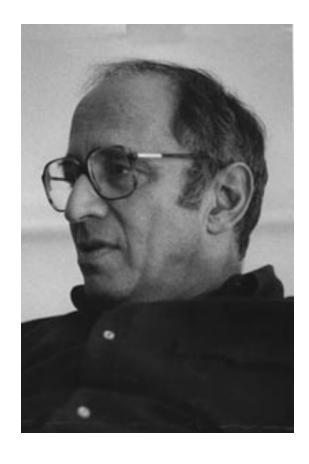


ЛОГИКА И МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ НАУКИ

Т.Кун СТРУКТУРА НАУЧНЫХ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ



T. S. Kuhn. THE STRUCTURE OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONS

Томас Кун СТРУКТУРА НАУЧНЫХ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ

. 3.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS. Chicago 1970

«ПРОГРЕСС» МОСКВА 1977

Структура научных революций. 1962 с доп.1969г.

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

От издательства.	5
ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ	7
І. ВВЕДЕНИЕ. РОЛЬ ИСТОРИИ	17
II. НА ПУТИ К НОРМАЛЬНОЙ НАУКЕ	28
III. ПРИРОДА НОРМАЛЬНОЙ НАУКИ	44
IV. НОРМАЛЬНАЯ НАУКА КАК РЕШЕНИЕ	
ГОЛОВОЛОМОК	59
V. ПРИОРИТЕТ ПАРАДИГМ	69
VI. АНОМАЛИЯ И ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ НАУЧНЫХ	
ОТКРЫТИЙ	79
VII. КРИЗИС И ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ НАУЧНЫХ ТЕОРИЙ	96
VIII. РЕАКЦИЯ НА КРИЗИС	110
IX . ПРИРОДА И НЕОБХОДИМОСТЬ НАУЧНЫХ	
РЕВОЛЮЦИИ	
Х. РЕВОЛЮЦИИ КАК ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ ВЗГЛЯДА НА МИР	
XI. НЕРАЗЛИЧИМОСТЬ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ	181
XII. РАЗРЕШЕНИЕ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ	
XIII. ПРОГРЕСС, КОТОРЫЙ НЕСУТ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ	210
ДОПОЛНЕНИЕ 1969 ГОДА	227
1. Парадигмы и структура научного сообщества	
2. Парадигмы как наборы предписаний для научной группы	
3. Парадигмы как общепризнанные образцы	244
4. Неявное знание и интуиция	
5. Образцы, несоизмеримость и революции	
6. Революции и релятивизм	
7. Природа науки	
С. Р. Микулинский, Л, А. Маркова.	
Чем интересна книга Т. Куна	
«СТРУКТУРА НА VUHLIX PEROПЮНИЙ»	274

ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

15

: . Koyre. Etudes Galileennes, 3 vols. Paris, 1939; . Meyerson. Identity and Reality. New York, 1930; H. Metzger. Les doctrines chimiques en France du debut du XVIIe a la fin du XVIIIe siecle. Paris, 1923; H. Metzger. Newton, Stahl, Boerhaave et la doctrine chimique. Paris, 1930; A. Maier. Die Vorlaufer Galileis im 14. Jahrhundert («Studien zur Naturphilosophie der Spatscholastik». Rome, 1949).

```
(Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache. Basel,
1935),
                                                          Χ.
                            1951
                       » (The Quest for Physical Theory).
                                                                            10
                                : «The Child's Conception of Causality». London, 1930;
«Les notions de mouvement et de vitesse chez 1'enfant». Paris, 1946.
                                                                        : «Language,
Thought, and Reality—Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf». New York, 1956. . «Two Dogmas of Empiricism»,
```

: «From a Logical Point of View». Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 20—46.

```
(1958/59)
```

≫.

```
Ш
```

: . S. uhn. The Copernican Revolution: Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought. Cambridge, Mass., 1957, p. 122—132, 270—271.

:«Conservation of Energy as an Example of Simultaneous Discovery». — «Critical Problems in the History of Science», ed. M. Clagett. Madison, Wis., 1959, p. 321—356; «Engineering Precedent for the Work of Sadi Carnot». — «Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences», XIII (1960), p. 247—251; «Sadi Carnot and the Cagnard Engine».— «Isis», LII (1961), p. 567—574.

-

.

· -

·
·
·

. ,

, 1962

I Введение РОЛЬ ИСТОРИИ

.

),

•

. . .

?

; ; ;

?

.

III, IV, V

•

(commitments), IX

· -

. XI , . XII

, XIII

.

« » «

≫. ? grosso modo *,

II

НА ПУТИ К НОРМАЛЬНОЙ НАУКЕ

»

XIX «

ay ,

XIX XVIII

1. XVII ad hoc*

1 J. P ies1e . The History and Present State of Discoveries Relating to Vision, Light, and Colours, London, 1772, p. 385—390.

2 V.R n hi, Histoire de la lumiere. Paris, 1956, chaps. I—IV.

XVIII

```
3.
                                    XVII—XVIII
```

1 D. Roller and D. H. D. Roller. The Development of the Concept of Electric Charge: Electricity from the Greeks to Coulomb («Harvard Case Histories in Experimental Science», Case 8, Cambridge, Mass., 1954); I. . hen. Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof. Philadelphia, 1956, chaps. VII—XII.

: T. S. uhn. The Function of Dogma in Scientific Research, in: A. C. Crombie (ed.), «Symposium on the History of Science». University of Oxford, July 9—15, 1961. Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd.

. 2-

```
XVII
4.
```

», ., 1972, .2.

```
5 D. Roller and D. H. Roller. Op. cit., p. 14, 22, 28, 43.
```

. 212.)

Medieval Physics N. Y., 1941, chap.IV,

. : . Clagett. Giovanni Marliani and Late

.

·

« »

, 40- XVIII 7.

.

8.

7 D. Roller and D. H. Roller. Op. cit., p. 51—54.

8 hen. Op. cit., . 491-494, 531-543.

38

.

, .

