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Neurosciences

Time, from psychology to neurophysiology. A historical view

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Abstract

Two aspects of psychology and physiology of time are dealt with in this paper: the way time perception was increasingly studied during the 19th century by scientists, including many physicists, and the way the temporal properties of the nervous system were discovered and explored by physiologists. The neurophysiological correlation between both aspects still remains to be explained. The relationship between time consciousness and consciousness mechanisms was often guessed by philosophers and looked for by scientists. It remains a major subject of investigation in neuroscience as well as a philosophical puzzle. **To cite this article:**

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Résumé

??? Deux aspects de la psychologie et de la physiologie du temps sont décrits ici : la manière dont la perception du temps fut de plus en plus étudiée au cours du XIX^e siècle par les scientifiques, y compris de nombreux physiciens, et la manière dont les propriétés temporelles du système nerveux ont été découvertes et explorées par les physiologistes. La corrélation neurophysiologique entre les deux aspects reste à expliquer. La relation entre conscience du temps et mécanismes de la conscience, qui a été souvent soupçonnée par les philosophes et recherchée par les scientifiques, reste un sujet majeur en neurosciences aussi bien qu'une énigme philosophique. **Pour citer cet article : C. Debru, C. R. Biologies ●●● (●●●●).**

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1. Introduction: the Kantian background

In the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), Immanuel Kant conceived time as an a priori, intuitive form of human sensibility. Together with space, time was conceived as a special structure of the receptive, passive framework of human knowledge, and distinguished

from the conceptual structure, which belongs to the human understanding, endowed with a spontaneous character. Space and time were conceived as subjective properties, a precondition for many later scientific developments in psychology and physiology, which Kant himself could foresee and tried to prevent. Indeed, in the Introduction of the *First Metaphysical Principles of Natural Science* (1786), Kant argues that no empirical theory of the soul can receive the status and rank of a

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1 true science, because a true science has a mathemati- 53
 2 cal character which in the particular case of psychology 54
 3 could apply only to a very limited extent. Indeed, math- 55
 4 ematics in psychology could not go much farther than 56
 5 the statement of the continuity principle. 57
 6

7 2. Herbart's mathematical psychology 58

9 Kant's idea of science as a necessarily mathemati- 61
 10 cal knowledge created an obstacle for the development 62
 11 of scientific psychology, which began to be overcome 63
 12 when Johann Friedrich Herbart developed the idea of 64
 13 psychology as a science founded on experience, on 65
 14 metaphysics and on mathematics (*Psychologie als Wis-* 66
 15 *senschaft, neu gegründet auf Erfahrung, Metaphysik* 67
 16 *und Mathematik*, 1824–1825). Psychology in Herbart's 68
 17 sense is essentially a mechanics (statics and dynam- 69
 18 ics) of representations. Herbart named inhibition (*Hem-* 70
 19 *mung*) the effect of the arrival of new representations 71
 20 on preexisting ones in consciousness. He defined space 72
 21 and time as notions of series, which paved the way for a 73
 22 mathematical psychology. In this respect, he paid atten- 74
 23 tion to the problem of determining precisely the amount 75
 24 of time that may be grasped immediately by the mind 76
 25 and may thus be considered as a kind of psycholog- 77
 26 ical unit. In order to determine this amount of time, 78
 27 Herbart relied on musical phenomena. He reflected on 79
 28 the way the duration of a musical pause is estimated, 80
 29 and tried to solve this problem by considering what 81
 30 happens in the mind during a pause. In the absence of 82
 31 any new musical stimulus, the representation of the pre- 83
 32 existing stimulus keeps going for a certain time while 84
 33 other kinds of representations occupy the mind. There 85
 34 exists a kind of equilibrium between all these differ- 86
 35 ent representations that, according to Herbart, is typical 87
 36 of the mind's representative activity during the pause. 88
 37 Now Herbart asks a profound question: how is the con- 89
 38 stancy of time measurement in thought produced? The 90
 39 answer is given by taking into account the intensity vari- 91
 40 ation of the representations in time, which is supposed 92
 41 to correspond to the inhibition phenomenon as a func- 93
 42 tion of time. As a consequence, the intensity variation 94
 43 follows an exponential decrease. Indeed, according to 95
 44 Herbart, the quantity of inhibition must increase with 96
 45 time, in order to make the amount of time, be it greater 97
 46 or smaller, noticeable. The quantity of inhibition is the 98
 47 key factor in time perception. By reasoning on the ex- 99
 48ponential term, Herbart, in 1839, is able to give an es- 100
 49timate of the amount of time that is most conveniently 101
 50perceived in consciousness: two seconds [1]. This order 102
 51of magnitude corresponds in a very rough way to 103
 52later estimates of the so-called 'specious present' espe-

cially dealt with by William James in his *Principles of* 53
Psychology (1890). The kind of mathematical specula- 54
 tions developed by Herbart regarding the psychology of 55
 time is typical of his combination of mathematics, meta- 56
 physics, and common experience. 57
 58

