

The Birth of Astronomy (and Science)

Brissago, 27. Sep. 2011

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Kepler



Newton



Gauss

(Gravity ...) was one of the first great laws to be discovered and it has an interesting history. You may say, 'Yes, but then it is old hat, I would like to hear something about a more modern science'. More **recent** perhaps, but **not more modern**. (...) I do not feel at all bad about telling you about the Law of Gravitation, because in describing its history and methods, the character of its discovery, its quality, **I am being completely modern**.

(R. Feynman 1965)

Astronomy is older than physics. In fact, it got physics started by showing the beautiful simplicity of the motion of the stars and planets, the understanding of which was the **beginning of physics**.

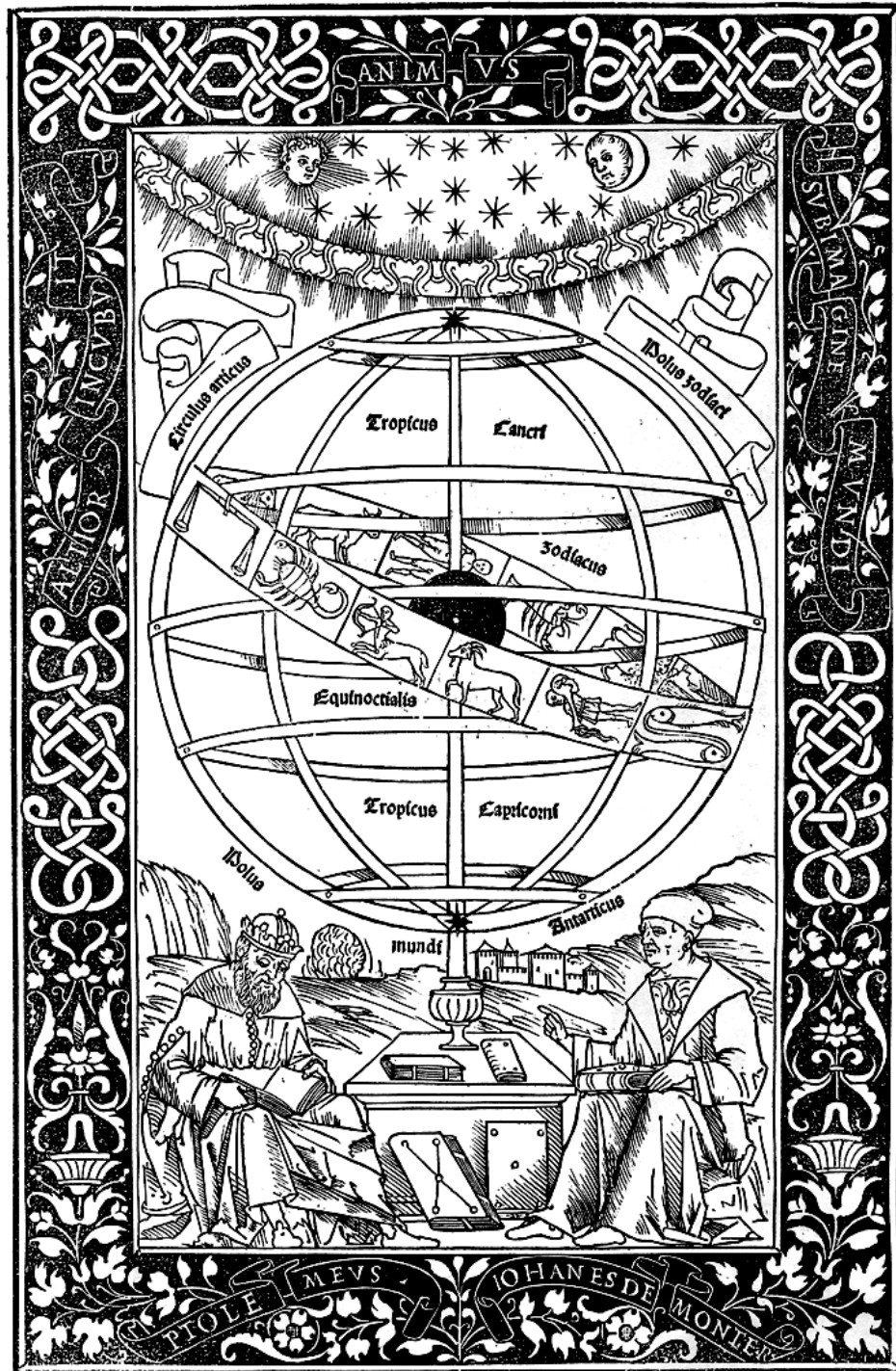
(R. Feynman, published in *Six easy pieces*, 1963, p. 59.)

⇒ ... AND Science ... !!

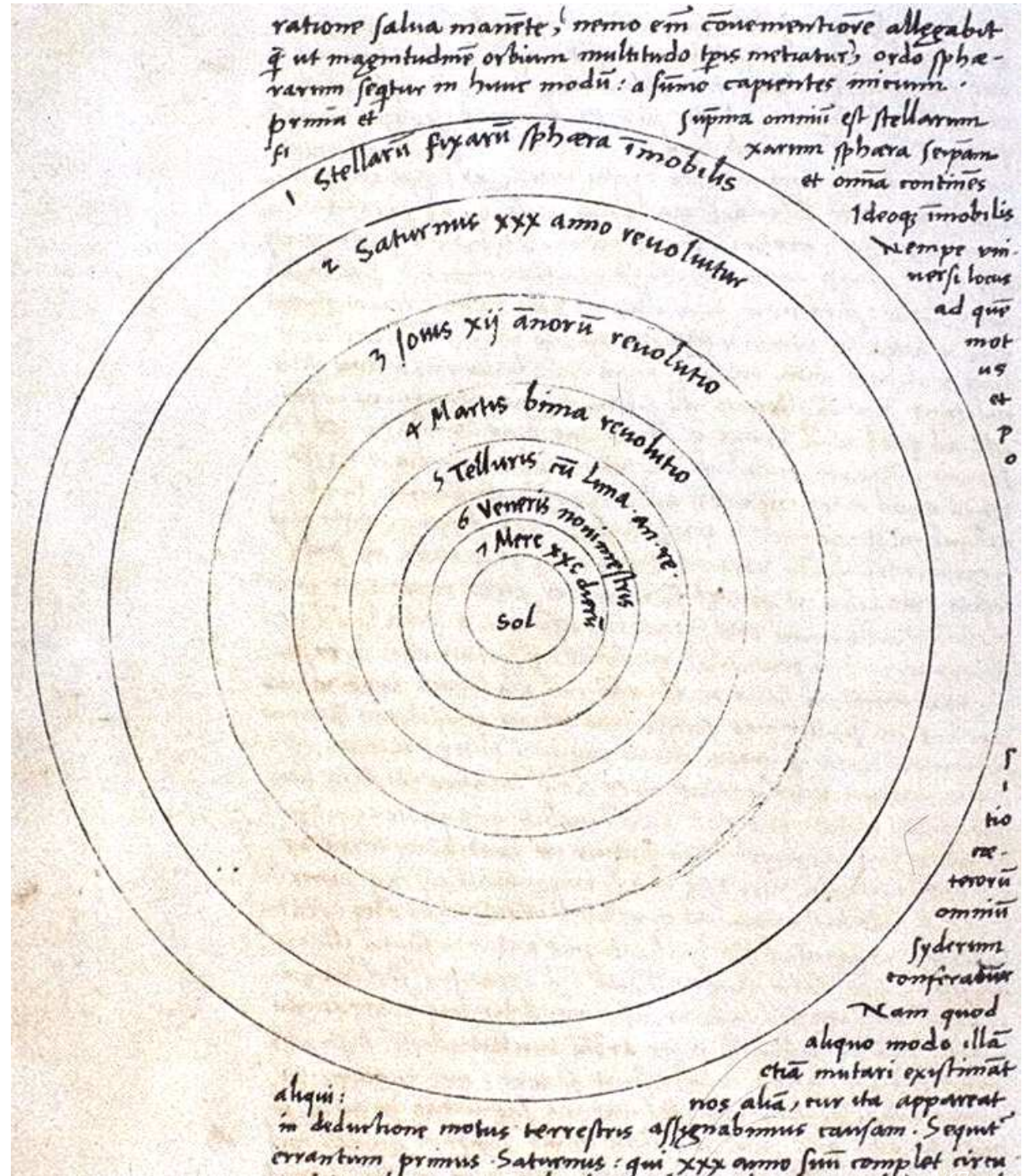
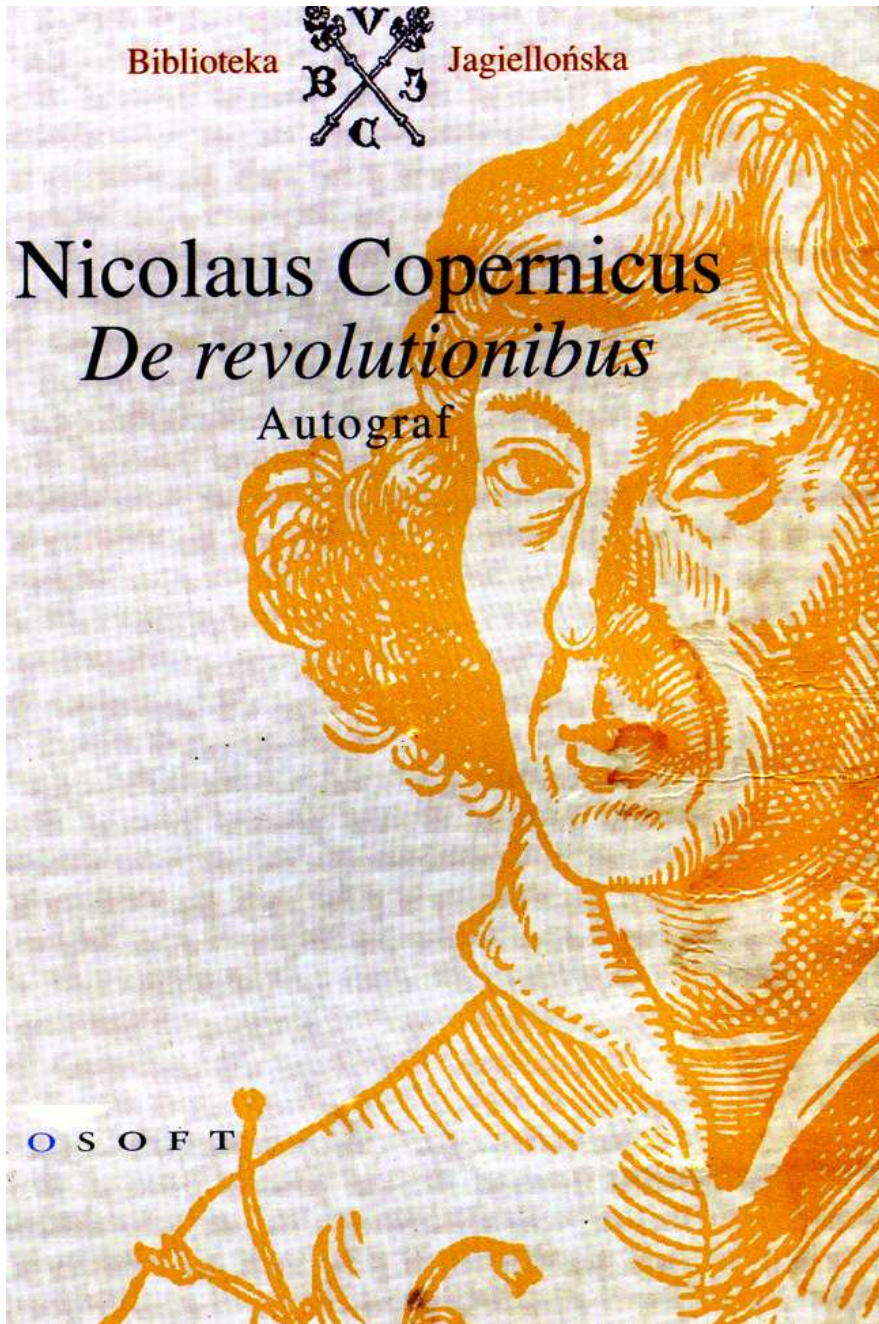
The Birth of Science: Ptolemy 150 A.D. “Almagest”

¶ Ptolemei alexandrini Astronomoz principis
ισαεγαλινσινταξιων id est in Ognam Con/
structione: Georgij purbachij: eiusq; di/
scipuli Johannis de Regio monte
Astronomicon Epitoma.

(publ. 1496 by Regiomontanus)



Copernicus (publ. 1543)

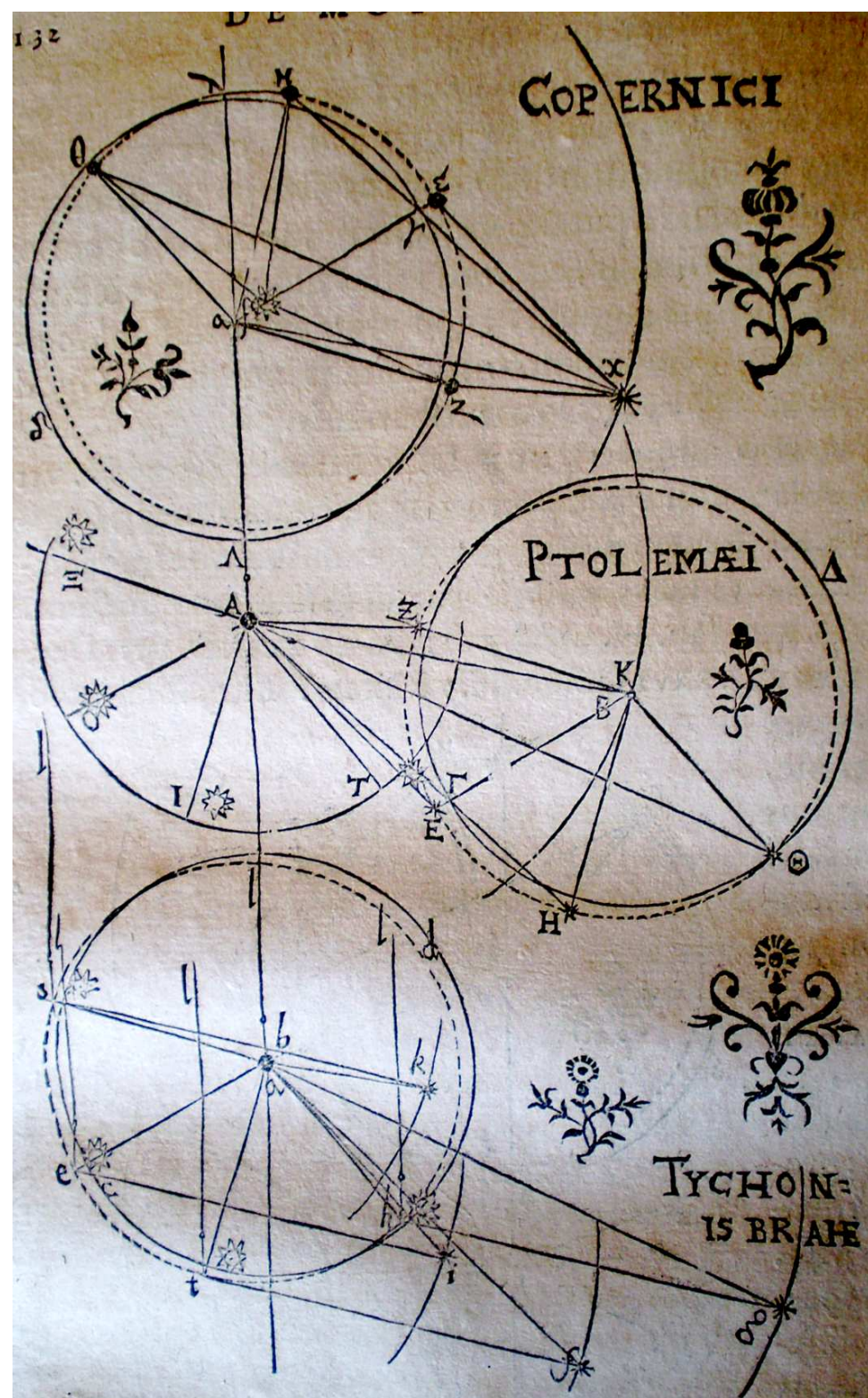


Tycho Brahe (1546 – 1601):



“I start by explaining these things in the Copernican setting, where they are easiest to understand.”

(Kepler 1609, chap. XXIV, p. 131).



Ptolemy – Copernicus – Brahe : same for relative movement:

⇒ orbits are **excentric circles !!**

(Inaequalitatis primae)

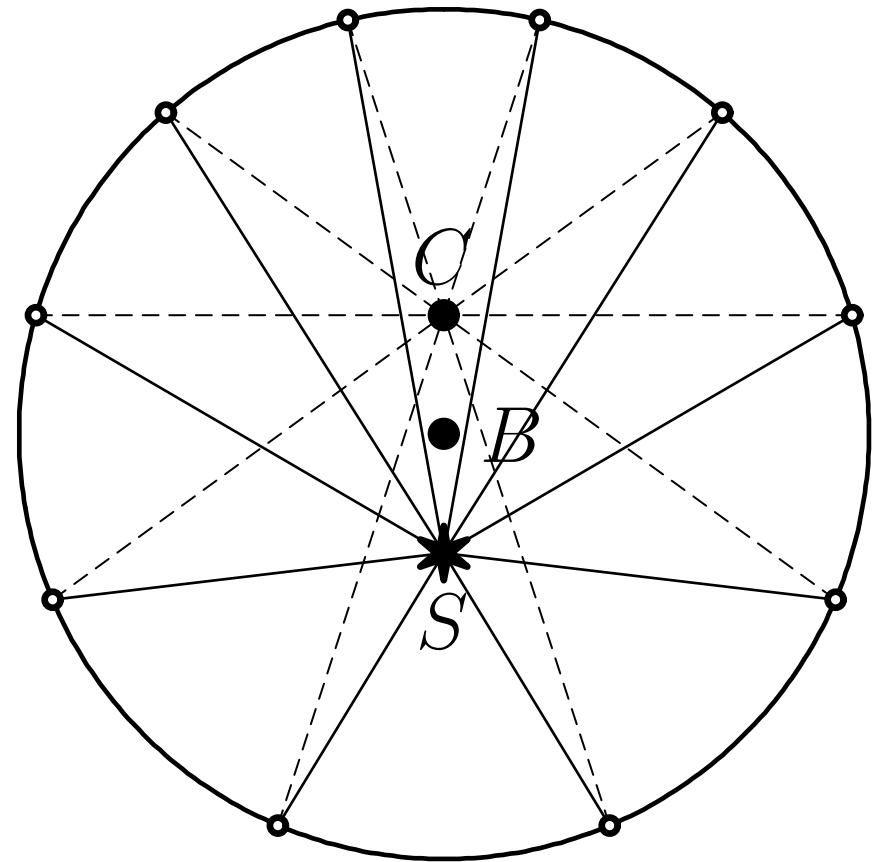
rotation speed governed by

“**punctum aequans**” C

with $CB = BS$

(Inaequalitatis secundae)

Thousands of data (Brahe)
of unprecedented precision
to adapt parameters



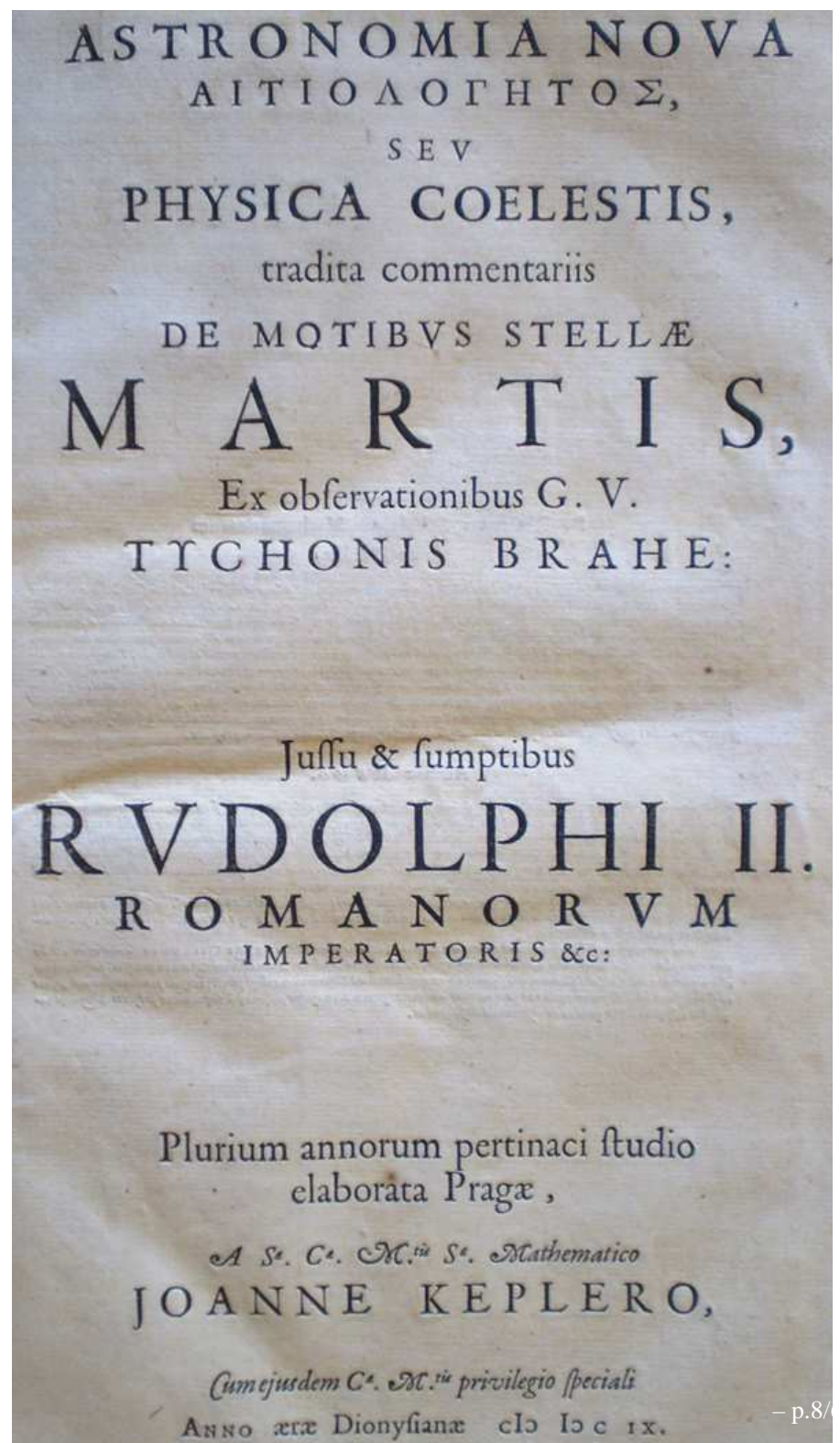
S : Sun,

B : “Mean” Sun,

C : punctum aequans.

