

# Numerical Linear Algebra Before the Last Paradigm Shift\*

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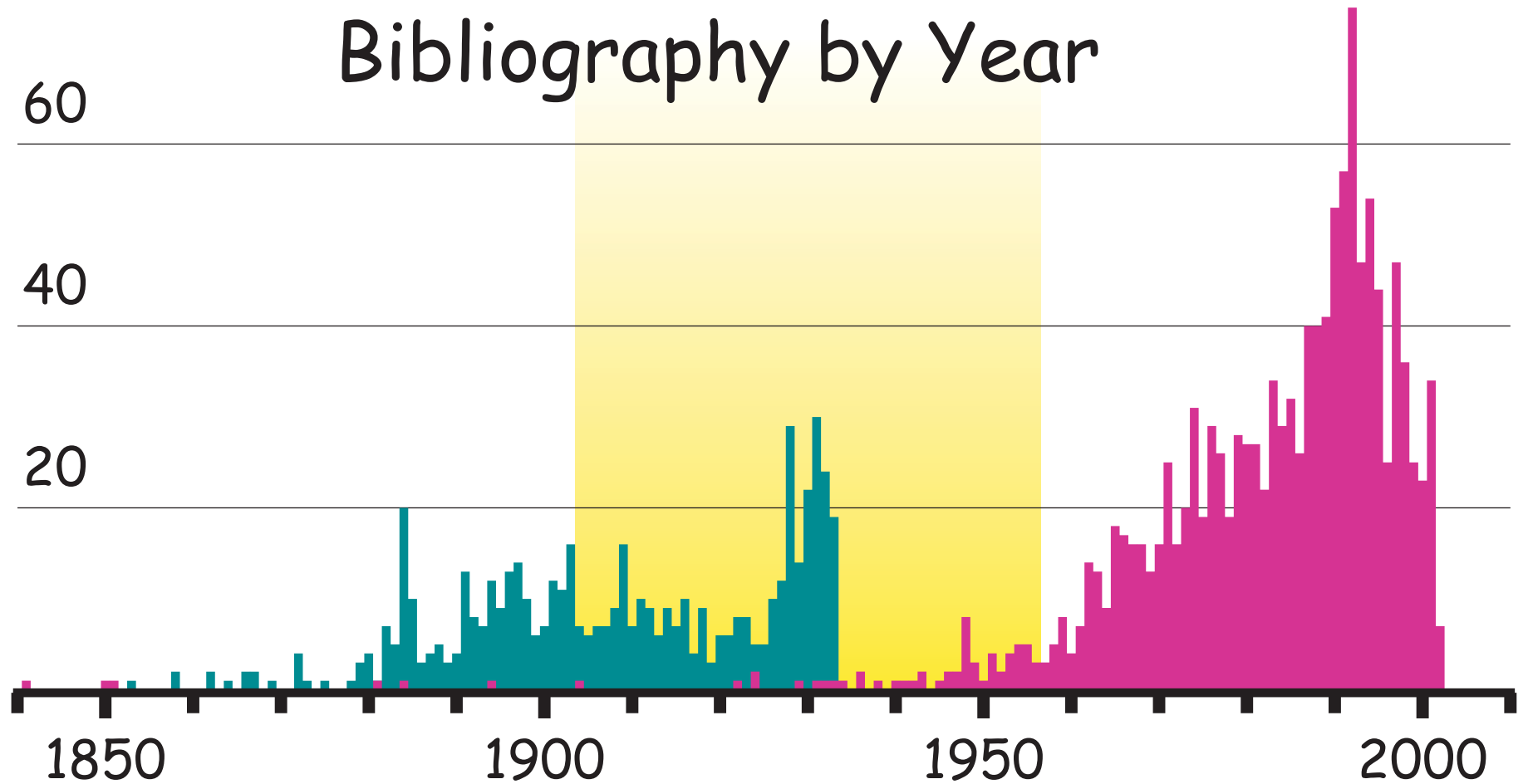
October 5, 2005  
Berkeley

\*Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*,  
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970.

“The state of numerical mathematics stayed pretty much the same as Gauss left it until World War II.”

— Herman Goldstine, 1972

## Bibliography by Year



■ von Neumann's life span

■ Lectures on Matrices (Wedderburn)

■ Accuracy and Stability of Numerical Algorithms (Higham)



Frobenius norm

matrices

adjustment of observations

survey adjustments

Gaussian elimination

geodesy

matrix factoring

## Frobenius norm

$$\|A\|_F$$



Ferdinand Frobenius  
1849 – 1917

*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen  
Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,*  
241 – 248 (1911)

Let  $r_1, \dots, r_n$  be the characteristic roots of a matrix of the form

$$R = \sum r_{i,j} x_i y_j$$

I define the *Spur*

$$\chi(R) = \sum r_{i,i} = \sum r_i$$

and the *Spannung*

$$\vartheta(R) = \chi(R \bar{R}') = \|R\|_F^2$$



Ferdinand Frobenius

1849 – 1917

*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen  
Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,*  
241 – 248, 654–665 (1911)

The *Spannung*

$$\vartheta(R) = \|R\|_F^2$$

obeys the Schwartz inequality

$$\sqrt{\vartheta(P-Q)} \leq \sqrt{\vartheta(P)} + \sqrt{\vartheta(Q)}$$

and also

$$\vartheta(PQ) \leq \vartheta(P) \vartheta(Q)$$



John von Neumann

1903 – 1957

Allgemeine Eigenwerttheorie Hermitescher  
Funktionaloperatoren, *Mathematische An-  
nalen*, 102:49–131 (1929)

Von Neumann was mostly  
interested in unbounded  
operators.





Stefan Banach

1892 – 1945

*Théorie des Opérations linéaires*, Warsaw  
(1932)

The *norme*  $|U|$  of a linear operator  $U(x)$  is the smallest number  $M$  satisfying

$$|U(x)| \leq M |x|$$

for all  $x$



Joseph Wedderburn  
1892 – 1945

*Lectures on Matrices*, American Mathematical Society, New York (1934)

His extensive bibliography is the source for references to Peano, Schur and the earlier Frobenius paper.

He chose the *absolute value*

$$|\cdot| = \|\cdot\|_F$$



John von Neumann  
1903 – 1957

Some Matrix-Inequalities and Metrization of  
Matric-Space, *Tomsk Univ. Rev.* (1937)

Let  $\varphi$  be a symmetric gauge function.

For a matrix  $X$ , form  $XX^*$  and its proper values  $\omega_1, \dots, \omega_n$ , and define

$$|X|_{\varphi} = \varphi(\omega_1^{1/2}, \dots, \omega_n^{1/2})$$



Harold Hotelling  
1895 – 1973

Some New Methods in Matrix Calculation, *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 14:1–34 (1943)

“The *norm* of the matrix  $A$

$$N(A) = \|A\|_F$$

is what Wedderburn defines as the absolute value.”

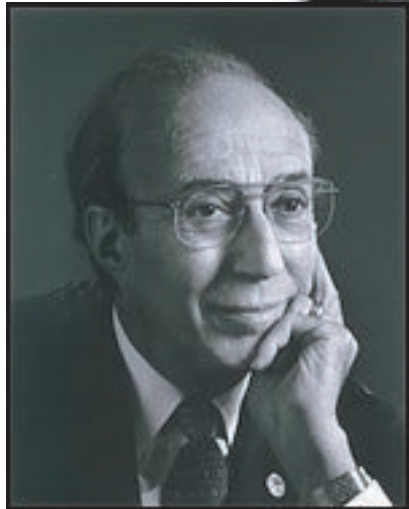


Cyrus MacDuffee

1895 – 1961

*The Theory of Matrices*, New York (1946)

“Notation for matrices  
is far from agreed.”



von Neumann 1903 – 1957  
and Goldstine 1913 – 2004

Numerical Inverting of Matrices of High Order, *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society*, 53:1021–1099 (1947)

*norm*

$$N(A) = \|A\|_F$$

*upper bound*

$$|A| = \max_{|x|=1} |Ax| = \|A\|_2$$

*lower bound*

$$|A|_\ell = \min_{|x|=1} |Ax|$$



Alan Turing

1912 – 1954

Rounding-off Errors in Matrix Processes,  
*The Quarterly Journal of Mechanics and Applied Mathematics*, 1:287–308 (1948)

*norm*

$$N(A) = \|A\|_F$$

*maximum expansion*

$$B(A) = \|A\|_2$$

*maximum coefficient*

$$M(A) = \max_{i,j} |a_{i,j}|$$



Alston Householder

1904 – 1993

*Principles of Numerical Analysis*, McGraw-Hill, New York (1953)

*norm*

$$N(A) = \|A\|_F$$

*maximum*

$$M(A) = \|A\|_2$$

*bound*

$$b(A) = \max_{i,j} |a_{i,j}|$$





E(wald?) Bodewig

*Matrix Calculus*, North-Holland, Amsterdam  
(1956, 1959)

*norm*

$$N(A) = \|A\|_F$$

*maximum expansion or bound*

$$|A| = \|A\|_2$$

*maximum coefficient*

$$m(A) = \max_{i,j} |a_{i,j}|$$



James Wilkinson  
1919 – 1986

*Rounding Errors in Algebraic Processes*,  
Prentice Hall, Amsterdam (1963)

*Euclidean or Schur norm*

$$\|A\|_E = \|A\|_F$$

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Question:

Who introduced  $\|\cdot\|$  notation?

Possible Answer:

Maybe Bauer or Stoer in the 1960's.



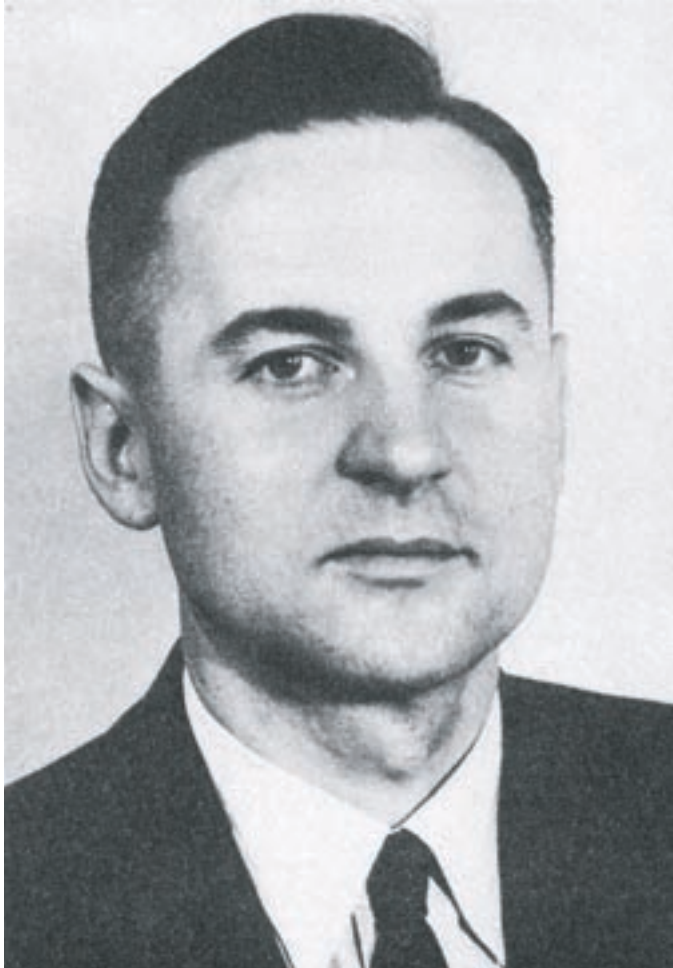
Alston Householder

1904 – 1993

*The Theory of Matrices in Numerical Analysis*, Blaisdell, New York (1964)

*Euclidean length* of a matrix

$$\tau^{1/2}(A^H A) = \|A\|_F$$



Heinz Rutishauser

1918 – 1970

the so-called *Schur norm*

$$\|A\|_2 = \|A\|_F$$

*Lectures on Numerical Mathematics*, Birkhäuser, Boston (1990), posthumous



Pete Stewart

*Introduction to Matrix Computations*, Academic Press, New York (1973)

the *Frobenius norm*

$$\|A\|_F$$

## 1. Anachronism:

“Historical description means understanding things as people understood them then.”

## 2. Chronology:

“Chronology is not the same thing as history.  
History is processed chronological data.”

Kenneth May (1915 – 1977)

“Historiography: A Perspective for Computer Scientists,” in *A History of Computing in the 20th Century*, edited by Metropolis, Howlett, Rota, 1980.

