

# The Eternal Debate between Bernoulli and Leibniz

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1. What Bernoulli and Leibniz said
2. The 300 year argument  
1713 - 1763 - 1813 - 1863 - 1913 - 1963 - 2013
3. The role of judgment?
4. Defensive forecasting

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# What Bernoulli and Leibniz said

## Bernoulli/Leibniz correspondence in 1703

**Bernoulli:** Use past frequencies to give probabilities for future.

**Leibniz:** Things change. Nature has its habits, but only mostly.

# Bernoulli

If I perceive ... that it happens 1000 times that the young person outlives the old person and the reverse happens only 500 times,

then I may **safely enough** conclude that it is **twice as probable** that a young person will outlive an old one as the reverse.

# Leibniz

Who is to say that the following result will not diverge somewhat from the law of all the preceding ones – because of the mutability of things?

New diseases attack mankind.

Bernoulli later (in *Ars conjectandi*, 1713):

1. May need new observations.
2. One argument, to be combined with others.

Leibniz later (1714):

Yes. What is done more or less  
is more or less doable  
in the present state of things...

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# The 300 year argument

# The 300 year argument

Bernoulli's theorem always has place in theory.

Scope of application always contested.



# Dipping in every 50 years...

1763

Life insurance

1813

Laplace triumphant

1863

Numbers everywhere  
Bernoulli/Laplace debunked

1913

Bernoulli resurgent

1963

Stochastic processes  
Inductive behavior

2013

Bernoulli resurgent  
Bayes everywhere

# 1763

Anders Hald: “The usefulness of probability theory was convincingly demonstrated by application to problems of life insurance.”

- Abraham de Moivre: *Annuities upon Lives* 1725, 1743
- Thomas Simpson: *The Doctrine of Annuities and Reversions* 1742

**Astronomy?** No Bernoulli in Tycho Brahe, Galileo, or Kepler.

# 1813

In 1812, Laplace publishes his monumental *Théorie analytique des probabilités*.

- Bernoulli and Bayes in harmony.
- Probability applied freely to science and human events.

# 1863

## Numbers and statistics everywhere

- Error theory used
- Statistical mechanics emerging
- Insurance still sold

## But mathematical probability stagnant Laplace and Bernoulli debunked

- John Venn, 1866, rejects Bernoulli.
- Joseph Bertrand, 1887, ridicules Laplace.  
([www.jehps.net](http://www.jehps.net), Volume 8)
- Many deplore Laplace's application of probability to judgment.

By 1863, Bernoulli's theorem has  
become a puzzle.

“I may **safely enough** conclude that it is **twice as probable** that a young person will outlive an old one as the reverse.”

Probability appears twice, first as confidence, then as frequency.

How to make sense of this in world of data?

Bernoulli: “safely enough” = moral certainty.



Jakob Bernoulli

“Something is *morally certain* if its probability is so close to certainty that the shortfall is imperceptible.”

“Something is *morally impossible* if its probability is no more than the amount by which moral certainty falls short of complete certainty.”

Cournot tried to make 19<sup>th</sup> century sense of this idea.



Antoine Cournot  
1801–1877

Maurice Fréchet, 1878–1973,  
proposed the name *Cournot's  
principle*.

Cournot discussed both *moral impossibility* (very small probability) and *physical impossibility* (infinitely small probability).

A physically impossible event is one whose probability is infinitely small. This remark alone gives substance—an objective and phenomenological value—to the mathematical theory of probability.

# 1913

## **Bernoulli's theorem resurgent again**

- Chebyshev's school flourishing
- Pearson and company bring mathematical statistics to Britain
- New energy across western Europe

Bernoulli flourishes every 100 years: 1713, 1813, 1913.



# Two less often remembered Bernoulli acolytes c. 1913

- Alexander Alexandrovich Chuprov  
1874-1926



- Ladislaus von Bortkiewicz  
1868-1931





Aleksandr Chuprov  
1874–1926

Only Chuprov came close to repeating Cournot's claim that the the principle of moral certainty is the **meaning** of probability.