Worked fine for all planets **except Mars !!**

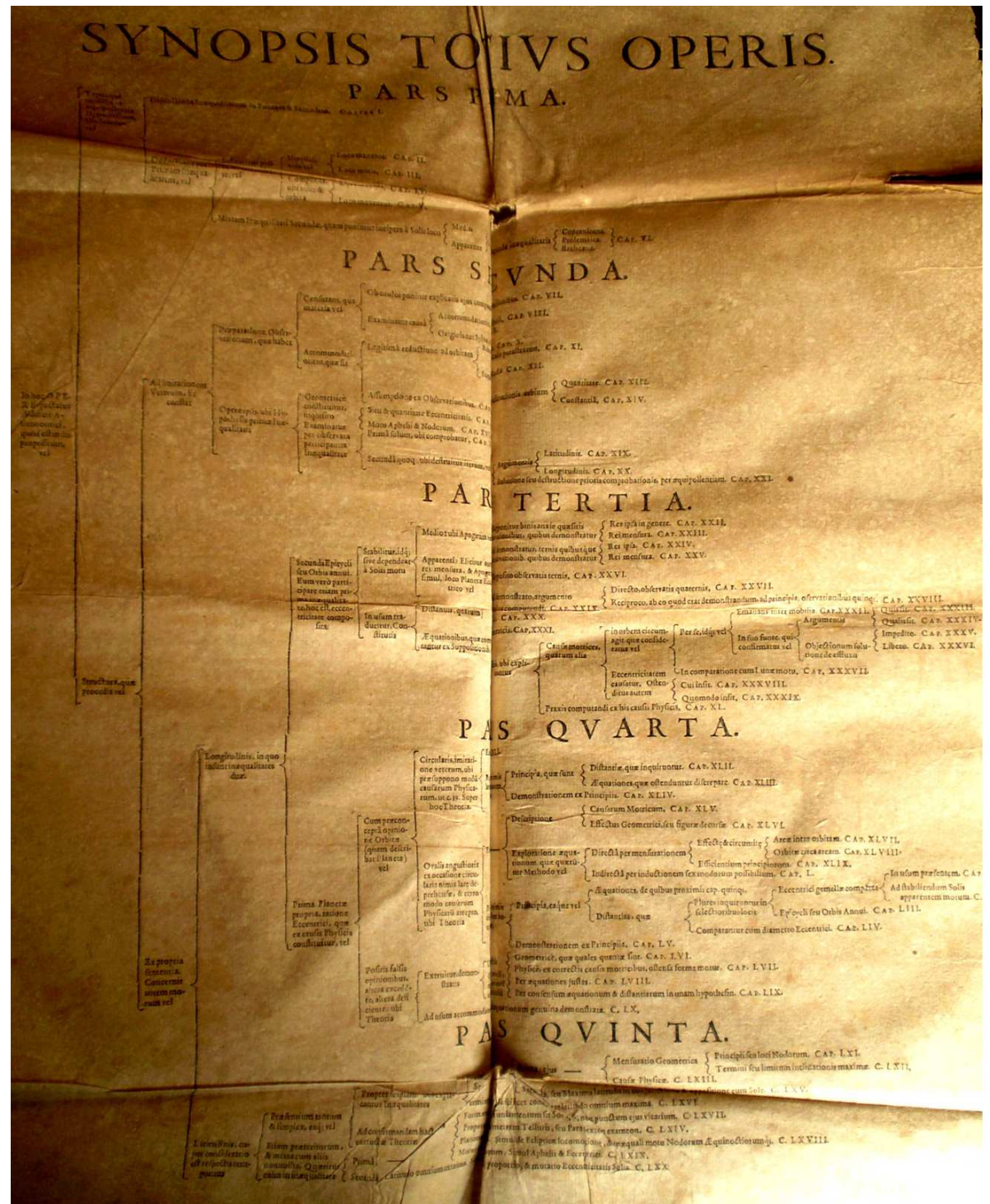
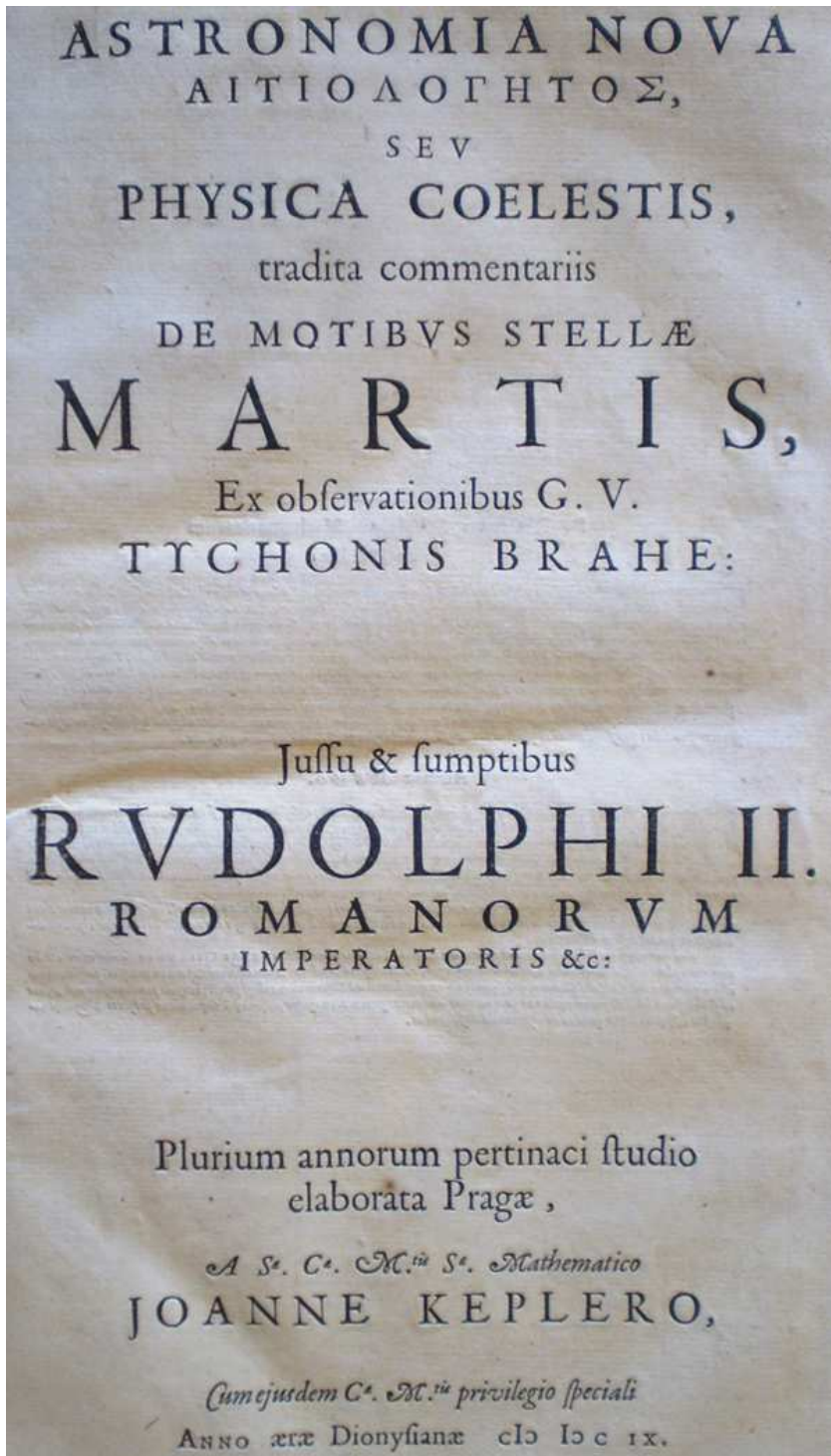
Johannes Kepler (1609):
Great Triumph:



Stets zweifelte er (Kepler) an sich und seiner Arbeit. Seinen eigenen Vortragsstil empfand er als "abstossend oder jedenfalls verwickelt und schwer verständlich". Über eines seiner Hauptwerke, die 1609 erschienene "Astronomia Nova", urteilte er im Nachhinein: "Ich selber, der ich als Mathematiker gelte, ermüde beim Wiederlesen meines Werkes mit den Kräften meines Gehirns."

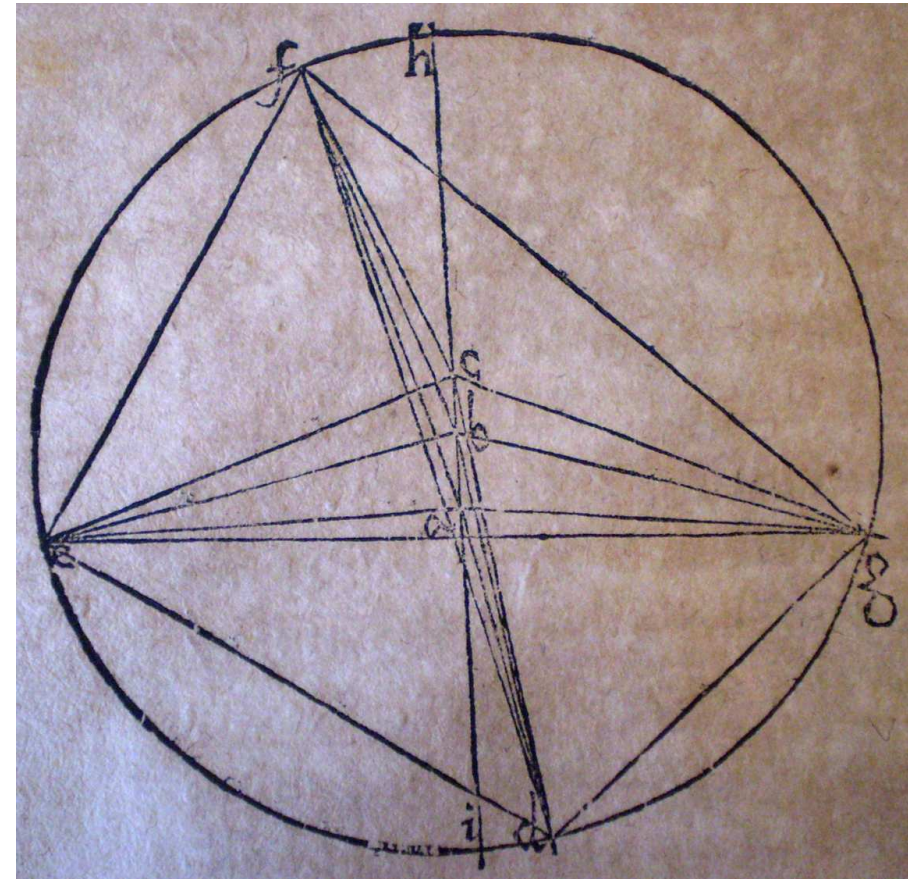
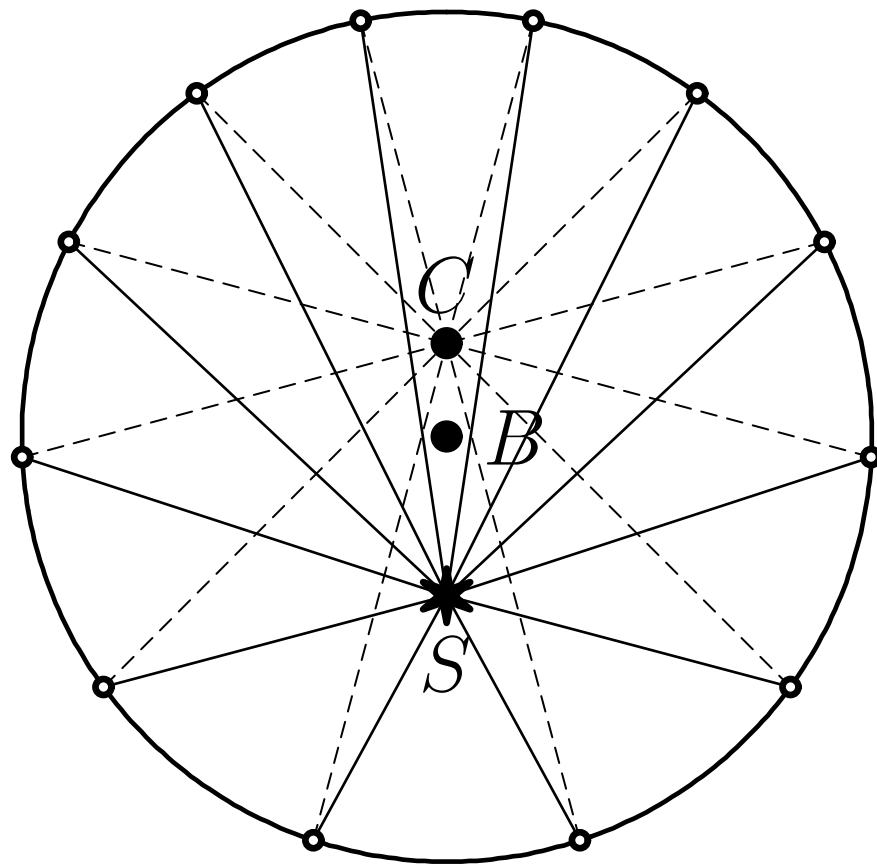
(from Spiegel online, 26.07.2011)

SYNOPSIS TOTIUS OPERIS:



Kepler's Pars Secunda : “Ad imitationem veterum”

(the “Ancients” are Ptolemy, Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, 25 years older than he).



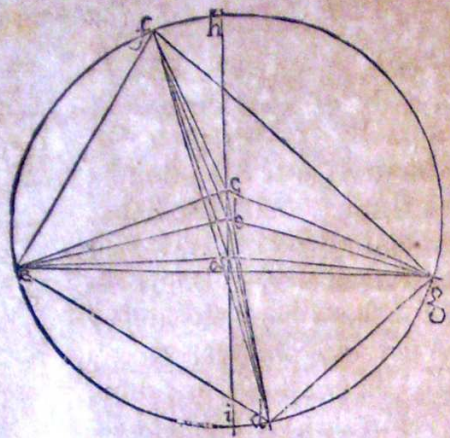
No justification for Ptolemy's assumption $CB = BS$;
 \Rightarrow determine S , B and C
from 4 observations (solve numer. 4-dim. nonl. system)

“If you find these calculations disgusting (pertaesum), then have pity for me (jure mei te miserat), I did them at least 70 times losing a lot of time (ad minimum septuagies ivi cum plurima temporis jactura)”.

⇒ already good approximations for Earth’s orbit Hypothesis vicaria !!

(for details see S. Thorvaldsen 2010)

CAPVT XVIII.
Examen duodecim locorum acronychiorum per inventam hypothefin.



V TAR autem ea calculi forma, quam supra cap. IV explicavi quod fit compendiosior. Certum autem est in COPERNICANA seu TYCHONICA forma non fessquiscrupulum (imo minus aliquid) vel lucratum vel perditū iri, ut ibidem monui.

	Anno 1580	Anno 1582	Anno 1585	Anno 1587	Anno 1589
<i>Aphel. anno 1587</i>	28.48.55.8	4.28.48.55	4.28.48.55	4.28.48.55	4.28.48.55
<i>Movetur annis intermediis</i>	6.42.	4.28	2.14	0.	2.15.
<i>Aphel. anno superscripto</i>	4.28.42.13.	4.28.44.27.	4.28.46.41.	4.28.48.55.	4.28.51.10.
<i>Longitudo media</i>	1.25.49.31.	3.9.24.55.	4.20.8.19.	6.0.47.40.	7.14.18.26.
<i>Adde</i>	3.55.	3.55.	3.55.	3.55.	3.55.
<i>Correcta long. med. I.</i>	25.53.26.	3.9.28.50.	4.20.12.14.	6.0.51.35.	7.14.22.21.
<i>Ergo angulus C</i>	87.11.13.	49.18.37.	8.14.27.	32.2.40.	75.31.11.
<i>Sinus</i>	99880	75767	7232	7232	
<i>Eccentricitas equantis.</i>	7232	7232	14909	53058	96833
	65088	50624	07232	36160	65088
	6509	3616	2893	2169	4339
	579	506	651	36	578
	58	43	6	6	14
	7223	5479	1078	3837	2
<i>Pars equation.</i>	4.8.33.	3.8.26.	0.37.4.	2.11.57.	
	91.19.46.				7002
<i>Angulus B</i>	88.40.14.	46.7.11.	7.57.23.	29.50.43.	4.0.55.
<i>Dimid.</i>	44.20.7.	23.3.36.	3.58.42.	14.55.21.	71.30.16.
<i>Tangent.</i>	97706	79643	79643	79643	35.45.8.
<small>Quotiens qui prodit ex divisione differentie laterum in</small>	79643	42572	6955	26650	72002
<i>Summam</i>	716787	318572	47786	159286	557501
	58750	15929	7168	47786	15929
	5575	3982	398	4779	06
	48	507	40	398	
<i>Tangent.</i>	778160	33906	5539	21225	57349
	37.53.22.	18.43.47.	3.10.13.	11.59.0.	29.49.54.
	44.20.7.	23.3.36.	3.58.42.	14.55.21.	45.8.

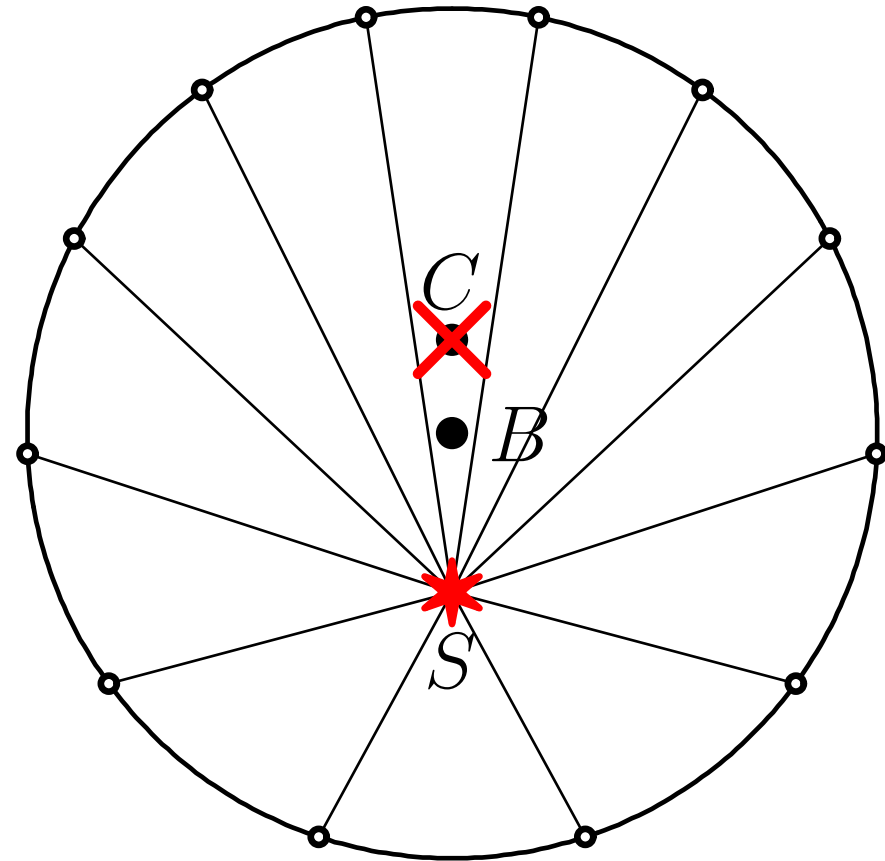
-p.12/67

Pars Tertia : “Ex propria sententia” (his own opinion)

Kepler, as convinced Copernician,
puts **Sun** in the center;
get rid of *C*,
which has no physical meaning:

ΑΙΤΙΟΛΟΓΗΤΟΣ
PHYSICA COELESTIS,

Which theory for rotation speed ??



Pars Tertia : “Ex propria sententia” (his own opinion)

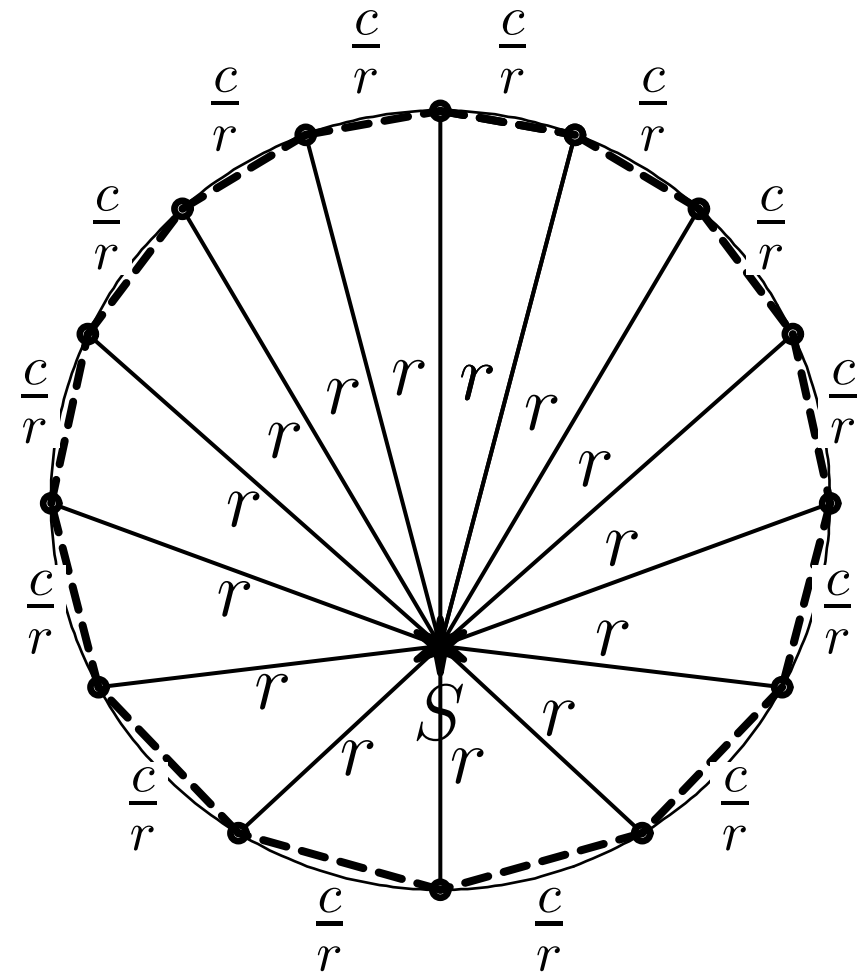
Long discussions,

(Chap. 32–39)

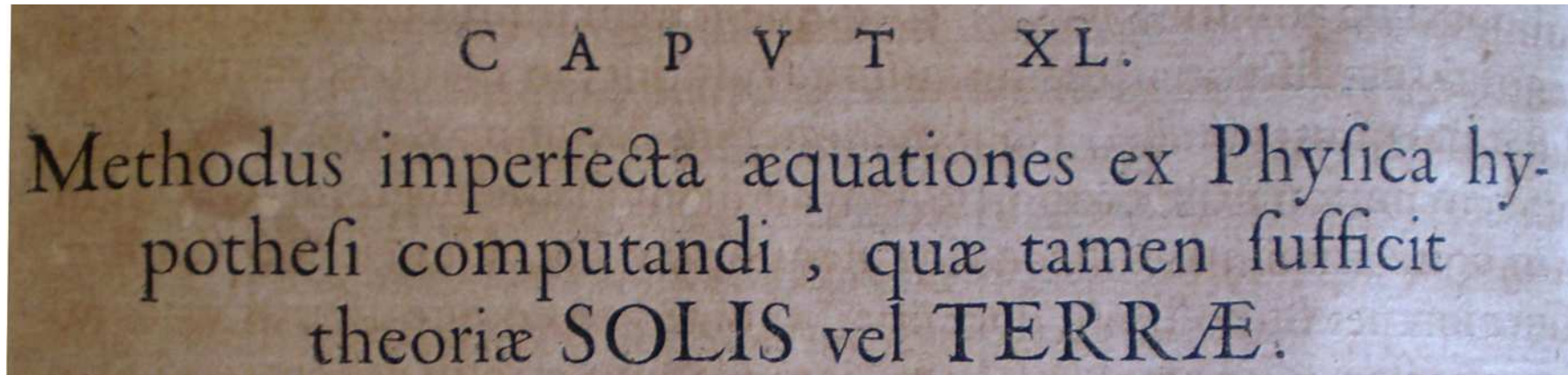
attractive forces, magnetism,
rotating Sun “pushes” the planets,
the planets have a “Soul” ;
the planets “wish” to move;
the planets “look” at the Sun and
see diameter inv. prop. to r

⇒ Speed inversely prop. to r !!

(New Inaequalitatis secundae).



Chap. 40: End of Pars Tertia : Simplified model:



Above model too complicated ...

⇒ Inspired by Archimedes

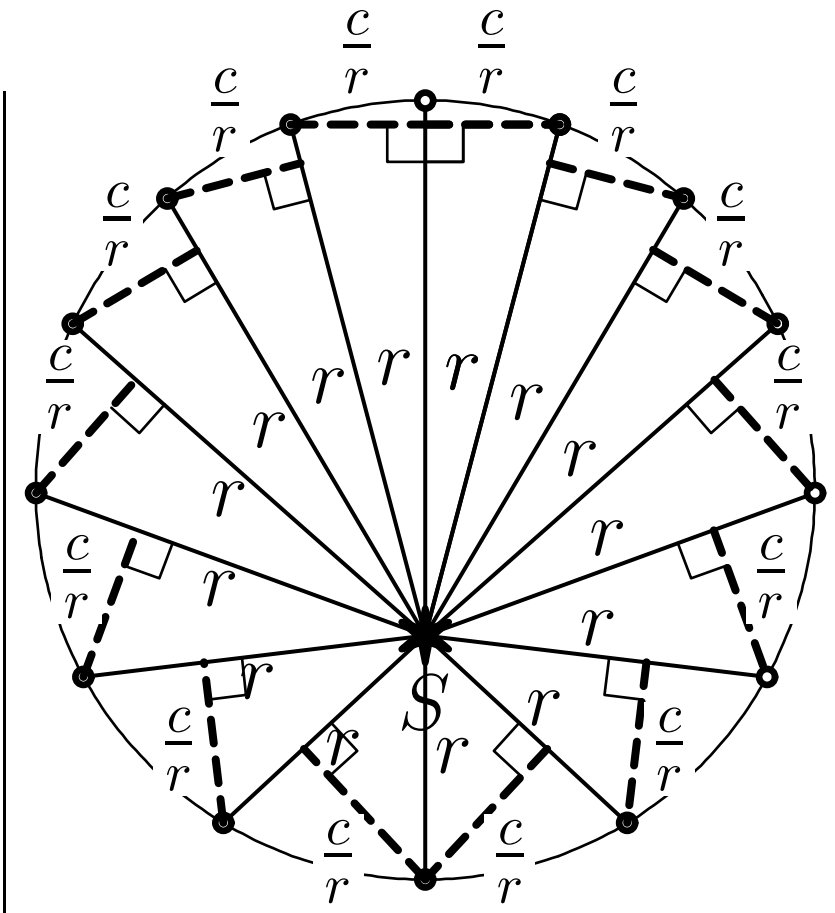
distantias omnes inesse. Nam memineram, sic olim & ARCHIMEDEM, cum circumferentiæ proportionem ad diametrum quæreret, circulum in infinita triangula dissecuisse. nam hæc vis occulta est ejus demon-

⇒ Replace hypotenuse by leg

⇒ all triangles have same area !!

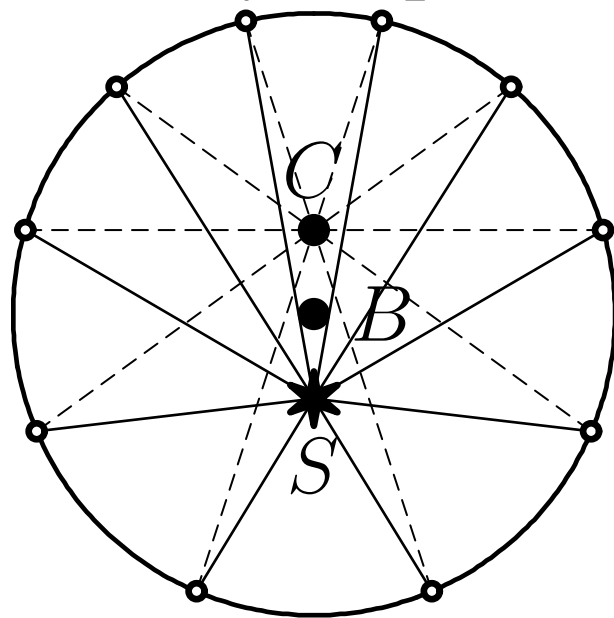
“Equal times — equal areas”

(Correct Inaequalitatis secundae).