1887	Peano	used value of $\  \cdot \ _F$
1909	Schur	used value of $\  \cdot \ _F$
1911	Frobenius	<i>Spannung</i> $\vartheta(\cdot) = \  \cdot \ _F^2$ with sum and product rules
1929	von Neumann	Hilbert spaces
1932	Banach	Banach space operator $ \cdot $
1934	Wedderburn	<i>absolute value</i> $ \cdot  = \  \cdot \ _F$
1937	von Neumann	matrix space metrization $ \cdot _\varphi$
1943	Hotelling	<i>norm</i> $N(\cdot) = \  \cdot \ _F$
1946	MacDuffee	“notation is far from agreed”

1947	von Neumann and Goldstine	<i>norm</i> $N(\cdot) = \  \cdot \ _F$ and <i>upper bound</i> $ \cdot  = \  \cdot \ _2$
1948	Turing	$N(\cdot), B(\cdot), M(\cdot)$
1953	Householder	$N(\cdot), M(\cdot), b(\cdot)$
1954	Givens	$N(\cdot)$
1959	Bodewig	$N(\cdot),  \cdot , m(\cdot)$
1963	Wilkinson	<i>Euclidean, Schur norm</i> $\  \cdot \ _E$
1964	Householder	<i>Euclidean length</i> $\tau^{1/2}(\cdot^H \cdot)$
1970	Rutishauser	<i>Schur norm</i> $\  \cdot \ _2 = \  \cdot \ _F$
1973	Stewart	<i>Frobenius norm</i> $\  \cdot \ _F$



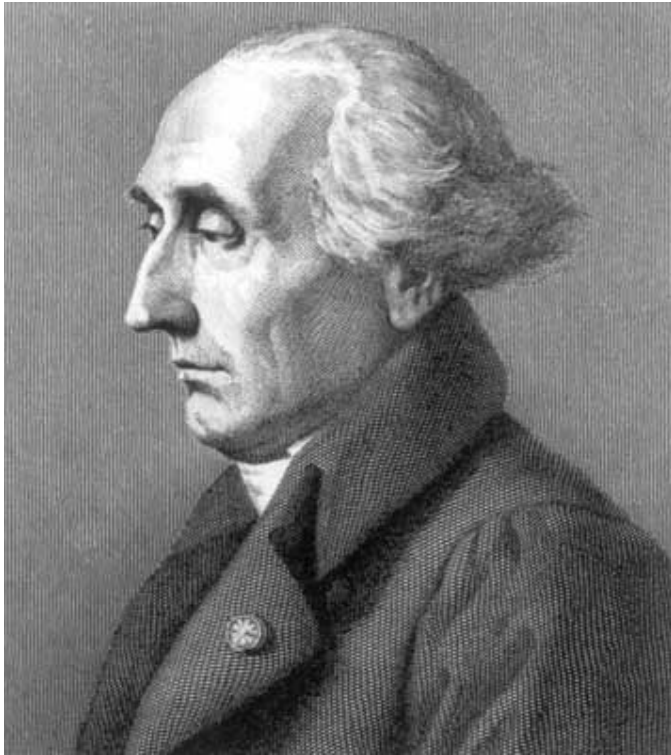
1. Value  $\|\cdot\|_F$  was used by early matrix researchers, and by Frobenius especially. The real story is how it came to be named after Frobenius.
2. Hotelling deliberately ignored Wedderburn and chose *norm*  $N(\cdot)$ ; perhaps to avoid Germanisms?
3. Von Neumann and Goldstine knew the proper notation (**operator norms existed in functional analysis**) but they deferred to Hotelling. Their choice led others to adopt  $N(\cdot)$  for many years.
4. Attempt to use *Schur norm*  $\|\cdot\|_E$  was supplanted by *Frobenius norm*  $\|\cdot\|_F$  in the 1970's.

- Influence of the Inversion Paper can be seen in the number of people who adopted  $N(\cdot)$  because von Neumann did.
- Why did von Neumann defer to Hotelling in using this eccentric notation?

“... as simple as possible, but not simpler.”

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# Matrices



Joseph-Louis  
Lagrange

1736 – 1813

Quadratic form of  $x_1, x_2, x_3$

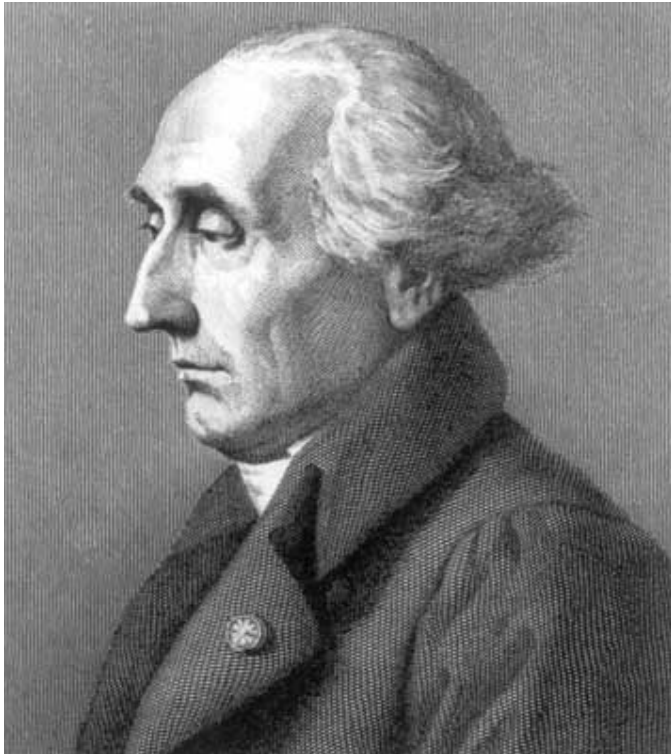
$$f = 5x_1^2 + 20x_1x_2 + 19x_2^2 + 10x_1x_3 + 22x_2x_3 + 6x_3^2$$

Substitute

$$x_1 = u_1 - \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{20}{5}x_2 + \frac{10}{5}x_3 \right)$$

to get

$$f = 5u_1^2 - x_2^2 + 2x_2x_3 + x_3^2$$



Joseph-Louis  
Lagrange  
1736 – 1813

Quadratic form is

$$f = x^t A x$$

where  $A = U^t D U$ . *Linear substitution*  $u = U x$  gives

$$f = u^t D u$$

Lagrange used the weighted *sum of squares* to identify local extrema.



J. C. F. Gauss  
1777 – 1855

*Disquisitiones arithmeticae*, Leipzig, art. no.  
266 (1801)

Studied quadratic forms  
of 2 and 3 variables.

“It is sufficient to draw this  
broad field to the attention  
of geometers.\* *There is  
ample material for the  
exercise of their genius.*”

\* geometer = mathematician



Sylvester

1814 – 1897



Cayley

1821 – 1895



Eisenstein

1823 – 1852



Laguerre

1834 – 1886



Frobenius

1849 – 1917

Invented by several people more or less independently to represent the linear substitutions that were used to study quadratic and bilinear forms.

T. Hawkins, “Another look at Cayley and the theory of matrices,” *Archives Internationales d’Histoire des Sciences*, 27(100):82–112 (1977).



Toeplitz 1881 – 1940

Jacobi 1804 – 1851

Toeplitz, “Die Jacobische Transformation der quadratischen Formen von unendlichvielen Veränderlichen,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 101–109 (1907).

Restated Jacobi's result “known to Lagrange and Gauss” using “matrix calculus of Frobenius.”

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A quadratic form

$$S = \sum_{i,k=1}^n \alpha_{i,k} x_i x_k$$

could be expressed as

$$S^{-1} = U'U$$

$$\text{or } S = U^{-1}U'^{-1}$$





Toeplitz 1881 – 1940

Jacobi 1804 – 1851

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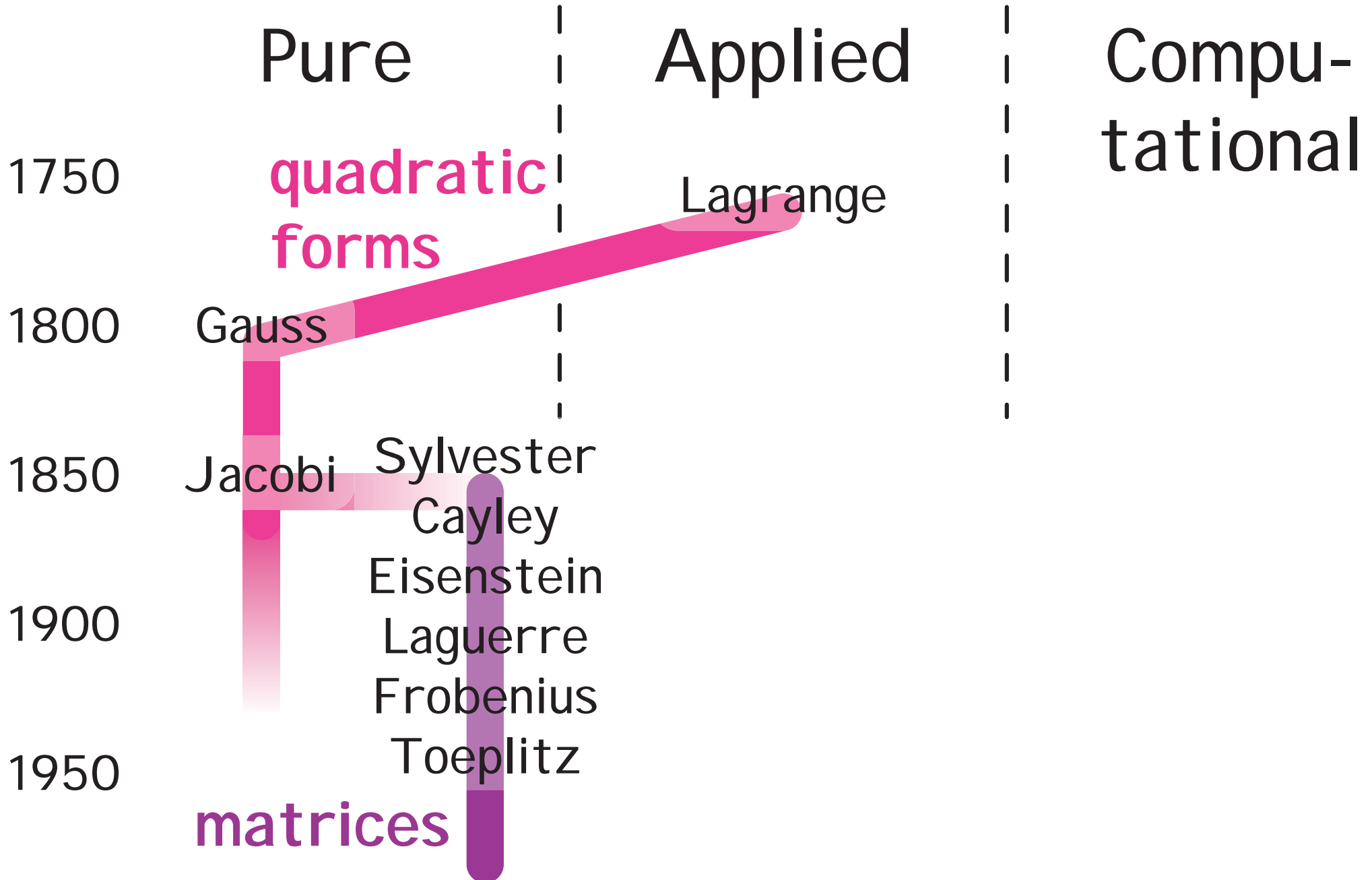
A quadratic form

