

BO1 History of Mathematics
Lecture XIV
Linear algebra
Part 2: Determinants and matrices

MT 2020 Week 7

Determinants

Colin Maclaurin, *A treatise of algebra*, 1748, Ch. XII, pp. 81–85

Determinants

Leibniz, unpublished works, 1680s/1690s.

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Leibniz and determinants

At least as early as June 1678, Leibniz devised a new notation for coefficients, writing

$$10 + 11x + 12y = 0,$$

$$20 + 21x + 22y = 0$$

for what we would write as

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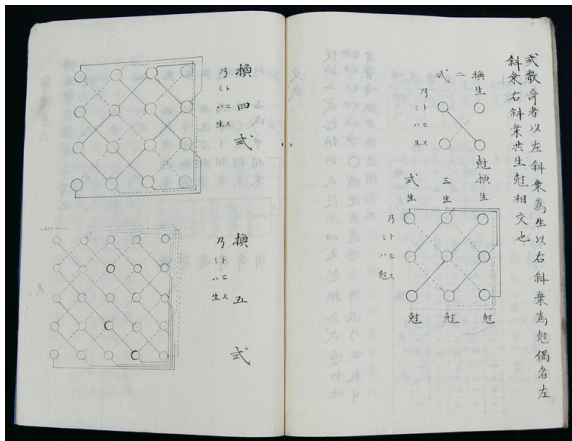
Seki Takakazu, *Kai-fukudai-no-hō* 解伏題之法, 1683

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Seki and determinants

Seki Takakazu, *Kai-fukudai-no-hō* 解伏題之法 (*Method for Solving Concealed Problems*), 1683

Arranged coefficients of systems of equations in a grid, and gave schematics for construction of determinants (dotted lines indicate positive products, and solid lines negative)



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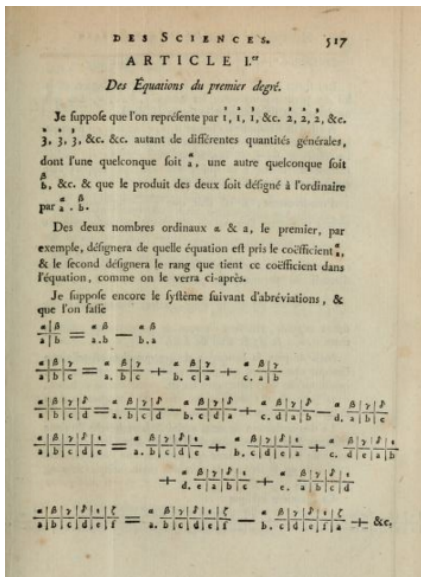
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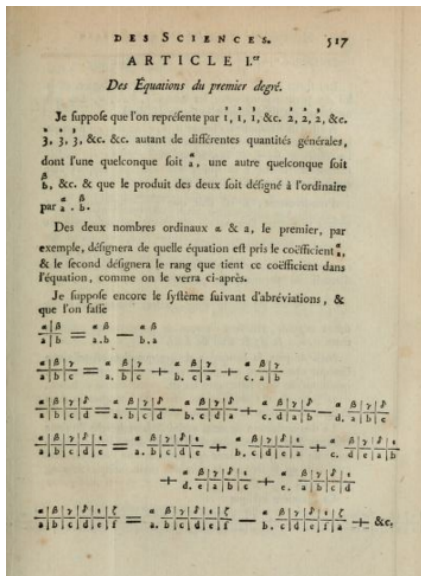
Vandermonde, 'Mémoire sur l'élimination', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences*, 1772: a recursive description of determinants of any size (but without a name and in an uncongenial notation — see *Mathematics emerging*, §17.1.3)