59 3. Time as a psychophysiological subject 60

61 In 1850, Hermann von Helmholtz measured the 62
 63 transmission velocity of the impulse in the nerve, 64
 a measurement that his master, the physiologist Jo- 65
 hannes Müller, considered as impossible. As a conse- 66
 quence, all speculations regarding the simultaneous 67
 character of stimulation and conscious experience were 68
 discarded, and an entirely new field was opened for 69
 various kinds of experiments, some of which were 70
 conducted by Helmholtz himself. Relating the tempo- 71
 ral aspects of conscious experience to the tempo- 72
 ral properties of nervous impulses became a subject 73
 which was part of the new research program in psy- 74
 chophysics and psychophysiology carried out by many 75
 physicists, physicians and physiologists, such as Her- 76
 mann Rudolf Lotze (*Medical Psychology or Physi-* 77
ology of the Soul, Medicinische Psychologie oder Phys- 78
iologie der Seele, 1852), Hermann von Helmholtz 79
 (*Handbook of Physiological Optics, Handbuch der* 80
physiologischen Optik, 1856), Gustav Theodor Fechner 81
 (*Elements of Psychophysics, Elemente der Psy-* 82
chophysik, 1860), Wilhelm Wundt (*Contributions to* 83
the Theory of Sense Perception, Beiträge zur Theorie 84
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 Camerer (*Researches on the Temporal Course of Vol-* 98
untary Movement, Versuche über den zeitlichen Verlauf 99
der Willensbewegung, 1866), Karl Vierordt (*The Time-* 100
sense according to Research, Der Zeitsinn nach Ver- 101
suchen, 1868). To this impressive list, however, should 102
 be added the name of the first physiologist who spoke 103
 about time sense, Johann Czermak. Czermak, who held 104
 the chair of physiology at the University of Krakow, 105
 published in 1857 a paper in which he proposed the

concept of this new sense, in addition to the sense of space already studied by Ernst Heinrich Weber. Czermak wanted to discover the physiological conditions of time perception. He planned to determine the smallest temporal interval that is perceived by the various senses (and may be different, depending on the particular sense), and also to study the perception of speed [2].

4. Fechner's psychophysics

The study of time and movement was dealt with in a small section of Gustav Theodor Fechner's *Elements of Psychophysics* in 1860 [3]. Fechner noticed that when two sensations follow each other too rapidly, they merge. He then asked the question of the length of the interval which is necessary for two sensations to be perceived separately. In order to understand the fusion phenomenon, he proposed that each sensation has a *Nachklang* or resonance. If the resonance of the first sensation is still strong enough when the second sensation arises, so that the differential threshold in intensity is not reached, both sensations merge. He then asks the question, whether this explanation is sufficient. In this discussion, he relies on a certain analogy with the sensation of space that was studied by Ernst Heinrich Weber in his pioneering experiments on the space sense of the skin, which is organised in circles of minimum diameter defining the spatial threshold and thus the subjective measurement of space. Fechner considers the possibility that the subjective measurement of time depends on internal 'psychophysical oscillations', in the same way as the subjective measurement of space depends on circles. The period of oscillation defines a threshold within which no time sensation occurs. Is it possible to find other arguments in favour of this hypothesis? Experiments on the intensity of visual sensations may give additional evidence. When white and black stimuli presented as sectors of a rotating disk follow each other more or less rapidly, this may create a uniform sensation if the differential threshold in intensity is not reached, or if the sensations of white and black follow each other rapidly. In connection with these phenomena, the question of the necessary time for a sensation to be perceived distinctly enough under different circumstances was asked. Experiments on the speed of reading texts printed in different sizes were performed. Experiments on the perception of the speed of astronomical movements (the speed of moving stars) were also performed. Indeed, since the work of Friedrich Wilhelm Bessel on personal equation in astronomical observations, astronomy was one of the main fields in which psychology and physiology (in this particular case the

persistence of the visual sensation in the eye) could be relevant to physics. Generally speaking, the question of 'the time necessary for' a psychological experience to happen became a subject of many investigations.