$S$   <sup>$n$</sup>   
 Computationally  
 Useless Formula  
 of Determinants

could be expressed as

$$S^{-1} = U'U$$

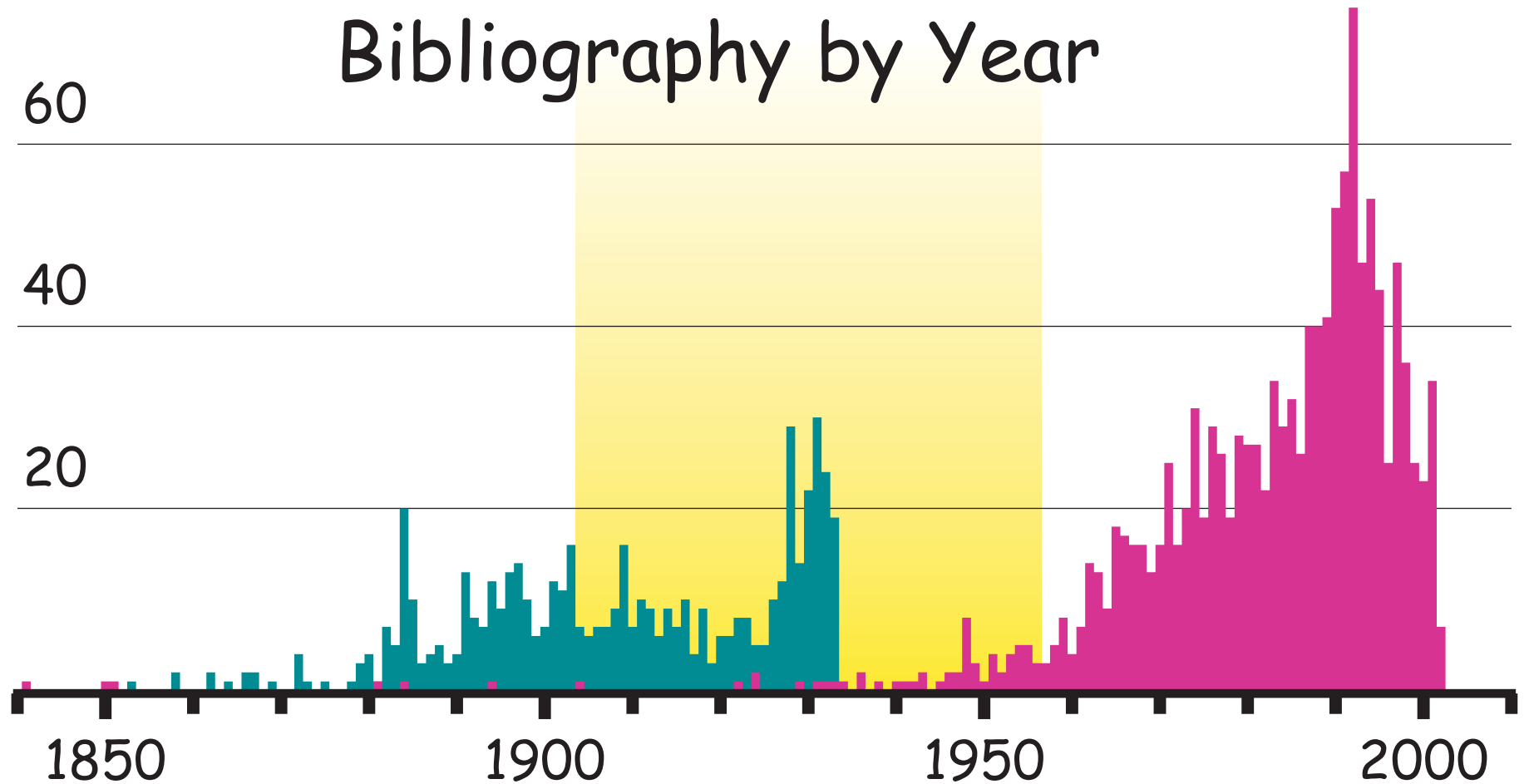
$$\text{or } S = U^{-1}U'^{-1}$$



“The state of numerical mathematics stayed pretty much the same as Gauss left it until World War II.”

— Herman Goldstine, 1972

## Bibliography by Year



■ von Neumann's life span

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■ Accuracy and Stability of Numerical Algorithms (Higham)

## Adjustment of Observations



Adrien-Marie  
Legendre  
1752 – 1833



Johann Carl  
Friedrich Gauss  
1777 – 1855



Pierre-Simon  
Laplace  
1749 – 1827

Statistical theory showed

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{optimal} \\ \text{estimation} \\ \text{problems} \end{array} \right\} \equiv \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{minimizing} \\ \text{quadratic} \\ \text{functions} \end{array} \right.$$

Legendre: la méthode des moindres carrés

*Nouvelle méthodes pour la détermination des orbites des comètes, Paris (1805)*

Gauss: developed probabilistic justification

*Theoria Motus Corporum Coelestium in Sectionibus Conicis Solem Ambientium, Hamburg (1809)*

case 1. Over-determined observations

$$\min_x \|b - Ax\|_2$$

solved by  $A^t Ax = c$  with  $c = A^t b$

case 2. Under-determined observations

$$\min_{Ax = b} \|x\|_2$$

solved by  $AA^t u = b$  where  $x = A^t u$

Both resulted in *normal equations*

case 1. Over-determined observations

$$\min_x \|b - Ax\|_2$$

found in Astronomy

case 2. Under-determined observations

$$\min_{Ax = b} \|x\|_2$$

found in Geodesy

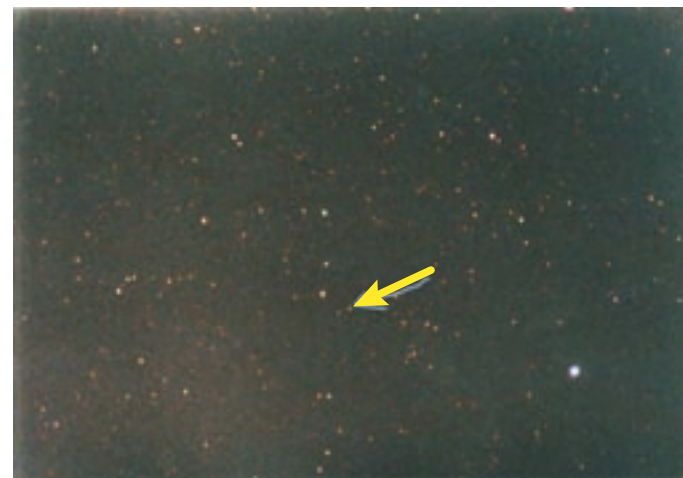
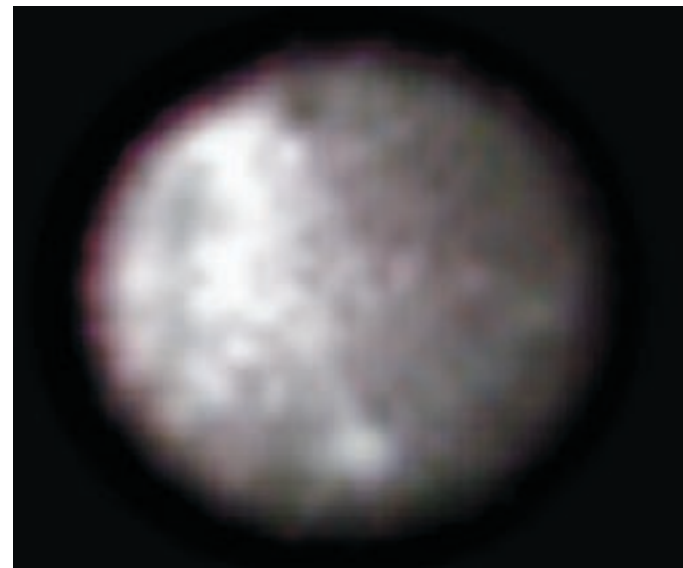
Both resulted in *normal equations*



## Trophy Calculations:

1. Fitting orbit of Ceres  
(over-determined observations) — Gauss
2. Triangulating distance to  
Cygni — Bessel
3. . . .

Nievergelt, “A tutorial history of least squares with applications to astronomy and geodesy,”  
in *Numerical Analysis: Historical Developments in the 20th Century*, edited by Brezinski and Wuytack, North Holland, 2001.



## Trophy Calculations:

1. Fitting orbit of Ceres  
(over-determined series)
2. The distance to Cygni — Bessel
3. . . .

Little Used in  
the XIX Century

Nievergelt, “A tutorial history of least squares with applications to astronomy and geodesy,”  
in *Numerical Analysis: Historical Developments in the 20th Century*, edited by Brezinski and Wuytack, North Holland, 2001.

## Recurring Work:

1. Ephemerides
2. Nautical Almanacs
3. Reducing observations to celestial coordinates

Grier, *When Computers Were Human*, Princeton, 2005.