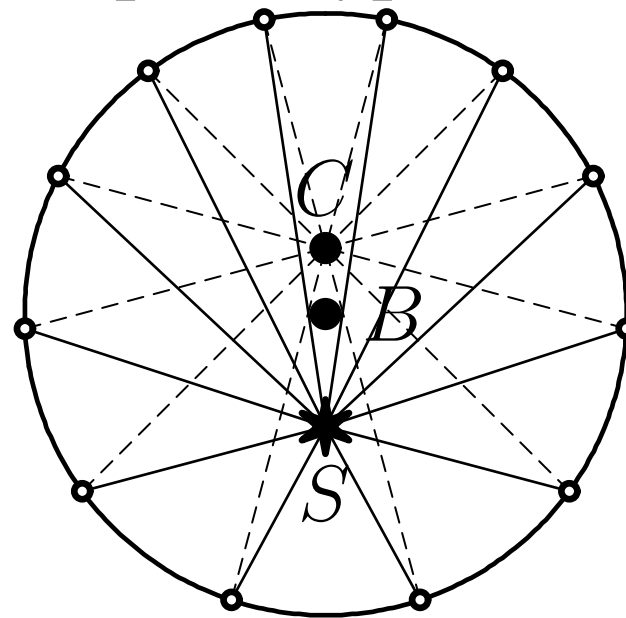


Resumé:

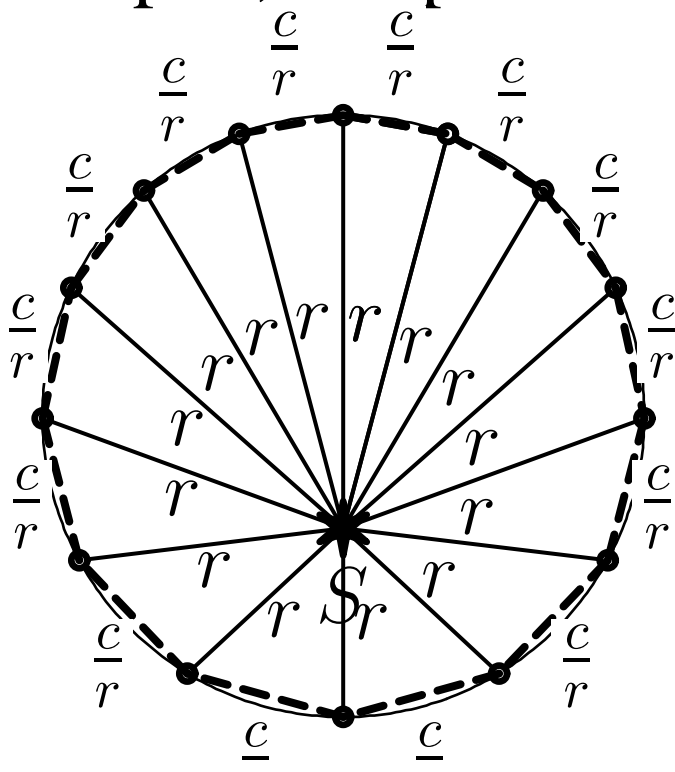
Ptolemy, Cop., Brahe:



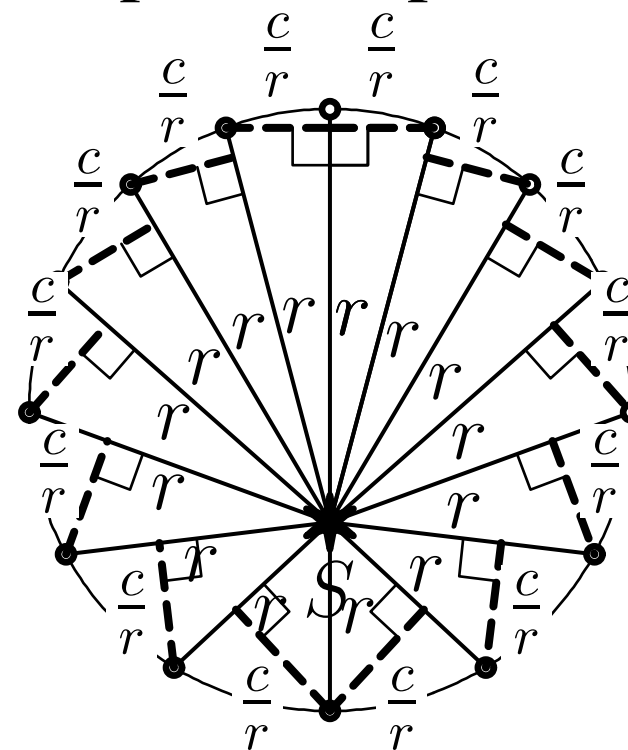
Kepler, Hypoth. vicaria:



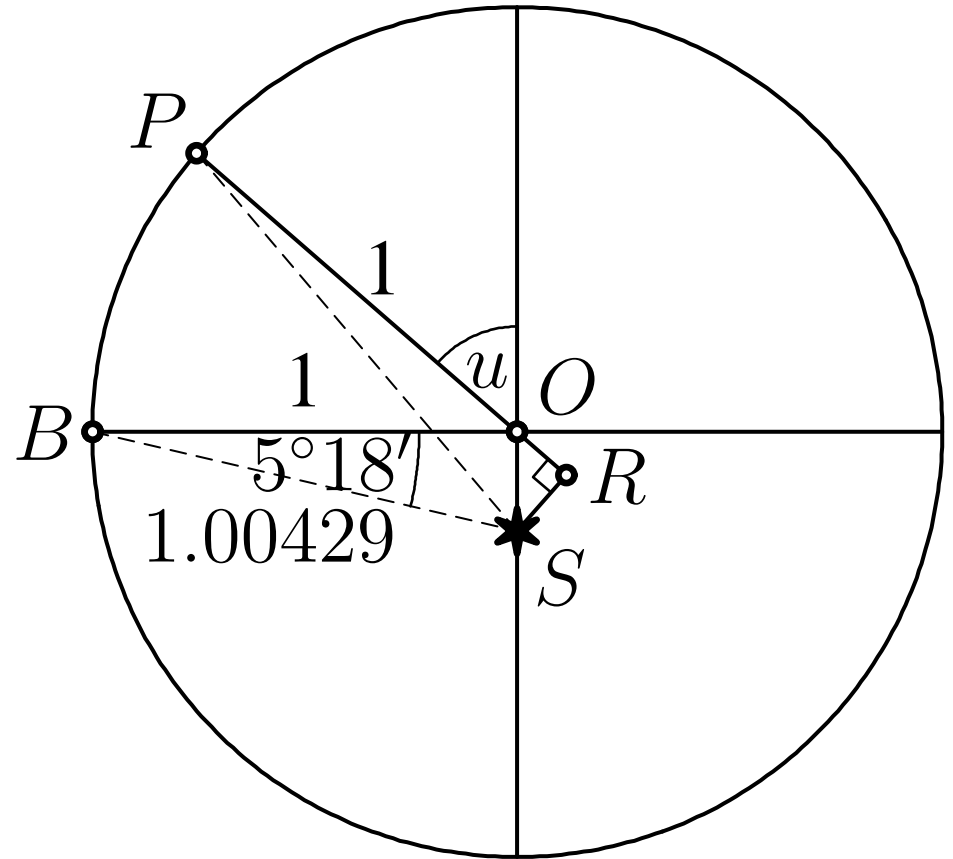
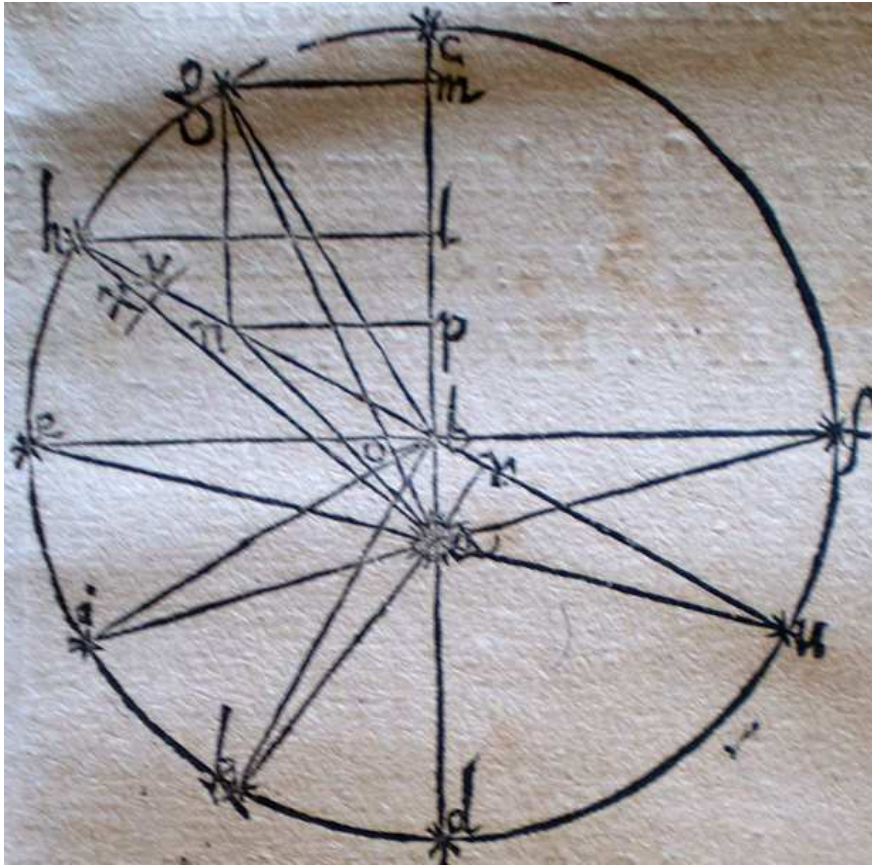
Kepler, Chap. 32-39:



Kepler, Chap. 40:



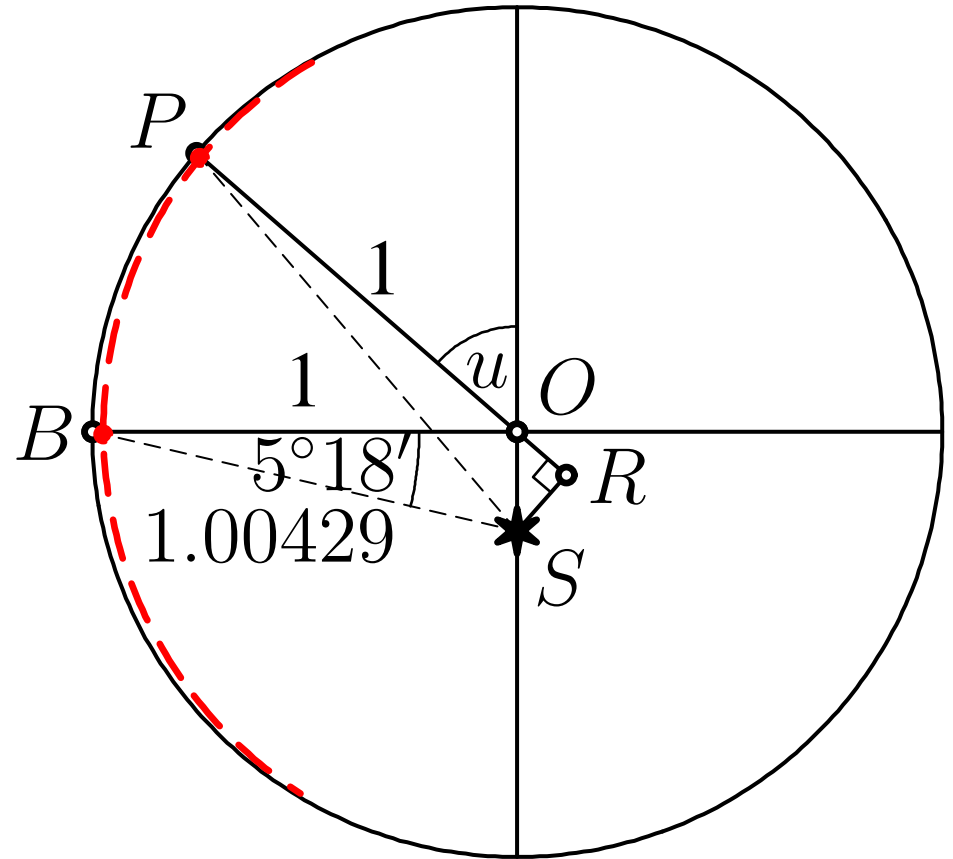
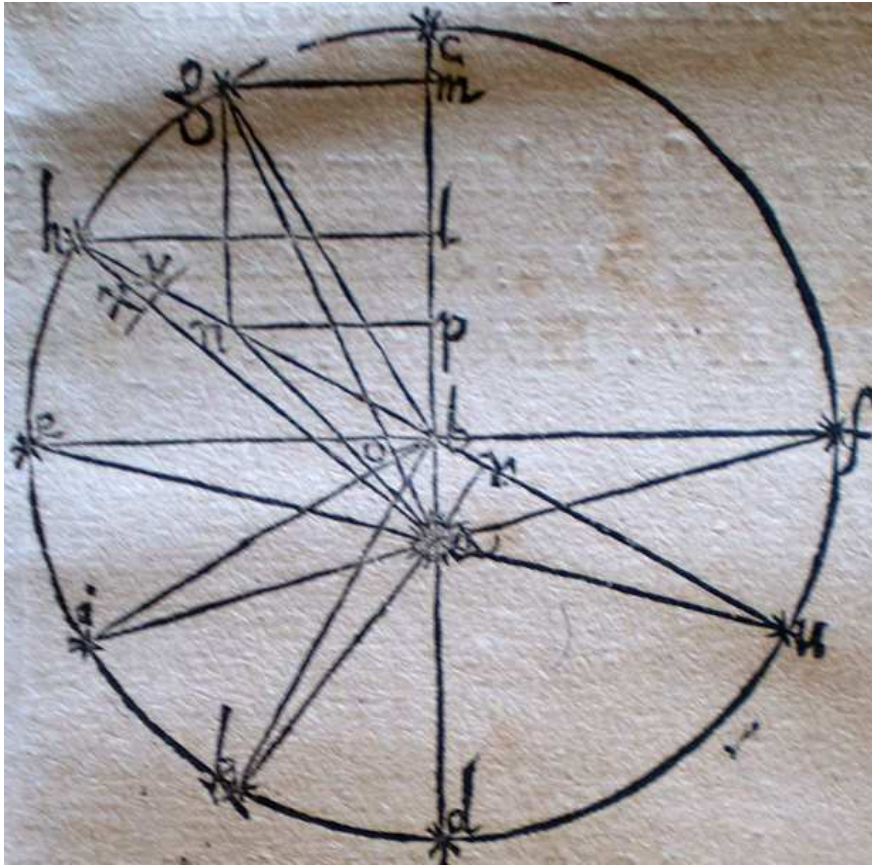
Kepler's Pars IV : The Great Idea in Chap. 56:



Obs.: Dist. BS of Tycho's circle by factor 1.00429 too large;
 This value is (by chance) $1 / \cos 5^\circ 18'$;

plane nihil dictum esse, itaque futilem fuisse meum de Marte triumphum; forte fortuito incido in secantem anguli $5^\circ 18'$. quæ est mensura æquationis Opticæ maximæ. Quem cum viderem esse 100429, hic quasi e somno expergefactus, & novam lucem intuitus, sic cœpi ratio-

Kepler's Pars IV : The Great Idea in Chap. 56:

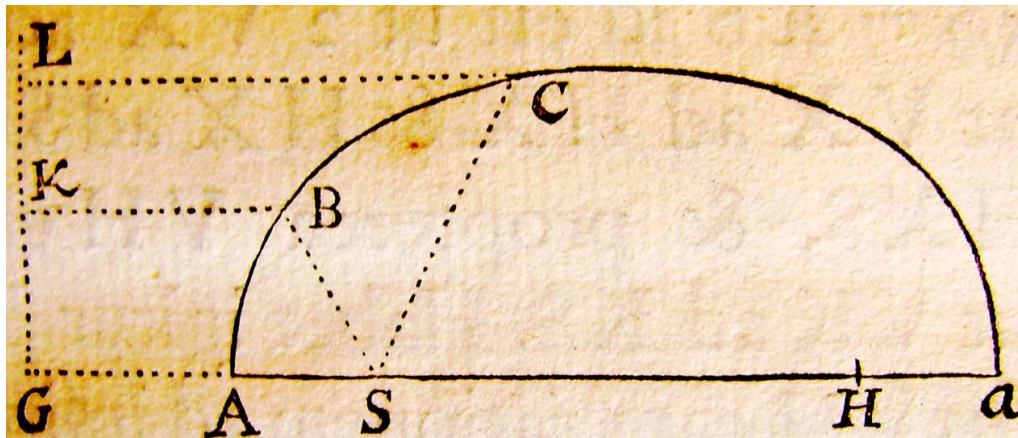


Idea: Replace ‘hypoth.’ by ‘legs’, $BS = BO$, $PS = PR, \dots$
 and “I awoke from sleep & new light broke on me”!!!

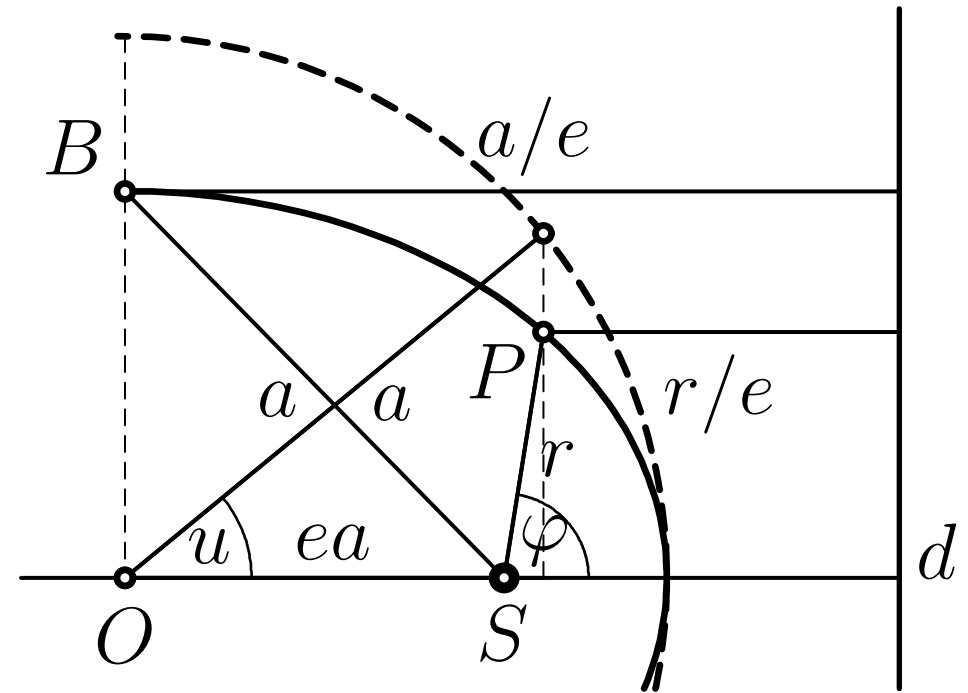
$$PS = PR = 1 + e \cos u$$

Hoc jam obtento, non rationibus a priori, sed observationibus, ... (This is now established, not from reasoning as before, but from observations...)

Pappus of Alexandria \approx 300 A.D. *Collection*, Prop. VII.238



(drawing Newton 1687)



$$a \cos u + \frac{r}{e} = \frac{a}{e} \quad \Rightarrow$$

$$\begin{aligned} r &= a - ea \cos u \\ r &= a + ea \cos u \end{aligned}$$

Kepler:

$$PS = PR = 1 + e \cos u \quad (\text{Ch. 57-59}) \Rightarrow \text{orbit is ellipse !!}$$

EXISTENT acuti Geometrae VIETÆ similes, qui magnum aliquid esse putabunt demonstrare hujus METHODI ἀτεχνίαν. Id enim & PTOLEMÆO & COPERNICO & REGIOMONTANO objectum in hoc negotio a VIETA. Eant igitur & schema Geometricè ipsi solvant, & erunt mihi magni Apollines. ΜΙΗΙ sufficit ad quatuor vel quinque con-

“There might be ingenious Geometers, similar to Viète, who criticize with great emphasis this [numerical] METHOD as being *artless*. Indeed, Viète criticized in such a way Ptolemy, Copernicus & Regiomontanus in his work. May they step forward then, and solve themselves the scheme Geometrically, they will be *great Apollons* for me.”

(Kepler 1609, p. 95).

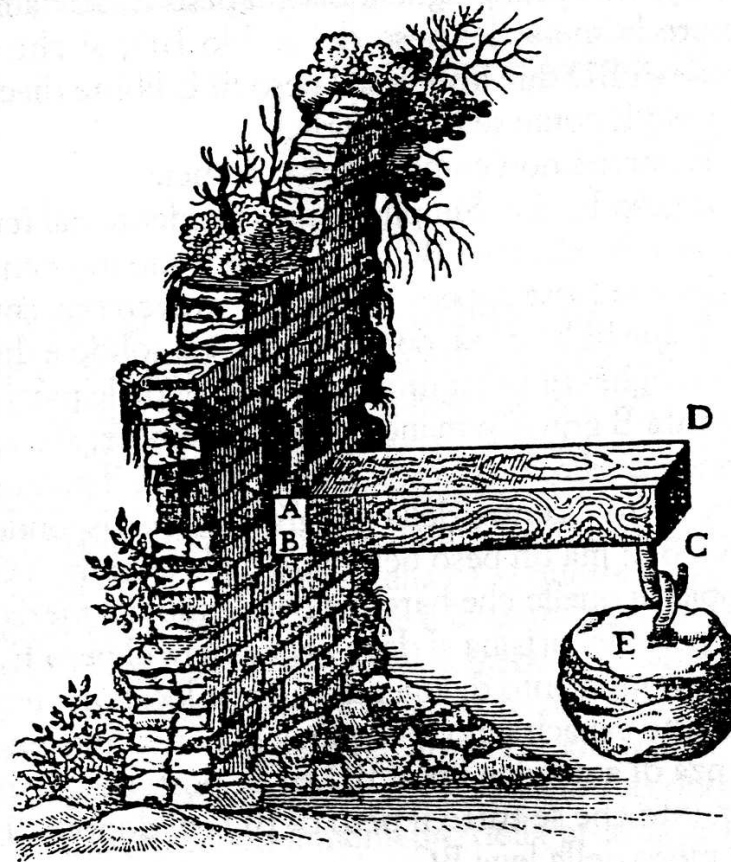
Galileo Galilei. *Mechanics* 1634, *Discorsi* 1638:

... io grandemente dubito che Aristotele non sperimentasse ...

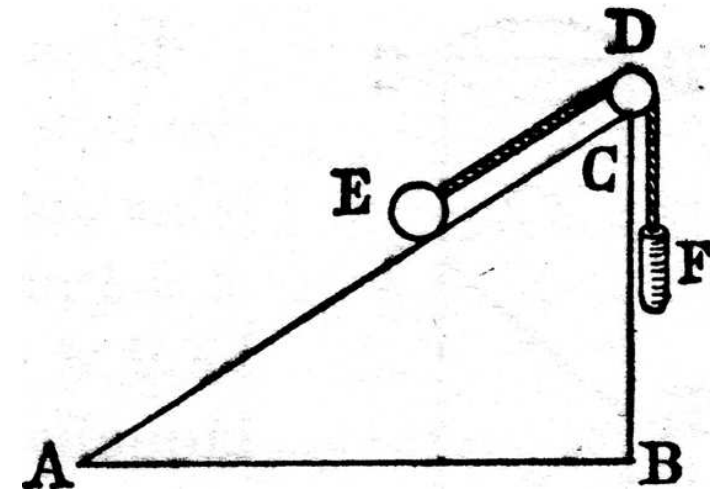
(Galilei 1638, *Giornata prima*)



Observation
of Heaven...



...study forces, inertia and
accelerated motion on Earth



“The Great Apollon” : Isaac Newton.

... one of the most dramatic moments of the *real beginnings* was when Newton suddenly understood *so* much from *so* little... (R. Feynman, lecture of march 13, 1964.)

This sudden change of emphasis has been provoked by a visit from Edmund Halley (1656–1742), which probably took place in August [1684].” (quoted from *Footprints of the lion* by Scott Mandelbrote, Cambridge 2001, p. 88)

Manuscript Add 3965^{7a}
from 1684
written in **this room** ⇒ ⇒
leading to the
Principia published 1687

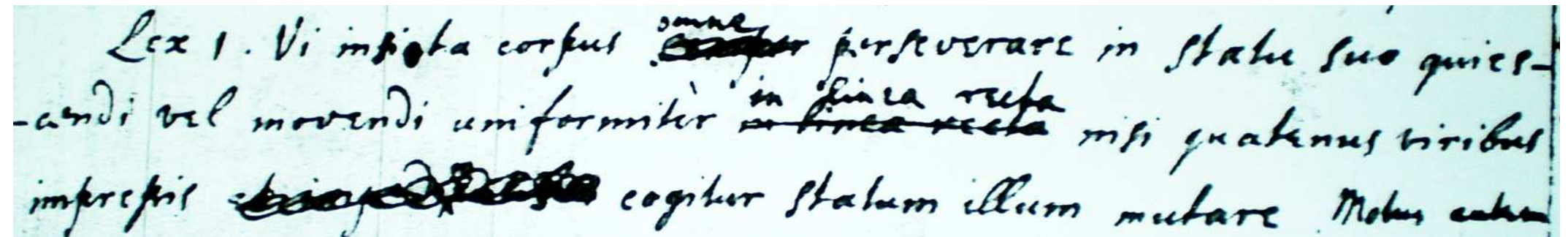


Proof of Kepler 2:

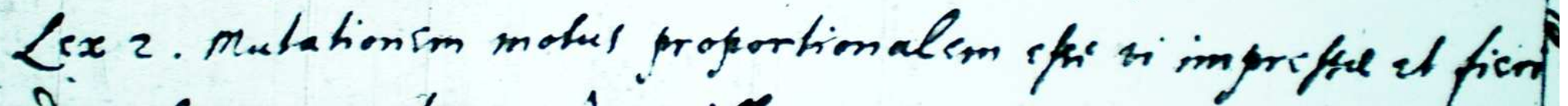
... Newton was known in Cambridge as 'the man who has writt a book that neither he nor any one else understands' ...