5. Mach on time perception

From 1860 onwards, Ernst Mach tried to test the validity of the Weber-Fechner psychophysical law for time perception. In a paper on the time sense of the ear, in 1865, he was able to produce fundamental results [4]. He showed that time perception does not follow the psychophysical law and that the sense of hearing has the greatest temporal sharpness among all senses. The end of the paper is devoted to a far reaching philosophical discussion of the nature of time, which in Mach's view is nothing else than the 'presentability' (*Darstellbarkeit*) of all physical phenomena by each other. What Mach meant may be understood by considering the example of Foucault's pendulum: the rotation of its oscillation plane expresses the rotation of the earth, as mentioned later in Mach's *Mechanics*. In another paper on the space sense of the ear published in the same year 1865, Mach mentioned that the ear is capable of creating spatial representations. In 1875, he published a memoir on the sensations of movement, speed and acceleration (*Grundlinien der Lehre von den Bewegungsempfindungen*), in which he was able to prove the existence of a particular organ for equilibrium and movement in the inner ear, the semicircular organ. He showed also that the sensation of movement goes on when acceleration ceases, and that the sensation fades when acceleration keeps constant [5]. In about 15 years, Mach was able to carry out Czermak's research program. In the chapter on time sensations of his major work, *The Analysis of Sensations (Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen, 1886)*, Mach dealt with the theme of temporal errors, which had also been dealt with by other authors, including Wilhelm Wundt. Mach assumed that attention is unable to concentrate at the same time on two qualitatively different and simultaneous stimuli, with the consequence that one of them appears always later [6]. In 1872, Mach's collaborator V. Dvorak published the results of experiments in which two optical stimuli were delivered one after the other, to one eye and to the other one [7]. Under such circumstances, several kinds of spatial and temporal illusions could occur. A most remarkable result is the fact that successive stimuli may appear as simultaneous for a determined time interval of 1/8 to 1/6 s. The stimulus, which is attended to as the second one, appears thus as earlier. Mach himself did experiments on the time necessary for consciousness to go

1 from one place to another. In *The Analysis of Sensation*,
2 he mentions an experiment in which two red squares
3 are successively attended to [8]. The second one, which
4 is first seen in an indirect way, is seen as green, which
5 means that it is seen by the attention as endowed with
6 the complementary colour of the after-image, and thus,
7 that the belated attentional process has already reached
8 the stage of the positive after-image. To summarize, we
9 have already dealt with several questions in Herbart's
10 and Mach's works: the amount of time which is grasped
11 by consciousness as a unity and as a convenient unit (the
12 so-called 'specious present'), the differential temporal
13 discrimination of the senses, the fact that the time sense
14 does not obey the Weber–Fechner law, the perception of
15 speed and acceleration, the role of the work of attention
16 in temporal errors and the time of displacement of the
17 attentional process.

19 6. Helmholtz and the psychophysiology of time

21 Hermann von Helmholtz's works on the velocity
22 of the nervous impulse and on time perception are of
23 a different branch, since they are of a more physio-
24 logical character. His determination of the velocity of
25 the nerve impulse in the frog had revolutionary conse-
26 quences in physiology and psychology, since it implied
27 that stimulation and perception were not simultaneous.
28 In a lecture given in 1850 at the University of Königs-
29 berg, where he held a chair in physiology, Helmholtz
30 made comments on the methods allowing one to make
31 precise measurements of very small time intervals in
32 order to study physiological phenomena, including sensa-
33 tions [9]. A major example of the kind of studies
34 advocated by Helmholtz is given by the astronomer's
35 personal equation, the variance in the judgement re-
36 garding simultaneity of different, auditory and visual
37 stimuli, and its physiological basis. A simpler problem
38 corresponds to successive stimuli of the same kind, im-
39 pinging upon to the same nerve fibre. Below a certain
40 time interval, two successive stimuli are judged as si-
41 multaneous. According to Helmholtz, about the same
42 value of the threshold holds true for vision and audi-
43 tion: 1/10 s. In 1865, Mach will demonstrate the exis-
44 tence of different thresholds for these senses. Already
45 in 1850, Helmholtz had perceived all experimental pos-
46 sibilities that were offered by his discovery of the con-
47 duction velocity in nerve fibres. Many of the major types
48 of experiments and experimental paradigms that would
49 be carried out later by him or by other experimental-
50 ists like Mach were described in this text, including the
51 study of the time necessary for a conscious experience
52 to develop. Thanks to an electromechanical device de-