case 1. Over-determined observations

Little Used in  
the XIX Century

$$\min_x \|b - Ax\|_2$$

solved by  $A^t Ax = c$  with  $c = A^t b$

case 2. Under-determined observations

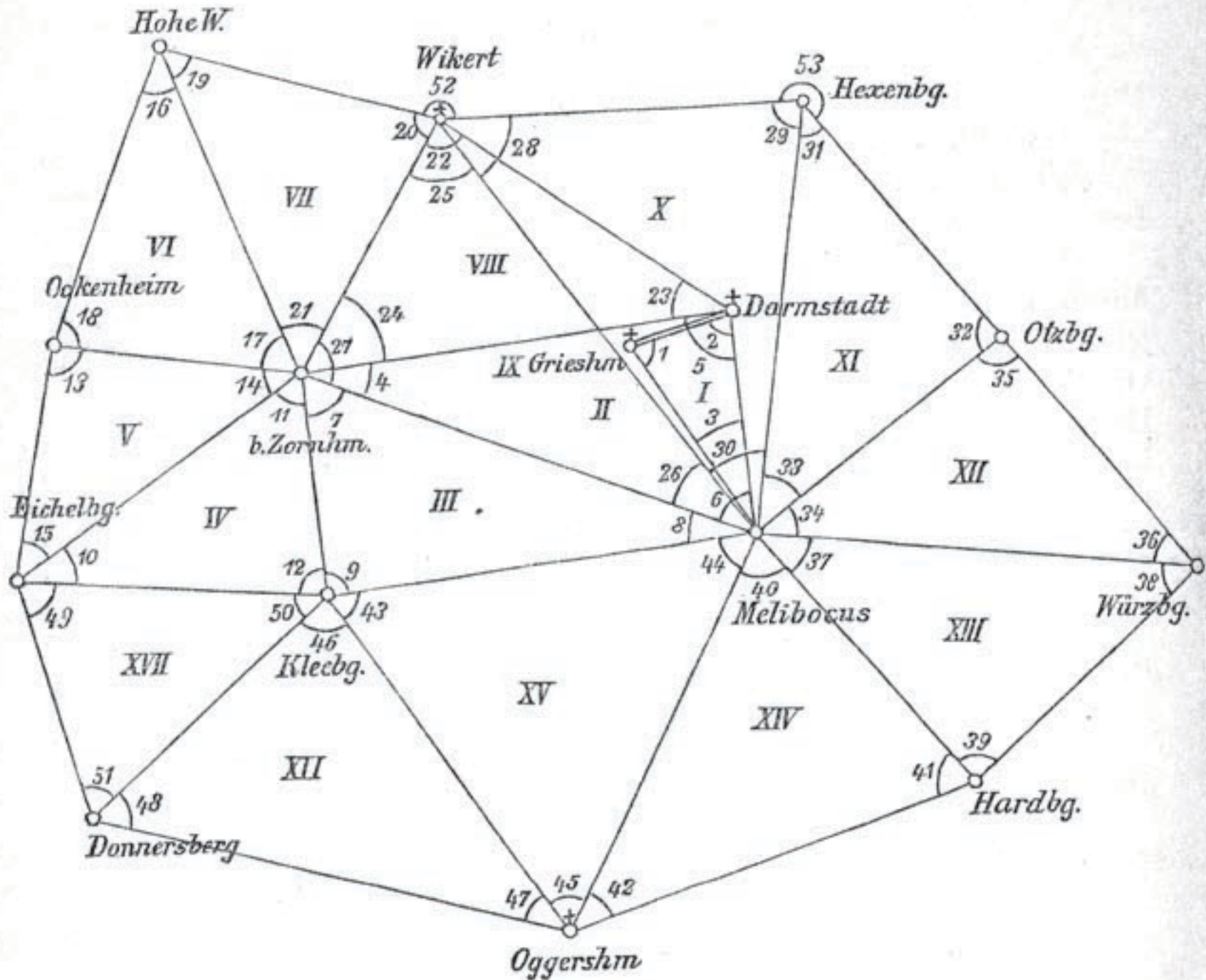
$$\min_{Ax = b} \|x\|_2$$

solved by  $AA^t u = b$  where  $x = A^t u$

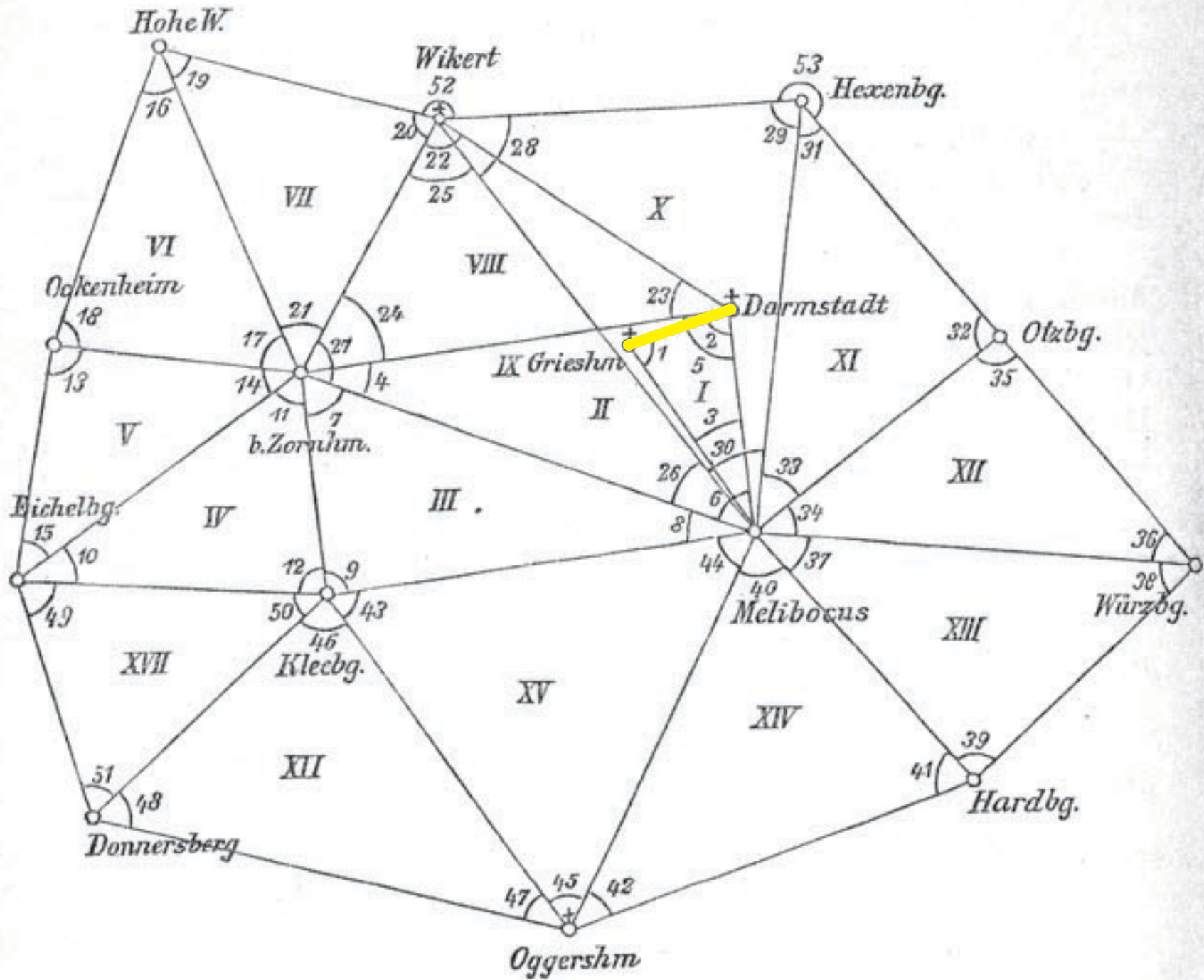
Both resulted in *normal equations*

## Survey Adjustments

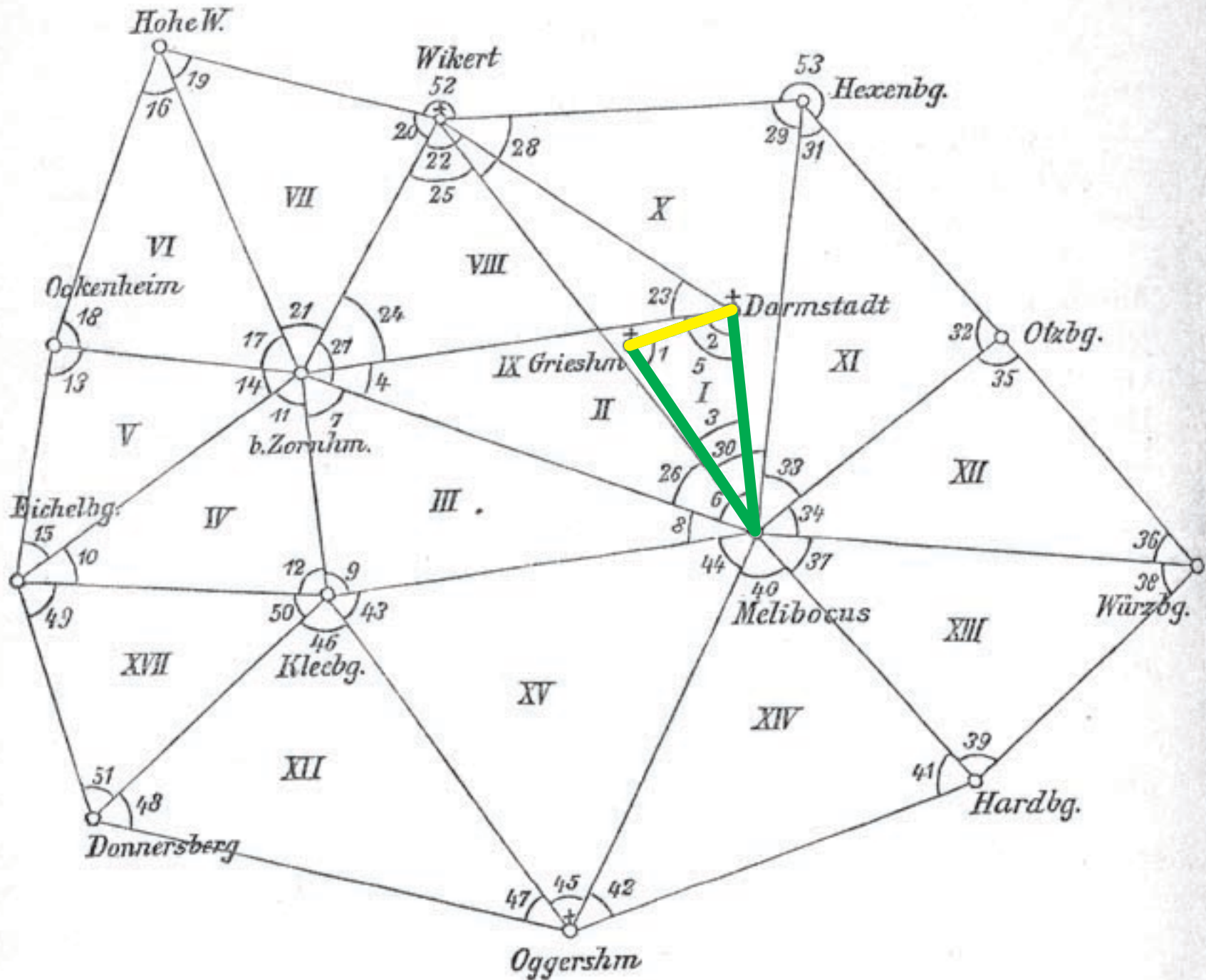
# 1880 Surveyor's Triangulation Net



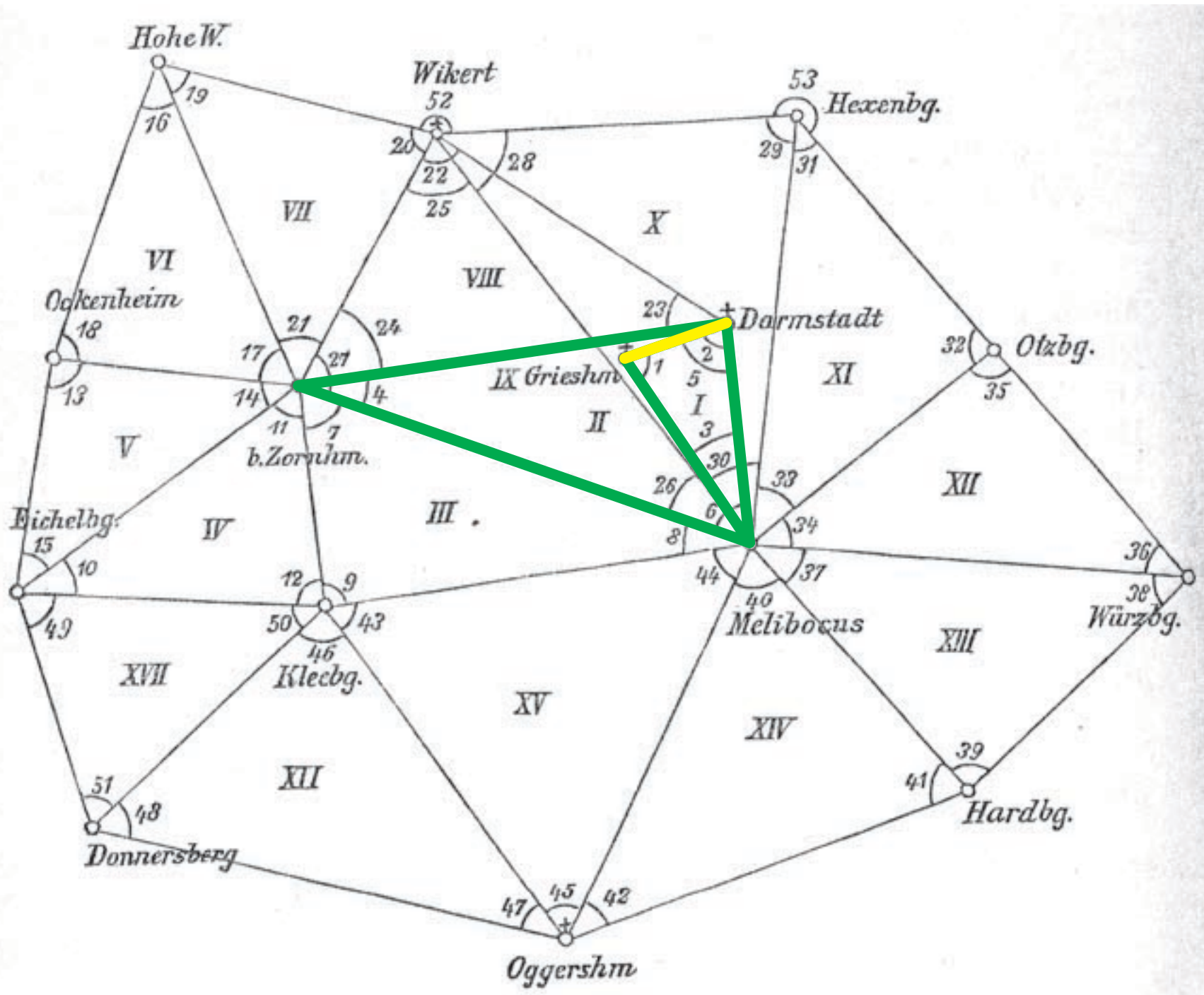
# 1880 Surveyor's Triangulation Net



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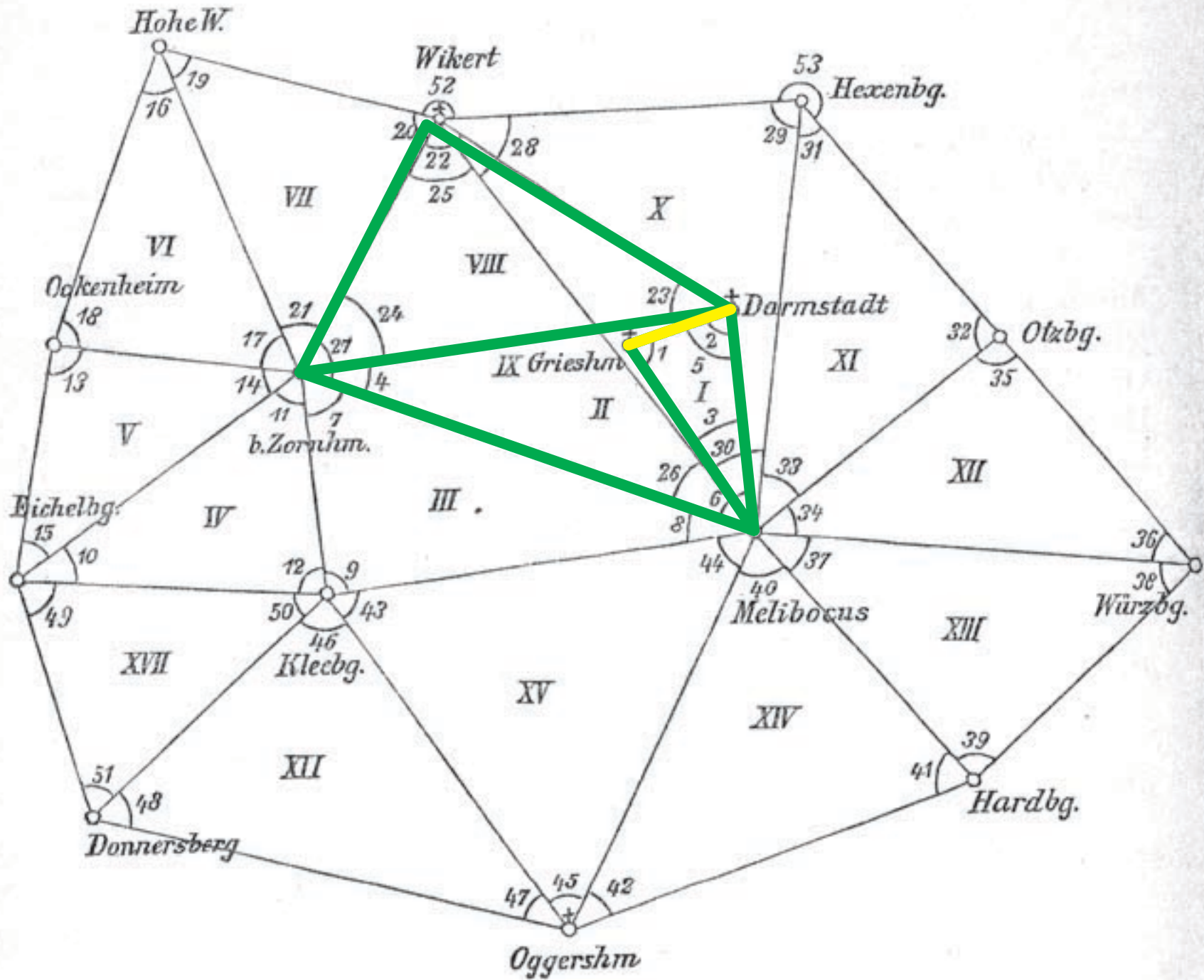