9.

-

. 1759

(ibid., .543—546, 548—554).

```
: «
            ...» 10.
                             11.
11
                                                            » ( . Farrand (ed), Benjamin
Franklin's Memoirs. Berkeley, Calif., 1949, . 384-386).
                              XVIII —
                                             XIX
Encyclopedie and the Jacobin Philosophy of Science: A Study in Ideas and Consequences.—
«Critical Problems in the History of Science», ed. . Clagett, Madison, Wis., 1959, p. 255—289;
The Formation of Lamarck's Evolutionary Theory. — «Archives internationale d'histore
des sciences», XXXVII, 1956, p. 323—338.
```

```
raison d'etre*
```

42

XVII XVIII XIX

.: D. Roller and D. H. D. Roller. Op. cit., p. 66-81; W. C. Walker. The Detection and Estimation of Electrric Charges in the Eighteenth Century. – «Annals of Science», I, 1936, p. 66-100; E. Hoppe. Geschichte der Elektrizitat. Leipzig, 1884, Part. I, chaps. III-IV.

XVII XIX

III

ПРИРОДА НОРМАЛЬНОЙ НАУКИ

```
?
   , « m , amas, amat»*
             «laudo, laudas, laudat»**
```

exa

1.

^{1 .} Barber. Resistance by Scientists to Scientific Discovery — «Science», CXXXIV, 1961, p. 596—602.

? ,

.: L. I. S hiff. A Report on the NASA Conference on Experimental Tests of Theories of Relativity. — «Physics Today», XIV, 1961, p. 42—48.

3.

3 :: A. W 1f. A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century. 2d ed. London, 1952, p. 103—105. :: N. R. Patterns of Discovery. Cambridge, 1958, p. 100—102. ::

M. L. Foucault. Methode generale pour mesurer la vitesse de la lumiere dans l'air et les milieux transparants. Vitesses relatives de la lumiere dans l'air et dans 1'eau...— «Comptes rendus... de 1'Academie des sciences», XXX, 1850, p. 551—560; . L. w n. Jr., et al Detection Free Neutrino: A. Confirmation.—«Science», CXXIV,1956, . 103-104.

90-XVIII

4 . 1741 1901 «Gravitation Constant and Mean Density of the Earth».—«Encvil paedia Britannica», Ilth ed. Cambridge, 1910—1911, XII, p. 385—389.

) 5.

from the Greeks to Coulomb. (« Harward Case Histories in Experimental Science», Case 8, Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 66—80.

⁷ T. S. uhn. The Function of Measurement in Modern Physical Science. —«Isis», LII, 1961, p. 161—193.

ap

 $^{8\,}$. S. $\,$ u h n. The Caloric Theory of Adiabatic Compression. «Isis», XLIX, 1958, p. 132—140.

XVIII ≫,

(ad hoc)

06p XVIII ≫, 9.

9 . uesd 1. A. Program toward Rediscovering the Rational Mechanics of the Age of Reason. — «Archive for History of the Exact Sciences», I, 1960, p. 3—36; Reactions of Late Baroque Mediae nics to Success, Conjecture, Error, and Failure in Newton's «Prncipian».— «Texas Quarterly», X, 1967, p. 281—297; . L. Hankins. The Reception of Newton's Second Law of Motion in the Eighteenth Century.—«Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences», XX, 1967, p. 42—65:

XVIII XIX

 $^{10}\mbox{Wolf.}$ Op. cit, $\,$. 75—81, 96-101; W. WhewelL History i Inductive Sciences, rev. ed. London, 1847, II, p. 213—271,

XVIII

XVIII , , XIX

57

« ».

11D u g a s. Histoire de la mecanique. Neuchatel, 1950, Books

IV

НОРМАЛЬНАЯ НАУКА

КАК РЕШЕНИЕ ГОЛОВОЛОМОК

. ,

•

•

XVIII

•

.

ı

pe

.

-

?

· —

-

XVII

.: L. S. ubi . Some Unsolved Problems of the Scientific Career. — «American Scientist», XLI, 1953, p. 596—613; XLII, 1954, p. 104—112.

»), XVIII

: «Les prix Nobel en 1937», Stockholm, 1938, . 4

1750 3. ?4 XVIII XIX 5.

3 W. Whew I1. History of the Inductive Sciences, rev. ed. London,1847, II, p. 101—105; 220—222.

6.

XVII 7. XIX

8.

9.

:

1630

, 1030

-

^{4 . . . ,}

 $^{^7}$. t z g . Les doctrines chimiques en France du debut du XVII" siecle a la fin du XVIII siecle, Paris, 1923, p. 359—361; M a-r i e Boas. Robert Boyle and Seventeenth-Century Chemistry. Cambridge, 1958, p. 112—115.

⁸L. Konigsberger. Hermann von Helmholtz. Oxford, 1906, p. 65—66.

⁹ J. E. M e i n h a r d. Chromatography: A Perspective. — «Science», CX, 1949, p. 387—392.

10.

10 :: M. Boas. Establishment of the Mechanical Philosophy.— «Osiris», X, 1952, p. 412—541. :: . S. Kuhn. Robert Boyle and Structural Chemistry in the Seventeenth Century. — «Isis», XLIII, 1952, p. 12—36

.

68

.

-·

.

.

V

ПРИОРИТЕТ ПАРАДИГМ

(quasi-standard)

, po . ,

»? 1 n i. Personal Knowledge. Chicago, 1958, V VI. 2L. Wittgenstein. Philosophical Investigations. N. Y., 1953, . 31-36.

XVII XIX 3.

tzger. Les doctrines .: H. chimiques en France du debut du XVII a la fin du VIII" siecle. Paris, 1923, p. 24—27, 146—149; Boas. Robert Boyle and Seventeenth-Century Chemistry. Cambridge, 1958, chap. II. .: W. F Canton The Uniformitarian-Catastrophist Debate. — «Isis», LI, 1960, I W -65; . . . G i 1 1 is pi . Genesis and Geology. Cambridge, Mass., 1951. chaps. IV—V. .: J. U11in . La crise de la physique quantique.