veloped by Werner Siemens for artillery and telegraph,
the measurement of very small time intervals of the or-
der of several milliseconds could be performed. At that
time, as shown by Frederick L. Holmes who studied
Helmholtz's archives at the Berlin–Brandenburg Acad-
emy of Sciences, Helmholtz was also conceiving the
project of studying the velocity of the nervous impulse
on man, not only on frogs [10]. However, it was only
in 1867 that he could start working on this subject, to-
gether with his Russian collaborator Nicolas Baxt. Two
papers were published in 1867 and 1870, in which the
results of measurements on man were given. The next
obvious step was to establish the time necessary for a
conscious experience to develop. An important paper on
the time necessary for a visual impression to reach con-
sciousness was published in 1871 by both authors [11].
The Helmholtz–Baxt experiments were based on the
phenomenon of after-images, which allowed them to
discuss the time-course of the conscious recognition of
a stimulus after its cessation. They used rotating disks
with open slots to create a visual stimulus of very short
duration, followed by the appearance of an after-image
on the retina. The after-image could be extinguished af-
ter a variable duration by a second, superimposed visual
stimulus. The minimal value obtained by Helmholtz and
Baxt for visual recognition to occur was 30 ms. Nicolas
Baxt went on refining the same experimental procedure
and published an additional paper on this subject, taking
into account the time necessary for the extinction stim-
ulus to reach consciousness. Baxt was able to demon-
strate a relationship between the recognition time and
the size and complexity of the stimulus (the number of
recognizable objects it contains) [12]. Helmholtz used
also the same experimental procedure to study attention.
He was able to show that attention may be directed to-
wards a point in visual space which is different from the
fixation point of gaze.

7. Speculations regarding a possible frequency coding

This extraordinary burgeoning of experimental stud-
ies in physiology went with highly speculative and far-
seeing developments. In his *Elements of Physiological
Psychology (Grundzüge der physiologischen Psycholo-
gie, 1880)* Wilhelm Wundt held the view that percep-
tion is a discontinuous phenomenon, because of the
fact that, when different stimuli are not simultaneously
perceived, they tend to separate [13]. This same issue
of discontinuity in perception arose more recently in
the work of Ernst Pöppel. Much earlier than Wundt,
Gustav Theodor Fechner [14a] and Hermann Rudolf

1 Lotze [14b] did not hesitate to formulate an important
 2 psychophysiological hypothesis on purely conceptual,
 3 philosophical and even metaphysical foundations. They
 4 shared the same kind of reasoning and held similar
 5 views on the nature of the transformation of a physical
 6 into a psychical process. According to the philosophical
 7 tradition, the soul is no extended being. Thus the only
 8 kind of magnitude that can be ascribed to it is an inten-
 9 sive one, which refers to the scholastic concept of the
 10 difference between extensive and intensive magnitudes,
 11 the former ones being additive, which is not the case
 12 for the latter. These metaphysical concepts were put in
 13 the context of physics and physiology in the eighteenth
 14 fifties and sixties, and used in the following way. The
 15 perceiving soul can only grasp the intensive aspects of
 16 the nervous, physical process that affects it. The nerve
 17 impulses may be considered to consist, by their succes-
 18 sion, in an oscillatory process. One of the most striking
 19 features of this process is its frequency. Thus Fechner
 20 and Lotze agree on the fact that the soul perceives the
 21 frequency of the nerve impulses [14]. This metaphys-
 22 ical argument can be compared with the discovery by
 23 Edgar Douglas Adrian in 1926 of the fact that the vary-
 24 ing intensity of a stimulus is transformed into a varying
 25 frequency of the nerve discharges [15]. To fully under-
 26 stand this latter point, we have to go from the German-
 27 speaking world to Great Britain. As a matter of fact,
 28 transfers of knowledge and expertise between the two
 29 scientific worlds did exist. For instance, Charles Sher-
 30 rington visited Friedrich Leopold Goltz's laboratory in
 31 Strasbourg in 1884–1885 to study experimental neurology
 32 before going back to England.