Petersburg Polytechnical Institute

In his *Essays on the Theory of Statistics* (in Russian 1909 and 1910), Chuprov called the principle that an event of small probability will not happen **Cournot's lemma**, because we use it to get from Bernoulli's theorem to the law of large numbers.

It was, he said, the basic principle of the logic of probable.

# Chuprov's analysis of Bernoulli

**Bernoulli's theorem:** Frequency will be close to the true probability with very high probability.

**Cournot's principle:** Event with very high probability specified in advance (or simple) will happen.

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**Law of large numbers:** Frequency will be close to the true probability.



**Alexander Alexandrovich Chuprov 1874-1926**

[Essays in the theory of Statistics. Moscow 1909.](#)

# Reviving Bernoulli's “stochastic”

Bernoulli: *Ars Conjectandi sive Stochastice*

(the art of conjecturing or guessing)

Revived by Ladislaus von Bortkiewicz (1868-1931) in 1917.



von Bortkiewicz:

1. The probability calculus is mathematics.
2. Stochastik is the science of applying it to the real world.

# 1963

## Jerzy Neyman



How did Neyman think about Bernoulli's theorem?

**Neyman agreed with Leibniz!**

- iid unrealistic as scientific model
- Science = stochastic processes

# Neyman in 1960

In order that the applied statistician be in a position to cooperate effectively with the modern experimental scientist, the theoretical equipment of the statistician must include familiarity and capability of dealing with stochastic processes.

# Neyman saw four periods in the history of indeterminism in science.

1. *Marginal indeterminism*: 19<sup>th</sup> century. Science deterministic except in the domain of errors of measurement.
2. *Static indeterminism*: End the 19<sup>th</sup>, beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Populations were main subject of scientific study. Idea of independent draws from populations was dominant.
3. *Static indeterministic experimentation*: 1920 to 1940. R. A. Fisher dominant. Statistical testing and estimation developed.
4. *Dynamic indeterminism*: Already in full swing in 1960. Every serious study in science is a study of some evolutionary chance mechanism.

# Neyman's **inductive behavior**

Bernoulli's theorem is fundamental even though science's stochastic processes are never iid.

The statistician intervenes and chooses a sequence of 95% predictions to make.

A statistician who makes predictions with 95% confidence has two goals only:

be informative

**be right 95% of the time**



## Neyman's **inductive behavior**

Your 95% predictions only need to be right 95% of the time.

You can do this without knowing full stochastic model.

# 2013

## How has Neyman's philosophy fared?

Perhaps followed in practice but philosophically unpopular

- Without iid repetition, model seems insufficiently validated.
- Probability judgment should not depend arbitrary choice of past sequence.

Two statisticians who are right 95% of the time may tell the court contradictory things.

They are placing the litigated event in different sequences.

# 2013

Has Leibniz won the argument?

Yes but.

- We teach Bernoulli's theorem.
- We use Bernoulli's theorem.
- Leibniz's winning only means we don't believe in what we are doing.

OK. Profiling is wrong. But we have to do it.

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# The role of judgment?

# Bernoulli's ambitions

1. Explain how probabilities can be learned from experience.
2. Explain how probabilities can be used (and combined) as arguments.

# Judgments essential to use of Bernoulli's theorem

- **Moral certainty:** the event of high probability we have defined is simple enough it should have happened.

**We will not lose our bet.**

- **Relevance:** This makes the sequence relevant.
- **Irrelevance:** Nothing else we have learned changes our confidence in our bet.

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# Defensive forecasting

# Game-theoretic probability

- **Probabilities derive from **betting** offers.**

Not from the measure of sets.

- **Probabilities are tested by **betting** strategies.**

- **Probability theorems are proven by **betting** strategies.**

-- Do not say that the property fails on a set of measure zero.

-- Say that its failure implies the success of a betting strategy.



# Defensive forecasting

- In the game-theoretic framework, it can be shown that **good probability forecasting is possible**.
- Once a sequence of events is fixed, **you can give probabilities that pass statistical tests**.
- The forecasting **defends** against the tests.