Paris, 1950, chap. II.

5 6.

.: R. Dugas. La theorie physique au sens de Boltzmann et ses prolongements modernes. Neuchatel, 1959, p. 158—184; 206—219. .: . Planck. Maxwell's Influence in Germany. — «James Clerk Maxwell: A Commemoration Volume, 1831—1931», Cambridge, 1931, p. 45-65, . 58-63; S. P. Thompson. The Life of William Thomson Baron Lekvin of Largs. London, 1910, II, p. 1021—10.'7. .: . r . Documentary History of the Problem of Fall from Kepler to Newton. — «Transactions of the American Philosophical Society», XLV, 1955, p. 329—395.

f .: . Brunei. L'introduction des theories de Newton en France au XVIII . From the Closed World tu the Infinite Universe. siecle. Paris, 1931; . Baltimore, 1957, chap. XI.

```
mh
```

The Vernacular of the Laboratory. — «Philosophy of Science», XXV, 1958, p. 163—168.

АНОМАЛИЯ И ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ НАУЧНЫХ ОТКРЫТИЙ

70-

XVIII

2 :: Uno Bocklund. A Lost Letter from Scheele to Lavoisier. – "Lychnos", 1957-1958, p 39-62.

3 J. .Conant. The Overthrow of the Phlogiston Theory: The Chemical Revolution of 1775-1789. – "Harward Case Histories in Experimental Science", Case 2. Cambridge. Mass., 1950, p 23.

```
80-
                          XVIII
                ? 1774
                                                 1775
                                           1775
                                                        1776
1777
          1777
```

```
4.
     1777
1810
                                             60-
                                                        XIX.
                             ≫,
                  OC
                                                  1774
                                                  1777
                                                    Χ
```

4H.Metzger. La philosophie de la mati re chez Lavoisier. Paris, 1935; Daumas. Op. cit., chap. VII.

```
1777
           1772
```

5 cn : . G u 1 . Lavoisier—the Cniria Year: The Background and Origin of His First Experiments on Coni bustion in 1772. Ithaca, N. Y., 1961.

6L.W.Taylor. Physics, the Pioneer Science. Boston, 1941, p. 790-794; T.W. halmers. Historic Researches. London, 1949, p. 218-219.

7 E. .Whittaker. A History of the Theories of Aether and Electricity, I, 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 358, n. 1. .

1895

90-XIX

```
9.
```

```
9Conant. Op. cit., p. 18-20.

10K.K.Darrow. Nuclear Fission. – "Bell System Technical Journal", XIX, 1940, p. 267-289.

(
)

(
)

: "

Ra, Ac, Th. , "

Ba, La, Ce,
```

" (.Hahn and F.Strassman. ber den Nachweis und das Verhalten der bei der Bestrahlung des Urans mittels Neutronen entstehended) Erdalkalimetalle. – "Die Naturwissenschaften", XXVII [I 939], S. 15).

- " " (theory-induced).

XIX

.

.

```
11.
                                                        12.
```

11 : I.B.Cohen. Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof. Philadelphia, 1956, p. 385-386, 400-406, 452-467, 506-507. : Whittaker. Op. cit., p. 50-52.

12 J.S.Bruner and L.Postman. On the Perception of Incongruity: A Paradigm. – "Journal of Personality", XVIII, 1949, p. 206-223.

10

!"13.

13 Ibid., p. 218.

VII

КРИЗИС И ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЕ НАУЧНЫХ ТЕОРИЙ

VI

. (

,

. -

-

()

.

.

2. 3.

1 A.R.Hall. The Scientific Revolution, 1500-1800. London, 1954, p. 16.

2 M.Clagett. The Science of Mechanics in the Middle Ages. Madison, Wis., 1959, Parts II-III. . , "Etudes Galil ennes". Paris, 1939;

, "Etudes Galil ennes". Paris, 1939;

3 :: .S.Kuhn. Newton's Optical Papers, in: "Isaac Newton's Papers and Letters in Natural Philosophy", ed. I.B.Cohen. Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 27-45. :: E.T.Whittaker. A History of the Theories of Aether and Electricity, I, 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 94-109; W.Whewell. History of the Inductive Sciences, rev. ed. London, 1847, II, p. 396-466.

XIX

^{4 .:} S.P.Thompson. Life of William Thomson Baron Kelvin of Largs. London, 1910, I, p. 266-281. .: F.Reiche. The Quantum Theory. London, 1922, chaps. I-II.

XVIII
...

. XIII

.* XVI

.* "De revolutionibus",**

5 J.L.E. Dre er. A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler, 2d. ed. N.Y., 1953, chaps. XI-XII.

* X (1221-1284 .) - ,

** "De revolutionibus orbium coellestium libri VI". Norimbergee,

1543; - " " .: . .

400- . . - ., 1947. - .

XVI "De revolutionibus" 6. 70-XVIII

⁶ .S.Kuhn. The Copernican Revolution. Cambridge. Mass., 1957, p. 135-143.

XVII 2) 7. 70-XVIII

8. XVII XVIII : J.R.Partington and D.McKie.

Historical Studies on the Phlogiston Theory. – "Annals of Science", II, 1937, p. 361-404, III, 1938, p. 1-58, 337-371; IV, 1939, p. 337-371,

XVİII XVII

⁷ J.R.Partington. A Short History of Chemistry, 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 48-51, 78-85, 90-120.

1772 9, XVIII

9 H.Guerlac. Lavoisier – the Crucial Year. Ithaca, N.Y., 1961.

XIX XVII 10. XVIIIXIX 1815 90-XIX

 $^{^{\}rm 10}$ M.Jammer. Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, p. 114-124.

11. XIX

11 J.Larmor. Aether and Matter... Including a Discussion of the Influence of the Earth's Motion on Optical Phenomena. Cambridge, 1900, p. 6-20, 320-322.