(quoted from *Footprints of the lion* by Scott Mandelbrote, Cambridge 2001, p. 28)

Let **us** try to understand:



Lex 1. Vi impoſita corpus ~~ſemper~~^{ſemper} perſeverare in ſtatu ſuo quieſcendi vel movendi uniformiter ~~in linea recta~~^{in linea recta} niſi quatenus viribus impreſſis ~~ſemper~~^{ſemper} cogitur ſtatum illum mutare. Motus ceterum



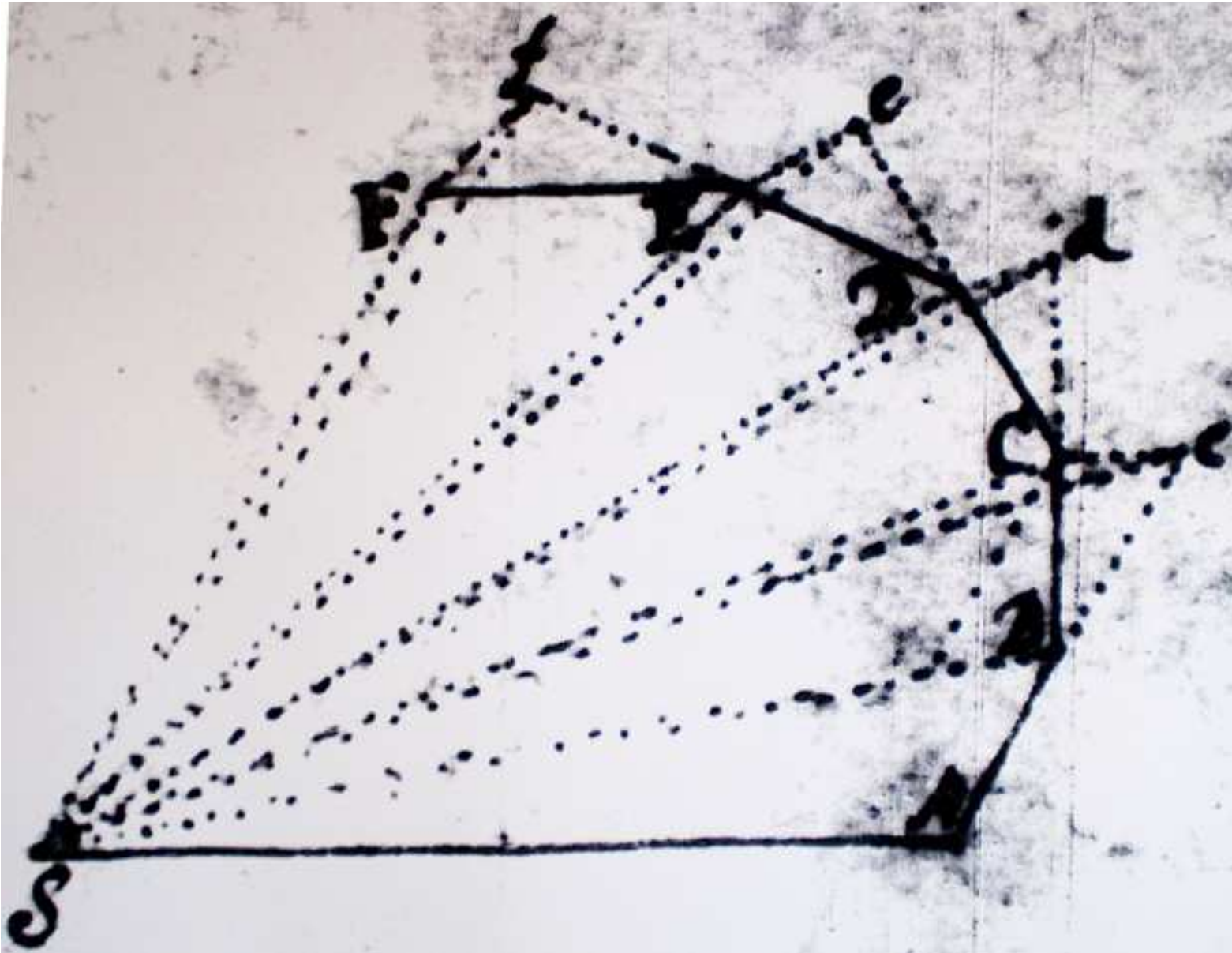
Lex 2. Mutationem motus proportionalem eſſe vi impreſſe et fieri

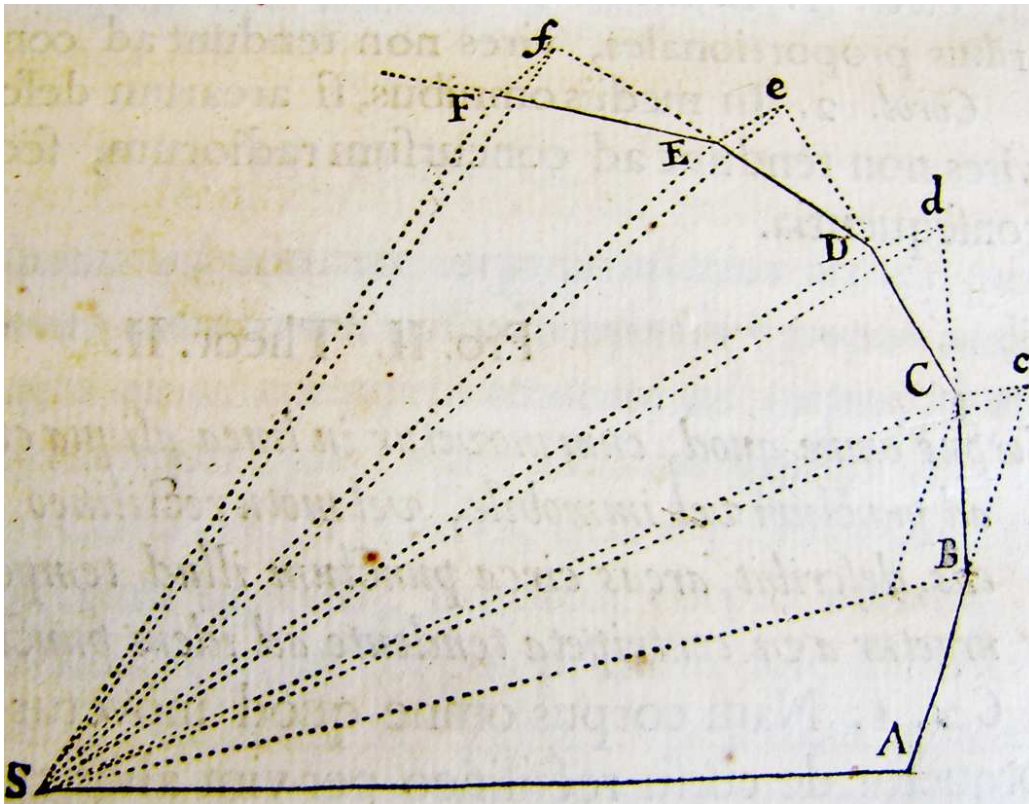
(Newton, manuscript Add. 3965^{7a})

Idea:

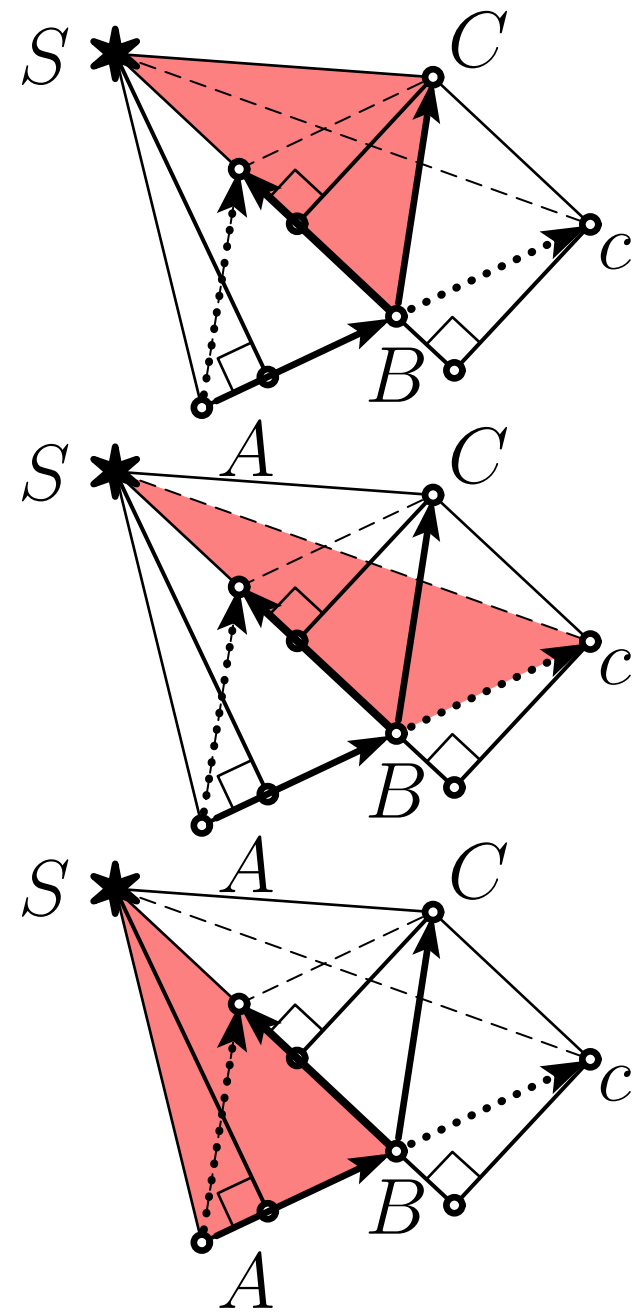
Instead of continuously acting force

\Rightarrow force impulses $f \cdot \Delta t$ at end of time steps





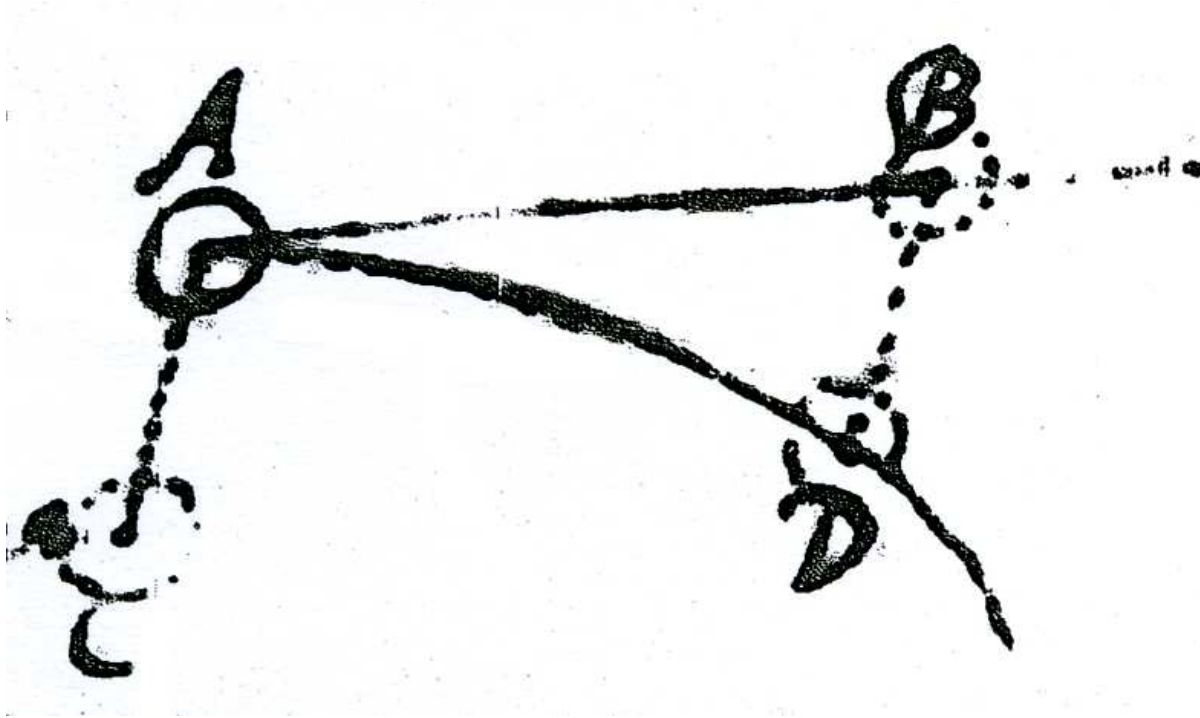
Picture from *Principia*



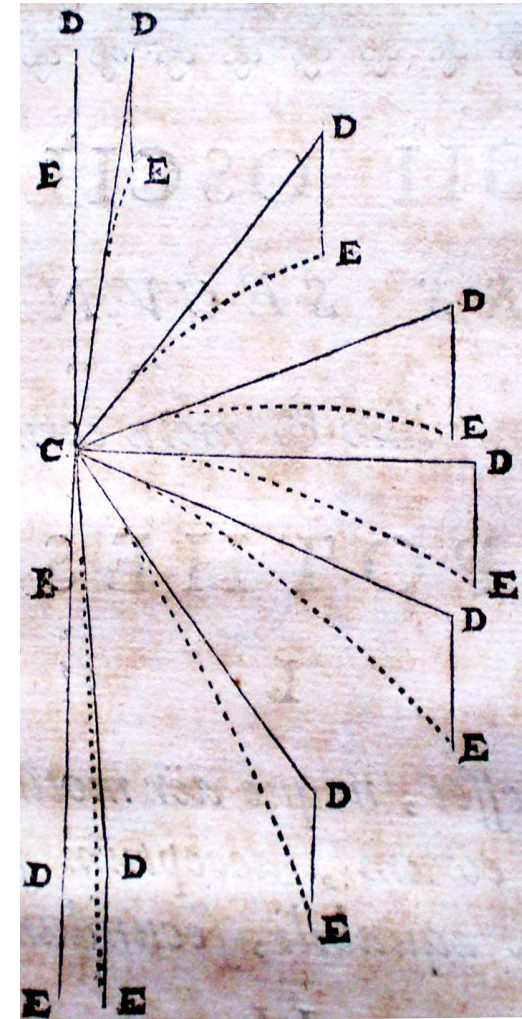
Eucl. I.41: All triangles have same area !

This became the “Theorema 1” of the *Principia* (1687).

Newton's Discovery of Gravitation Law from Kepler 1 & 2.



(Newton, Add 3965⁶, 1684)



(Huygens 1673)

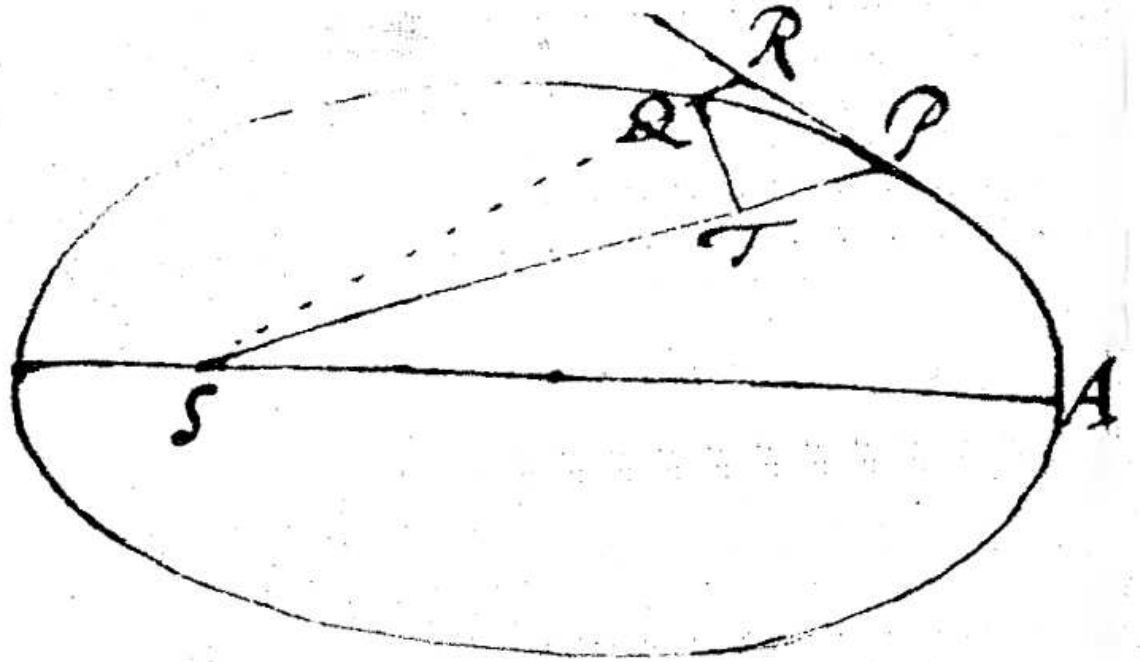
Thm.: Force impulse prop. dist. R on tangent and Q on orbit
(Δt fixed).

Newton's "Prob. 3".

If orbit ellipse
and S in focus,
then, for small step-sizes,

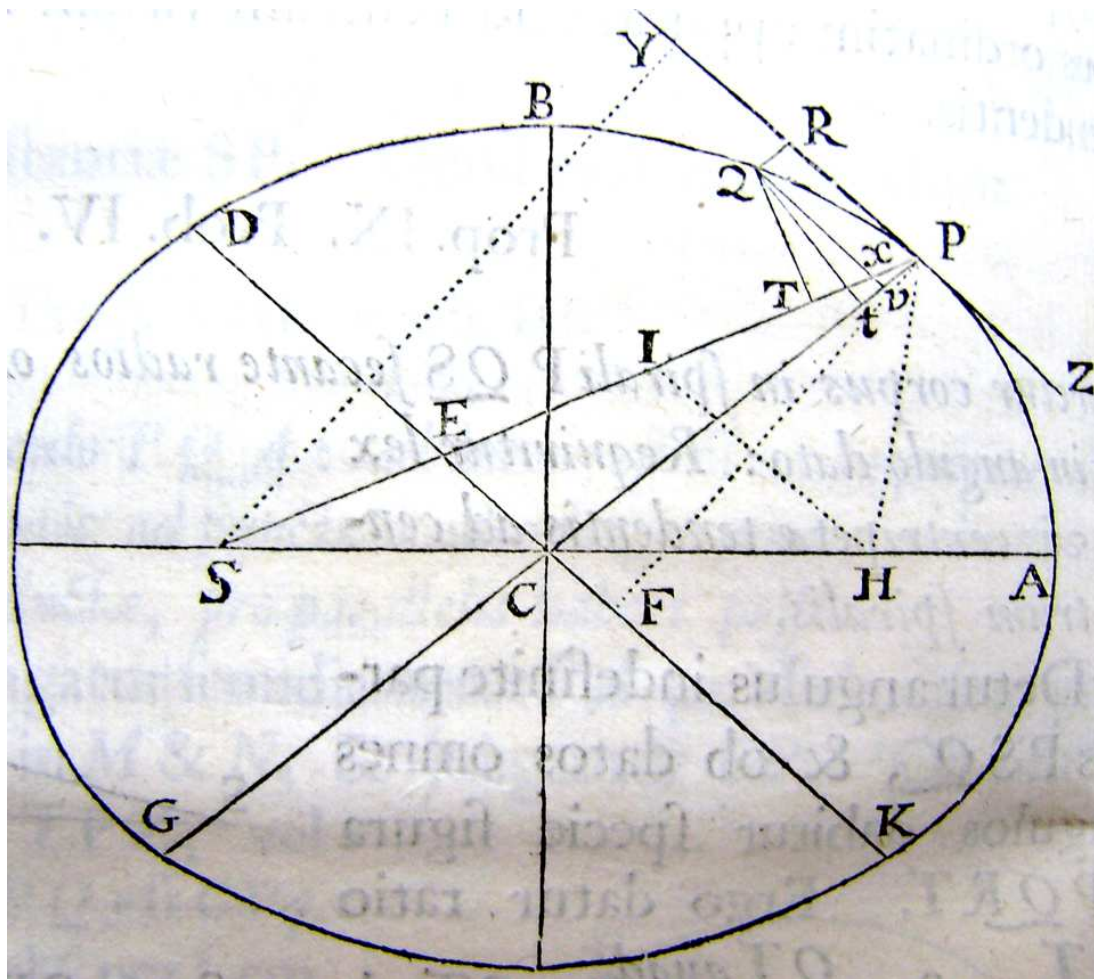
$$RQ \approx \text{Const} \cdot QT^2$$

where **Const** independent
of position of P .



Proof: Apollonius of Pergae \approx 250 B.C.

... i libri di Apollonio, ... delle quali sole siamo bisogni nel presente trattato. (Galilei 1638, giornata quarta)



Conj. diam. \parallel tang.
(Apoll. II.6+Eucl. II.14)

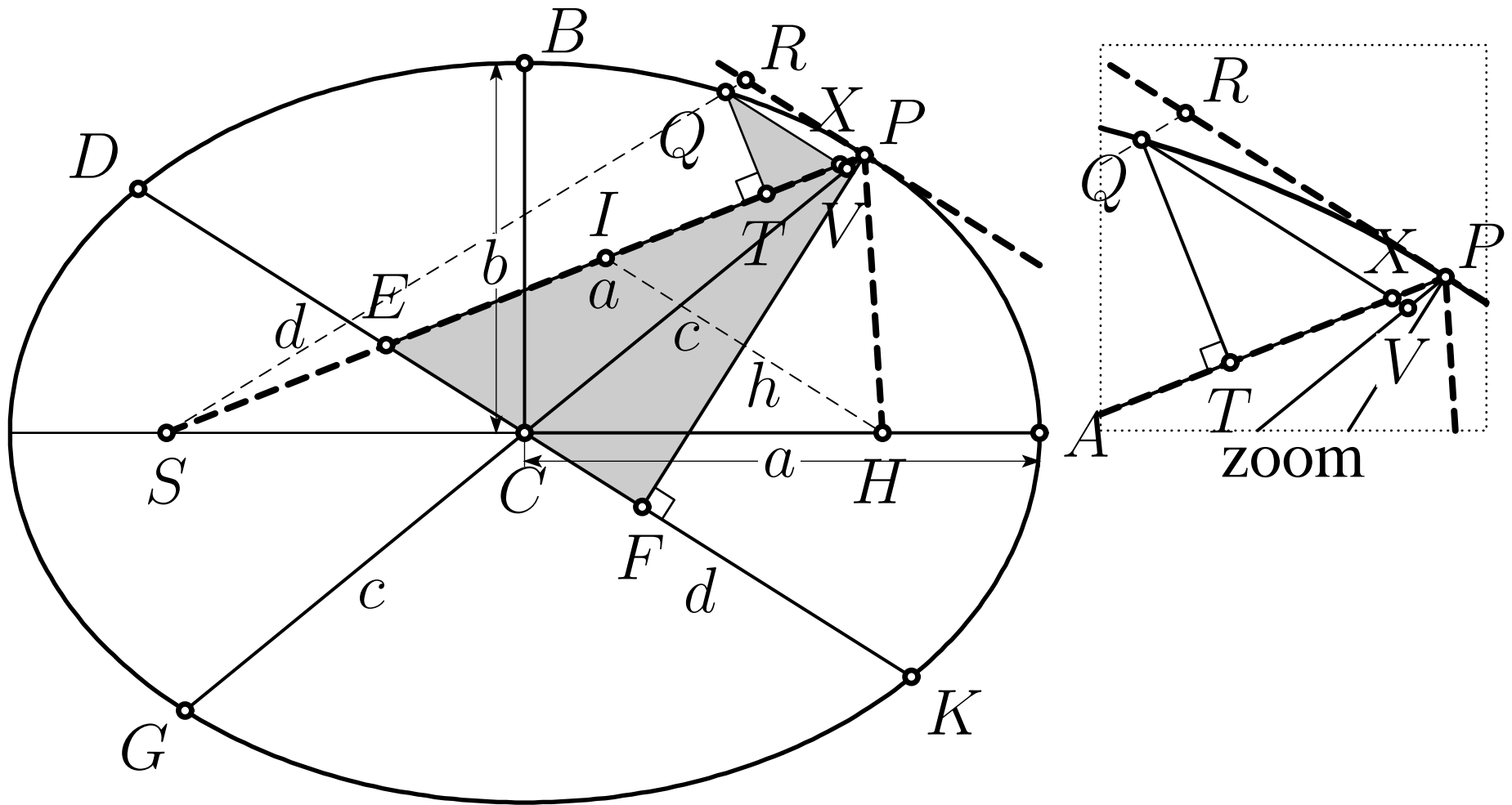
$\Rightarrow PV/QV^2$ known

Tangents $\alpha = \alpha$
(Apoll. III.48)

$SP + HP = 2a$
(Apoll. III.52)

$\Rightarrow EP = a$ (Newton).

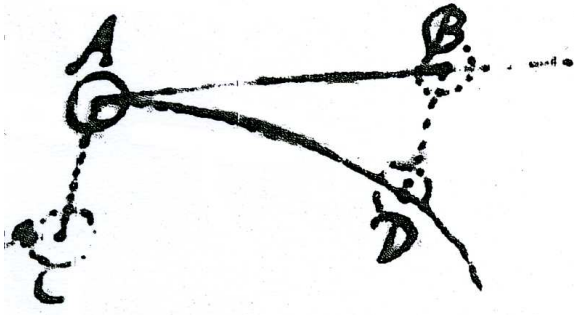
(Picture from Newton's Principia 1687)



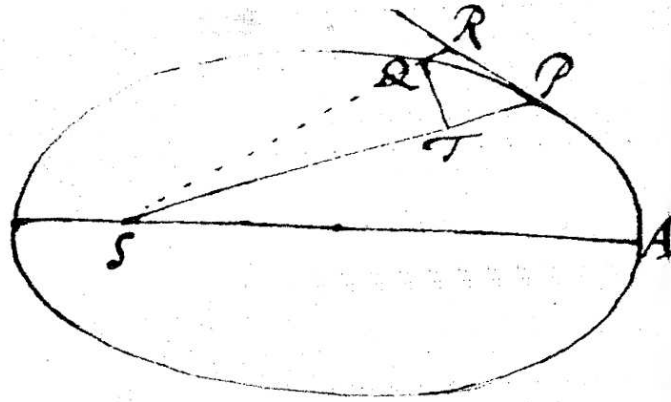
use similar triangles $PVX \sim PCE$ and $QTX \sim PFE$ and Apoll. VII.31 ($hd = ab$)

$$\Rightarrow RQ \approx \frac{a}{2b^2} \cdot QT^2 .$$

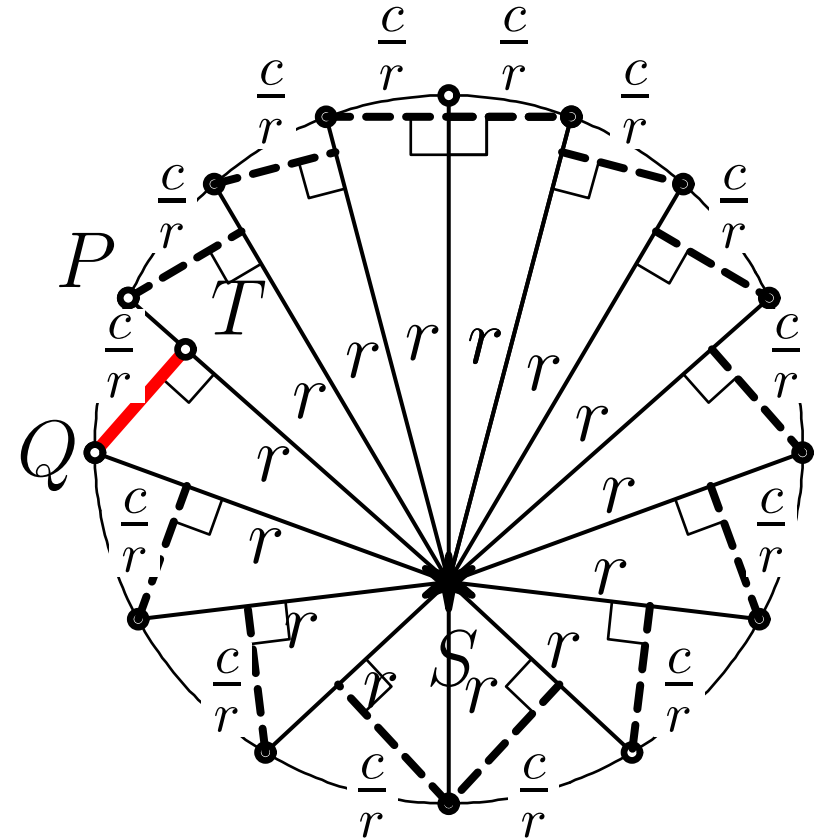
The Law of Gravitation.



force prop. BD
 $= RQ$



RQ prop. QT^2
 (Newton's Lemma)



QT prop. $\frac{1}{r}$
 (Kepler 2)

hence:

force is proportional to $\frac{1}{r^2}$

(Prop. XI of the Principia).

Another century later we arrive at Euler (E122) 1747:

$$\text{I. } \frac{2ddx}{dt^2} = \frac{X}{M}; \quad \text{II. } \frac{2ddy}{dt^2} = \frac{Y}{M}; \quad \text{III. } \frac{2ddz}{dt^2} = \frac{Z}{M}$$

for which the above algorithms are **inverse** numerical methods !!

“While physicists call these “Newton’s equations”, they occur nowhere in the work of Newton or of anyone else prior to 1747.”

“...such is the universal ignorance of the true history of mechanics.”