33 **8. James' correlation between neurosis and** 34 **psychosis and the continuity of consciousness**

35 The German-speaking and the English-speaking
 36 world had a common advocate, William James. In his
 37 *Principles of Psychology*, James raised some questions,
 38 which are still not answered in contemporary neuro-
 39 science, among which the question “to what cerebral
 40 process is the sense of time due?” is especially relevant
 41 to the present discussion. James fought against the view
 42 that consciousness is a discontinuous process, a view
 43 that was held by Wilhelm Wundt, who wrote in his
 44 *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* that “the
 45 psychological nature of our temporal intuition reveals
 46 itself as discrete” [16]. James derived his conclusion
 47 about the continuity of the stream of consciousness
 48 (“thought is sensibly continuous”) from the oscillatory
 49 character of the nervous process that creates an overlap
 50 between neural oscillations and induces the summa-

51 tion of stimuli. “As the total neurosis changes, so does
 52 the total psychosis change. But as the changes of neu-
 53 rosis are never absolutely discontinuous, so must the
 54 successive psychoses shade gradually into each other”
 55 [17]. James tentatively explained both the continuity
 56 of consciousness and the duration of the ‘specious pre-
 57 sent’: “there is at every moment a cumulation of brain
 58 processes overlapping each other [...] The amount of
 59 the overlapping determines the feeling of the duration
 60 occupied.” [18] James' speculations did enchant many
 61 readers, including the philosophers Henri Bergson and
 62 Edmund Husserl. The latter tried to devise a reflec-
 63 tive method, the phenomenological method, which he
 64 applied to many kinds of problems, including the rela-
 65 tionship between time and consciousness. He described
 66 the coexistence in consciousness of both dimensions,
 67 past and future, retention and protension. He was led to
 68 the conclusion that the temporal structure of conscious-
 69 ness is likely to be created by mechanisms that cannot
 70 be grasped by philosophical reflective consciousness
 71 and thus appear to it as passive mechanisms [19]. How
 72 the temporal framework of consciousness is created still
 73 remains to be explained. We have now to go back to
 74 nervous physiology as it developed in Great Britain and
 75 America in the early 20th century.

76 **9. The all-or-none principle in nerve physiology** 77 **and the frequency coding**

78 In 1902, Francis Gotch, who studied nervous elec-
 79 trical responsiveness to single stimuli, stated the ‘all-or-
 80 none’ law that governs the transmission of the nerve im-
 81 pulses along the fibre [20]. In 1905, Keith Lucas showed
 82 that the same law applies to muscle fibres under an elec-
 83 trical stimulation. He worked in the laboratory of John
 84 Newport Langley, who succeeded Sir Michael Foster,
 85 the renovator of British physiology, in the chair of phys-
 86 iology at the University of Cambridge in 1903. Lucas' work
 87 on the excitable substances at the neuromuscular
 88 junction is a classical piece in the history of physiology.
 89 Regarding the ‘all-or-none’ principle, Lucas was able to
 90 work on isolated nerve fibres, to determine the number
 91 of muscle fibres innervated by a single nerve fibre and to
 92 study the behaviour of these ‘motor units’ [21]. In 1909,
 93 he showed that it has the same kind of scaled pattern
 94 that he had observed earlier on muscle fibres [22]. He
 95 thus extended the concept of an ‘all-or-none’ behaviour
 96 of the muscle fibre to the motor nerve fibre. Between
 97 1912 and 1914, his student Edgar Douglas Adrian ex-
 98 tended these observations to sensory nerve fibres and
 99 published a series of papers in which he showed that the
 100 amplitude of the impulse at a single point depends on
 101
 102
 103
 104

1 the local state at this point, rather than on the intensity
2 of the impulse [23]. In 1915, the Bostonian physiologist
3 Alexander Forbes gave other arguments to give
4 support to the 'all-or-none' law [24]. In 1922, he published
5 a paper with Adrian on the all or nothing response
6 of the sensory nerve fibre [25]. Both investigators were
7 able to show that the response of a sensory nerve fibre
8 to the excitation of the corresponding muscle is of the
9 same kind that the response of a motor nerve once
10 artificially stimulated. Forbes stretched the muscle with
11 help of a spring or gave it an electrical shock to induce
12 its contraction [26]. The same kind of technique
13 was used by Adrian, who published in 1926 a series
14 of three papers in which he showed that the frequency
15 of the sensory response is proportional to the weight
16 which stretches the muscle [27]. This fundamental
17 discovery of the frequency coding of stimulus intensity had
18 many theoretical consequences. Due to its quite general
19 character, the frequency coding put an end to the old
20 concept of a specific nerve energy which had been put
21 forward by the German physiologist Johannes Müller in
22 1826 [28]. Generally speaking, the frequency coding received
23 a strong functional significance. Much later, the
24 German physiologist Ernst Pöppel stressed the discontinuous
25 character of nerve action as the basic mechanism that creates
26 the apparent continuity of consciousness.
27