Vandermonde on elimination



α
 a denotes a single quantity, e.g.,
 a a coefficient in a linear equation

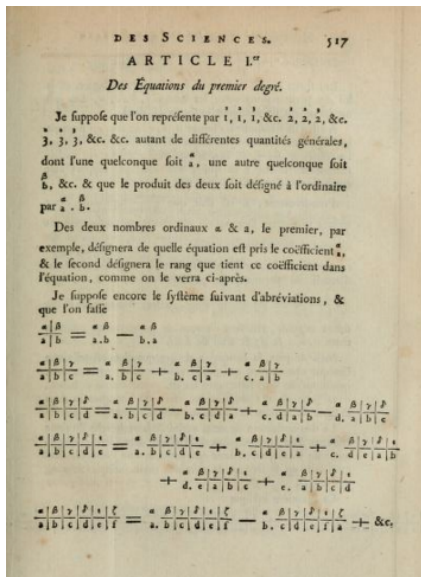
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Define: $\frac{\alpha | \beta}{a | b} = \frac{\alpha}{a} \frac{\beta}{b} - \frac{\alpha}{b} \frac{\beta}{a}$

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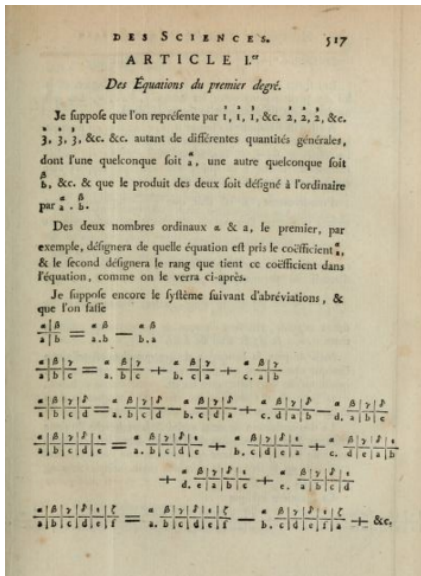
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Define: $\frac{\alpha}{a} \Big| \frac{\beta}{b} = \frac{\alpha}{a} \frac{\beta}{b} - \frac{\alpha}{b} \frac{\beta}{a}$

Anachronistically, this is the determinant of the matrix:

$$\begin{pmatrix} \alpha & \alpha \\ a & b \\ \beta & \beta \\ a & b \end{pmatrix}$$

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Then continue recursively ...

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Gauss in *Disquisitiones arithmeticae* (1801) gave the name 'determinant' to what is now called the 'discriminant' $B^2 - AC$ of the binary quadratic form $Ax^2 + 2Bxy + Cy^2$.

Cauchy on determinants

QUI NE PEUVENT OBTENIR QUE DEUX VALEURS, ETC. 113

les propriétés générales des formes du second degré, c'est-à-dire des polynomes du second degré à deux ou à plusieurs variables, et il a désigné ces mêmes fonctions sous le nom de *déterminants*. Je conserverai cette dénomination qui fournit un moyen facile d'énoncer les résultats; j'observerai seulement qu'on donne aussi quelquefois aux fonctions dont il s'agit le nom de *résultantes* à deux ou à plusieurs lettres. Ainsi les deux expressions suivantes, *déterminant* et *résultante*, devront être regardées comme synonymes.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE.

DES FONCTIONS SYMÉTRIQUES ALTERNÉES DESIGNÉES SOUS LE NOM DE DÉTERMINANTS.

PREMIÈRE SECTION.

Des déterminants en général et des systèmes symétriques.

§ 1^{er}. Soient a_1, a_2, \dots, a_n plusieurs quantités différentes en nombre égal à n . On a fait voir ci-dessus que, en multipliant le produit de ces quantités ou

$$a_1 a_2 \dots a_n$$

par le produit de leurs différences respectives, ou par

$$(a_1 - a_2)(a_2 - a_3) \dots (a_{n-1} - a_n)(a_1 - a_3) \dots (a_n - a_2) \dots (a_1 - a_{n-1}) \dots (a_n - a_1),$$

on obtenait pour résultat la fonction symétrique alternée

$$S(\pm a_1 a_2 a_3 \dots a_n)$$

qui, par conséquent, se trouve toujours égale au produit

$$a_1 a_2 a_3 \dots a_n (a_2 - a_1)(a_3 - a_1) \dots (a_n - a_1)(a_3 - a_2) \dots (a_n - a_2) \dots (a_n - a_1) \dots (a_n - a_{n-1}).$$