# 1880 Surveyor's Triangulation Net

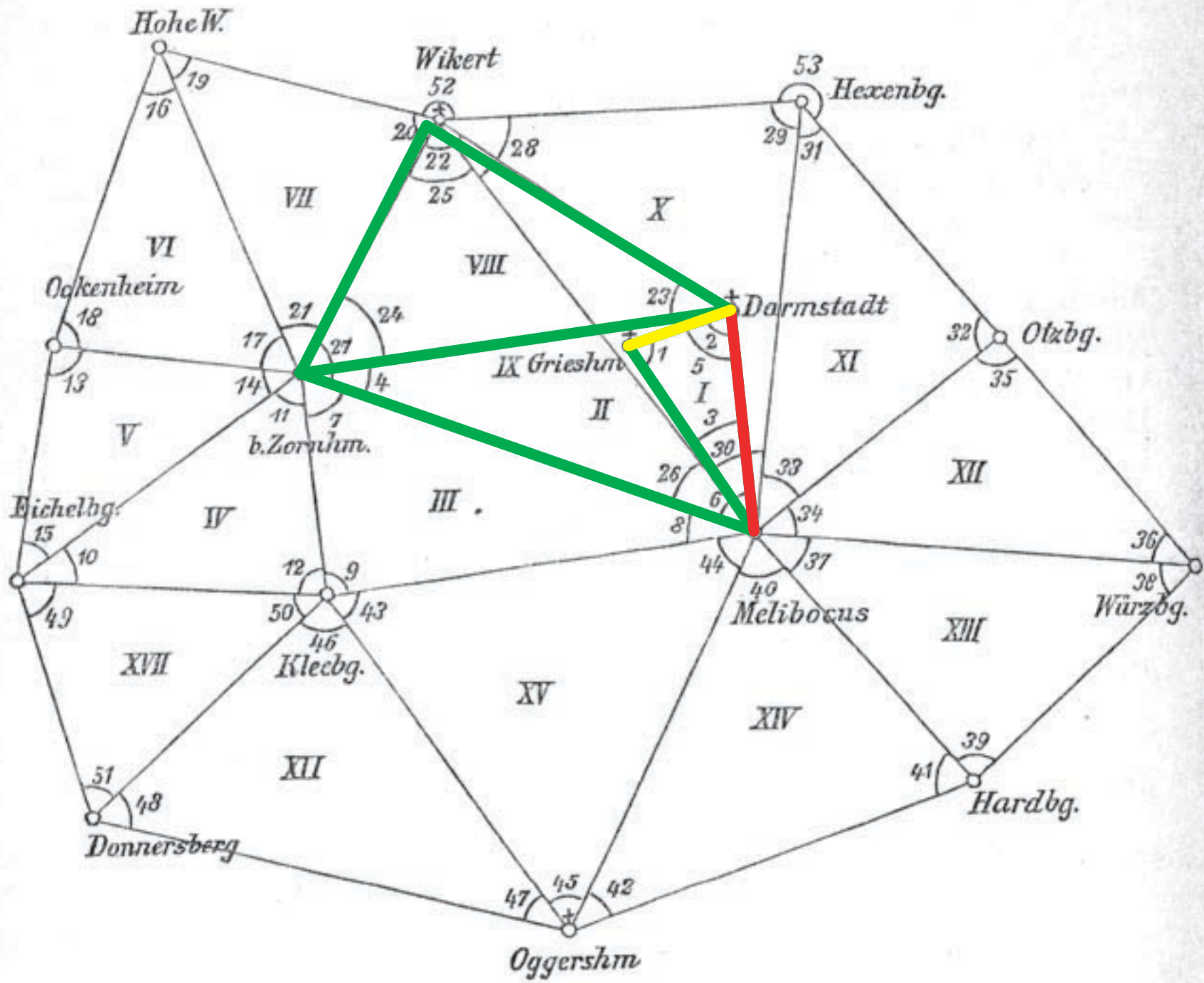




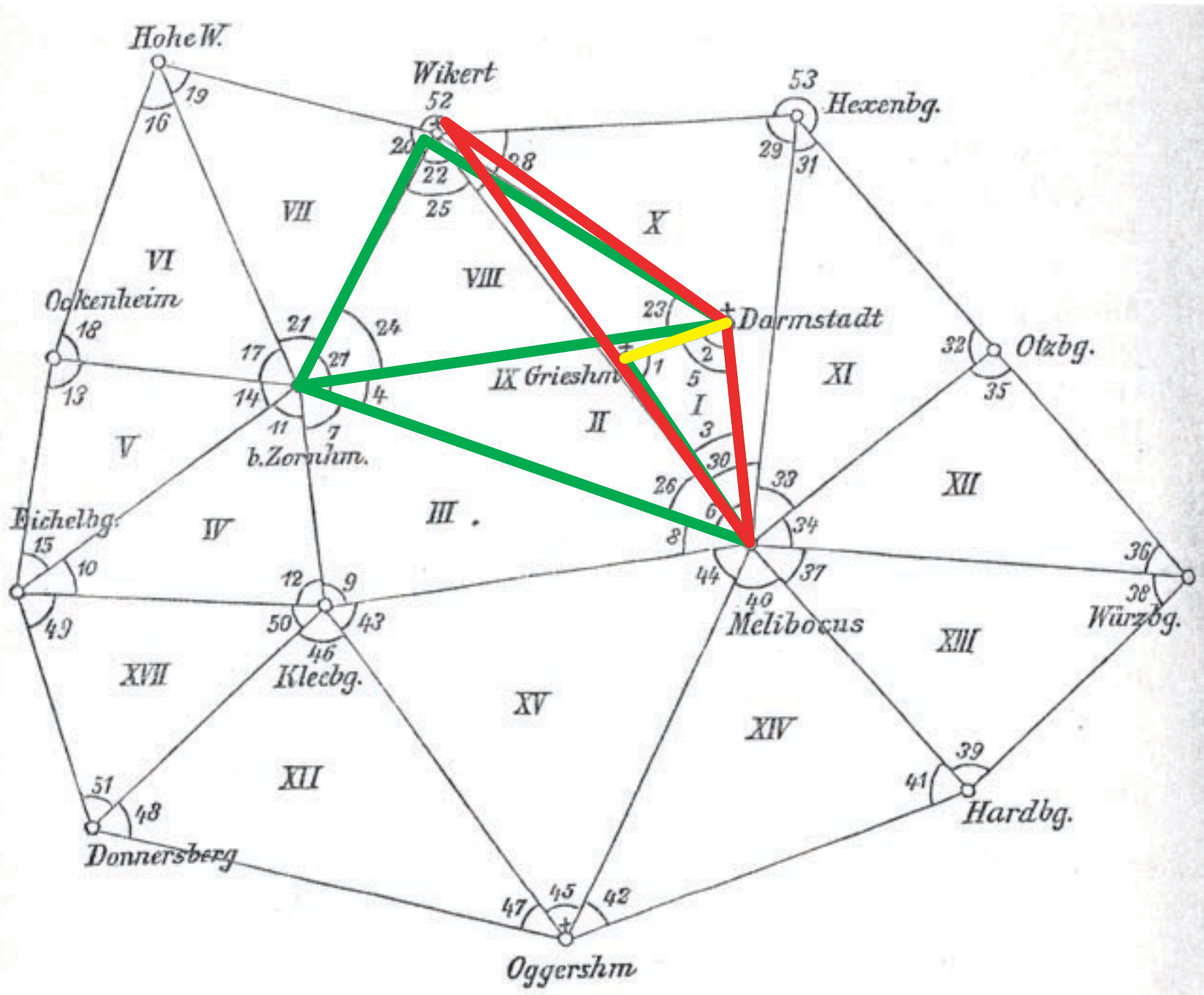
# 1880 Surveyor's Triangulation Net

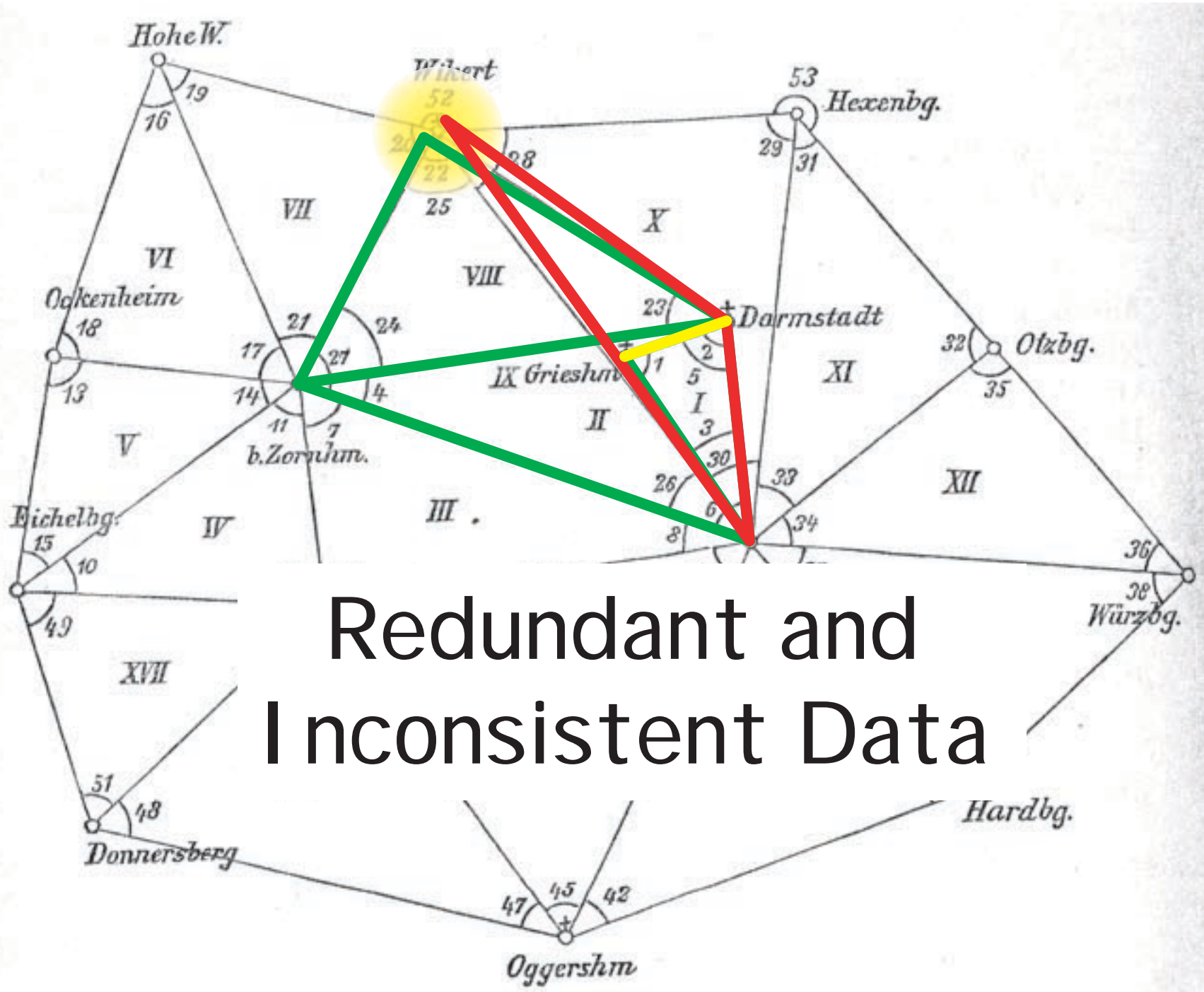


# 1880 Surveyor's Triangulation Net



# 1880 Surveyor's Triangulation Net





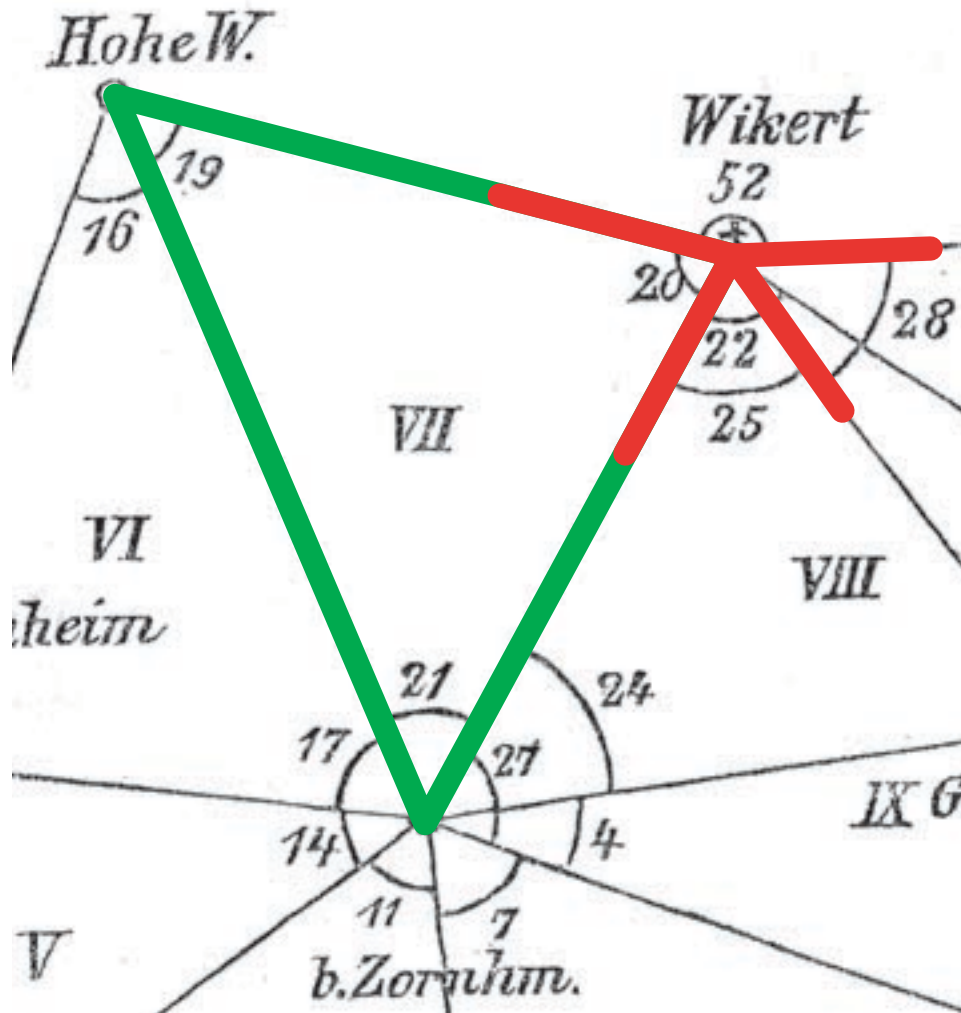
## case 2. Under-determined observations

$$\min_{Ax = b} \|x\|_2$$

solved by  $AA^t u = b$  where  $x = A^t u$

- Unknowns  $x$  were adjustments to all (or most of) the measured angles
- Constraints  $Ax = b$  called *conditions*
  1. angle conditions (2 kinds)
  2. side conditions

# 1. "Angle Equation" Conditions



$\angle \overline{52}$  = measured angle

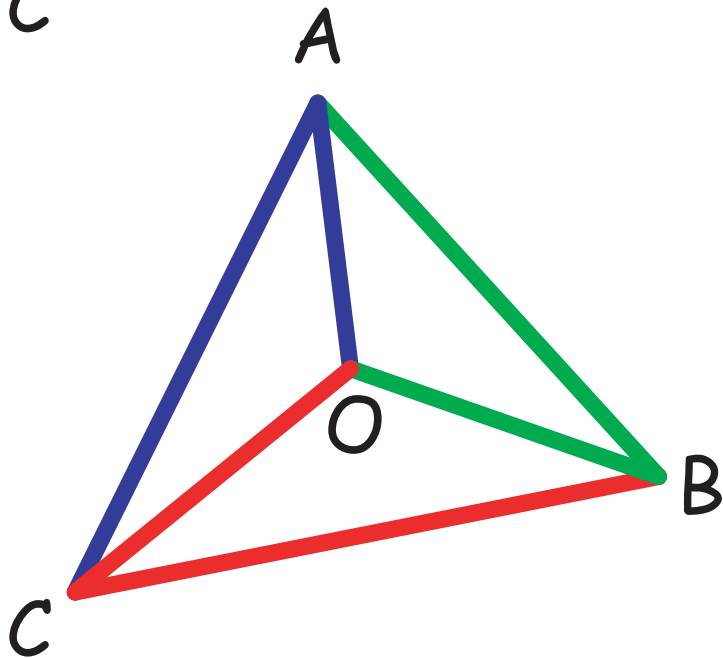
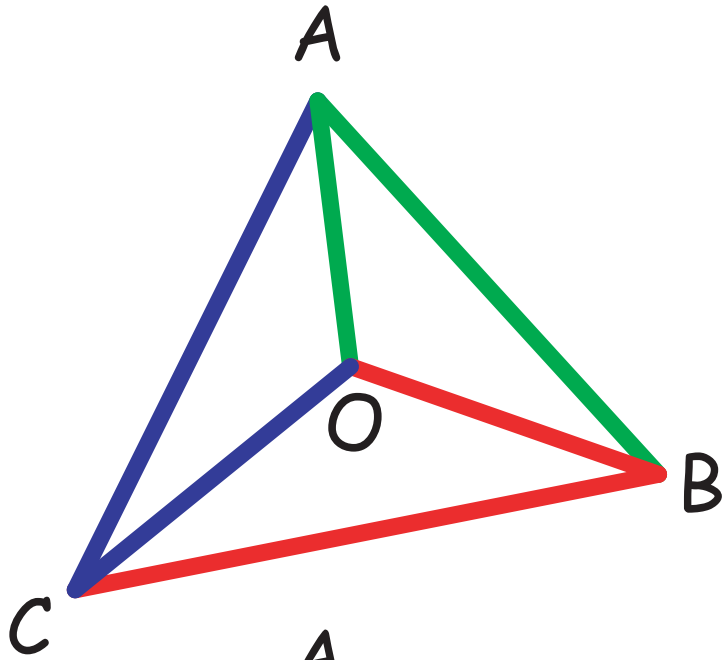
$\epsilon_{52}$  = adjustment

$$\begin{aligned} & \angle \overline{52} + \epsilon_{52} \\ & + \angle \overline{28} + \epsilon_{28} \\ & + \angle \overline{25} + \epsilon_{25} \\ & + \angle \overline{20} + \epsilon_{20} \\ & = 360 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \angle \overline{19} + \epsilon_{19} \\ & + \angle \overline{20} + \epsilon_{20} \\ & + \angle \overline{21} + \epsilon_{21} \\ & = 180 \end{aligned}$$

