subsystems of the sample, and between subsystems and the sample's environment*
- Not all levels equally affected: nuclear level largely shielded from contextual factors, whereas ensemble level subject to migration and homogeneity worries*

Comparison

“For the successful application of a method based on a progressive [continuous flow] process, it is necessary to know:

- a) The rate of the process at the present time;*
- b) The law expressing the variation of the rate during the interval to be measured; and*
- c) The total change effected by the process during that interval.*

The accumulation in minerals of the end-products of radioactive decay constitutes the only progressive process so far recognised in which these conditions are satisfactorily fulfilled over the whole range of geological time.”

-Arthur Holmes, 1947



$$\text{Age} \sim \frac{\text{total change effected}}{\text{rate of process}}$$

Comparison

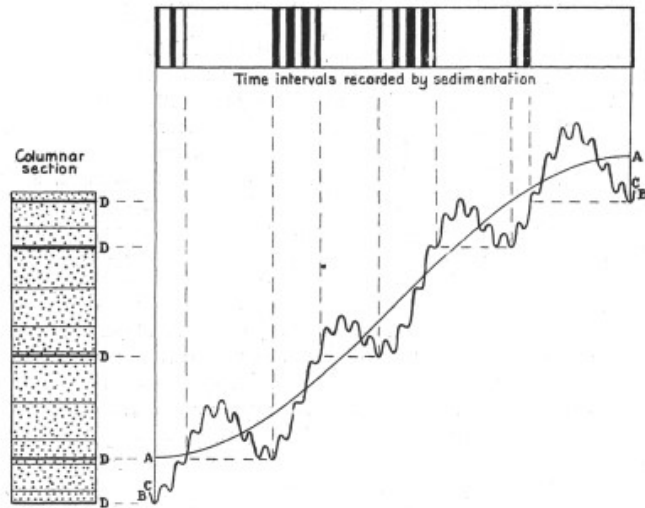


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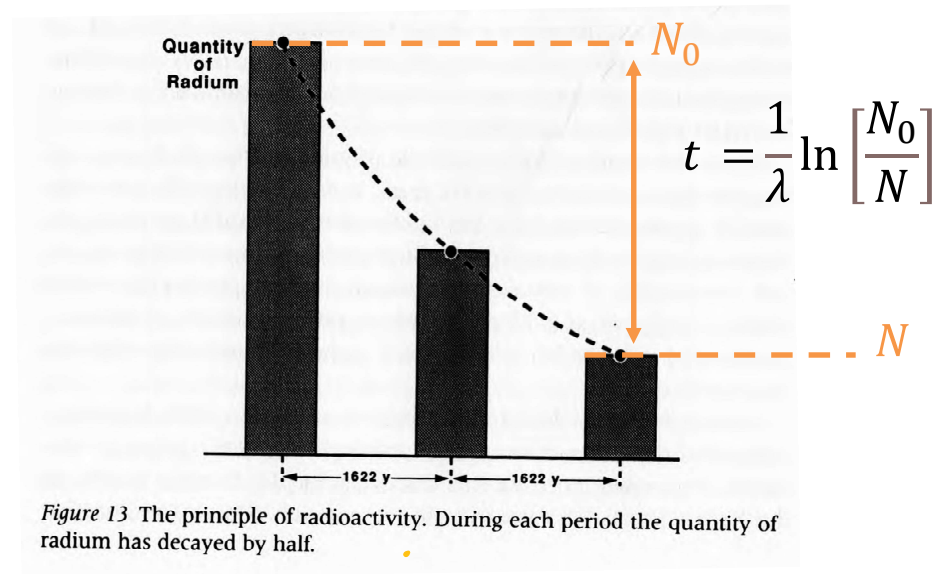
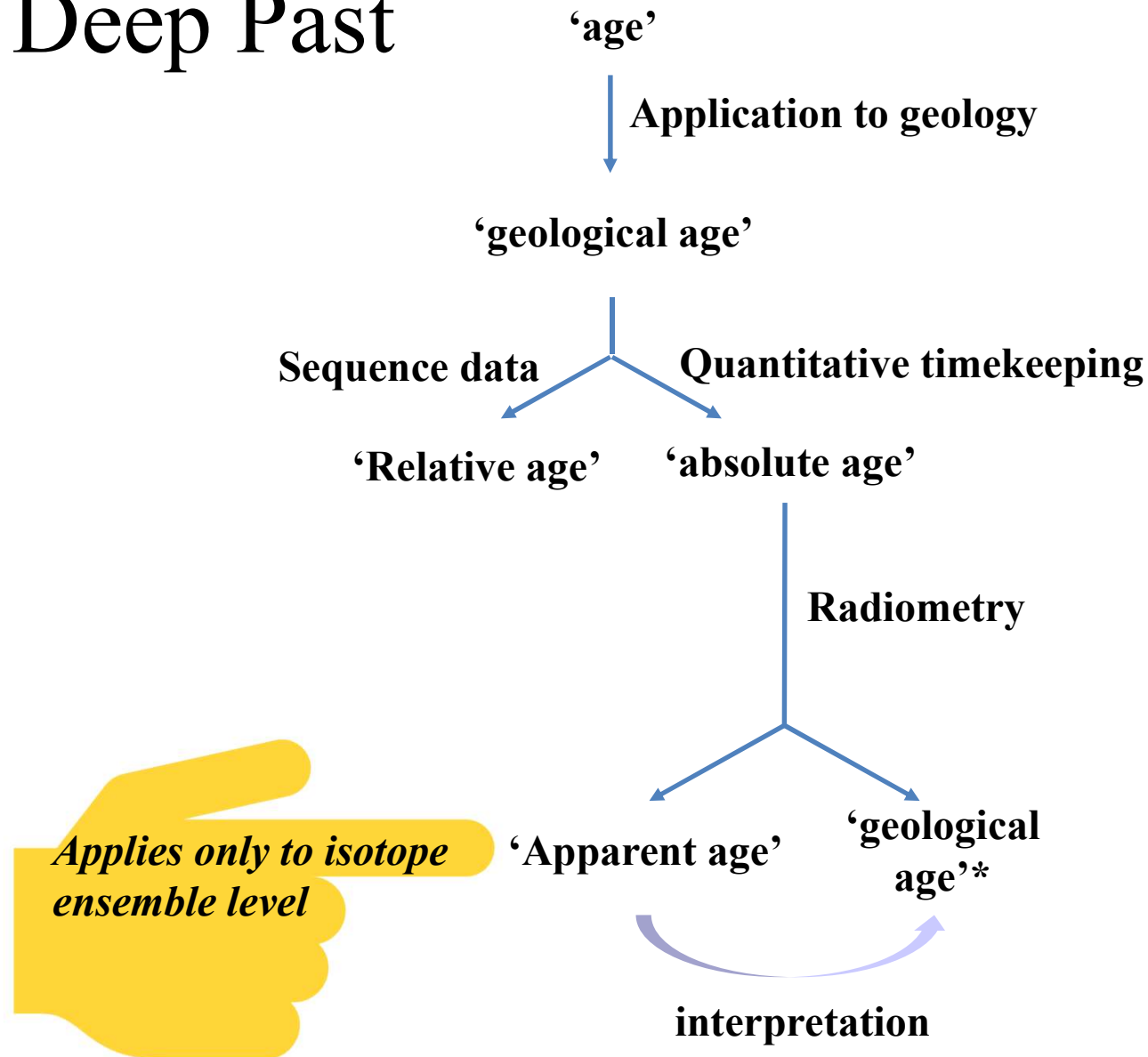