Supposons maintenant que l'on développe ce dernier produit et que, dans chaque terme du développement, on remplace l'exposant de

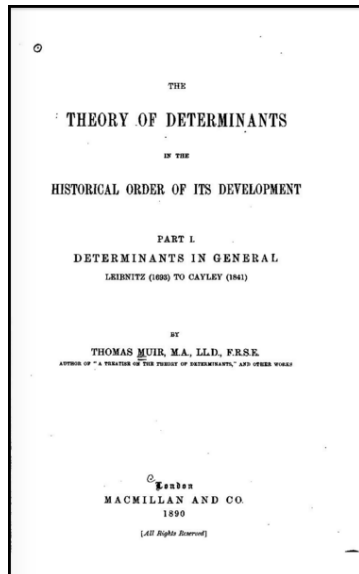
Cauchy, 'Mémoire sur les fonctions qui ne peuvent obtenir que deux valeurs égales et de signes contraires par suite des transpositions opérées entre les variables qu'elles renferment', *Journal de l'École polytechnique*, 1815

Referred to Laplace, Vandermonde, Gauss, and others

Introduced the term **determinant** for the function of n^2 quantities (a sum of $n!$ signed products) that we now know by that name.

(See *Mathematics emerging*, §17.1.4.)

History of the theory of determinants



Determinants were studied extensively in the 19th century.

Sir Thomas Muir, *The theory of determinants in the historical order of development (1890–1906)*

- ▶ Part I: *Determinants in general: Leibnitz (1693) to Cayley (1841)*;
- ▶ Part II: *Special determinants up to 1841*

Second edition in 4 volumes, 1906–1923; supplement, 1930.

'Eigenvalue' problems

Euler (1748): change of coordinates to reduce equation of a quadric surface $\alpha z^2 + \beta yz + \gamma xz + \delta y^2 + \epsilon xy + \zeta x^2 + \eta z + \theta y + \iota x + \chi = 0$ to its simplest form $Ap^2 + Bq^2 + Cr^2 + K = 0$ (see: *Mathematics emerging*, §17.2.1.)

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Laplace (1787): symmetry of coefficients in a set of linear differential equations leads to real 'eigenvalues' (see: *Mathematics emerging*, §17.2.2.)

Cauchy (1829): a symmetric matrix is diagonalisable by a real orthogonal change of variables (see: *Mathematics emerging*, §17.2.3.)

Matrices and their determinants

Gauss, *Disquisitiones arithmeticae* (1801): transformation of quadratic forms $ax^2 + 2bxy + cy^2$ by change of variables

$$x = \alpha x' + \beta y', \quad y = \gamma x' + \delta y'$$

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comes to the same as

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Moreover, the 'determinants' (our sense) multiply.

NB. All Gauss' coefficients were integers

(See *Mathematics emerging*, §17.3.1.)

Early origins of matrices

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Thus, in 1850, J. J. Sylvester applied the word to the 'thing' from which determinants originate:

For this purpose we must commence, not with a square, but with an oblong arrangement of terms consisting, suppose, of m lines and n columns. This will not in itself represent a determinant, but is, as it were, a Matrix out of which we may form various systems of determinants by fixing upon a number p , and selecting at will p lines and p columns, the squares corresponding of p th order.

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But he did not **operate** with matrices

The definition of matrices

Arthur Cayley, 'A memoir on the theory of matrices', *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, 1858:

[17]

II. A Memoir on the Theory of Matrices. By ARTHUR CAYLEY, Esq., F.R.S.

Received December 10, 1857,—Read January 14, 1858.