12. 13. 1890

12 R. .Glazebrook. James Clerk Maxwell and Modern Physics, London, 1896, chap. IX. : "A Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism", 3d. ed. Oxford. 1892, p. 470.

13 .: .Kuhn. Op. cit., chap. VII.

107

14. 1905 Ш

```
15.
XVII
                                  XVIII-XIX
             16.
```

15 .: .L.Heath. Aristarchus of Samos: The Ancient Copernicus. Oxford, 1913, Part II.
.: A.Koestler. The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe. London, 1959, p. 50.

16 Partington. Op. cit., p. 78-85.

•

VIII

РЕАКЦИЯ НА КРИЗИС

.

1

,

.

,

(

),

ad hoc,

. B X 2. : N R Hanson. Patterns of Discovery. Cambridge, 1958, p.99-105.

2 T.S.Kuhn. The Essential Tension: Tradition and Innovation in Scientific Research, in: "The Third (1959) University of Utah Research Conference on the Identification of Creative Scientific Talent", ed. Calvin W. Taylor (Salt Lake City, 1959), p. 162-177.

:: F.Barron. The Psychology of Imagination. – "Scientific American", CXCIX, September 1958, p. 151-166, esp. 160.

```
60
1750
```

```
XVIII
```

4 .: .S.Kuhn. The Caloric Theory of Adiabatic Compression. – "Isis", XLIV, 1958, p. 136-137.

: E.T.Whittaker. A History of the Theories of Aether and Electricity, II. London, 1953, p. 151, 179.

```
ad hoc)
```

^{5 .: .}S.Kuhn. The Copernican Revolution. Cambridge, Mass., 1957, p. 138.

⁶ A.Einstein. Autobiographical Note, in: "Albert Einstein: Philosopher-Scientist", ed. P.A.Schilpp, Evanston, III., 1949, p. 45.

?

. , ,

,

⁷ R.Kr nig. The Turning Point, in: "Theoretical Physics in the Twentieth Century: A Memorial Volume to Wolfgang Pauli", ed. M.Fierz and V.F.Weisskopf. N.Y., 1960, p. 25, 25-26.

1 1

.

.

. "8.

^{8 .: .}S.Kuhn. The Copernican Revolution. Cambridge, Mass., 1957, p. 138.

⁹ A.Einstein. Autobiographical Note, in: "Albert Einstein: Philosopher-Scientist", ed. P.A.Schilpp, Evanston, III., 1949, p. 45.

10. ? ? .: J.L.E.Dreyer. A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler, 2d ed., N.Y., 1953, p. 380-393.

```
10 .: J.L.E.Dreyer. A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler, 2d ed., N.Y., 1953, p. 380-393.

. J.Priestley. Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air. London, 1774-1775.
```

```
. V
                                              XVII
                                        XX
                                 11.
           12.
11
```

XVII , .: R.Dugas. La m canique au XVIIe si cle. Neuchatel,
1954, . XI. XIX
: R.Dugas. Histoire de la m canique. Neuchatel, 1950, p. 419443..

¹² T.S.Kuhn. A Function for Thought Experiments, in: "M langes Alexandre Koyr ", ed. R.Taton and I.B.Cohen. Hermann, Paris, 1964.

13. 1895

13 .: V.R n hi. Histoire de la lumi re. Paris, 1956, chap. VII. .: J.Priestley. The History and Present State of Discoveries Relating to Vision, Light and Colours. London, 1772, p. 498-520.

14.

126

14 A.Einstein. Loc. cit

15

(H.C.Lehman. Age and Achievement. Princeton, 1953)

۷I

IX

ПРИРОДА И НЕОБХОДИМОСТЬ НАУЧНЫХ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ

?

XX

•

,

XX

ΧI

ίV VII

```
2.
2 .,
                                       : "Philosophy of Science", XXV, 1958, p. 298.
```

3 J. .Conant. Overthrow of the Phlogiston Theory. Cambridge, 1950, p. 13-16; J.R.Partington. A Short History of Chemistry, 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 85-88.

H.Metzger. Newton, Stahl, Boerhaave et la doctrine chimique. Paris, 1930. Part II.

R. raithwaite. Scientific Explanation. Cambridge, 1953, p. 50-87, . 76.

•

?

.

. (

.

XVII

XVII 5. XVII

5 :: M.Boas. The Establishment of the Mechanical Philosophy. – "Osiris", X, 1952, p. 412-541. :: Ibid., p. 483.

XVII 6. XVIII XVII XVIII

6 R.Dugas. La m canique au XVIIe si cle, Neuchatel, 1954, p. 177-185, 284-298, 345-356.

7. 40-XVIII (effluvium), XIX

7 I. .Cohen. Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof. Philadelphia, 1956, chaps. VI-VII.

8. ΧΙΧ 9. XIX

9 E.Meyerson. Identity and Reality. New York, 1930, chap. X.

.: Ibid., chaps. VIII-IX.

.: Metzger. Op. cit., part I.

XX 10. 11.

10 E.T.Whittaker. A History of the Theories of Aether and Electricity, II. London, 1953, p. 28-30

11 : . .Gillispie. The Edge of Objectivity: An Essay in the History of Scientific Ideas. Princeton, 1960.

XVIII ,

XX

;

.

.

?

РЕВОЛЮЦИИ КАК ИЗМЕНЕНИЕ ВЗГЛЯДА НА МИР

2.

G.M.Stratton. Vision without Inversion of the Retinal Image. – "Psychological Review", IV, 1897, p. 341-360, 463-481. X. : H. A. Carr. An Introduction to Space Perception. New York, 1935, p. 18-57

² ., : A.H.Hastorf. The Influence of Suggestion on the Relationship between Stimulus Size and Perceived Distance. – "Journal of Psychology", XXIX, 1950, p. 195-217; J.S.Bruner, L.Postman and J. Rodrigues. Expectations and the Perception of Color. – "American Journal of Psychology", LXIV, 1951, p. 216-227.