+ correction

## 2. "Side Equation" Condition (Sine Laws)

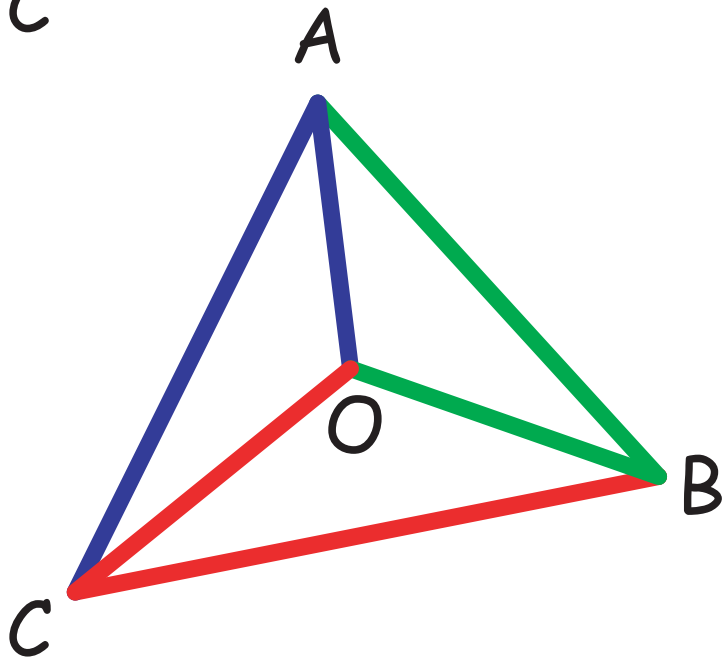
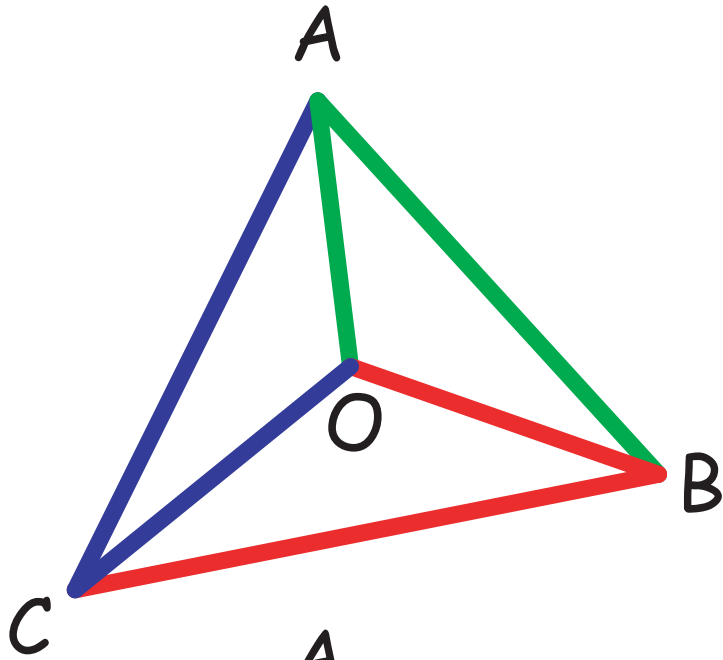


$$\begin{aligned}
 & \sin(\overline{OAB} + \epsilon_1) \\
 \times & \sin(\overline{OBC} + \epsilon_2) \\
 \times & \sin(\overline{OCA} + \epsilon_3) \\
 & = \\
 & \sin(\overline{OBA} + \epsilon_4) \\
 \times & \sin(\overline{OCB} + \epsilon_5) \\
 \times & \sin(\overline{OAC} + \epsilon_6)
 \end{aligned}$$

$\overline{OAB}$  = measured angle

$\epsilon_1$  = adjustment

## 2. Side Equation Condition



$$\begin{aligned} & \ln \sin \overline{OAB} + \epsilon_1 \cot \overline{OAB} + \\ & \ln \sin \overline{OBC} + \epsilon_2 \cot \overline{OBC} + \\ & \ln \sin \overline{OCA} + \epsilon_3 \cot \overline{OCA} \\ & \qquad \qquad \qquad =^* \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} & \ln \sin \overline{OBA} + \epsilon_4 \cot \overline{OBA} + \\ & \ln \sin \overline{OCB} + \epsilon_5 \cot \overline{OCB} + \\ & \ln \sin \overline{OAC} + \epsilon_6 \cot \overline{OAC} \end{aligned}$$

\* Equality is only to first order in the angle corrections.