THE term matrix might be used in a more general sense, but in the present memoir I consider only square and rectangular matrices, and the term matrix used without qualification is to be understood as meaning a square matrix; in this restricted sense, a set of quantities arranged in the form of a square, *e. g.*

$$\begin{pmatrix} a, & b, & c \\ a', & b', & c' \\ a'', & b'', & c'' \end{pmatrix}$$

is said to be a matrix. The notion of such a matrix arises naturally from an abbreviated notation for a set of linear equations, *viz.* the equations

$$X = ax + by + cz,$$

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may be more simply represented by

$$(X, Y, Z) = \begin{pmatrix} a, & b, & c \\ a', & b', & c' \\ a'', & b'', & c'' \end{pmatrix} (x, y, z),$$

and the consideration of such a system of equations leads to most of the fundamental notions in the theory of matrices. It will be seen that matrices (attending only to those of the same order) comport themselves as single quantities; they may be added, multiplied or compounded together, &c.: the law of the addition of matrices is precisely similar to that for the addition of ordinary algebraical quantities; as regards their multiplication (or composition), there is the peculiarity that matrices are not in general convertible; it is nevertheless possible to form the powers (positive or negative, integral or fractional) of a matrix, and thence to arrive at the notion of a rational and integral function, or generally of any algebraical function, of a matrix. I obtain the remarkable theorem that any matrix whatever satisfies an algebraical equation of its own order, the coefficient of the highest power being unity, and those of the other powers functions of the terms of the matrix, the last coefficient being in fact the determinant; the rule for the formation of this equation may be stated in the following condensed form, which will be intelligible after a perusal of the memoir, *viz.* the determi-