29 10. Adrian on brain rhythms

31 In spite of his great achievements in physiology,
32 Adrian missed for a while the discovery of the electroencephalogram
33 by Hans Berger in 1929, which was done in a more clinical context.
34 He apologized on several occasions for this lack of information.
35 He explained that the electrophysiologists outside Germany were
36 unaware of Berger's papers before 1933. Electrophysiologists
37 were engaged in work on the peripheral nervous system and not
38 on the central. Adrian mentioned that his own acquaintance
39 with the electrophysiology of the central nervous system did
40 not reach the level of the mammalian brain before 1933. But
41 in 1931, while he was working with Frederik Buytendijk, he
42 started to record electrical potentials in the isolated goldfish's
43 brain, in which both researchers found some slow rhythmic
44 potential changes in the brain stem. These slow rhythms could
45 be "produced by the summation of brief potential changes
46 (e.g., action currents in the nerve fibres) occurring repeatedly
47 in different elements, the rise and fall of the curve being due
48 to an increase and decrease in the number of elements which
49 happen to be in the active state at any moment." [29] Another
50 tentative explanation

53 was that the slow waves "represent a slow change in the
54 nerve cells or dendrites." Rapid waves were observed in the
55 mid-brain. These rapid fluctuations could be ascribed to a
56 "repeated synchronous activity in a group of neurones." Adrian
57 then observed various rhythms, "synchronized reactions" in the
58 water beetle's (*Dytiscus marginalis*) optic ganglion [30].
59 These results led him to the study of the rabbit's cerebral
60 cortex in 1933. Working with Bryan Matthews, he studied the
61 electrical activity produced in the rabbit's anaesthetized brain
62 either spontaneously or by an injury (a cut of brain tissue or
63 a puncture), or by a sensory stimulation, or by drugs [31].
64 Most of the paper is devoted to the discussion of the way the
65 recorded (brief or slow) waves are produced by single neurones,
66 acting in a synchronous or an asynchronous manner. Adrian and
67 Matthews noticed that synchronized action could occur over
68 large areas in the nervous system. When studying the existing
69 literature on the subject, Adrian and Matthews found a reference
70 to Hans Berger's work in a paper published in 1932 by Max
71 Heinrich Fischer of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Brain Research Institute
72 headed by Oskar Vogt in Berlin-Buch [32]. Fischer made records
73 from the exposed brains of cats, rabbits, dogs and monkeys.
74 He described spontaneous oscillations occurring at the cortical
75 surface, other oscillations occurring under various sensory
76 stimulations, and a characteristic response from the striate area
77 to visual stimulations. At the Berlin-Buch Institute, other
78 investigators, A.E. Kornmüller [33] and Jan Tönnies, did also
79 work on the EEG in rabbits and monkeys. In America, brain
80 potentials were recorded by S.H. Bartley and E.B. Newman as
81 early as 1930. George Bishop worked with S.H. Bartley on evoked
82 potentials in the visual cortex. They were able to record electrical
83 phenomena in the visual cortex of the rabbit following electrical
84 stimulation of the optic nerve. In a subsequent study, Bishop
85 tried to investigate excitability changes in the optic pathway
86 [34]. Indeed, the study of the electrical activity within the
87 central nervous system received increased attention in the early
88 nineteen thirties in several parts of the scientific world.
89

90 Going back to Great Britain, Adrian and Matthews recognized
91 immediately the fundamental importance of Berger's discovery.
92 They tried to verify it, and arranged a demonstration at a meeting
93 of the Physiological Society in Cambridge on 12 May 1934. They
94 started to use the terminology of Berger's alpha rhythm, and
95 asked the question of how cortical neurons could produce such
96 regular potential changes. Adrian met Berger in Paris in 1937.
97 Meanwhile, the terminology of 'synchronized' vs. 'desynchronized'
98 states became in use to describe the various patterns observed
99 on the electroencephalogram.
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gram. As stated by Giuseppe Moruzzi, “several lines of experimental evidence led to the conclusion that the slow potential oscillations found in the EEG and in the electrocorticogram were summation effects built from repeated brief unitary pulsations. These unitary beats, however, were much slower than the single action potentials obtained from motor or sensory fibres. Adrian’s doctrine of the synchronization and the desynchronization of cortical neurones and the explanation of Berger’s arrest reaction can now be found in every textbook and are regarded as the basic principles of electroencephalography.” [35]