# Gaussian Elimination



J. C. F. Gauss  
1777 – 1855

*Theoria combinationes observationum erroribus minimis obnoxiae: Pars prior and Supplementum*, Göttingen, 1823 and 1828.

case 2.

Under-determined  
observations

$$\min_{Ax = b} \|x\|_2$$

solved by  $AA^t u = b$   
where  $x = A^t u$ .



J. C. F. Gauss  
1777 – 1855

*Theoria combinationes observationum erroribus minimis obnoxiae: Pars prior and Supplementum*, Göttingen, 1823 and 1828.

Normal equations:

$$0 = [aa]x + [ab]y + [ac]z +$$

$$0 = [ab]x + [bb]y + [bc]z +$$

$$0 = [ac]x + [bc]y + [cc]z +$$

$$0 = [ad]x + [bd]y + [cd]z +$$

etc.

Stewart, "Gauss, Statistics, and Gaussian Elimination," in *Computing Science and Statistics: Computationally Intensive Statistical Methods*, edited by Sall and Lehman, Fairfax Station, 1994



J. C. F. Gauss

1777 – 1855

*Theoria combinationes observationum erroribus minimis obnoxiae: Pars prior and Supplementum*, Göttingen, 1823 and 1828.

$$[bb, 1] = [bb] - \frac{[ab]^2}{[aa]}$$

$$[bc, 1] = [bc] - \frac{[ab][ac]}{[aa]}$$

etc.

$$[cc, 2] = [cc] - \frac{[ac]^2}{[aa]} - \frac{[bc, 1]^2}{[bb, 1]}$$

$$[cd, 2] = [cd] - \frac{[ac][ad]}{[aa]} - \dots$$

etc.



Dana P. Bartlett

*General Principles of the Method of Least Squares with Applications*, third edition, Boston, 1915.

Normal equations:

$$0 = [aa]z_1 + [ab]z_2 + [ac]z_3$$

$$0 = [ab]z_1 + [bb]z_2 + [bc]z_3$$

$$0 = [ac]z_1 + [bc]z_2 + [cc]z_3$$

$$0 = [ad]z_1 + [bd]z_2 + [cd]z_3$$

etc.



Dana P. Bartlett

*General Principles of the Method of Least Squares with Applications*, third edition, Boston, 1915.

1<sup>st</sup> reduced normal equations:

$$[bb, 1]z_2 + [bc, 1]z_3 + [bd, 1]$$

$$[bc, 1]z_2 + [cc, 1]z_3 + [cd, 1]$$

$$[bd, 1]z_2 + [cd, 1]z_3 + [dd, 1]$$

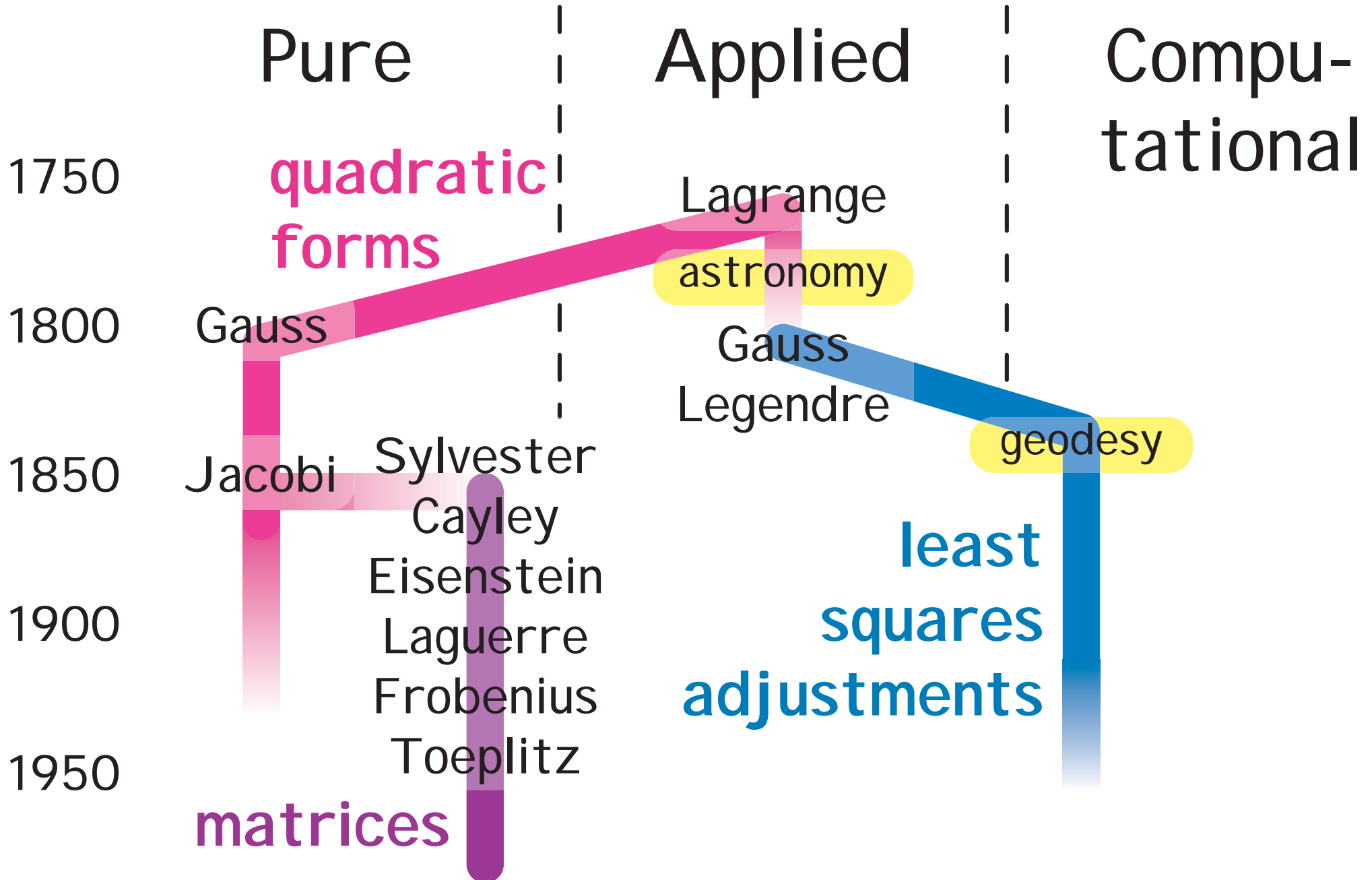
...

where

$$[bb, 1] = [bb] - \frac{[ab][ab]}{[aa]}$$

$$[bc, 1] = [bc] - \frac{[ab][ac]}{[aa]}$$

# Linear Algebra Timeline





- Gauss invented a notation to organize elimination that was used for 100 years.
- During most of its existence, Gaussian elimination was used to solve normal equations.

- Von Neumann and Goldstine studied the rounding errors of

$$A^{-1} = A^t (AA^t)^{-1}$$

This essentially was the main use for Gaussian elimination for 150 years.

- Their results stimulated a search for new algorithms (QR, SVD) that eventually replaced the normal equations in 1965.

# Geodesy



Southeast Alaska  
1929

1. Surveyors
  - gather baseline and angle data
2. Computers (original usage)
  - (a) form underdetermined angle adjustment eqns
  - (b) form and solve normal equations
3. Cartographers
  - use adjusted triangulations to draw maps

US center  
for numerical  
linear algebra  
through WWI



Old C&GS Office  
with third floor  
computing rooms  
Washington

## 1. Surveyors

- gather baseline and angle data

## 2. Computers (original usage)

- (a) form underdetermined angle adjustment eqns
- (b) form and solve normal equations

## 3. Cartographers

- use adjusted triangulations to draw maps

## Oldest American Scientific Agency



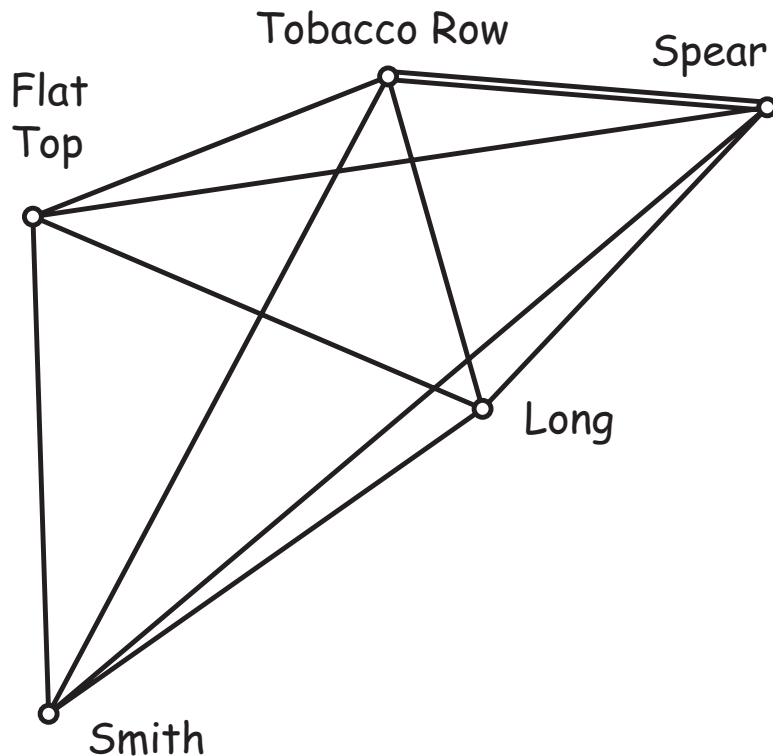
**Benjamin Peirce**  
3rd Superintendent  
(served 1867 – 74)



**Charles Schott**  
Assistant  
in charge of the  
Computing Division  
(served 1848 – 99)



**Myrrick Doolittle**  
1830 – 1911  
Computer  
(served 1873 – ??)



## Doolittle's Example

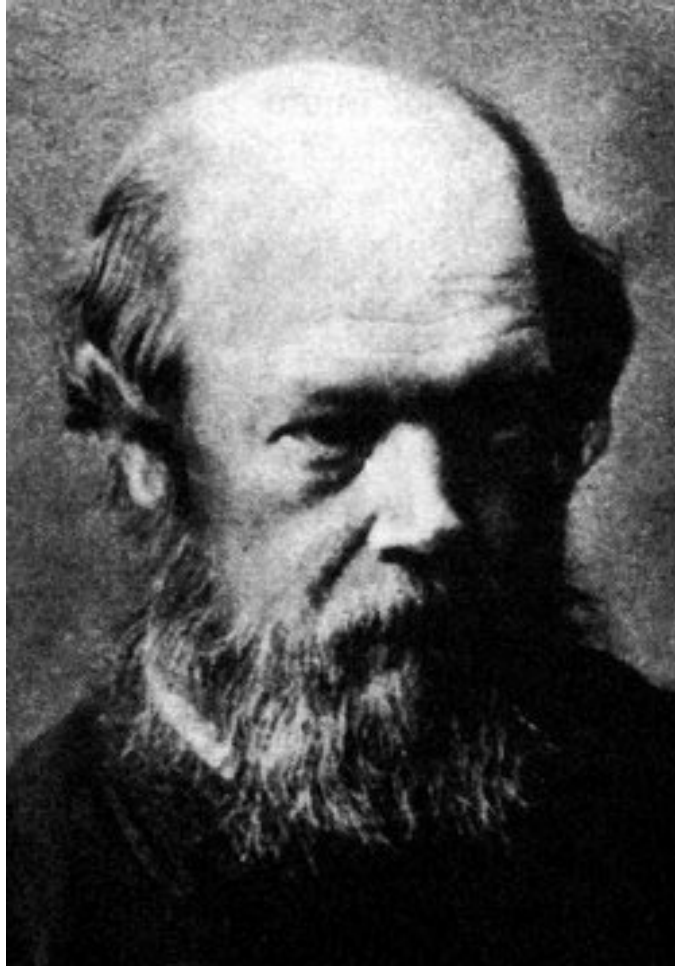
Doolittle, "Method employed in the solution of normal equations and the adjustment of a triangularization," in *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey (showing the progress of the work during the fiscal year ending with June, 1878)*, Government Printing Office, 1881.

## Selection of Conditions:

- 2 unknowns for each *station* off the baseline
- What is the rank of the matrix of conditions?
- $n$  as big as 41 or 52!