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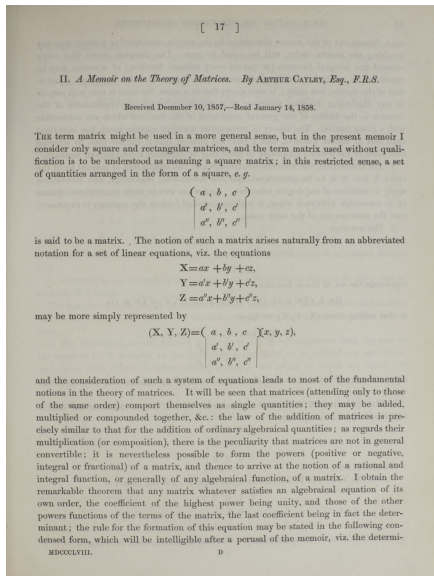
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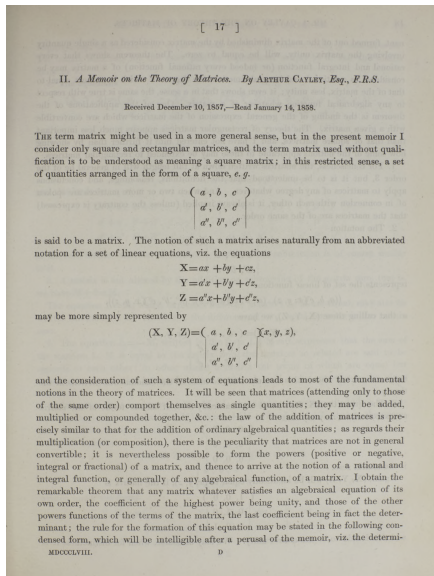
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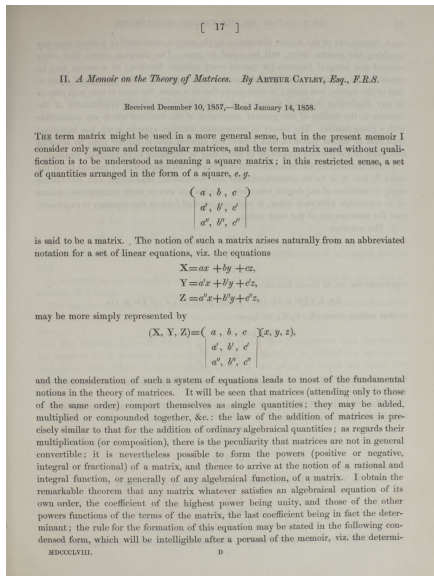
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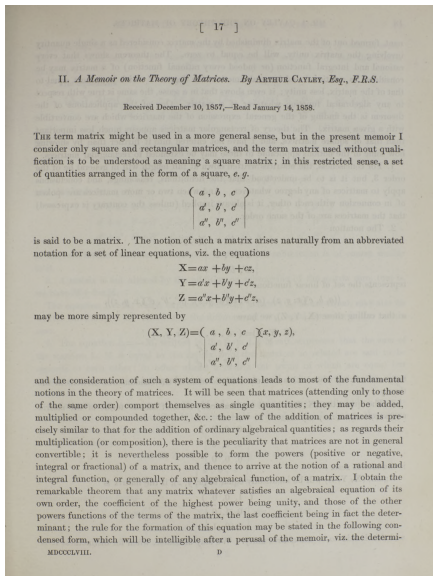
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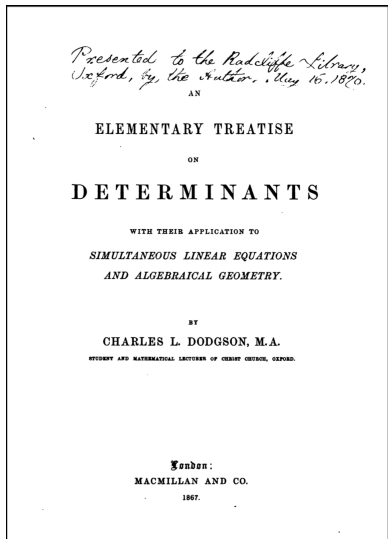
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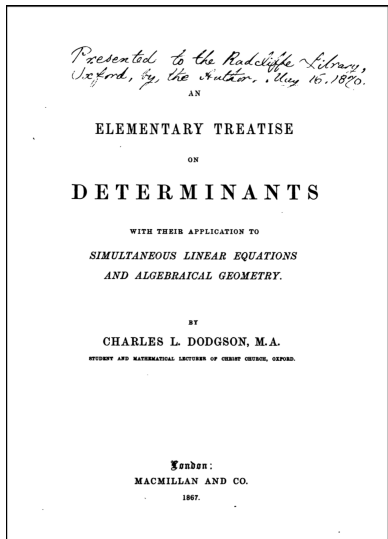
(See *Mathematics emerging*, §17.3.2.)

Determinants persist



"I am aware that the word 'Matrix' is already in use to express the very meaning for which I use the word 'Block'; but surely the former word means rather the mould, or form, into which algebraical quantities may be introduced, than an actual assemblage of such quantities ..."

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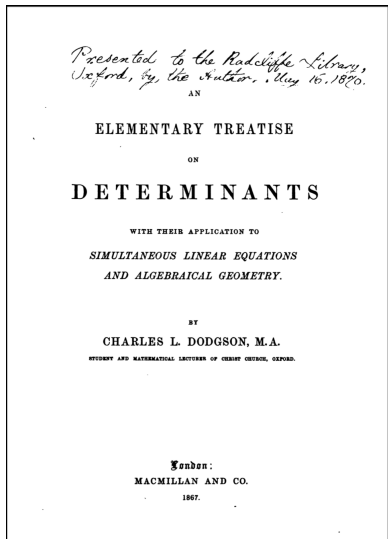


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Criticised notation ' a_{ij} ':

"it seems a fatal objection to this system that most of the space is occupied by a number of a's, which are wholly superfluous, while the only important part of the notation is reduced to minute subscripts, alike difficult to the writer and the reader."