11. EEG, brain rhythms, and synchronization properties

The states of sleep and wakefulness became soon part of the new picture of brain potentials. One of the pioneers in the field, Alfred Loomis, wrote in 1937: “Largely by the development of a type of amplifier system specifically designed to faithfully record the unusual types of potential occurring during sleep, we have been able to establish very definite states of sleep which change suddenly from time to time, and to correlate these with movements, with dreams, and with external stimuli applied to the sleeping subject” [36]. The effect of external (auditory) stimuli on brain waves in sleep was described by Loomis in terms of synchronization, the brain waves behaving “as if the subject’s cerebral processes had synchronized with the regularly repeated tone.” Artificial synchronization of brain waves with the frequency of external stimuli may be found in other kinds of situations. In a paper on brain rhythms published in 1944, Adrian gave the results of some experiments on the collective working of brain cells: indeed, “regularity means that large numbers of brain cells must be working in unison at the same rate” [37]. This collective behaviour is beautifully shown in Berger’s alpha rhythm, which appears when attention is displaced from one sense to another: for instance, the alpha rhythm appears in the visual area when the subject hears a sound. “The alpha rhythm is thus a rhythm of inattention, a positive activity which fills those parts of the cortex which are for the moment unemployed. It is not the basic rhythm of unstimulated nerve cells, and there must be some kind of competition between the message from the eyes and from the source of the alpha rhythm to decide which shall control the cortical areas” [38]. In order to study this competition between the alpha rhythm and the much more irregular sensory activity, Adrian created sensory messages endowed with a much more regular pattern: “This can be done, as far as vision is concerned,

by making the field more or less uniform and lighting it with a flickering light. The nerve cells are then forced to work in unison at the frequency of the flicker.” In order to produce a competition between the alpha rhythm and the flicker rhythm, Adrian devised an experiment in which the eyes were closed and the flickering light was delivered on the closed lids. In this kind of competition between rhythms, sometimes both rhythms could be seen to “co-operate if their frequencies allowed it.” [39] “Such a combined rhythm usually took some time to build up as the two sets of waves had to be synchronized, but there was evidently an interaction between them and a tendency to remain synchronized as long as their frequencies were not too far apart.” [40] This is a magnificent example of an artificial synchronization of brain rhythms.

In France, Alfred Fessard, who became a regular correspondent of Adrian, was perhaps the electrophysiologist who was most interested in the rhythmic properties of living matter, according to the title of the two volumes he published in 1936 [41]. In 1937, Fessard spent a semester at Cambridge, and worked there with Bryan Matthews on the so-called ‘synaptic potentials’, according to the terminology they proposed for these slow potentials that they were able to record on the sensory and motor roots of the spinal cord [42]. Fessard was also most interested in autorhythmic activities found in different structures such as nerve or muscle fibres, stretch receptors, ganglion cells etc., under certain experimental conditions. According to his pupils Pierre Buser and Robert Naquet, “his interest was to show that all such structures were able to develop autorhythmic states of activity when treated with different physical or chemical agents; autorhythmicity thus seemed to be a general property of isolated excitable preparations” [43]. Alfred Fessard devoted many studies with D. Auger and Angélique Arvanitaki to rhythmic activities in nerves, to the coupling or synchronization between neighbouring pulsating system and to the mechanisms of electric discharges in electric fishes [44].

12. Synchronized and desynchronized states, brain rhythms after the World War II

The vocabulary of synchronized versus desynchronized states was amply used in the fundamental studies of Moruzzi and Magoun (1949) to oppose slow-wave sleep to the waking state. They began their classical paper by the following sentence: “Transitions from sleep to wakefulness, or from the less extreme states of relaxation and drowsiness to alertness and attention, all are characterized by an apparent breaking up of the