6. XVI

5 R.Wolf. Geschichte der Astronomie. M nchen, 1877, S. 513-515, 683-693.

 $\,$ 6 J.Needham. Science and Civilization in China, III. Cambridge, 1959, p. 423-429; 434-436

7 T.S.Kuhn. The Copernican Revolution. Cambridge, Mass., 1957, p. 206-209.

9. ·

•

.

. . .

VII

10. 90°, 11. XIV

XIV 12.

¹⁰ G.Galilei. Dialogues concerning Two New Sciences. Evanston. III., 1946, p. 80-81, 162-166.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 91-94, 244

¹² M.Clagett. The Science of Mechanics in the Middle Ages. Madison, Wis., $1959,\,p.\,537\text{-}538,\,570.$

: .

?

.

13.

: "The Psychology of

Invention in the Mathematical Field". Princeton, 1949

14. 15

¹³ J.Hadamard. Subconscient intuition, et logique dans la recherche scientifique (Conf rence faite au Palais de la D couverte le 8 D cembre 1945 [Alen on, n. d.], p. 7-8).

¹⁴ .S.Kuhn. A Function for Thought Experiments, in: "Melanges Alexandre Koyre", ed. R.Taton and I.B.Cohen. Hermann, Paris, 1964

¹⁵ A.Koyre. Etudes Galileennes. Paris, 1939, I, p. 46-51; "Galileo and Plato". – "Journal of the History of Ideas", IV, 1943, p. 400-428.

16. 17.

¹⁶ .S.Kuhn. A Function for Thought Experiments, in: "M langes Alexandre Koyr ", ed. R.Taton and I.B.Cohen. Hermann, Paris, 1964.

¹⁷ A.Koyre. Etudes Galil ennes. Paris, 1939, I, p. 46-51; "Galileo and Plato". – "Journal of the History of Ideas", IV, 1943, p. 400-428.

¹⁸ Clagett. Op. cit., chaps. IV, VI and IX.

?

"19.

```
19 N.Goodman. The Structure of Appearance. Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 4-5.

1947

1947

175

180

1947

175

180

1947

"

...

...

...
```

```
XVIII
            XIX
```

XVIII 20. XVIII 21. XVIII XVIII

20 H.Metzger. Newton, Stahl, Boerhaave et la doctrine chimique. Paris, 1930, p. 34-68.

21 Ibid., p. 124-129, 139-148. : L.K.Nash. The Atomic-Molecular Theory ("Harvard Case Histories in Experimental Science", Case 4). Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 14-21.

22. 23.

facto*

²² J.R.Partingt n. A Short History of Chemistry. 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 161-163.

 $^{^{\}rm 23}$ A.N.Meldrum. The Development of the Atomic Theory: (1) Berthollet's Doctrine of Variable Proportions.

 $^{^{\}rm 24}$ J.R.Partingt $\,$ n. A Short History of Chemistry. 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 161-163.

56% 72% 1,3, 2,6

 25 A.N.Meldrum. The Development of the Atomic Theory: (1) Berthollet's Doctrine of Variable Proportions. "Manchester Memoirs", LIV, 1910, p. 1-16.

•

180

1 1

; ;

. 26.

XI

НЕРАЗЛИЧИМОСТЬ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ

ad nauseam.*

1.

Two New Sciences, Evanston, III., 1946, p. 154-176.

186

.

, ,

--

•

¹ L. .Nash. The Origins of Dalton's Chemical Atomic Theory. "Isis", XLVII, 1956, p. 101-116.

^{2 :} F.Cajori (ed.). Sir Isaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy and His System of the World. Berkeley, Calif., 1946, p. 21. : Dialogues concerning

XVII

3. (specifications)

3 .S.Kuhn. Robert Boyle and Structural Chemistry in the Seventeenth Century. – "Isis", XLIII, 1952, p. 26-29.

),				
		ı	•		ı	r	
				1	ı	ı	
		ı	ı				1
			11				
			,		1		
ı			" ,				
			•				ı
	,		п	"?		п	ıı
		ı	,			,	
	4.	,	ı			,	
						,	,
		,		ı			

XII

РАЗРЕШЕНИЕ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ

?

?

· -

² K.R.Popper. The Logic of Scientific Discovery. N.Y., 1959, esp. chaps. I-IV.

194

.

-

```
ΧİΧ
                                         .
XX
                                                             3.
Frank. Einstein, His Life and Times. N.Y., 1947, p. 142-146.
```

 $\hfill \ldots$. Nordmann. Einstein and the Universe. N.Y., 1922, chap. IX.

"4.

 $^{4}\,$.S.Kuhn. The Copernican Revolution. Cambridge, Mass., 1957, chaps. III, IV, VII.

⁵ M.Jammer. Concepts of Space. Cambridge, Mass., 1954, p. 118-124

⁶ I. .Cohen. Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof. Philadelphia, 1956, p. 93-94.

, 1952, 444

⁸ M.Planck. Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers. N.Y., 1949, p. 33-34.

200

.

-

0 ,

•

?

,

```
9.
       10.
```

```
.: E. .Burtt. The
Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science, rev. ed. N.Y., 1932, p. 44-49.
10
                                   . (R. Strutt, 4th Baron Rayleigh. John William Strutt,
```

Third Baron Rayleigh [New York, 1924], p. 23.)

```
11.
```

202

П, 1627 1576-1612 . .Kuhn. Op. cit., p. 219-225. , .: F.Reiche. The Quantum Theory. London. 1922, chaps. II, VI-IX.

. 12.

13. 14.

¹⁴ Ibid., II, 1953, p. 151—180. (

^{13 . . .} Whittaker. A History of the Theories of Aether and Electricity. I, 2d ed. London, 1951, p. 108.

```
15.
     16.
```

, ipso facto

13. ПРОГРЕСС, КОТОРЫЙ НЕСУТ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ

.

·

. **« »**.