(C. Truesdell, *Essays in the History of Mechanics*, 1968)

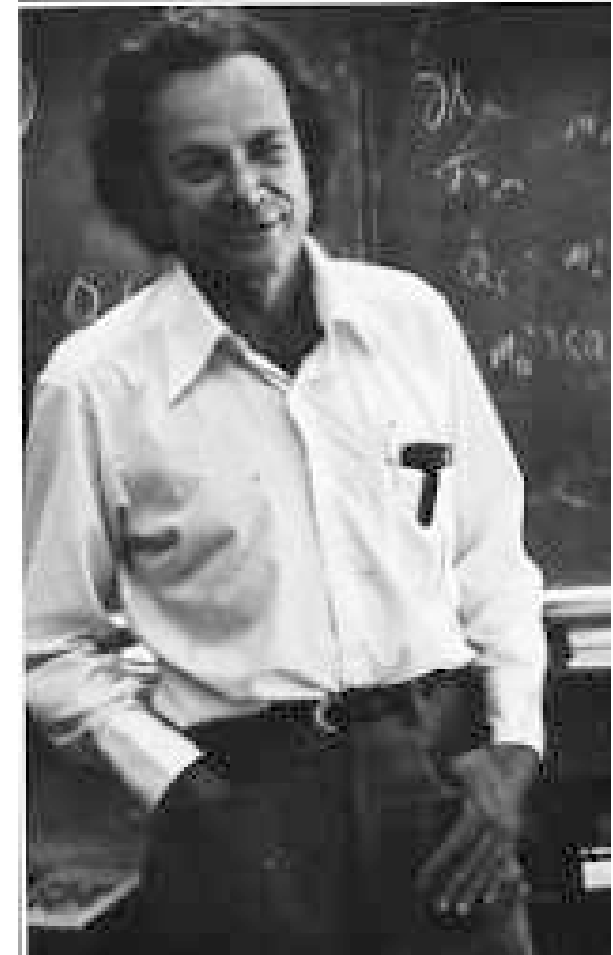
Feynman's solution of the inverse problem:

Inverse square law \Rightarrow Kepler 1 ??

Pour voir présentement que cette courbe ABC . . . est toujours une Section Conique, ainsi que Mr. Newton l'a supposé, *pag. 55. Coroll.I.* sans le démontrer; il y faut bien plus d'adresse:

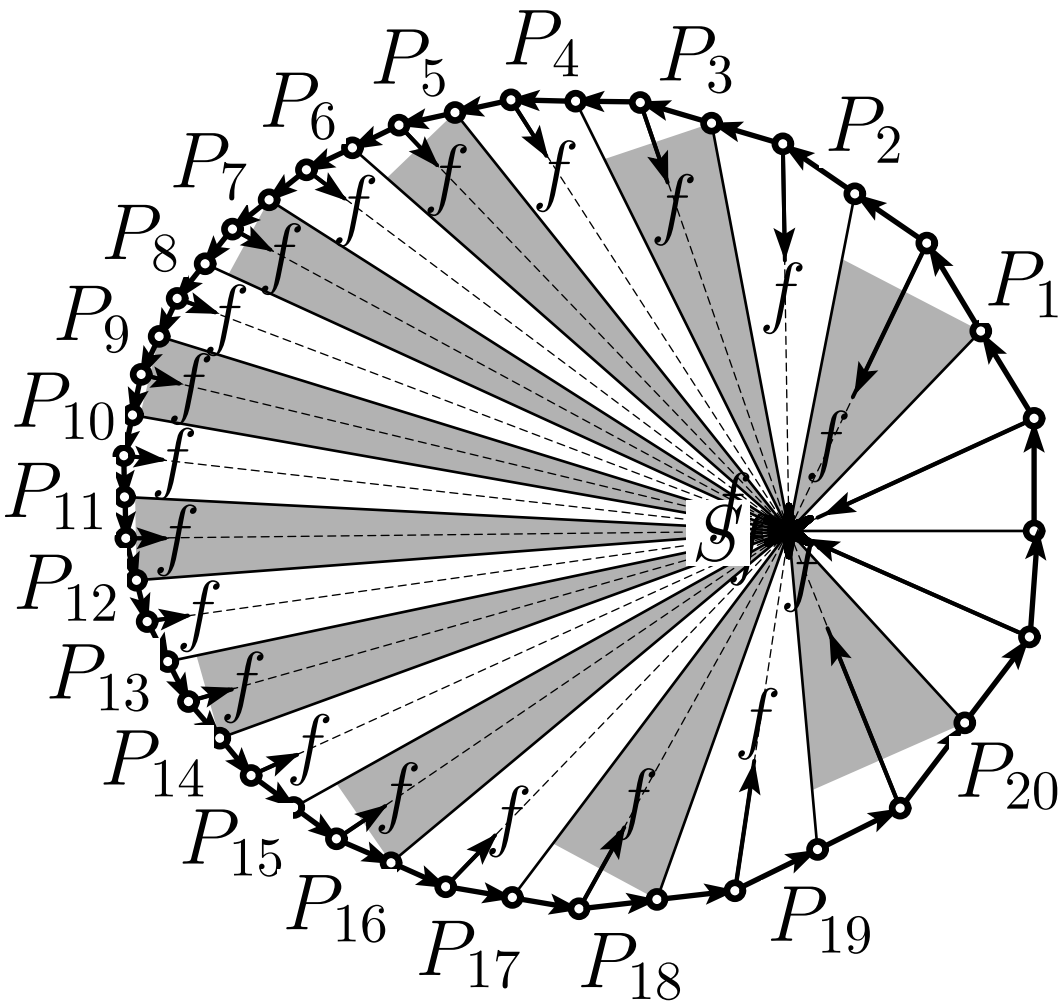
[To see that the orbit is always a conic section, which Newton claimed but did not prove, requires a good deal of more ability.]

(Joh. Bernoulli 1710)



Feynman's idea (1964, in a “lost lecture”, rediscovered 1996):

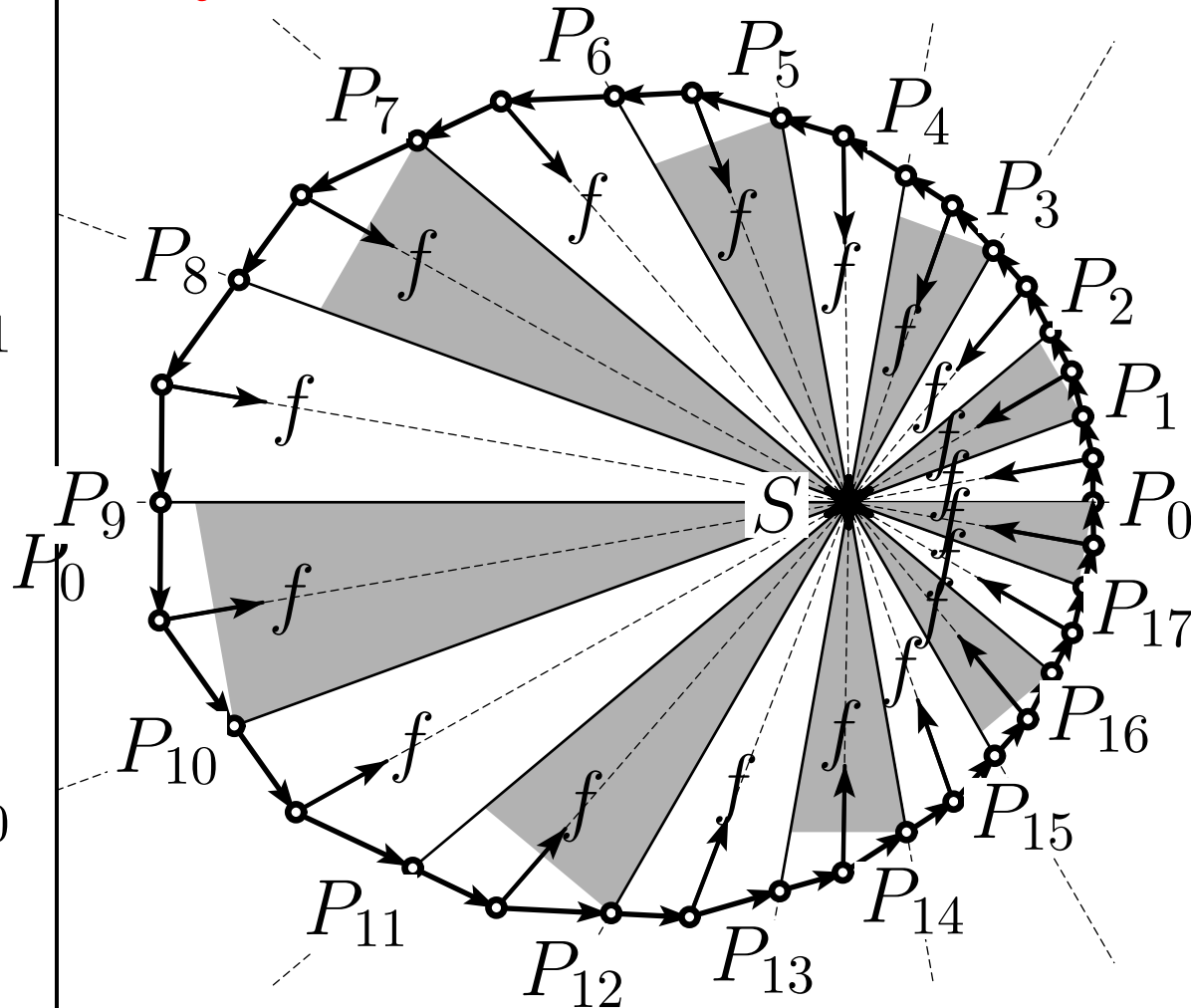
Kepler – Newton:



Δt constant

Force impulse prop. $\frac{1}{r^2}$.

Feynman:

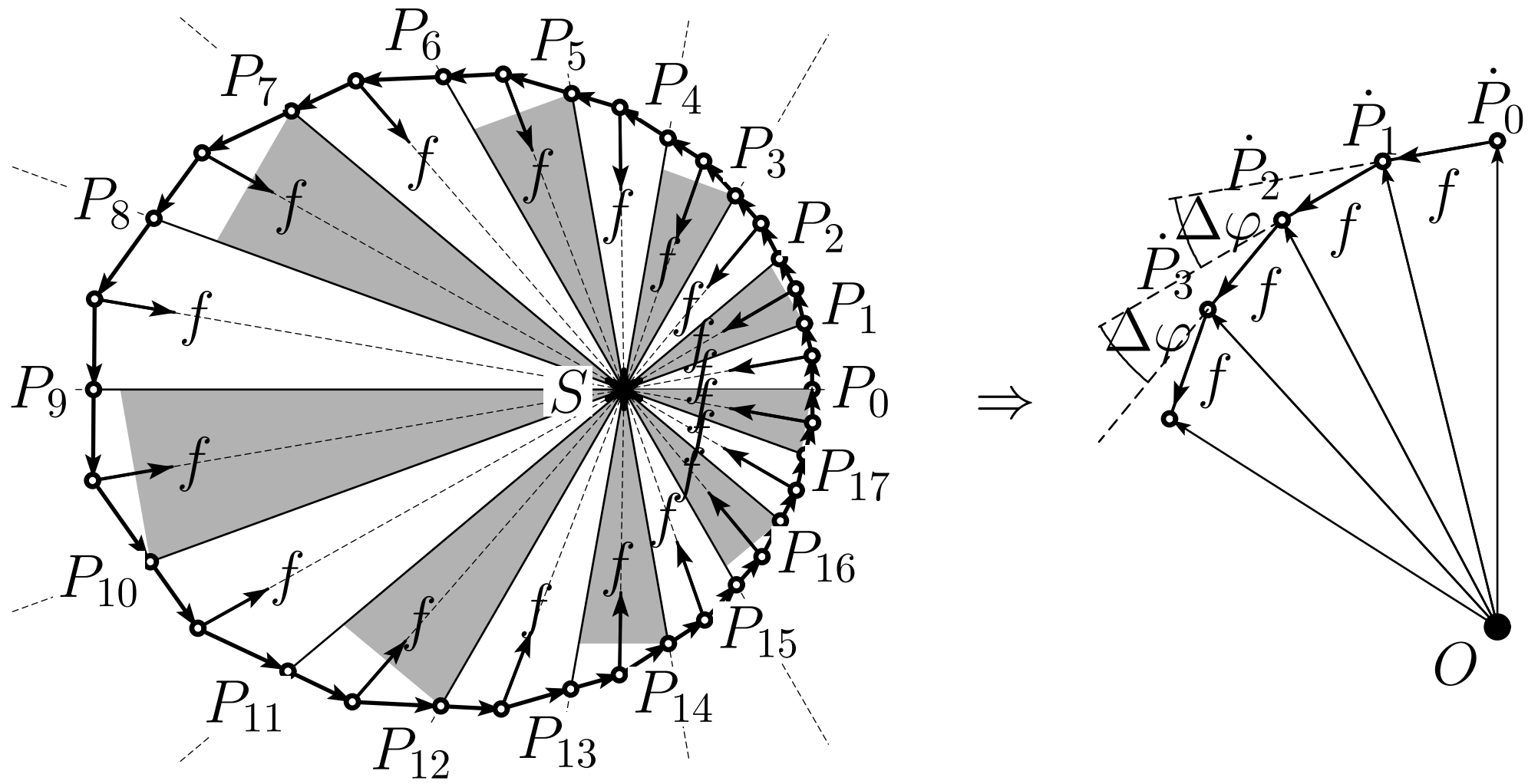


$\Delta\varphi$ constant

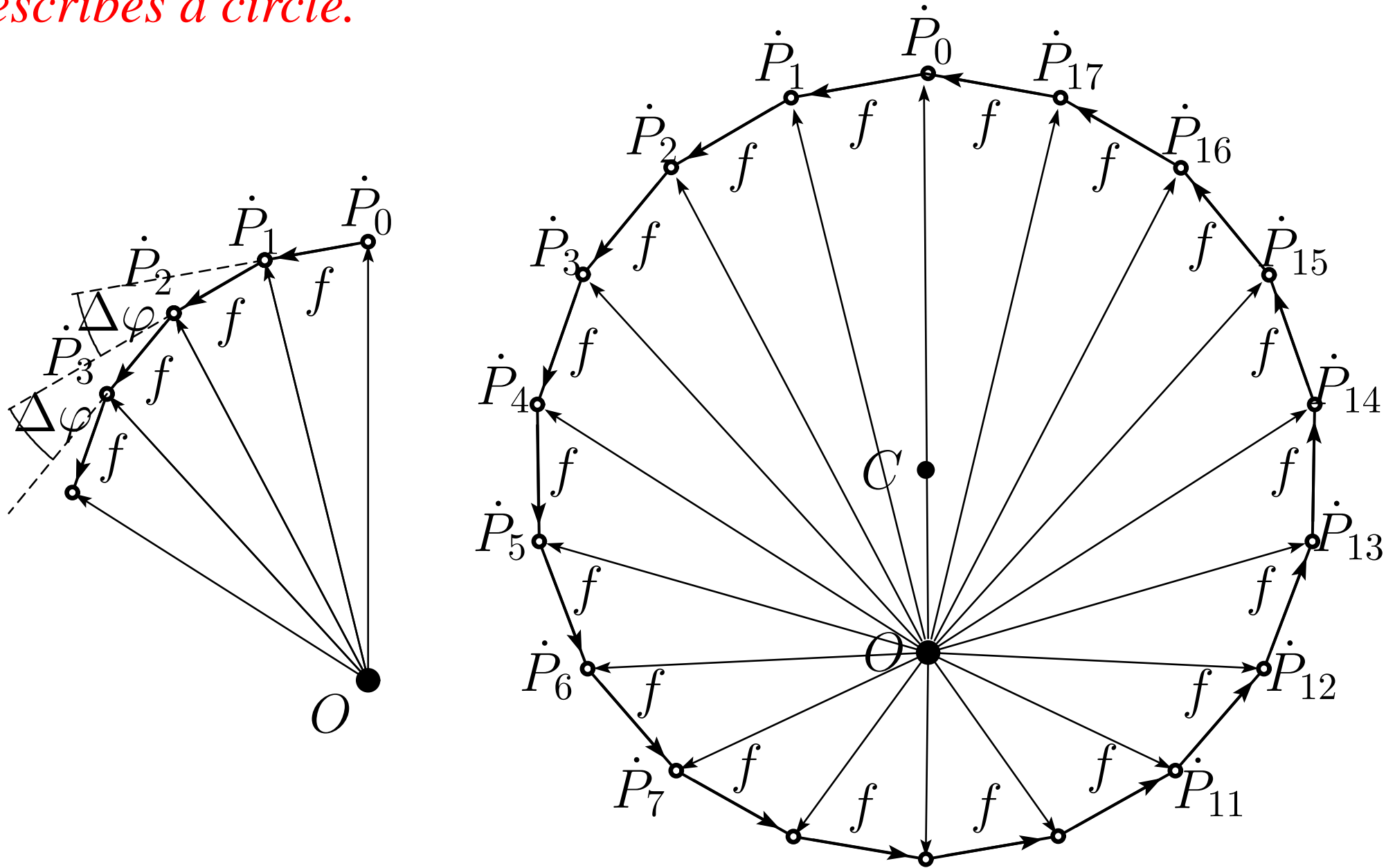
$\Rightarrow \Delta t$ prop. to r^2 (Eucl. VI.19);

\Rightarrow force impulses prop. 1 .

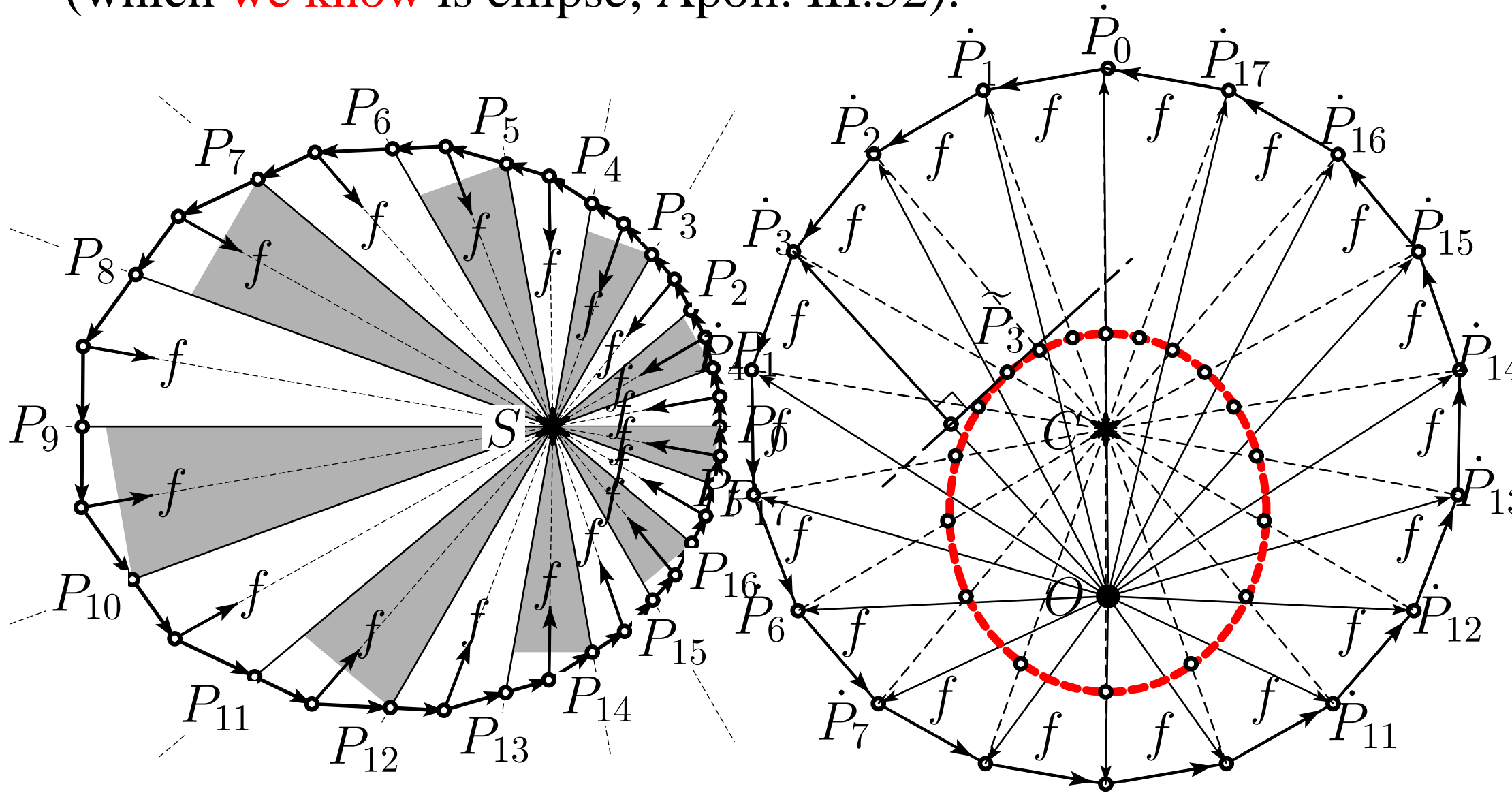
Look at hodograph (diagram of velocities)



Velocity \dot{P} of planet orbiting under inverse square force describes a circle.



Idea: Consider curve of same distance from circle and origin O
 (which **we know** is ellipse; Apoll. III.52):



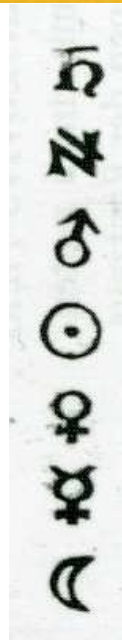
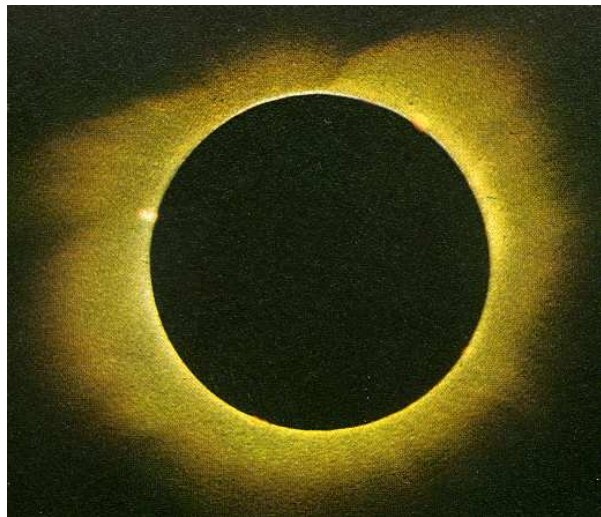
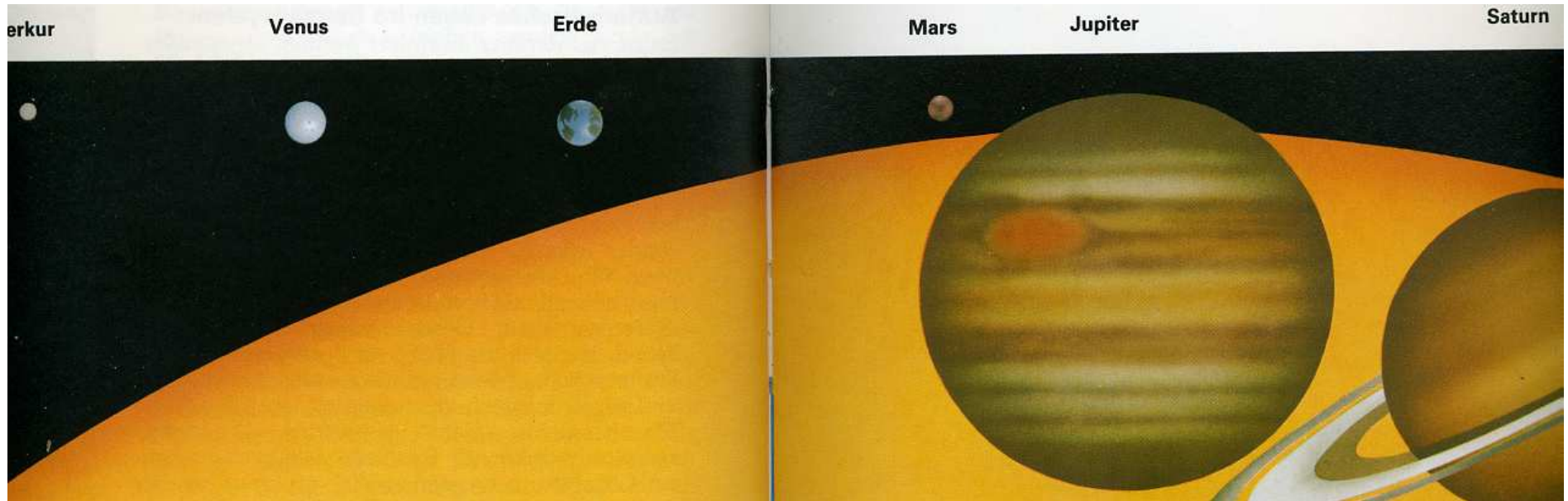
tangent in P_i **parallel** to $O\dot{P}_i$; tangent in \tilde{P}_i **orthogonal** to $O\dot{P}_i$;
 \Rightarrow **orbit is ellipse !!** □

Épilogue ...

It is not easy to use the *geometric* method to discover things, it is very difficult, **but the elegance of the demonstrations** after the discoveries are made, **is really very great**. The power of the *analytic* method is that it is much easier to discover and to prove things, but not in any degree of elegance. There is a lot of dirty paper with x-es and y-s and crossed out cancellations and so on ... (laughers).

(R. Feynman, lecture of march 13, 1964, 35th minute.)