## Solution of Normal Equations:

- 3-digit hand arithmetic!
- Crelle's 3-digit tables were used for  $\times$  and  $\div$



Peter Guthrie Tait

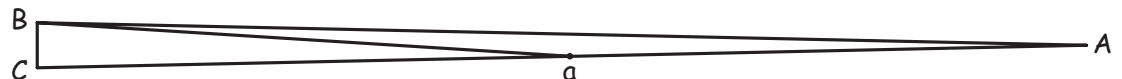
1831 – 1901

“Cosmical Astronomy,” *Good Words*, 19–23  
(1875).

“The danger of selecting such condition equations that the solution will be somewhat unstable is difficult to avoid.”

Wright and Hayford, “The Adjustment of Observations by the Method of Least Squares with Applications to Geodetic Work,”  
Van Nostrand, New York, 1906.

“The difficulty of determining the sun’s distance lies in the measurement of the angles, and in what is called the *ill-conditioned* form of triangle.”





- Von Neumann and Goldstine's error bounds were considered unrealistically large when tested on small problems solved by *post-WWII* technology (10-digit mechanical calculators) . . .
- . . . but the concerns about Gaussian elimination were based on experience from *pre-WWII* calculations (3-digit paper and pencil) for which the pessimistic bounds probably were realistic.



Karl Pearson  
1857 – 1936

Statistics replaced geodesy as the main use for linear algebra after WWI

- continental surveys were complete
- data analysis was important for agriculture and government

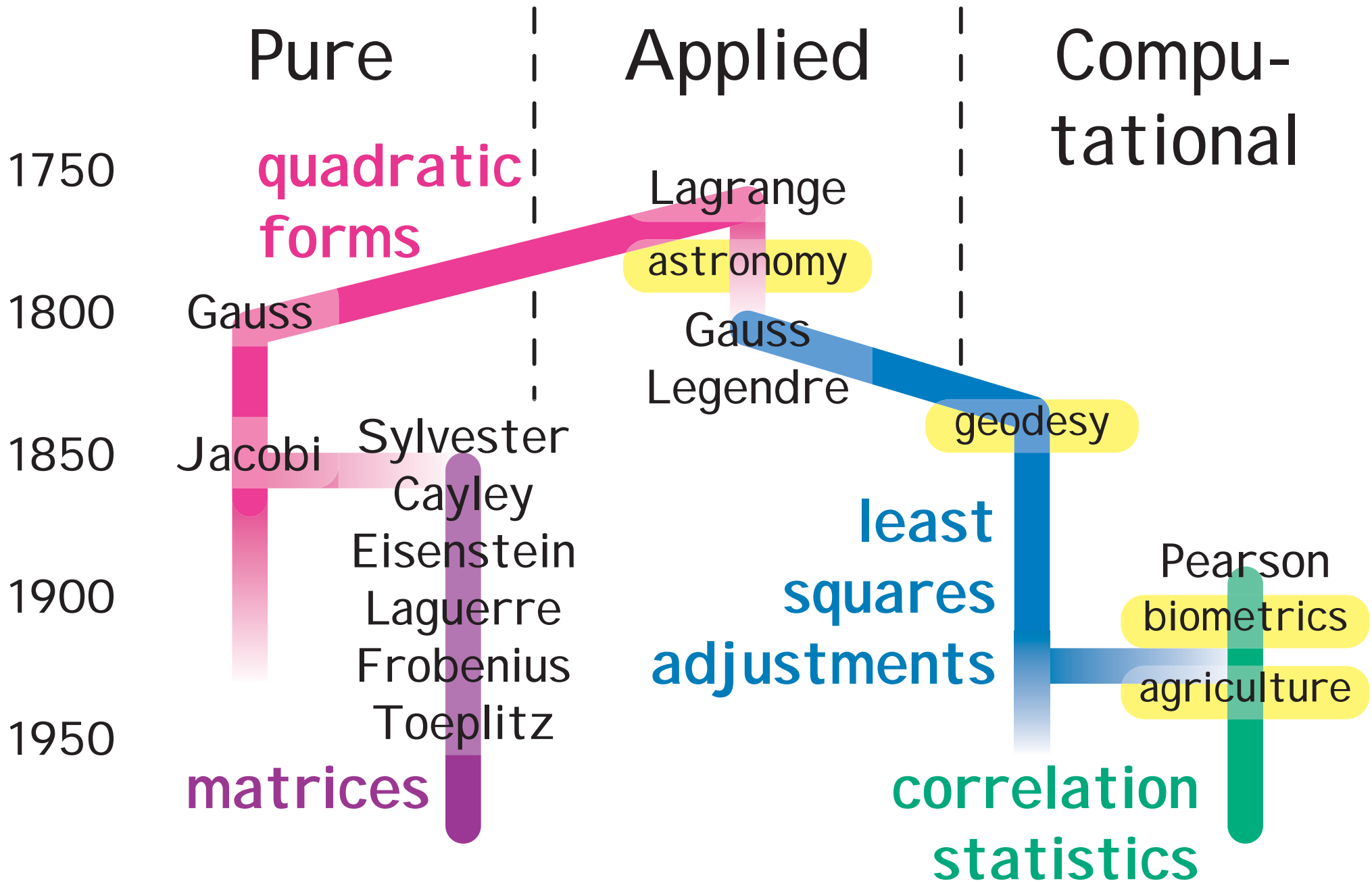
Karl Pearson led in the computational developments and published *Tracts for Computers*, essentially the first numerical analysis textbooks

Grier, *When Computers Were Human*, Princeton, 2005.

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Question: actuaries also used computing; did they use linear algebra?

# Linear Algebra Timeline



- Von Neumann and Goldstine deferred to Hotelling in matters of numerical linear algebra because, as a leader of the American statistical community, he represented a profession with considerable computing expertise.

## Numerical Linear Algebra Algorithms Correspond to Matrix Factorizations

$$A = LU$$

Who invented the paradigm?

Stewart, “The Decompositional Approach to Matrix Computation,”  
Computing in Science and Engineering, 2(1):50–59 (2000).



J. C. F. Gauss

1777 – 1855

*Theoria combinationes observationum erroribus minimis obnoxiae: Pars prior* and *Supplementum*, Göttingen, 1823 and 1828.

$$[bb, 1] = [bb] - \frac{[ab]^2}{[aa]}$$

$$[bc, 1] = [bc] - \frac{[ab][ac]}{[aa]}$$

etc.

$$[cc, 2] = [cc] - \frac{[ac]^2}{[aa]} - \frac{[bc, 1]^2}{[bb, 1]}$$

$$[cd, 2] = [cd] - \frac{[ac][ad]}{[aa]} - \dots$$

etc.

*Before matrices; no paradigm.*



Andre-Louis  
Cholesky  
1875 – 1918

Benoit, “Note sur une méthode . . .,” *Bulletin géodésique*, 67–77 (1924).

$$\min_{Ax = b} \|x\|_2$$

$AA^t u = b$  where  $x = A^t u$ .

Cholesky’s insight was that many matrices have the same normal equations. He chose one that was easy to solve.

$$LL^t = AA^t$$

Real breakthrough was the inner product formulas for  $L$ .

*No matrices in the paper, hence no paradigm.*



Toeplitz 1881 – 1940

Jacobi 1804 – 1851

Toeplitz, “Die Jacobische Transformation der quadratischen Formen von unendlichvielen Veränderlichen,” *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 101–109 (1907).

Restated Jacobi’s result “known to Lagrange and Gauss” using “matrix calculus of Frobenius.”

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A quadratic form

$$S = \sum_{i,k=1}^n \alpha_{i,k} x_i x_k$$

could be factored as

$$S^{-1} = U'U$$

$$\text{or } S = U^{-1}U'^{-1}$$

but  $U$  is given by determinants





Tadeusz  
Banachiewicz  
1882 – 1954

Astronomer and polymath who calculated first orbit of Pluto.

Expressed calculations using “Cracovian” matrix multiplication. Had a Cholesky-like method.

Inspired Jensen to do the same for Cayleyan matrix multiplication.

Many papers in Academy of Science of Poland were widely cited.



Paul Dwyer

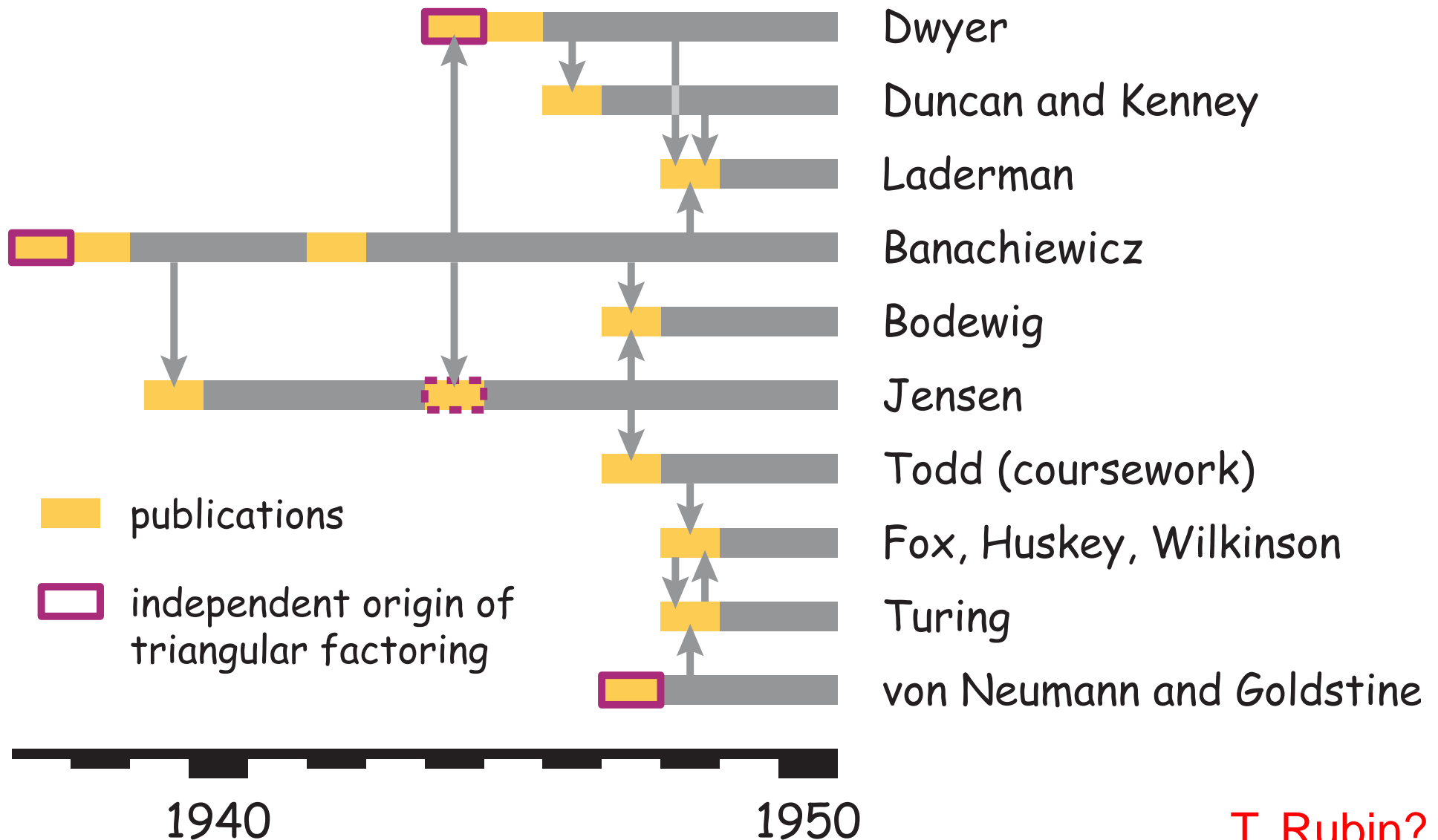
Dwyer, "A matrix presentation of least squares and correlation theory with matrix justification of improved methods of solution," *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 5:82–89 (1944).

Michigan statistician.

Developed matrix formulation of least squares, normal equations, and symmetric factorization.

Primary source in the United States for what was later named "Cholesky's algorithm."

## Citation Patterns Among Earliest Authors



- All other authors were interested in normal equations.
- Von Neumann and Goldstine were the first to describe factoring of nonsymmetric matrices. They originated the *LDU* form.

# Numerical Linear Algebra Before the Last Paradigm Shift\*

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Berkeley

\*Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*,  
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970.