 $^{1 \ \}dots \ G \ m \ b \ r \ i \ h.$ Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psycho.logy of Pictorial

Representation. N. Y., 1960, p. 11—12.

2 Ibid. p. 97; Giorgio de S a n t i 11 a n a. The Role of Art in the Scientific Renaissance, in: «Critical Problems in the History of Science», ed. M. Clagett, Madison, Wis., 1959, p. 33—65.

)

.

.

· -

? -

?

, XI

.

.

*1984 **,

3.

? ,

- ,

·

coxpa

o , coxp

ecce

? 1859

4 L. E i s e I e $\,$. Darwin's Century: Evolution and the Men Who Discovered It. N. Y.,'1958, chaps. II, IV—V.

```
5. «
XII
```

Cambridge, Mass., 1959, p. 295—306 355-383 8

.: . D u. Asa Gray, 1810—1888.

8*

XVIII : Reflection on My Critics», in: I. Lakatos and A. Musgrave (eds.). Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge. Cambridge, 1970; Second Thoughts on Paradigms, in: F. Suppe (ed.). The Structure of Scientific Theories, Urbana, III., 1974. «Reflections», ,—«Growth of Knowledge»; «Second Thoughts».

2-;3-5-

4 : . a s t m . The Nature of a Paradigm, in: «Growth of Knowledge»; D. S h a p e r . The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.—«Philosophical Review», LXXIII, 1964 p. 383—394.

1.

0

« »,
' pax.
' . 5-

,

. — 6- 7- . 6-, 7-

.

), .

5.

.

5 W. . Hagstrom. The Scientific Community. N. Y., 1965, ch. IV and V; D. J. Price and D. de B. Beaver. Collaboration in an Invisible College. — «American Psychologist», XXI, 1966, p. 1011—1018; D. Crane. Social Structure in a Group of Scientists: A Test of the «Invisible College» Hypothesis. — «American Sociological Review», XXXIV, 1969, p. 335—352; N. . M u 11 i n s. Social Networks among Biological Scientists, Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1966, and «The Micro-Structure of an Invisible College: Tin' Phage Group» (

, , , 1968).

1969

· : , • •

?

6. '

-

6 . G a r f i e 1 d. The Use of Citation Data in Writing the History of Science, Philadephia. Institute of Scientific Information, 1964; M. M. Kessler. Comparison of the Results of Bibliographic Coupling and Analytic Subject Indexing.—«American Documentation», XVI. 1965, p. 223—233; D, J. Price. Networks of Scientific Papers. — «Science», CIL, 1965, p. 510—515.

1969

234

1969

П ≫. **«**

XIX (physique experimentale). To,

•

236

1969

1920 XIX 25

2. Парадигмы как наборы предписаний для научной группы

238

1969

« »

.)

.

« »,

()() (z) (, , z).

: F = I = V/R. : «

».
,

=RI2. , R I, F = I = V/Re,

8 .: . Brown. Electric Current in Early Nineteenth-Century French Physics.—«Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences», I, 1969, p. 61— 103; . S chagrin. Resistance to Ohm's Law. — «American Journal "1 Physics», XXI, 1963, p. 536—547.

ΧΙΧ

9 . : D. S h a p e r e. Meaning and Scientific Change. in: «Mind and Cosmos: Essays in Contemporary Science and Philosn phy». The University of Pittsburgh Series in the Philosophy of Scicii ce, III. Pittsburgh, 1966, p. 41—85; I. S h e f f 1 e r. Science and

«Growth of

10.

3. Парадигмы как общепризнанные образцы

$$mg = m\frac{d^2s}{dt^2}$$

$$mg \sin \theta = -ml\frac{d^2\theta}{dt^2}$$

$$m_1 \frac{d^2 s_1}{dt^2} + k_1 s_1 = k_2 (s_2 - s_1 + d)$$

F=

(law-sketch).

u , .: R. D u g a s. A History of Mechanics. Neuchatel, 1955, p. 135—136, 186—193; D. Bernoulli. Hydrodynamica; sive de viribus et motibus fluidoruni, commentarii opus academicurn, Strasbourg, 1738. Sec. III.

, .: . Truesdell. Reactions of Late Baroque Mechanics to Success, Conjecture, Error. and Failure in Newton's «Principia», — « Quarterly», X, 1967, p. 238—258,

XVIII vis viva, ≫.

4. Неявное знание и интуиция

12,

250

251 1969 252

. (

.

,

1969

?

.

-

F=m 13. 6e 18 10

, u

≫, p

14_. -

14 , «Second Thoughts»,
. ()

258 1969

.

. (

•

5. Образцы, несоизмеримость и революции

15. XII ,

*5 V VI

«Reflections».

1969

260

1969

. 16: ;

16 . , 9, . «Growth of Knowledge»..

:

-) -)

262

1969

,

?

.

· :

; ; ,

.

.

p. 90—97.

```
17.
17
                                         : W. V. . Q u i n . Word and Object. Cambridge,
Mass.—N. Y., 1960, chaps. I, II, Ho
.: . . N i d a. Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation Problems, in: D. Hymes (ed.). Language and Culture in Society. N. Y., 1964,
```

:« ». »),

≫,

.

6. Революции и релятивизм

. 18.

.

. -

.

»;

7. Природа науки

» 19.

²⁰. «

: «Growth of

Knowledge». 20 S. a v e 11. Must We Mean What We Say? N. Y., 1969, ch. I

21.

.: . S. u h n. Comment [on the Relations o(Science and Art]. — «Comparative Studies in Philosophy and History", XI, 1969, p. 403-412,

? ? ?

ЧЕМ ИНТЕРЕСНА КНИГА Т. КУНА «СТРУКТУРА НАУЧНЫХ РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ»

.

. « », « », «

275 .

,

. . . .

-

-

XIX XX

· · · · · ·

.

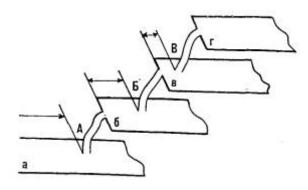
« ». 40-

50- -

.