1 synchronization of discharge of elements of the cere-
 2 bral cortex, an alteration marked in the EEG by the re-
 3 placement of high-voltage slow waves with low-voltage
 4 fast activity” [45]. According to their own words, these
 5 authors “described the desynchronization of the EEG
 6 induced by brain stem stimulation and presented evi-
 7 dence that this alteration results from exciting a system
 8 of reticular relays ascending to the diencephalon” [46].
 9 At the same time, Frédéric Bremer defended his view
 10 of sleep as deafferentation, based on his ‘cerveau isolé’
 11 preparation. In his view, the fundamental property of
 12 synchronized self-rhythmicity in central neuronal ag-
 13 gregates revealed itself in the clearest way in this prepa-
 14 ration [47]. After the discovery of REM sleep by Eu-
 15 gene Aserinsky and Nathaniel Kleitman in 1955, the
 16 synchronization vs desynchronization vocabulary was
 17 also applied to the different states of sleep, among
 18 other kinds of denominations like the ones in use for
 19 both sleep states: slow-wave sleep versus activated sleep
 20 or rapid sleep, rapid eye movement sleep versus non-
 21 rapid eye movement sleep. Michel Jouvet’s terminol-
 22 ogy of paradoxical sleep [48] deserves particular at-
 23 tention, since it has the great advantage to escape the
 24 epistemological criticism of being caught in a purely
 25 dichotomic conceptual structure, which is the case of
 26 all other denominations. Regarding paradoxical sleep,
 27 Michel Jouvet discovered particular waves, endowed
 28 with an irregular pattern, in the brain stem. They were
 29 later shown in large cortical areas, mainly visual and
 30 auditory areas, and were consequently denominated as
 31 ‘ponto-geniculo-occipital waves’ by Marc Jeannerod.

32 In the late sixties and early seventies, Arlette Rou-
 33 geul-Buser and Jean-Jacques Bouyer, among other re-
 34 searchers, discovered in the cat the equally unexpected
 35 phenomenon of synchronization episodes within states
 36 of wakefulness, which were currently described as con-
 37 sisting only in desynchronized activity. These rhythms
 38 of ‘motionless wakefulness’ appear on the somaesthetic
 39 cortex with a frequency of 12 to 18 Hz [49]. Other
 40 synchronization phenomena within wakefulness were
 41 described in the motor and parietal cortex of the cat
 42 or baboon when the animal was in a state of intense
 43 wakefulness, with a frequency of 35 to 45 Hz. They
 44 were discovered by Arlette Rougeul-Buser and Jean-
 45 Jacques Bouyer and were first denominated as ‘rythmes
 46 d’hypervigilance’ [50]. They were called later ‘40-Hz
 47 rhythms’. Other researchers (Wolf Singer, Rodolfo Lli-
 48 nas) took much interest in them and found them un-
 49 der other circumstances. Llinas, for instance, discov-
 50 ered them in paradoxical sleep [51]. Using magnetoen-
 51 cephalography, Llinas was able to observe a rostrocau-
 52 dal phase shift of 40 Hz activity over the cortex during

wakefulness and paradoxical sleep. The 40-Hz rhythms
 became the subject of many philosophical discussions
 about their meaning regarding the ‘binding problem’ of
 consciousness. Since the binding between various kinds
 of representations corresponding to various cortical ar-
 eas is commonly viewed as a key for understanding
 consciousness mechanisms, and since synchronizations
 between rhythmic activities in different areas can ten-
 tatively be seen as a binding mechanism, the 40-Hz
 rhythm became a candidate for solving the enigma of
 consciousness. It was considered as providing a neces-
 sary temporal framework of consciousness. This idea
 was mainly substantiated in the works of Rodolfo Lli-
 nas and Wolf Singer. More recently, Mircea Steriade
 criticized these speculations. He observed the appear-
 ance of synchronized rapid rhythms within slow-wave
 sleep. This fact “was surprising to those who consider
 these oscillations as reflecting high cognitive processes
 and conscious events during waking and REM sleep.
 However, the fact that beta/gamma activity is voltage
 (depolarization) dependent explains the presence of fast
 activity during the depolarizing phase of the slow sleep
 oscillation.” [52] Other kinds of rhythms, named ‘very
 fast visual rhythms’, occurring in the visual cortex dur-
 ing eye saccade and endowed with a range of frequen-
 cies varying between 50 and 132 Hz, were recently ob-
 served by Pierre Buser and Arlette Rougeul-Buser [53].
 This discovery makes the picture of the electrophysio-
 logical correlates of attention more complex. The fas-
 cinating story of brain rhythms remains thus an open
 question that keeps its exceptional scientific and philo-
 sophical interest.

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