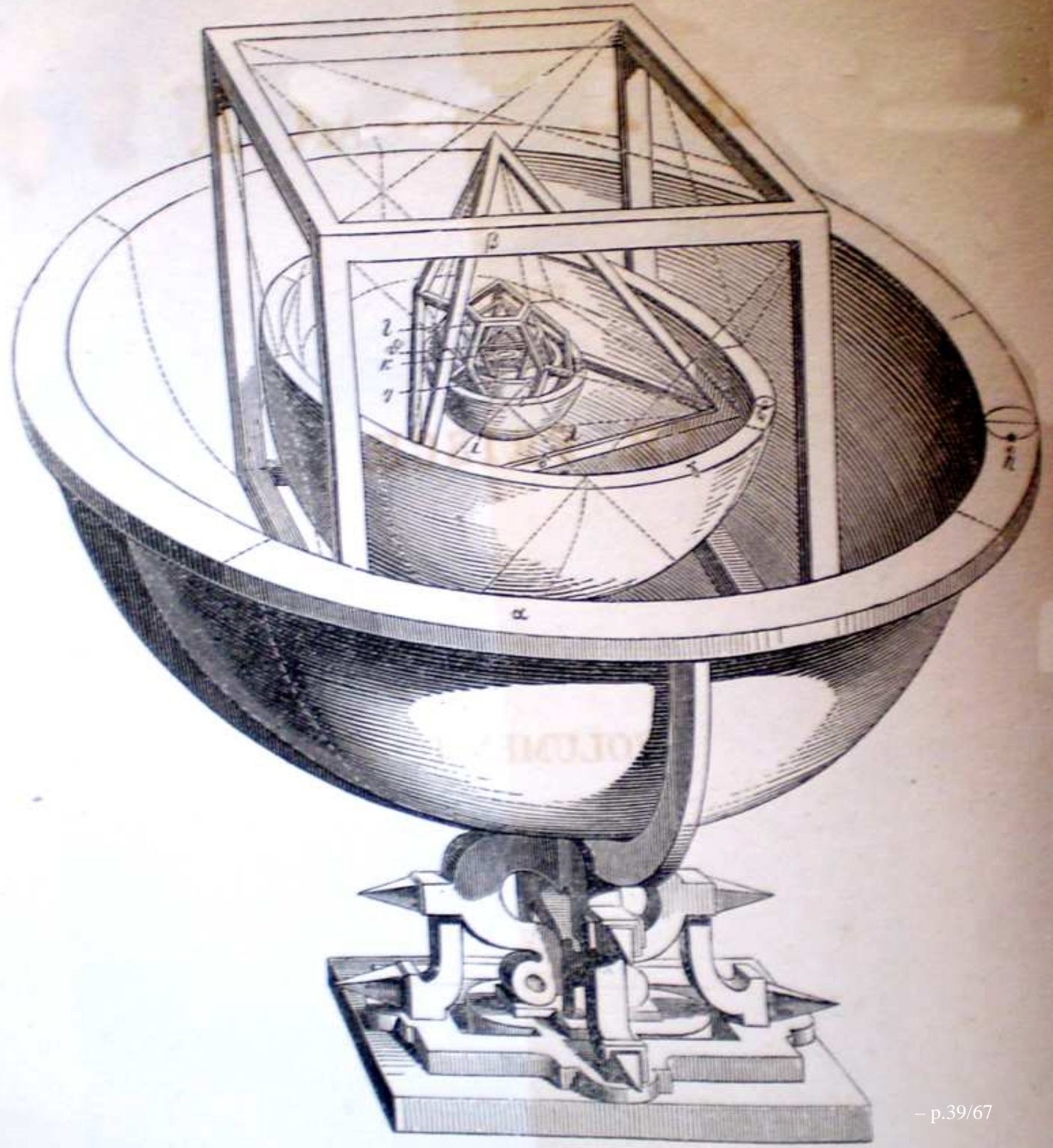
PART II: Find relations between **all** planets.



Babylon. and Egypt. civilisation:
The Seven Heavenly Gods

Sunday, lunedì, martedì, mercoledì, giovedì, venerdì, Saturday.

Johannes Kepler
Mysterium
Cosmographicum
(1596)




69 Thomas Lansius: Anekdote über Kepler

Joan. Harprechtvs, Antecessor in Academia Tubingensi, singularis exempli: suprema laudatione celebratus a Thoma Lansio. Tubingae, Typis Brunnianis 1640 – UB: L XVI 129. 4^o angeb. – In der Trauerrede auf Harprecht (S. 56 f.) erzählt Lansius: „Als ich Kepler, der mir in wahrer Freundschaft verbunden war . . ., einmal fragte, welches von seinen Werken er am höchsten schätze, gab er den Primat dem ‚Mysterium cosmographicum‘ und bezeugte, daß in dieser Schrift das erhabene Geheimnis der fünf regulären Körper nach vielhundertjähriger Verborgenheit . . . eröffnet werde. Als diese Entdeckung noch neu gewesen sei, habe er sie so hoch geschätzt, daß er, wenn ihm gleichzeitig die Kurfürstenwürde Sachsens unter der Bedingung zu Geschenk angeboten worden wäre, entweder das Geschenk oder die Entdeckung zu verschmähen, lieber diese große und an Bergwerken reiche Provinz verlieren als die beneidenswerte und ewigen Ruhm mit sich bringende Entdeckung hätte entbehren wollen.“

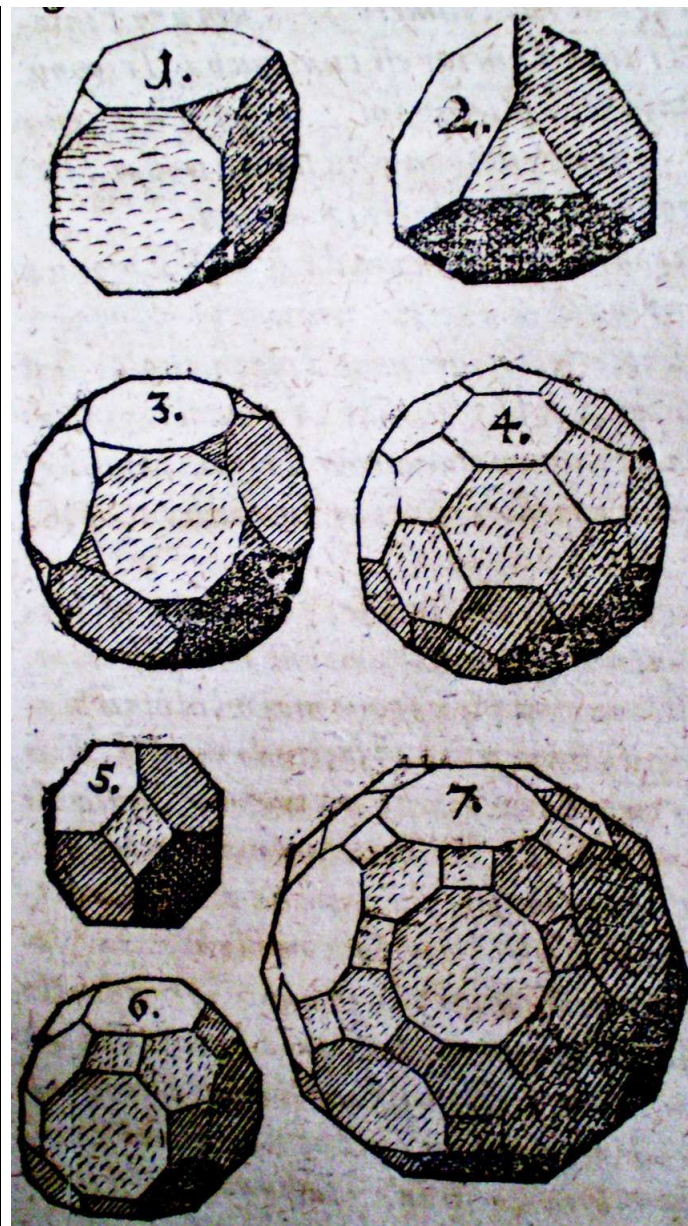
Kepler's Third Law (1619):

Ioannis Keppleri
**HARMONICES
 M V N D I**
 LIBRI V. QVORVM

Primus GEOMETRICVS, De Figurarum Regularium, quæ Proportiones Harmonicas constituunt, ortu & demonstrationibus.
 Secundus ARCHITECTONICVS, seu ex GEOMETRIA FIGVRATA, De Figurarum Regularium Congruentia in plano vel folido:
 Tertius propriè HARMONICVS, De Proportionum Harmonicarum ortu ex Figuris; deque Naturâ & Differentiis rerum ad cantum pertinentium, contra Veteres:
 Quartus METAPHYSICVS, PSYCHOLOGICVS & ASTROLOGICVS, De Harmoniarum mentali Essentia earumque generibus in Mundo; præferim de Harmonia radiorum, ex corporibus cœlestibus in Terram descendens, eiusque effectû in Natura seu Anima sublanari & Humana:
 Quintus ASTRONOMICVS & METAPHYSICVS, De Harmoniis absolutissimis motuum cœlestium, ortuque Eccentricitatum ex proportionibus Harmonicis.
 Appendix habet comparationem huius Operis cum Harmonices Cl. Ptolemæi libro III. cumque Roberti de Fluctibus, dicti Flud. Medici Oxoniensis speculationibus Harmonicis, operi de Macrocosmo & Microcosmo insertis.



Cum S. C. Mth. Privilegio ad annos XV.
 Lincii Austriae,
 Sumptibus GODOFREDI TAMPACHII Bibl. Francof.
 Excudebat IOANNES PLANCVS.
 ANNO M. DC. XIX.



HARMONICIS LIB. III. 43
 CAPVT VI.
 De cantus generibus, Duro & Molli.

De figurarum generibus dictum est lib. primo, Prop. XLIX. quas cum etiam chordæ sectiones ipsæ imitentur, per Axioma II. huius; sequitur igitur, ut quia sectio proportionis continuè duplæ, & sectio Trigonica, ejuſq; continuè duplæ, sunt ex figuris laterû effabiliû saltem primis, Triangulo & Quadrangulo: Sectio verò Pentagonica sic latere ineffabili; illæ igitur sectiones per Ax; IV. efficiant unum genus cantus, ista genus alterum; cui quidem non propter figuram Tetragonam, sed solum propter identicam bisectionis contonantiam, ad miscetur etiam bisectio.

Hinc ergo nascuntur duo sectionum Genera, unum quidem habet sectiones has

Sectio-Comuni de-Inter- nes. nominato: valla.		Genus molle.		Sectio-Com-De-Inter- nes. nominat: valla.	
1	1 2	4 5	1 5 6	1	3 0
2	4	12 15 16 18 20 24		2	6
5	5			3	9
8	1 5			5	10
2	1 6			2	8
3	8			3	9
3	1 8			4	15
4	9			4	16
5	1 0			5	4 8
6	5			5	4
2 4	6				

Genus durum,
 5 6 | 4 5
 30. 36. 40. 45. 48. 60.
 Hic insunt bigæ medieta- rum ex Cap. III. istæ
 5. 6. 8. 10.
 10. 12. 15. 20.
 30. 36. 45. 60.
 8. 15. 20. 24. 30.

Medietates in Notis.

Search harmonies...

from Geometry...

and Music...

... Finally the result comes from vulgar numer. calculations ...

	Diurni Prim. Sec.	Intervalla mediocria	Itinera diurna.
Saturni Aphelij	1. 53.		1065
Perihelij	2. 7.	9510.	1208
Jovis Aphelij	4. 44.		1477
Perihelij	5. 15.	5200.	1638
Martis Aphelij	28. 44.		2627
Perihelij	34. 34.	1524.	3161
Telluris Aphelia	58. 6.		3486
Perihelia	60. 13.	1000.	3613
Veneris Aphelia	95. 29.		4149
Perihelia	96. 10.	724	4207
Mercurij Aphelij	201. 0.		4680
Perihelij	307. 3.	388.	7148

inter principia, primò crederem. Sed res est certissima exactissima-
 quæ, quòd proportio quæ est inter binorum quorumcunque Planetarum tempo-
 ra, periodica, sit præcisè sesquialtera proportionis mediarum distantiarum, id

“It is extremely certain and extremely exact that the ratio of the time period for two planets is one and a half of the ratio of the mean distances” (Lib. V, Caput 3, § 8).

The Rule of Titius-Bode.

Das Daseyn dieses Planeten scheint insbesondere aus einem merkwürdigen Verhältniss zu folgen . . .

(J.E. Bode, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss des gestirnten Himmels*, 6. Aufl., Berlin 1792, quoted in *Hegels Werke* 5, Anmerkungen p. 810)

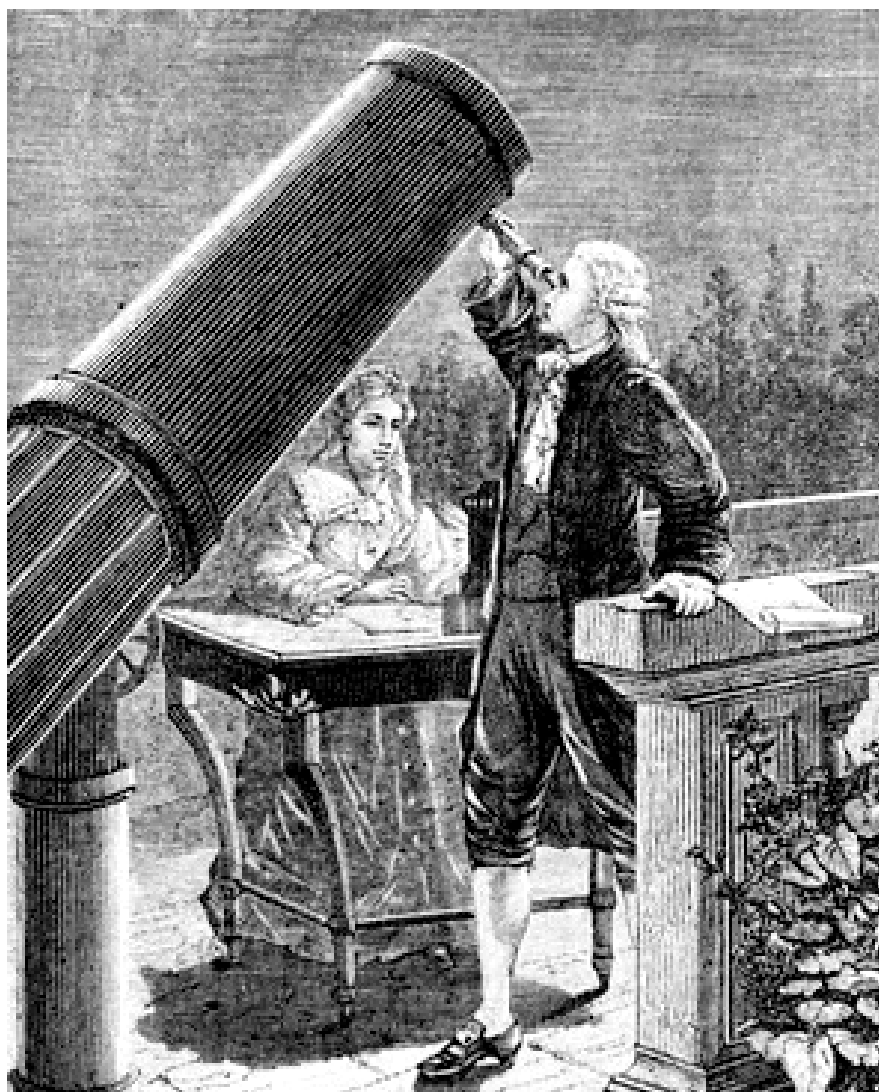
$$0.4, \quad 0.4 + 0.3 = 0.7, \quad 0.4 + 2 \cdot 0.3 = 1 \text{ (the earth)}, \quad \dots$$

$$0.4 + 2^{n-2} \cdot 0.3, \dots$$

For $n = 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7$ approximate well the distances of the known planets.

$n = 5$ is missing !! Is there a gap??

“Sollte der Urheber der Welt diesen Raum leer gelassen haben?”



Discovery of Uranus.

Sir William Herschel, a German organist and amateur astronomer living in England, discovered the 13th of March 1781 a new planet through a huge telescope of his own construction.

Herschel wanted to name 'his' new planet *Georgium sidus* (George's star), in devotion to the British King, but Bode's proposition *Uranus* (in Greek mythology the father of Saturnus), was felt less patriotic.

Also Uranus fitted well, for $n = 8$, into Bode's formula.

The Thesis of Hegel.

Dissertatio philosophica de orbitis planetarum,
Ienae MDCCCI.

Plato's *Timæus*: the “Soul of the World” :

Moon	1
Sun	2
Venus	3
Mercury	4
Mars	8
Jupiter	9
Saturn	27

$$\sqrt[3]{x^4} \Rightarrow 1.000 \quad 2.520 \quad 4.327 \quad 6.350 \quad 16.000 \quad 18.721 \quad 81.000$$

“16 enim pro 8 quem legimus ponere liceat” ...ponamus $1 = \sqrt[3]{3}$

1.4 2.56 4.37 6.34 18.75 40.34 81

“inter quartum et quintum locum magnum esse spatium”

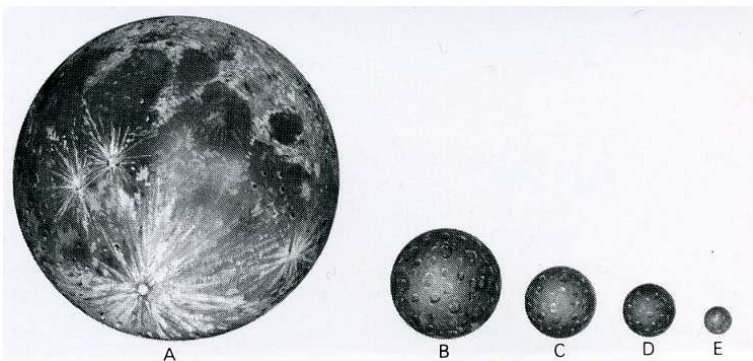
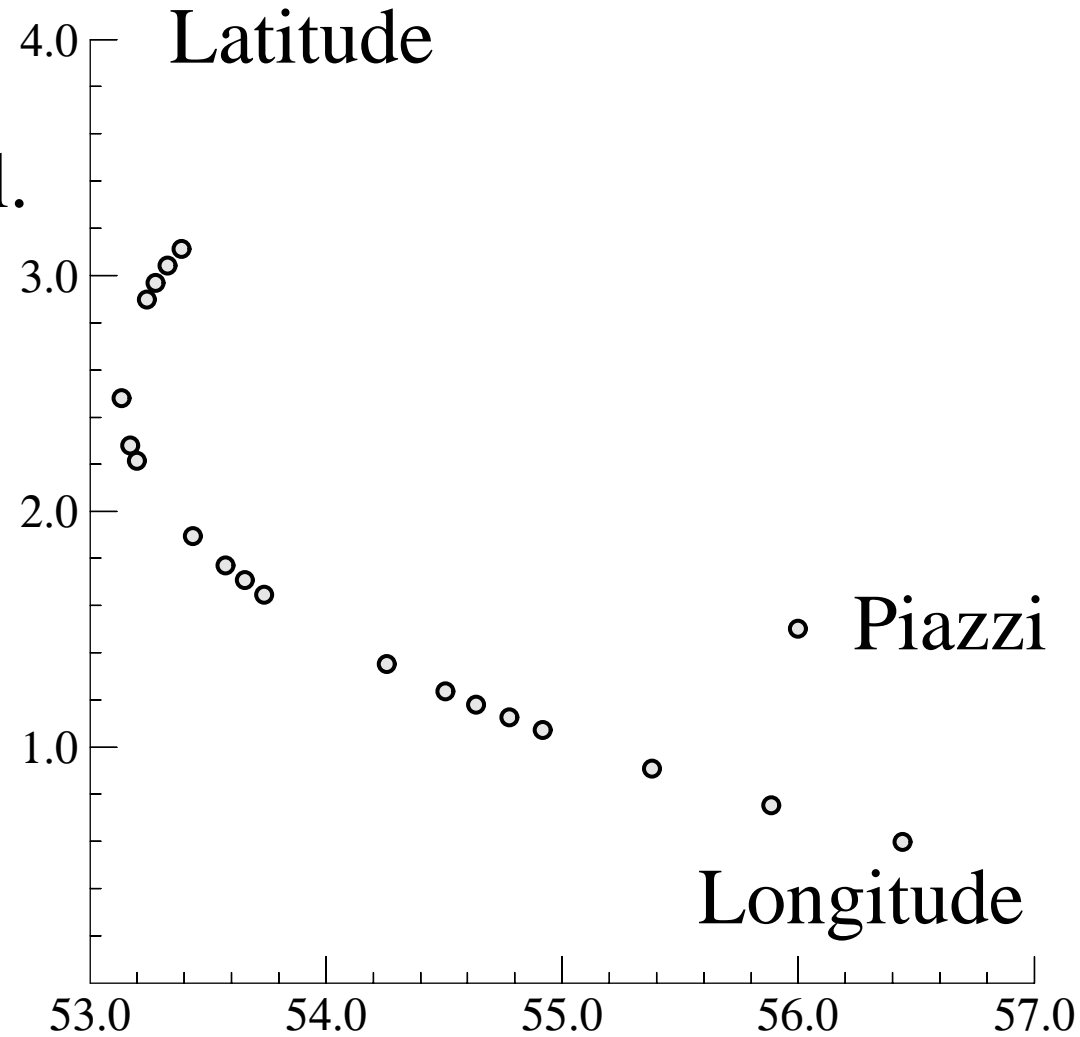
Philosophical “proof” that **NO PLANET IS MISSING!!**

Sehen Sie sich doch nur bei den heutigen Philosophen um, bei Schelling, Hegel, Nees von Esenbeck und Consorten, stehen Ihnen nicht die Haare bei ihren Definitionen zu Berge?

(Brief von Gauss an Schumacher, 1. 11. 1844)

The Discovery of Piazzi.

On January 1, 1801, the Italian astronomer Giuseppe Piazzi discovered in the Taurus constellation a tiny little spot, followed its orbit until the 11th of February, when illness, bad weather, and the approaching Sun interrupted the observations. He named it *Ceres Ferdinandea* (Ferdinand is another King).



PROBLEM: Find this planet again!!

1801	Longitude	Latitude		Longitude	Latitude
Jan. 1	53 ⁰ 23' 06.38''	3 ⁰ 06' 45.16''	23	53 ⁰ 44' 12.46''	1 ⁰ 38' 46.78''
2	53 ⁰ 19' 38.18''	3 ⁰ 02' 26.46''	28	54 ⁰ 15' 18.52''	1 ⁰ 21' 04.92''
3	53 ⁰ 16' 37.70''	2 ⁰ 58' 08.04''	30	54 ⁰ 30' 10.52''	1 ⁰ 14' 14.24''
4	53 ⁰ 14' 21.44''	2 ⁰ 53' 51.98''	31	54 ⁰ 38' 05.58''	1 ⁰ 10' 51.02''
10	53 ⁰ 07' 57.64''	2 ⁰ 28' 53.64''	Feb. 1	54 ⁰ 46' 27.14''	1 ⁰ 07' 34.18''
13	53 ⁰ 10' 05.60''	2 ⁰ 16' 46.08''	2	54 ⁰ 55' 01.52''	1 ⁰ 04' 18.10''
14	53 ⁰ 11' 54.20''	2 ⁰ 12' 54.02''	5	55 ⁰ 22' 45.20''	0 ⁰ 54' 34.54''
19	53 ⁰ 26' 01.98''	1 ⁰ 53' 37.82''	8	55 ⁰ 53' 04.52''	0 ⁰ 45' 08.28''
21	53 ⁰ 34' 22.68''	1 ⁰ 46' 13.06''	11	56 ⁰ 26' 28.20''	0 ⁰ 35' 55.02''
22	53 ⁰ 39' 11.58''	1 ⁰ 42' 28.80''			

The observations of Piazzi

Many astronomers took part at the **great challenge** of the re-discovery (Burckhardt, Olbers, Piazzi).

But a certain, 24 years old, **“Dr. Gauss in Braunschweig”** computed a different solution “nach einem eigenthümlichen Verfahren” and published it the 29th of Sept. 1801.

Still better solution in December 1801:

Sonnenferne	$326^0 53' 50''$
Ω	$81^0 1' 44''$
Neigung der Bahn	$10^0 36' 21''$
Logarithmus der halben grossen Axe	0.4414902
Excentricität	0.0819603
Epoche: 31 Dec. 1800 mittl. helioc. Länge	$77^0 54' 29''$

The 7th of December 1801, Freiherr von Zach re-discovered Ceres precisely at the position predicted by Gauss.

How did Gauss compute his solution?

Gewiss, jeder der die Rechnungen kennt, die die Bestimmung der Elemente eines Planeten und dann jeder daraus herzuleitende Ort erfordert, muss es bewundern, wie ein einzelner Mann in so kurzen Zeiträumen so vielfache mühsame Rechnungen zu vollenden vermögend war.

(von Zach, März 1805, see Gauss *Werke* 6, p. 262)

Published posthumely; *Werke* vol. 11, pp. 221-252, and vol. 6, p. 199–402.

BESTIMMUNG DER BAHNEN DER HIMMELSKÖRPER.

[Aus Handbuch 16, Bb, Den astronomischen Wissenschaften gewidmet, November 1801, S. 1—8.]

[1.]

Bedeutung der hier vorkommenden Zeichen.

a ... Geocentrische Länge des Weltkörpers	t ... Zeit der Beobachtung
δ ... Geocentrische Breite	v ... Länge in der Bahn
θ ... Tangente der Breite	M ... Wahre Anomalie[*]
Δ ... Kurtirter Abstand von der Erde	E ... Eccentrische Anomalie[*]
λ ... Heliocentrische Länge	N ... Mittlere Anomalie[*]
β ... Heliocentrische Breite	u ... Mittlere Länge
ϑ ... Tangente dieser Breite	R ... Abstand der Sonne von der Erde
ρ ... Kurtirter Abstand von der Sonne	V ... Wahre Länge der Sonne
r ... Wahrer Abstand von der Sonne	U ... Mittlere Länge der Sonne.

Dieselben Zeichen mit Linien haben ähnliche Bedeutungen für andere achtungen.

- . Länge des aufsteigenden Knoten
- . Neigung der Bahn
- . Tangente derselben
- . Ort der Sonnenferne
- . Eccentricität
- . Bogen dessen Sinus = e
- . Halbe grosse Axe
- . Halbe kleine Axe
- . Halber Parameter

Anm. Die Längen sind sämtlich siderisch, oder von einem festen, übrigens willkürlichen Punkte des Himmels an gezählt.

[2.]

Formeln zur ersten Annäherung aus dreien Beobachtungen.

$$\frac{R'}{\Delta'} \left(1 - \frac{R'^3}{r'^3}\right) = \frac{\theta \sin(\alpha'' - \alpha') - \theta' \sin(\alpha'' - \alpha) + \theta'' \sin(\alpha' - \alpha)}{\frac{1}{2}(U'' - U)(U'' - U') \{ \theta'' \sin(V' - \alpha) - \theta \sin(V' - \alpha'') \}} \quad [*],$$

$$l.] \text{ genau } \left[\frac{1}{\Delta' R' R'} \left(1 - \frac{R'^3}{r'^3}\right) \right] = \frac{d\alpha' d\theta' - d\theta' d\alpha' + \theta' d\alpha'^2}{dU^2 \{ \theta' \cos(V' - \alpha') d\alpha' + \sin(V' - \alpha') d\theta' \}}.$$

Hat man nach dieser Formel $\frac{R'}{\Delta'} \left(1 - \frac{R'^3}{r'^3}\right)$ bestimmt, so findet man darleicht durch Verbindung mit der Gleichung

$$\frac{r'}{\Delta'} = \sqrt{\left(1 + \theta' \theta' + \frac{R' R'}{\Delta' \Delta'} - 2 \frac{R'}{\Delta'} \cos(V' - \alpha')\right)}$$

mittelst weniger Versuche einen nahen Werth von Δ' .

$$\frac{\Delta''}{\Delta} = \frac{\theta' \sin(V' - \alpha) - \theta \sin(V' - \alpha')}{\theta'' \sin(V' - \alpha') - \theta' \sin(V' - \alpha'')} \cdot \frac{t'' - t'}{t' - t} = \frac{\frac{\sin(V' - \alpha)}{\sin(V' - \alpha')} - \frac{\theta}{\theta'}}{\frac{\theta''}{\theta'} - \frac{\sin(V' - \alpha'')}{\sin(V' - \alpha')}} \cdot \frac{t'' - t'}{t' - t} \quad [**].$$

g genau ist

$$d.] \quad \frac{2d\Delta'}{\Delta'} = - \frac{\theta' d\alpha' \cos(V' - \alpha') + (\theta' d\alpha'^2 + d\theta') \sin(V' - \alpha')}{\theta' d\alpha' \cos(V' - \alpha') + d\theta' \sin(V' - \alpha')}.$$

In Ansehung der ersten Formel ist noch zu bemerken, dass $U' - U$,

[*] Vgl. Werke VI, S. 159.]