XVII

».



--

», 1964, 9, . 35—36.

40—50 1969

¹ J.Watkins. Against «Normal Science». — In: «Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge». Edited by I. Lakatos and A. Musgrave Cambridge, 1970, p. 31.

R. Popper. Normal Science and its Dangers. — In: «Criticism...», p. 53.
 Masterman. The Nature of a Paradigm.—In: «Criticism...»

^{1 .} Popper. Normal Science and its Dangers.—In: «Criticism...», p. 52.

»2.

»3

¹ S. u 1 m i n. Does the Distinction between Normal and Revolutionary Science Hold Water? — In: «Criticism...», p. 45.

² P. Feyerabend. Consolation for the Specialist. — In: «Criticism...», p. 212.

¹ I. La k a t s. Falsification and the Methodology oi Scientific Research Programmes.—In: «Criticism...», p. 177.

² Ibid., p. 173.

³ Ibid., p. 116.

≫,

1971),

•

•

(

), .

».

•

.

.

. .

УКАЗАТЕЛЬ

. 50
181, 185
165
243
99
86, 94, 97, 106, 110,115, 116, 126, 134, 135, 242,243
— 115, 116, 242
— 22, 23, 80, 95
— 98, 103
— 70, 103 — 110,111
107, 108
28, 34, 97, 100, 104,
160—164, 166—168, 177, 185,
188, 214, 269
34, 166
. 48, 49, 54
. 46
. 51
. 112
201
X. 120
. 54, 248, 249
. 177—179, 195, 265
230
. 34, 101
. 66, 67, 75, 143, 189
157
. 34, 50—51, 53, 67,
188, 189
. 81
. 214
. 124, 202, 242
47, 206

```
. . 138
            208
        . . 239
           . 92, 153
        . 76
         . 34
           . 161
        . 35, 36, 39, 223
           . 211
              191—194
        . . 136
                . 71, 72
        . 42
                     . 49, 55
        . 157
            253, 254, 255
               259, 260, 262, 266
          . 20, 51, 54, 76, 97, 124, 158, 160—164, 166—168, 177, 185,
247, 248, 261
            . . 56
           . 232
       . . 55
             . 118
                             107, 108, 140, 141
             . 66
              . .179
                           107, 108, 140, 141
       X. 84, 103
      . . 56
          . 156, 157
         . 34
                          154, , 155
           . . 39, 75, 147
            . . 106
              59—65, 113, 114, 117, 139, 180, 186, 190, 191, 193, 200,
217, 218, 228, 233, 238, 241, 247, 267, 268, 269, 273
```

```
. X. 212
                                                                                             . 55, 12 201, 202, 205
      . 32, 33, 42
                                                                                              .. .. 232
               . 108
                                                                                                   . 66
                                  X. 54, 143, 197, 248
         . 17
              . . 54
                                                                                              . 108
          . 112, 146, 174—180, 184, 185, 187, 235, 251, 261
                                                                                              . 36, 97, 162, 168
         . 40, 199, 224, 225, 235
                                                                                            . . 115
         . .89
              . . 32
                                                                                            . . 49
         . 66, 143, 163, 170, 197, 255
                                                                                            . 8, 20, 76, 97, 166, 167
            . 104, 197
                                                                                                            41, 99, 222, 231, 232, 252, 262, 263
        . 153
                                                                                                   181, 182, 183, 196, 197
           . . 50, 51
                                                                                                262-264
                         239
                                                                                               . . 14, 15, 81, 89, 138
                             » 237—244
                                                                                                            112,113, 116, 177
«
       . 156
                                                                                                . 13, 23, 29, 48, 97—100, 102, 104, 106—108, 113, 117, 118,
       . 80, 83
                                                                                   122, 129, 130, 157, 158, 197, 198, 202, 203, 205, 206, 208, 235, 261
                                    37, 41, 75, 90, 104, 109, 119, 133, 139,
                                                                                         X. 206
210, 214, 233
                                                                                          . . 33, 37, 65, 92, 97, 145, 198
                                                                                            . 230
           . . . 99, 123, 206
               . 64
                                                                                                    100, 102, 107, 109, 116. 119—124, 165, 200,
       . 57, 76, 124, 144, 248
                                                                                                                         12, 102, 103, 106, 107
         . 278
                                                                                                        103, 119, 125, 126
        . X. 225
                                                                                             . 119
        . . 32, 42
                                                                                           . 86, 129
      253, 254
                                                                                            . 9, 263
                246
                                                                                           . .62
                                                                                            . . 42, 50, 51, 57, 59, 60
                  247
              45, 68, 100, 182, 233
                                                                                          . . 13, 33, 51, 52, 67, 80, 97, 100, 106, 112, 116, 110, 124, 158, 166,
           224
                                                                                   167, 188, 197, 203, 272, 274—292
                                                                                              . 15, 270
                         164, 165, 169, 254, 257, 258
                                                                                             . . 75
           165, 249
                                • 70, 72
                                                                                               . 9
                                                                                              .; 8
        39, 223, 269
            . 42, 50, 54, 101
                                                                                               . , 23, 28, 45, 70, 81, 82, 84—89, 96, 100—10;), 113, 121, 124,
      . . 153
                                                                                   129, 146, 160, 162, 169, 174, 188, 189, 19-1, 196, 202, 205, 206, 214
                  39, 87, 129, 198
                                                                                               . . 55, 56
```

```
164
         . 28
          . 243, 285, 286, 289, 290
                                                                                         . 15, 192
                                                                                           . 227
         . . 224
         . . 55
                                                                                       17—22, 26, 79, 132, 133, 142, 143, 174, 183, 210, 219, 222, 223,
           . 105
                                                                                228, 234, 272
          . . 76, 104
                                                                                                          20—23, 210, 211, 212, 235, 272
                   37, 90, 91, 145, 159
                                                                                                      23—25, 75, 76, 127, 141, 173, 183, 218, 219, 234,
                                                                                235, 239
        . 126
        . . 279
                                                                                                    80—85, 90, 94—95
                                                                                                      10—11, 21—23, 29, 42, 43, 46, 61, 69, 77, 78, 212—
                    212
                                                                                222, 228—235
                      . . 47, 106, 113
                                                                                                                  169, 262
        156
        . 8
              . . 105
                                                                                       . . 14, 15, 176, 178, 185
         . 108
                                                                                       . . 263
                                                                                                          . 158
                                                                                        . .15