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Proposed $i \setminus j$ instead

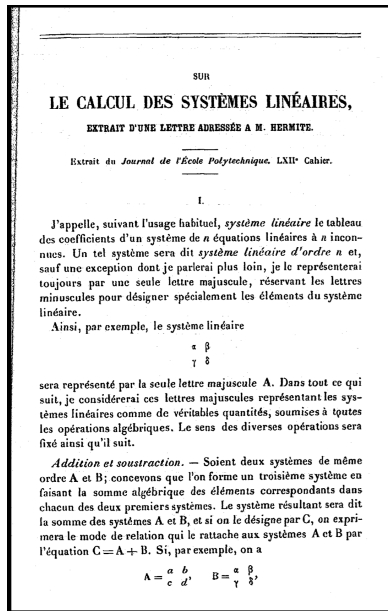
Matrices elsewhere

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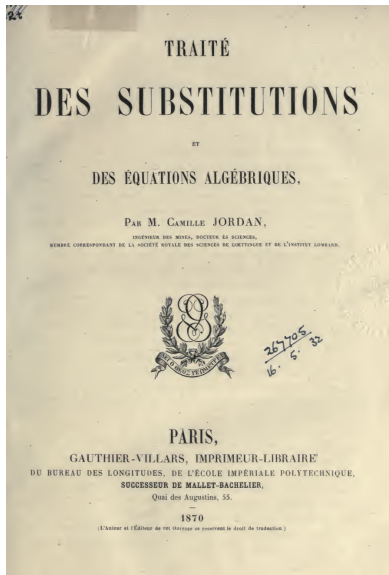
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Matrices were also devised by Laguerre in his paper 'Sur le calcul des systèmes linéaires' (*J. École polytechnique*, 1867)

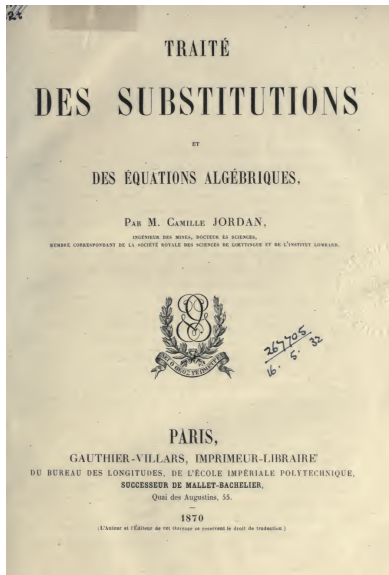


Jordan and linear substitutions



Camille Jordan, *Traité des substitutions*, 1870:

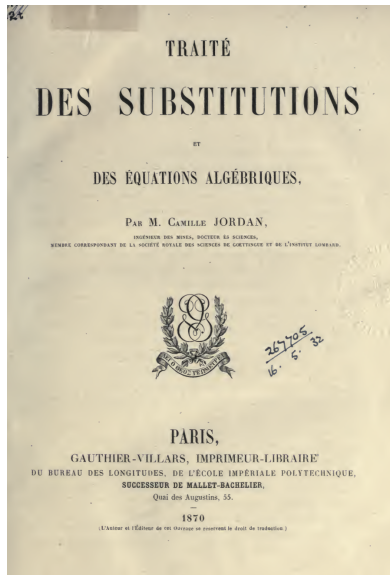
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- ▶ studied matrices over integers modulo n as part of an extensive study of linear substitutions (in connection with Galois theory); developed 'canonical forms' to study conjugacy classes in these groups
- ▶ developed his ideas to 'Jordan canonical form' for complex matrices in his studies 1872–4 of linear differential equations

German contributions

führt. Diese Erwägungen leiteten mich darauf, statt der Transformation der bilinearen Formen die Zusammensetzung der linearen Substitutionen zu behandeln.

§. 1. Multiplication.