[**] Vgl. Werke VI, S. 157.]

$U'' - U'$ in Theilen des Radius ausgedrückt werden müssen; auf die ist $\log(\text{mot. med. } \odot \text{ diurn.}) = 8,2355820.792$ [*].

Nachdem man nun Δ' und $\frac{\Delta''}{\Delta}$ bestimmt hat, kann man, hinreichend genau zur ersten Näherung

$$\log \Delta = \log \Delta' - \frac{t'' - t'}{t'' - t} \log \frac{\Delta''}{\Delta}, \quad \log \Delta'' = \log \Delta' + \frac{t'' - t'}{t'' - t} \log \frac{\Delta''}{\Delta}$$

setzen.

Ist die Neigung der Bahn sehr gering, so sind obige Gleichungen brauchbar; die beobachtete Länge, ihre Veränderung und deren Zunahme gibt sodann bloss folgende Gleichung:

$$[c.] \quad 0 = 2 \frac{d\Delta}{dU} \frac{d\alpha}{dU} + \Delta \frac{d^2\alpha}{dU^2} + R \left(\frac{A^3}{R^3} - \frac{A^3}{r^3} \right) \sin(V - \alpha).$$

[Im übrigen ist:]

$$[d.] \quad 0 = \theta \cdot \Delta \cdot \frac{d\alpha^2}{dU^2} + 2 \frac{d\Delta}{dU} \frac{d\theta}{dU} + \Delta \frac{d^2\theta}{dU^2} - R\theta \left(\frac{A^3}{R^3} - \frac{A^3}{r^3} \right) \cos(V - \alpha).$$

[S. 3]

[3.]

Vorschriften zur Berechnung der Elemente, aus zweien geocentrischen Örtern, der Zwischenzeit, und den zugehörigen Abständen

$$\rho = \sqrt{\{RR + \Delta\Delta - 2R\Delta \cos(V - \alpha)\}}.$$

Ganz allgemein

$$\begin{cases} \Delta \sin \alpha - R \sin V = \rho \sin \lambda \\ \Delta \cos \alpha - R \cos V = \rho \cos \lambda \end{cases};$$

folglich

$$\begin{aligned} \text{I. } & \left. \begin{cases} \Delta \sin(V - \alpha) = \rho \sin(V - \lambda) \\ \Delta \cos(V - \alpha) - R = \rho \cos(V - \lambda) \end{cases} \right\}, \quad \text{II. } \left. \begin{cases} R \sin(V - \alpha) = \rho \sin(\alpha - \lambda) \\ R \cos(V - \alpha) - \Delta = -\rho \cos(\alpha - \lambda) \end{cases} \right\} \\ \text{III. } & \left. \begin{cases} (\Delta + R) \sin \frac{1}{2}(V - \alpha) = \rho \sin \left\{ \frac{1}{2}(V + \alpha) - \lambda \right\} \\ (\Delta - R) \cos \frac{1}{2}(V - \alpha) = \rho \cos \left\{ \frac{1}{2}(V + \alpha) - \lambda \right\} \end{cases} \right\} \end{aligned}$$

[*] Wenn man auf die Erdmasse mit Rücksicht nimmt, muss man $\log \text{mot. Planetarum in distantia media}$ setzen: $8,2355814.21 \cdot [A^{\frac{2}{3}} : a^{\frac{2}{3}}]$, wo wie auch im Folgenden A die halbe große Achse der Erdbahn bedeutet.

[**] Vgl. Theoria motus, art. 124, Werke VII, 1908, S. 165.]

$$\frac{1}{p} \cos \left(\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega \right) = \frac{\frac{1}{p} - \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{r''} - \frac{1}{r} \right)}{\cos \frac{1}{2}(v'' - v)},$$

$$a = \frac{p}{\cos \varphi^2},$$

$$\text{med.} = \frac{\text{mot. diurn. } \odot \text{ med.}}{a^{\frac{1}{2}}},$$

$$M'' = v'' - \omega,$$

zur Probe

$$\sqrt{\frac{r}{p}} \quad \text{tg } \frac{1}{2} E = \text{tg } \frac{1}{2} M \quad \text{tg} \left(\frac{1}{2} \varphi + 45^\circ \right),$$

$$\sqrt{\frac{r''}{p}} \quad \text{tg } \frac{1}{2} E'' = \text{tg } \frac{1}{2} M'' \quad \text{tg} \left(\frac{1}{2} \varphi + 45^\circ \right),$$

$$3'' = \sin \varphi \sin M'' \cdot \frac{r''}{b}, \quad t'' - t = \frac{N'' - N}{\text{mot. diurn. med.}}$$

693	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(rr + r''r'') \dots \right]$	0,856 1994
071	$\left[\frac{U'' - U}{v'' - v} \dots \right]$	0,638 3472
764	$[(\sqrt{p}) \dots]$	0,217 8522
292	$[(p) \dots]$	0,435 7044
472	$\left[\sqrt[3]{\left(\frac{2\Re\Re}{rr + r''r''} \right)^4} \dots \right]$	— 1223 [*]
	Parameter $[p \dots]$	0,435 5821

n	$\frac{1}{2}(v'' - v)^2 \dots$	7,514 4812	$\left[\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{r''} + \frac{1}{r} \right) - \frac{1}{p} \dots \right]$	7,805 6761
os	$\frac{1}{2}(v'' - v) \dots$	9,998 5777	$\left[\frac{2 \sin \frac{1}{2}(v'' - v)^2}{\cos \frac{1}{2}(v'' - v)} \dots \right]$	7,515 9035
	[Diff.]	7,515 9035	[Summe *]	5,321 58
	[R ...]	0,428 05386		
	[RR ...]	0,856 1077		
8	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(rr + r''r'') \dots \right]$	0,856 1994		
9	$\left[\frac{1}{2} \frac{rr + r''r''}{\Re\Re} \dots \right]$	0,000 0917		
7	$\left[\sqrt[3]{\frac{1}{2} \frac{rr + r''r''}{\Re\Re}} \dots \right]$	0,000 0306		
	$\left[\sqrt[3]{\frac{1}{2} \frac{rr + r''r''}{\Re\Re}} \dots \right]$	0,000 1223		

ehenden letzten Annäherung zur Bestimmung von p ; auch in vorhergehenden Annäherungen, aufgezeichnet; der zuerst gezeichnet.]

$\left[\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{r''} - \frac{1}{r} \right) = \right]$	0,002 140 0125	$\left[\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{r''} + \frac{1}{r} \right) - \frac{1}{p} = 0,00 \right]$	6 392 5795	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega = \right]$	103° 36' 43" 53
[...]	7,330 4163	[...]	7,805 6761	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) = \right]$	73 27 55" 20
$[\sin \frac{1}{2}(v'' - v) \dots]$	8,907 4003	$[\cos \frac{1}{2}(v'' - v) \dots]$	9,998 5777	$[\omega =]$	329 51 11" 67
$\left[\frac{e}{p} \sin \left(\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega \right) \dots \right]$	8,423 0160	$\frac{e}{p} \cos \left(\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega \right) \dots$	7,807 0984 [n]	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega = \right]$	103° 36' 43" 53
		$\frac{e}{p} \sin \left(\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega \right) \dots$	8,423 0160	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(v'' - v) = \right]$	4 38 3" 96
		$[\cotang \left(\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega \right) \dots]$	9,384 0824 [n]	$[M = v - \omega]$	98 58 39" 57
				$[M'' = v'' - \omega]$	108 14 47" 49
$[\sin \left(\frac{1}{2}(v'' + v) - \omega \right) \dots]$	9,987 6267			$p \dots$	0,435 5821
$\left[\frac{e}{p} \dots \right]$	8,435 3893			$b \dots$	0,436 7841
$[p \dots 0,]$	435 5821			$a \dots$	0,437 9861
$[e = \sin \varphi \dots]$	8,870 9714			$[\sqrt{a} \dots]$	0,218 9930
$\left[\frac{1}{2} \sin \varphi \dots \right]$	8,569 9414			$[a^{3/2} \dots]$	0,656 9791
$[\cos \frac{1}{2} \varphi \dots]$	9,999 6997	$\varphi =$	4° 15' 39" 00	$[\text{mot. diurn. } \odot \text{ med. } 3,]$	550 0071
$\log \sin \frac{1}{2} \varphi =$	8,570 2417 [*]	$\frac{1}{2} \varphi =$	2 7 49" 50	$[\text{mot. diurn. med.}]$	2,893 0279

[S. 3 u. 10]

$[\sin M \dots]$	9,994 6467	$[\sin M'' \dots]$	9,977 5947	$\left[\frac{1}{2} M = \right]$	49° 29' 19" 785
$[\sin \frac{1}{2} \varphi \dots]$	8,570 2417	$[\sin \frac{1}{2} \varphi \dots]$	8,570 2417	$[\text{tang} \left(\frac{1}{2} \varphi + 45^\circ \right) \dots]$	0,032 3264
[Summe]	8,564 8884	[Summe]	8,547 8364	$[\text{tang } \frac{1}{2} M \dots]$	0,068 3297
$\left[\sqrt{\frac{r}{p}} \dots \right]$	— 2 5031	$\left[\sqrt{\frac{r''}{p}} \dots \right]$	— 4 9936	$[\text{tang } \frac{1}{2} E \dots]$	0,100 6561
$[\sin \frac{1}{2}(E - M) =]$	8,562 3853	$[\sin \frac{1}{2}(E'' - M'')] \dots$	8,542 8428	$\left[\frac{1}{2} M'' = \right]$	54° 7' 23" 745
$\left[\frac{1}{2}(E - M) = \right]$	2° 5' 31" 94	$\left[\frac{1}{2}(E'' - M'') = \right]$	2° 0' 0" 39	$[\text{tang} \left(\frac{1}{2} \varphi + 45^\circ \right) \dots]$	0,032 3264
				$[\text{tang } \frac{1}{2} M'' \dots]$	0,140 7051
				$[\text{tang } \frac{1}{2} E'' \dots]$	0,173 0315

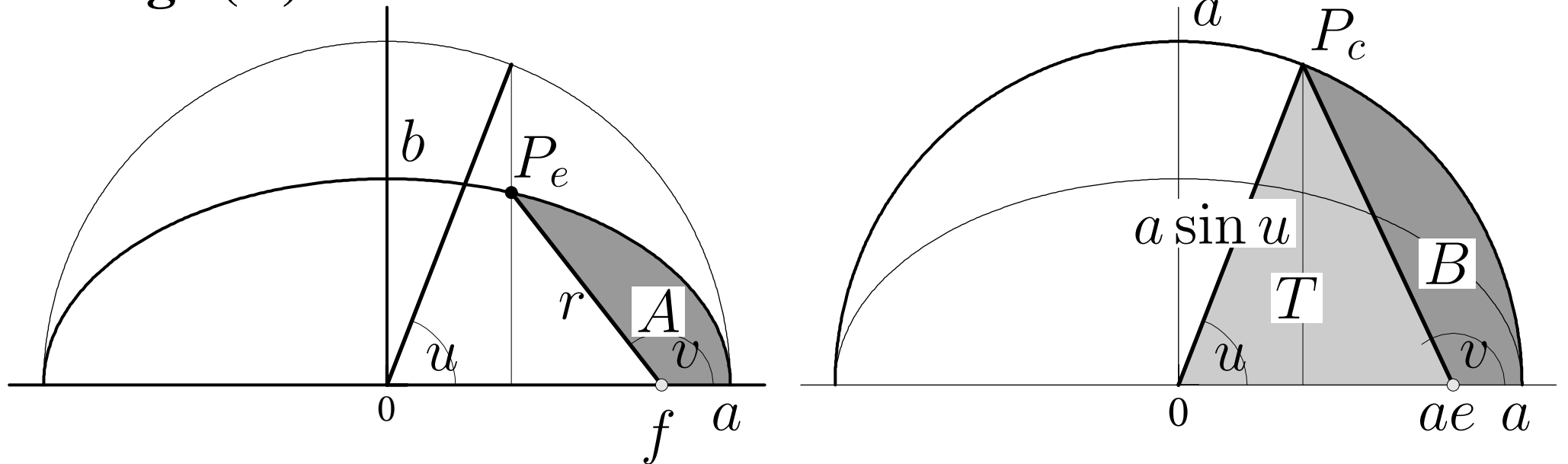
[*] Anscheinend nach der Formel $\sin \frac{1}{2} \varphi = \frac{1}{2} \frac{\sin \varphi}{\cos \frac{1}{2} \varphi}$ gerechnet.]

All the difficulty stems from the great number of variables:

Elements of orbit			Heliocentric coordinates		Geocentric spherical coordinates
w	arg. of perihelion				
Ω	long. of ascend. node	(A)		(B)	
i	inclination of orbit	\iff		\iff	
a	semi-major axis		$\begin{pmatrix} x \\ y \\ z \end{pmatrix}$		$\begin{pmatrix} \rho \\ \lambda \\ \beta \end{pmatrix}$
e	eccentricity				
l_0	mean heliocent. long.				

The quantities measured are the angles λ and β (the distance ρ is unknown, of course) for several time values, the quantities to be computed are the elements of the orbit. So we need formulas for the connecting passages (A) and (B).

Passage (A).



For given t , must find u .

Kepler's second law ('same times, same areas')

$$\Rightarrow \frac{A}{ab\pi} = \frac{t}{P}. \quad \Rightarrow \quad nt = u - e \sin u, \quad n = \frac{2\pi}{P}$$

(Kepler's equation) since $B = \frac{a}{b}A$, $B = \frac{a^2}{2}(u - e \sin u)$.

Kepler's third law: $n^2 a^3$ is a known constant.

\Rightarrow (using spherical trigonometry) coordinates (x, y, z) .

Passage (B). For this, we have to know the solar geocentric coordinates (X, Y, Z) (again by Kepler's laws, this time applied to the **earth's** orbit) and we obtain the geocentric ecliptic coordinates of the planet by adding these and taking spherical coordinates

$$\xi = x + X = \rho \cos \beta \cos \lambda$$

$$\nu = y + Y = \rho \cos \beta \sin \lambda$$

$$\zeta = z + Z = \rho \sin \beta.$$

Gauss' Procedure. At that time, it was “easy” to solve

$$\begin{pmatrix} \rho_1 \\ \lambda_1 \\ \beta_1 \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} \rho_2 \\ \lambda_2 \\ \beta_2 \end{pmatrix} \quad (\mathbf{B}) \quad \begin{pmatrix} x_1 \\ y_1 \\ z_1 \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} x_2 \\ y_2 \\ z_2 \end{pmatrix} \quad (\mathbf{A}) \quad \begin{pmatrix} w \\ \Omega \\ i \\ a \\ e \\ l_0 \end{pmatrix}$$

However, ρ_1 and ρ_2 are unknown!

Gauss: very complicated formula manipulations \Rightarrow compute

$$\begin{pmatrix} \lambda_1 \\ \beta_1 \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} \lambda_2 \\ \beta_2 \end{pmatrix} \quad (\mathbf{B}) \quad \begin{pmatrix} x_1 \\ y_1 \\ z_1 \end{pmatrix}, \quad \begin{pmatrix} \lambda_2 \\ \beta_2 \end{pmatrix}, \begin{pmatrix} \lambda_3 \\ \beta_3 \end{pmatrix} \quad (\mathbf{B}) \quad \begin{pmatrix} x_2 \\ y_2 \\ z_2 \end{pmatrix}$$

Thereby, it was advantageous to have t_2 exactly in the middle.

Gauss started with the data

Jan. 2, Jan. 22, and Feb. 11.

Recomputed repeatedly by changing dates and data.

The Method of Least Squares

hat man schon Beobachtungen von 1 oder mehrern Jahren . . . , so halte ich den Gebrauch der Differential-Änderung, wobei man eine beliebige Zahl von Beobachtungen zum Grunde legen kann, für das beste Mittel.

(Gauss, *Summarische Übersicht*, publ. 1809)

Ceres rediscovered Dec. 1801; \Rightarrow much more data. Start of use of the Method of Least Squares; no publication.

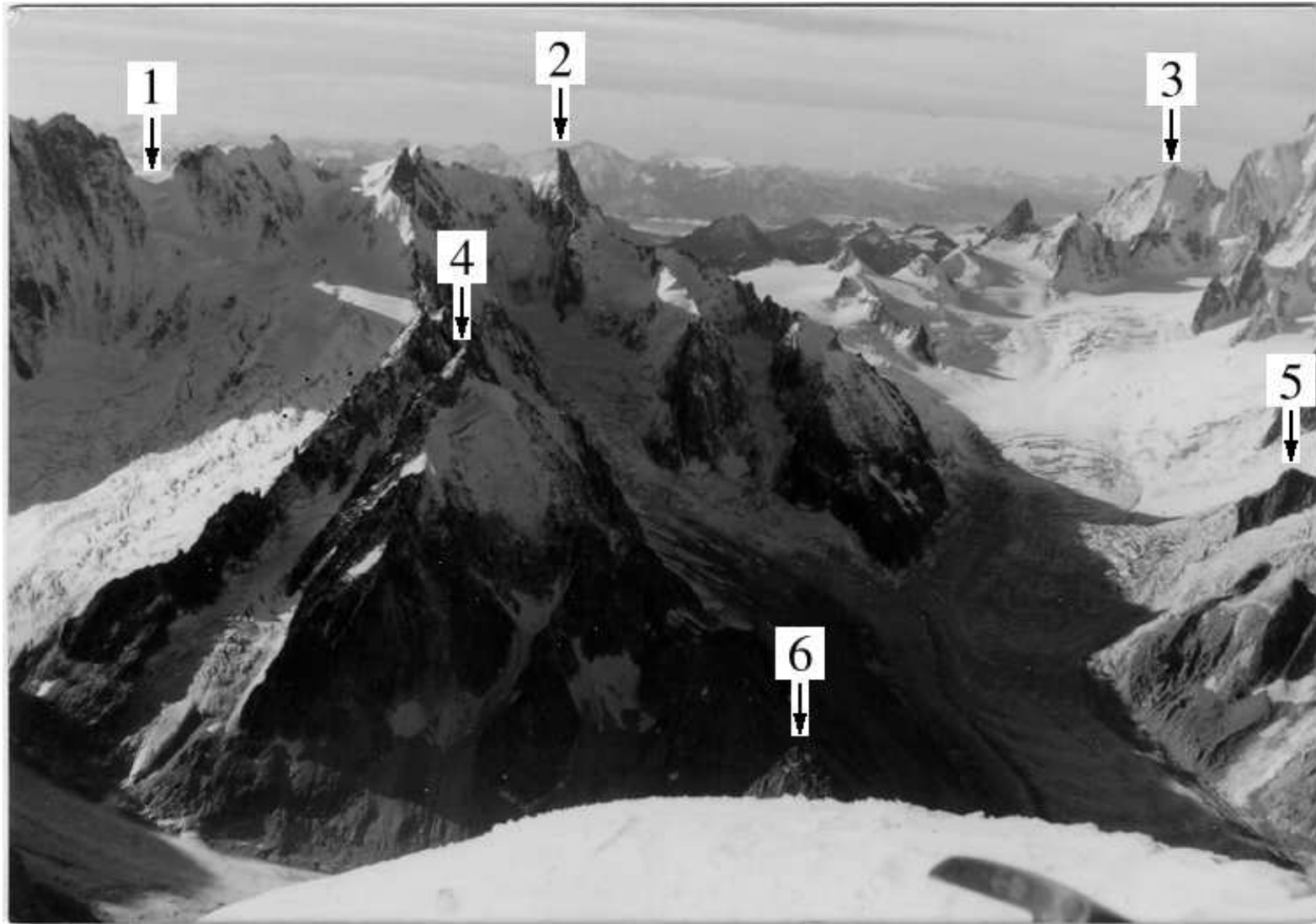
1805: Legendre publishes *Nouvelles méthodes pour la détermination des orbites des comètes* with appendix *méthode des moindres quarrés*.

1809: Gauss publishes *Theoria motus corporum celestium* containing *Principium nostrum* “which I have made use of since 1795”.

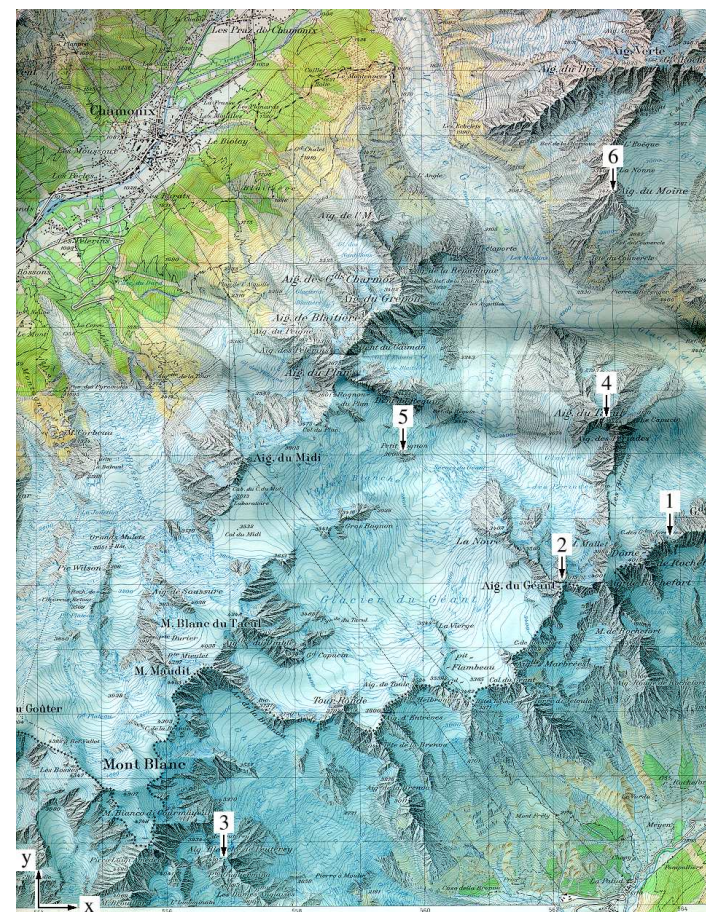
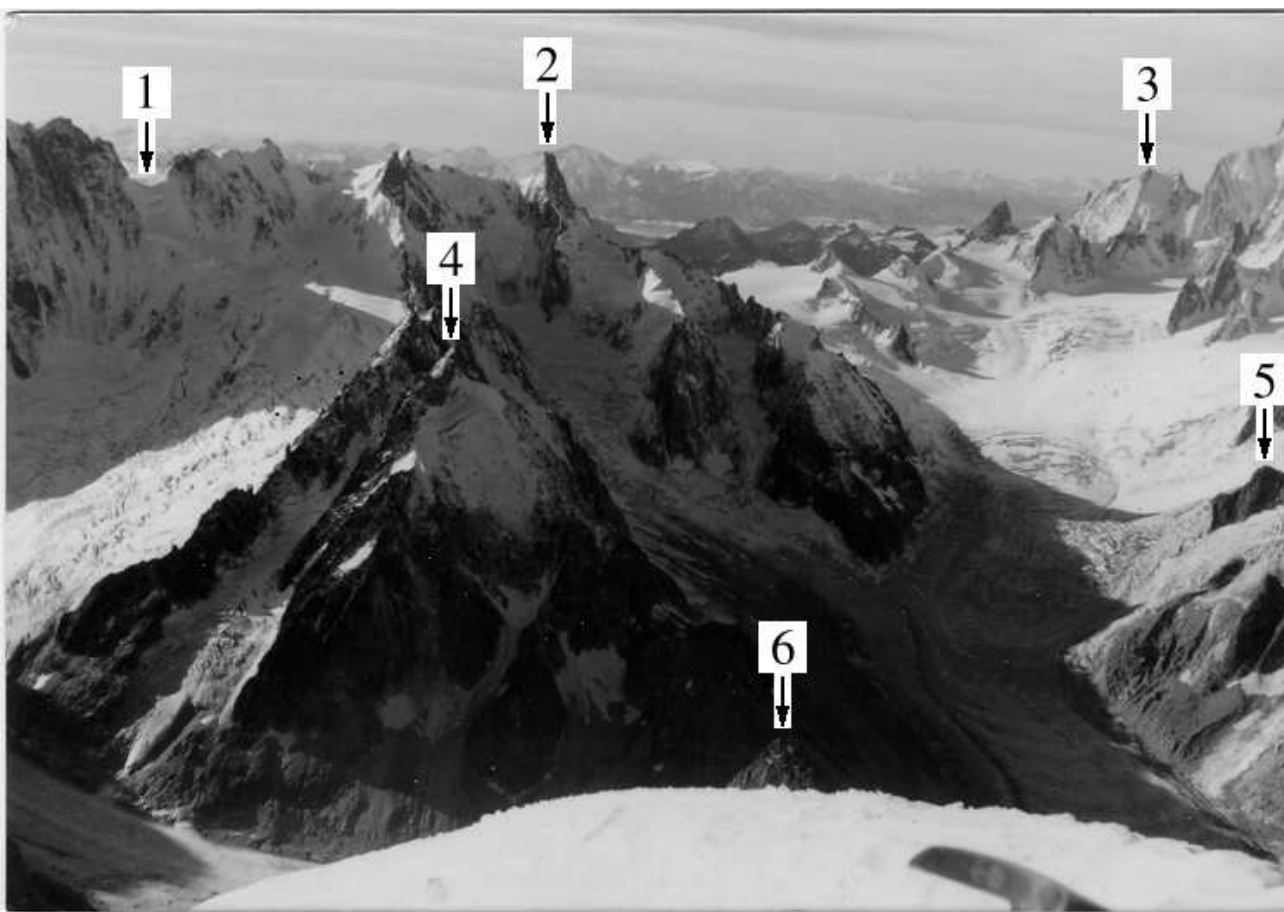
je n’ai jamais appelé *principium nostrum* un principe qu’un autre avait publié avant moi..

(Legendre in a letter to Gauss, without answer.)

Example: Find the position of the camera !