             . . 24, 45, 66, 70, 75, 87, 97, 105, 106, 113, 116, 146, 147,
148, 236
                                                                                                                   . . 32, 39
                                                                                                      99
         . 102, 206
                                                                                             . 196
        . .125
                                                                                                    22—25, 29, 30, 45, 68, 79, 94, 95
          . . 230
                                                                                                28, 45, 46, 49, 52, 57, 59, 76, 113, 114
          . . 292
                                                                                           60,79
        . 279
                                                                                                                          71, 72, 98, 99.
             . 228, 237, 283, 285—287
                                                                                          . 23, 24, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 48, 49, 53—56, 65, 70, 76, 78, 97—99,
           . 8, 146
             . ...66
                                                                                103, 104, 106, 108, 111, 112, 115, 135—137, 139, 140, 142—144, 147, 148
           . . 80, 177, 179, 180
                                                                                163, 185, 196, 198, 202, 206, 214, 217, 227, 235, 236, 245, 253, 269
                                                                                          » 244, 247—250, 252, 253, 258 «
                              » 240
«
         . 8, 66, 75, 83, 138, 146, 175
                                                                                                      199, 200, 259, 264—266
                                                                                            >>
                                                                                     . . 239
            . 48
                . . 279, 281, 292
                                                                                      165—173, 187, 193
                                                                                                      193
                                  23—25
                 72, 247, 272
                                                                                                 161, 162
        240, 241
                                                                                        219
        143
                                                                                                      80—89
        . . 105
                                                                                                                 85-88
         . 11
                                                                                            251, 253, 255—257
```

```
47, 49, 50, 80, 90, 97
                                                                                          . . 177, 179
                                31
                                                                                             . 153
            11, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38, 39, 44, 45, 70, 107, 112, 113, 119,
                                                                                                      . X. . 33, 36, 37, 42, 51, 159
125, 126, 130, 131, 138, 139, 141, 142, 148, 149, 191, 204—209, 272
                                                                                         . 31, 125
               10, 11, 28, 29, 44, 46, 149, 228, 229, 236, 237
                                                                                          II 202
                 76, 77, 90, 98, 119, 120, 122, 128, 142, 200, 201
                                                                                          . 38
                    194—209
                                                                                                    212
                . . 101, 102, 108, 138, 177, 180, 206
                                                                                          . X. 9
        . 118
                                                                                                    154—162
        263—267
                                                                                            . . 78
        . 8, 9
                                                                                                       216-218
        . 30, 76, 199, 202
                                                                                           . 224
        35, 211
                                                                                                    21, 255—257
              139
                                                                                            145, 146
            . 50
                                                                                         251, 252, 255—257, 262
                           128, 129, 130
                                                                                          . . 105
                                                                                              . . 153
          . 71, 249
                                                                                          . .85
         . . 193, 243, 267, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287
          . 92, 93, 153
                                                                                         74, 237
                                       122, 233
                                                                                                             242
                                63, 64, 68, 122
                                                                                                                 19, 24, 25, 45, 79, 110, 131, 132, 134, 135,
                69, 70, 73
                                                                                 141, 142, 268, 269
            . 230, 232
                                                                                                         258—262
             65—68. 138. 236— 240
                                                                                              79, 80, 110, 114, 115, 187, 193, 194
            . 31, 39, 81—85, 87—89, 96, 101, 113, 120, 121, 123—125,
                                                                                                           103
160, 162, 163, 194, 198, 205, 209
                                                                                               30, 31, 104, 203
                                    77—78
                                                                                                              31
        . 177, 179, 180, 195, 265
                                                                                                           174—176
          28, 29, 45, 97—100, 108, 113, 117, 136, 202, 203, 205
                                                                                                     19,87, 101—103, 135, 137, 206
                                                                                                    223-225
         . . 204
                                                                                                        32-34,
      . 108
       . 98, 202
                                                                                                                       . . 76, 87, 98, 135
                  201
                                                                                            . 86
                                                                                                              . 51
            267-270
                                                                                             . 54, 248
     . 143
                                                                                          . 259, 285, 287
            . 85—88, 129
                                                                                           . . 184
```

```
. 244
     . . 86, 92, 97, 107, 116, 147, 204
   . 75
   . .42
     . 143
 . .9
      . 282, 283, 284, 285
  32
     186, 187, 216, 217
  18, 31, 67, 73, 74, 112, 215—220, 247
   . 55, 65, 97, 115
           193, 194
     . 217
         . 15, 270, 285— 287
 . . 205
               123, 124
            . 106, 113
 . 9
   . 196
      . 28, 32—34, 37— 40, 42, 91, 145, 159, 164
     . . 30, 105, 203, 204, 205
 . 48, 49, 205
                 . 89
    . . 54
   . . 49, 112, 120, 154
    . X. 153
    . 32, 159
     . . 65, 230
        . . 15, 33
. . 105
 . . 97
    241-243, 268
        220 "
    . .85
    . 224
               170, 173
    . 239
```

```
. 228, 242, 267

. 81, 83, 101

. 242

. 48

. 217, 244

. 55, 56

. 23, 24, 30, 48, 70, 107, 113, 118, 122, 124, 126, 136, 137, 140, 141, 148, 189, 196, 202, 204, 206, 214, 217, 235, 239, 242, 269

. 224

49—52

117, 121, 127, 203, 218

. 279

104—106, 147

. 30, 121

. . . . 56
```