1. Sind A und B zwei bilineare Formen der Variablen x_1, \dots, x_n ; y_1, \dots, y_n , so ist auch

$$P = \sum_i \frac{\partial A}{\partial y_i} \frac{\partial B}{\partial x_i}$$

eine bilineare Form derselben Variablen. Dieselbe nenne ich aus den Formen A und B (in dieser Reihenfolge) *zusammengesetzt**). Es werden in Folgenden nur solche Operationen mit bilinearen Formen vorgenommen, bei welchen sie bilineare Formen bleiben**). Ich werde z. B. eine Form mit einer Constanten (von $x_1, y_1; \dots, x_n, y_n$ unabhängigen Grösse) multipliciren, zwei Formen addiren, eine Form, deren Coefficienten von einem Parameter abhängen, nach demselben differentiren. Ich werde aber nicht zwei Formen mit einander multipliciren. Aus diesem Grunde kann kein Missverständniß entstehen, wenn ich die aus A und B zusammengesetzte Form P mit

$$AB = \sum_i \frac{\partial A}{\partial y_i} \frac{\partial B}{\partial x_i}$$

bezeichne, und sie das *Product* der Formen A und B , diese die *Factoren* von P nenne. Für diese Bildung gilt

a) das *distributive* Gesetz:

$$A(B+C) = AB+AC, \quad (A+B)C = AC+BC,$$

$$(A+B)(C+D) = AC+BC+AD+BD.$$

*) Borchard, Neue Eigenschaft der Gleichung, mit deren Hilfe man die saeculären Störungen der Planeten bestimmt. Dieses Journal Bd. 30, S. 38.

Cayley, Remarques sur la notation des fonctions algébriques. Dieses Journal Bd. 50, S. 282.

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**) Unter dem Bilde einer bilinearen Form fasse ich ein System von n^2 Grössen zusammen, die nach n Zeilen und n Columnen geordnet sind. Eine Gleichung zwischen zwei bilinearen Formen repräsentirt daher einen Complex von n^2 Gleichungen. Ich werde bisweilen von dem Bilde der Form absehen und unter dem Zeichen A das System der n^2 Grössen $a_{\alpha\beta}$, unter der Gleichung $A = B$ das System der n^2 Gleichungen $a_{\alpha\beta} = b_{\alpha\beta}$ verstehen.

Georg Frobenius, in 1878, working with bilinear forms, produced more canonical forms, and gave a satisfactory proof of the Cayley–Hamilton Theorem

(See *Mathematics emerging*, §17.3.3.)

German contributions

führt. Diese Erwägungen leiteten mich darauf, statt der Transformation der bilinearen Formen die Zusammensetzung der linearen Substitutionen zu behandeln.

§. 1. Multiplication.

1. Sind A und B zwei bilineare Formen der Variablen x_1, \dots, x_n ; y_1, \dots, y_n , so ist auch

$$P = \sum_{y, y'} \frac{\partial A}{\partial y} \frac{\partial B}{\partial x}$$

eine bilineare Form derselben Variablen. Dieselbe nenne ich aus den Formen A und B (in dieser Reihenfolge) *zusammengesetzt**). Es werden in Folgenden nur solche Operationen mit bilinearen Formen vorgenommen, bei welchen sie bilineare Formen bleiben**). Ich werde z. B. eine Form mit einer Constanten (von $x_1, y_1; \dots, x_n, y_n$ unabhängigen Grösse) multipliciren, zwei Formen addiren, eine Form, deren Coefficienten von einem Parameter abhängen, nach demselben differentiren. Ich werde aber nicht zwei Formen mit einander multipliciren. Aus diesem Grunde kann kein Missverständnis entstehen, wenn ich die aus A und B zusammengesetzte Form P mit

$$AB = \sum_{y, y'} \frac{\partial A}{\partial y} \frac{\partial B}{\partial x}$$

bezeichne, und sie das *Product* der Formen A und B , diese die *Factoren* von P nenne. Für diese Bildung gilt

a) das *distributive* Gesetz:

$$A(B+C) = AB+AC, \quad (A+B)C = AC+BC,$$

$$(A+B)(C+D) = AC+BC+AD+BD.$$

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A recommended secondary source: Thomas Hawkins, 'Another look at Cayley and the theory of matrices', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* **26** (1977), 82–112