A photograph (from the Montblanc region)



k	\hat{u}_k	\hat{v}_k	x_k	y_k	z_k
1. Col des Grandes Jorasses	-0.0480	0.0290	9855	5680	3825
2. Aiguille du Géant	-0.0100	0.0305	8170	5020	4013
3. Aig. Blanche de Peuterey	0.0490	0.0285	2885	730	4107
4. Aiguille du Tacul	-0.0190	0.0115	8900	7530	3444
5. Petit Rognon	0.0600	-0.0005	5700	7025	3008
6. Aiguille du Moine	0.0125	-0.0270	8980	11120	3412

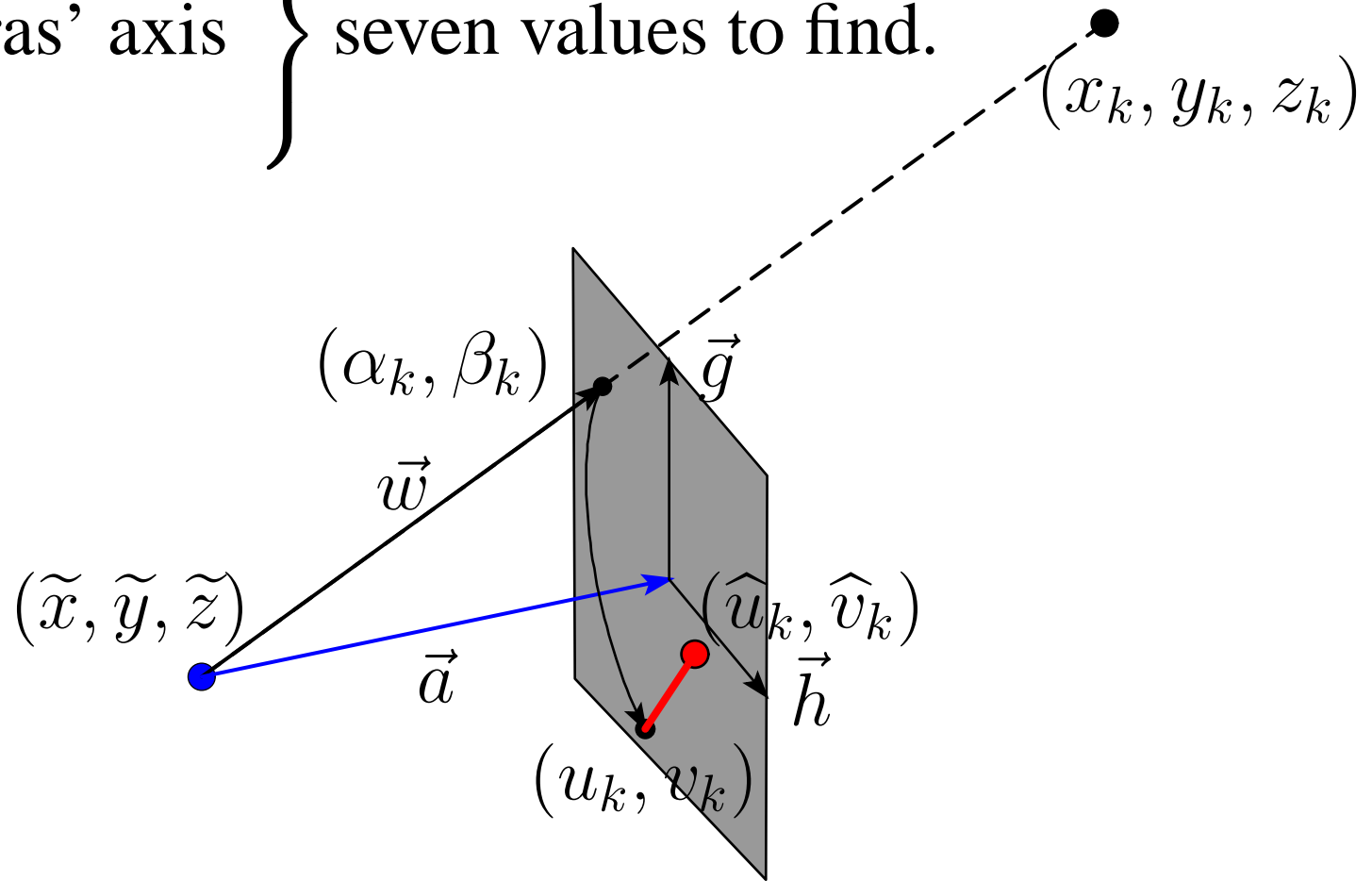
Solution of our Problem.

$(\tilde{x}, \tilde{y}, \tilde{z})$ objective

$\vec{a} = (a, b, c)$ cameras' axis

θ rotation angle

} seven values to find.



Algorithm:

Guess unknowns \Rightarrow compute (u_k, v_k) by el. geometry

minimize $\Omega = \sum_{k=1}^6 ((u_k - \hat{u}_k)^2 + (v_k - \hat{v}_k)^2)$ by

“Differential-Änderung,”

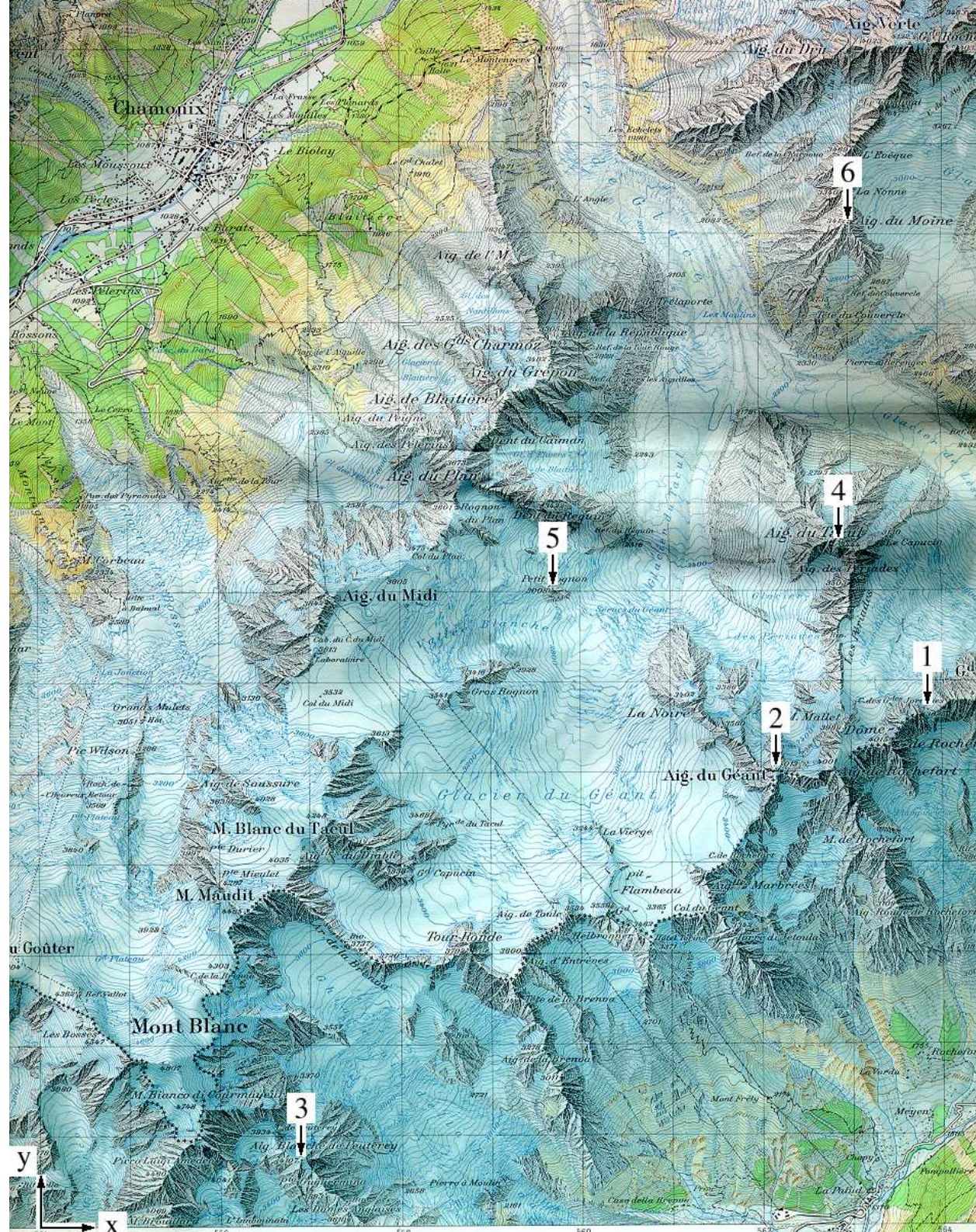
\Rightarrow **Solution:** $\tilde{x} = 9679$ $\tilde{y} = 13139$ $\tilde{z} = 4131$.

$$\tilde{x} = 9679$$

$$\tilde{y} = 13139$$

$$\tilde{z} = 4131.$$

Camera was
8 metres above
summit of
Aiguille Verte



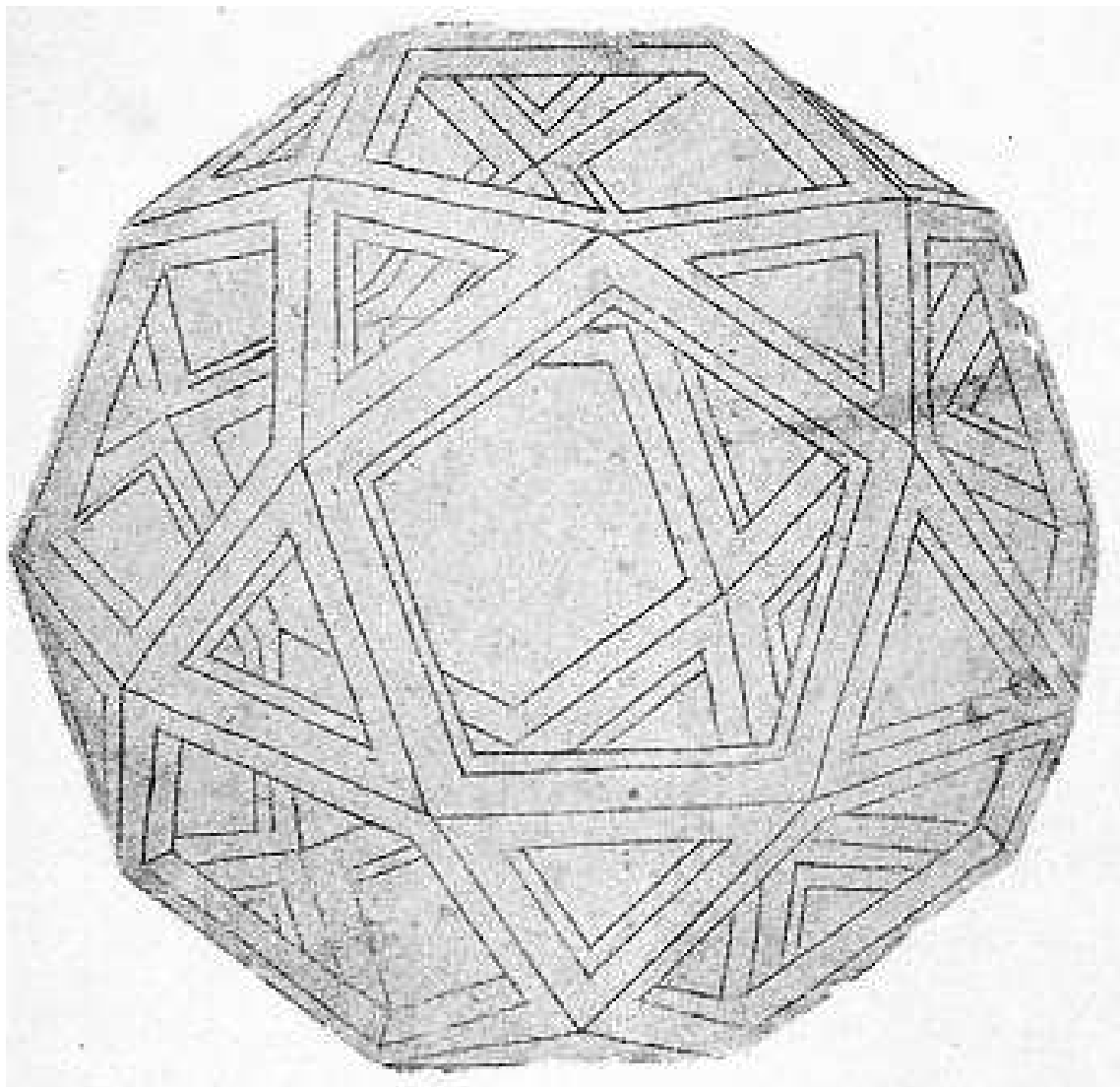
Triftgletscher 1948



Triftgletscher 2004



“Correcting” Leonardo da Vinci.



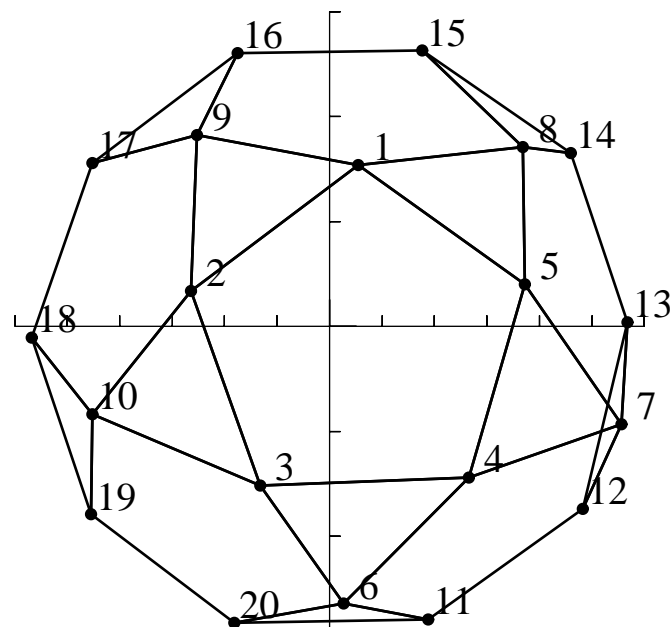
Drawing of Leonardo da Vinci (1510, Codex Atlanticus fol. 707r; Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Milano)

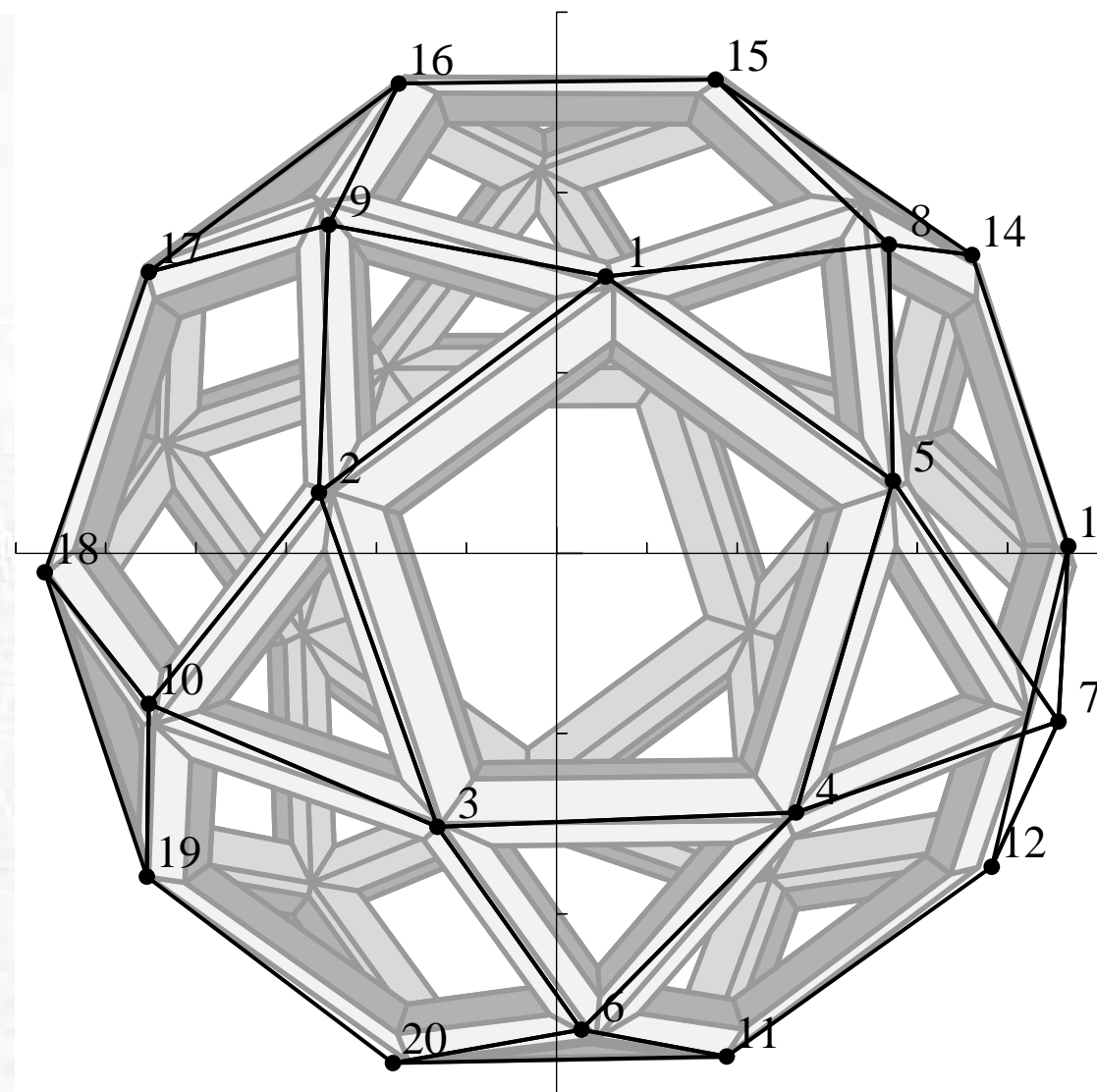
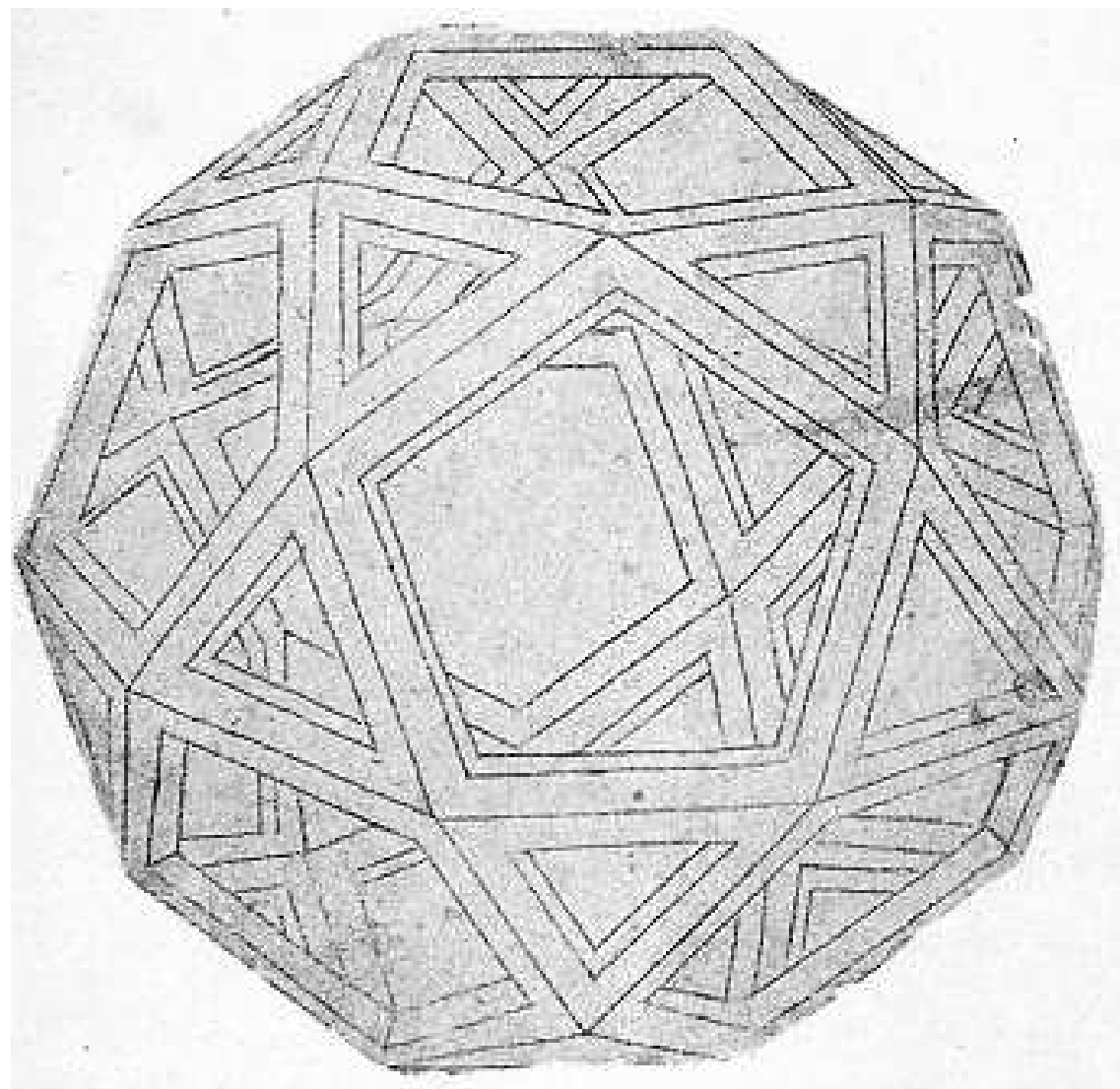
Is the drawing correct?

k	u_k	v_k
1	5.409	30.691
2	-26.388	6.720
3	-13.259	-30.369
4	26.517	-28.782
5	37.265	8.054
6	2.734	-52.888
7	55.650	-18.639

k	u_k	v_k
8	36.865	34.219
9	-25.283	36.394
10	-45.244	-16.728
11	18.814	-55.828
12	48.271	-34.749
13	56.767	0.764
14	46.037	33.043

k	u_k	v_k
15	17.609	52.536
16	-17.522	52.122
17	-45.244	31.161
18	-56.768	-2.147
19	-45.433	-35.867
20	-18.198	-56.563



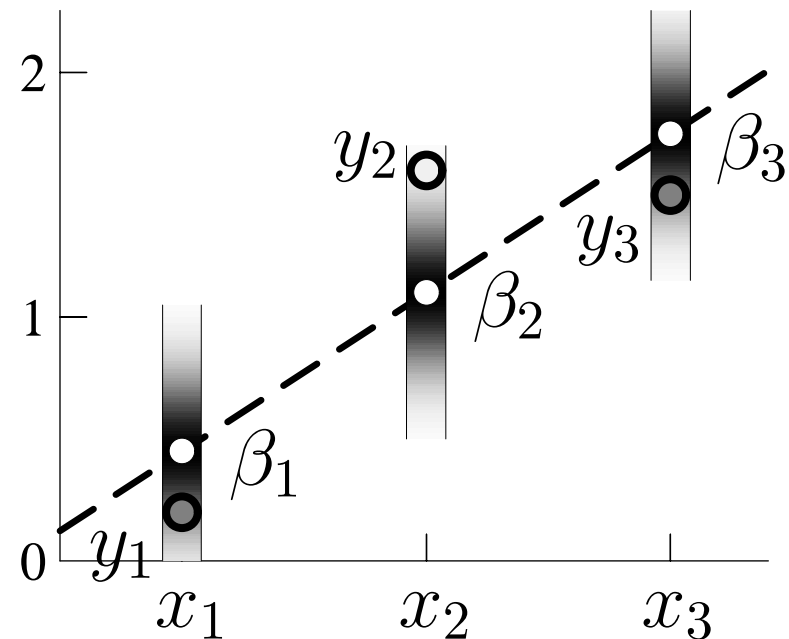
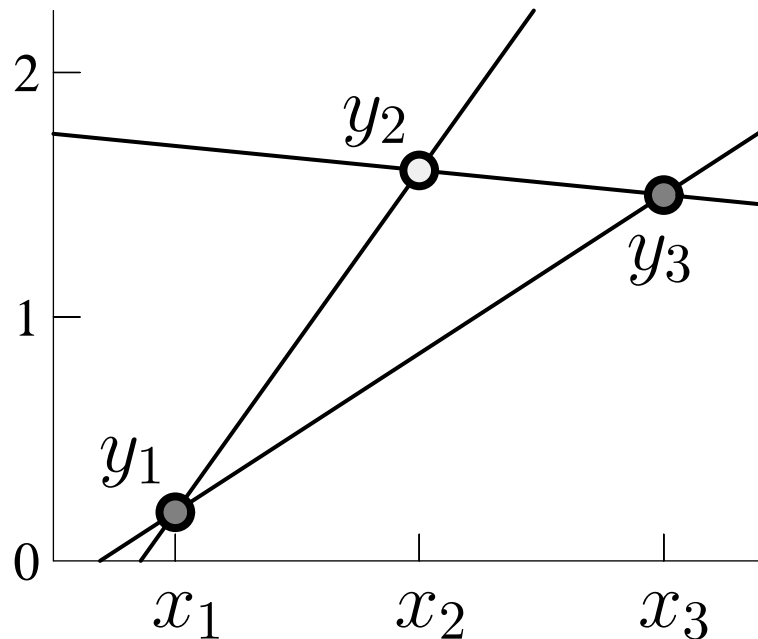


Left: Drawing of Leonardo da Vinci (1510, Codex Atlanticus fol. 707r; Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Milano); right: Leonardo's vertices and, in grey, the 'corrected' drawing (Assyrus Abdullus & Gerhardus Wannerus, *linguæ programmatoriae Fortranus & Postscriptus*, *Calculatores SunBlade 100*, Universitas Genavæ)

Gauss' Probabilistic Justif. of the Least Squares Principle.

To explain the idea, we treat a simple problem, i.e., the approximation of three 'observations' x_i, y_i ($i = 1, 2, 3$) by an 'orbit' which is a straight line

$$y = a + bx \quad \Rightarrow \quad \beta_i = a + bx_i$$



measures y_i are **random samplings**.

Probability for having measured y_i (to a precision of Δy):

$$P(0 \leq \beta_i - y_i \leq \Delta y) = \frac{e^{-\frac{(\beta_i - y_i)^2}{2\sigma^2}}}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}} \Delta y.$$

Now, the probability for having measures the *three* values y_1, y_2, y_3 (to a precision of Δy) is the **product**, i.e.,

$$\left(\frac{\Delta y}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}}\right)^3 \prod_{i=1}^3 e^{-\frac{(\beta_i - y_i)^2}{2\sigma^2}} = \left(\frac{\Delta y}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}}\right)^3 e^{-\frac{\sum_{i=1}^3 (\beta_i - y_i)^2}{2\sigma^2}}.$$

We have then *maximum likelihood* of our result, when this probability is **maximal**, i.e., when the exponent

$$\sum_{i=1}^3 (\beta_i - y_i)^2 = \min ! \quad = \text{principium nostrum!}$$

Grazie !!!