Figure 13 The principle of radioactivity. During each period the quantity of radium has decayed by half.

condition	Sediment accumulation	Radioactive decay
a) Present rate of process	<i>Context-dependent</i>	<i>Context-independent</i>
b) Law of variation of rate	<i>Context-dependent</i>	<i>Context-independent</i>
c) Total change	<i>Context-dependent</i>	<i>Context-dependent</i>

Conclusion: Making Time Measurable in the Deep Past



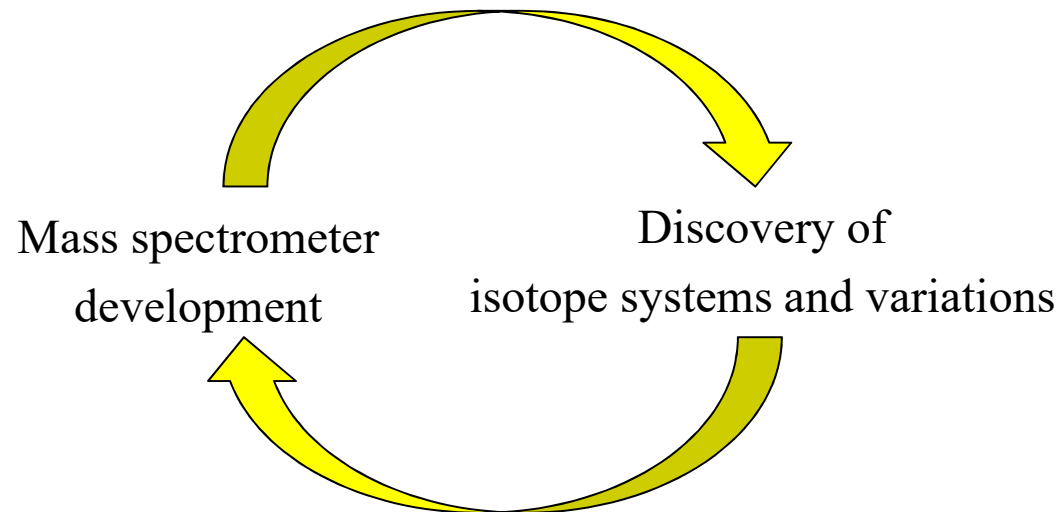
Conclusion: Productivity in Geochronology

The productivity of isotope geochronology is based on

a. Mereological decomposition in order to

b. exploit regularities at a lower level, and

c. an exceptional complementarity between the instrument and those regularities, allowing application to a plethora of geological contexts



Conclusion: Technology in geochronology

- *The isotope-MS couple allows information destruction, concerning the age of geological objects, to be attenuated, but also*
- *further articulates the meaning of the concept of age in the geochronological context, and*
- *determines the range of application of the concept*
- *making possible an explosion of the research agenda of 20th c. geology, having started from the initial quest for a method of measuring time.*
- *The metaphysical structure of a domain of scientific inquiry opens up methodological opportunities that can be exploited with the aid of technology.*



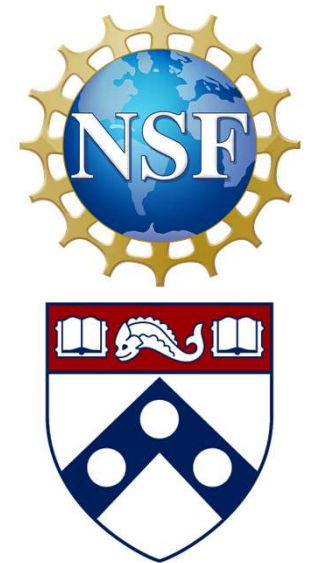
georgeborg.com

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