
LIMITS AND CONTINUITY

Differential calculus was developed without any explicit definition of either limits or continuity, but with an intuitive assumption that both could in some sense be taken for granted. Widespread use of the calculus during the eighteenth century led to more careful consideration of such matters, but it was not until the early nineteenth century that Bolzano and Cauchy arrived at what are more or less the modern definitions. In this chapter we trace the history of both ideas up to the early 1820s.

11.1 LIMITS

11.1.1 Wallis's 'less than any assignable', 1656

The first writer to work with the concept of a limit in something like the modern sense was Wallis, who in his *Arithmetica infinitorum* in 1656 repeatedly claimed that two quantities whose difference could be made less than any assignable quantity could ultimately be considered equal (see, for example, 3.2.3). In 1656 Wallis stated this as a self-evident fact, but thirty years later, in his *Treatise of algebra*, he attempted to justify it by appealing to Euclidean ratio theory. In the *Elements* Book V (Definition V) Euclid had stated a special property of homogeneous magnitudes (that is, magnitudes of the same kind): given any pair of such quantities, the smaller of them, however tiny, can always be multiplied to exceed the greater. Wallis argued the converse, namely, that if a quantity is (or becomes) so small that it *cannot* be made to exceed a larger

quantity, no matter many times it is multiplied, it must be regarded as 'no quantity' or nothing.¹

And whatever is so little or nothing in any kind, as that it cannot by Multiplication, become so great or greater than any proposed Quantity of that kind, is (as to that kind of Quantity,) None at all.

Wallis then went on to claim something rather stronger: if a difference between two quantities is less than any assignable quantity, then by definition it cannot be multiplied to exceed some given quantity, and therefore by the previous argument it is nothing, and the two original quantities are equal. Again, Wallis claimed Euclid as his authority:²

...he [Euclid] takes this for a Foundation of his Process in such Cases: That those Magnitudes (or Quantities,) whose Difference may be proved to be Less than any Assignable are equal. For if unequal, their Difference, how small soever, may be so Multiplied, as to become Greater than either of them: And if not so, then it is nothing.

Though he attributed his arguments to Euclid, Wallis was stretching them considerably further than Euclid or any other Greek author had ever done. The first proposition of Book X of the *Elements* makes the following claim: if from a given quantity there is repeatedly subtracted a half (or more), then what remains will eventually be less than any preassigned quantity. This was crucial to the method of exhaustion; it enables one to prove, for instance, that the space between a circle and an inscribed polygon can be made as small as one pleases by repeatedly doubling the number of sides of the polygon. Nowhere, however, did Euclid or any other Greek mathematician claim that this steadily diminishing quantity could be considered non-existent, or zero. Instead, Proposition X.1 was used in proofs by double contradiction to show, for example, that the space inside a circle was neither greater nor less than some predetermined quantity (see 1.2.3).

Wallis's insight may not have had the classical authority he claimed for it but, like several of his ideas in the *Arithmetica Infinitorum*, it was put to particularly good use by Newton.

11.1.2 Newton's first and last ratios, 1687

In the *Principia* in 1687 Newton gave Wallis's idea of 'ultimate equality' the status of a proposition, indeed he made it the opening Lemma of Book I, Section I (see 5.1.2).

At the very end of Section I, Newton introduced the Latin word *limas*, in the everyday sense of a boundary which may not be crossed, just as Barrow had done in 1660 (see 1.2.1). He used 'times' in a similar sense again in the final sentence when he spoke of quantities decreasing *sine limite*, that is, without end, or indefinitely. Newton also observed that a quantity may approach such a boundary as closely as one pleases; by Lemma I this was equivalent to 'ultimate equality'.³

1. Wallis 1685, 281.

2. Wallis 1685, 282.

Newton's idea of a limit
from Newton, *Principia mathematica*, 1687, I, 35–36

[35]

correcta. Pyramidi vero hac Lemmata ut effigierit tetrahedri definiti-
cendi perplexas demonstrationes, motu veterum Geometricorum,
ad absurdum. Contrarietates enim redduntur demonstrationes per
methodum indivisibilem. Sed quoniam durior est indivisibilem
Hypothesis; & propterea Methodus illa minus Geometrica cen-
setur, malui demonstrationes rerum sequentium ad ultimas quan-
titarum evanescentium limas & rationes, primarij nascuntium,
id est, ad limites luminarum & rationum deducere, & propterea
limitum illorum demonstrationes qua potui brevitate praenotare.
His enim idem praefatur quod per methodum indivisibilem; &
principis demonstratis jam ritus utitur. Proinde in sequenti-
bus, fingendo quantitates tanquam ex particulis constantes confi-
deravero, vel si pro rebus utrapvvero lineolis curvas, inquam in-
divisibilia sed evanescencia dividibilia, non faminas & rationes
partium determinatarum, sed luminarum & rationum limitum
per intelligi, vniq; talium demonstrationum ad methodum pre-
cedentium Lemmatum semper revocari.

Obiectio est, quod quantitarum evanescentium nulla sit ultima
proportio; quippe quae, antequam evanuerint, non est ultima, ubi
evanuerint, nulla est. Sed & eodem argumento aequo contra-
di potest nullam esse corporis ad certum locum pergens veloci-
tatem ultimam. Hanc enim, antequam corpus attingit locum, non
esse ultimam, ubi attingit, nullam esse. Et responso facilis est. Per
velocitatem ultimam intelligi eam, qua corpus movetur neq; ante-
quam attingit locum ultimum & motus cessat, neq; postea, sed
tunc cum attingit, id est illam ipsam velocitatem quoniam corpus
attingit locum ultimum & quoniam motus cessat. Et similiter per
ultimam rationem quantitarum evanescentium intelligendam esse
rationem quantitarum non antequam evanescunt, non postea,
sed quoniam evanescunt. Pariter & ratio prima nascentium est
ratio quoniam nascuntur. Et summa prima & ultima est quoniam
esse (vel augeri & minui) incipiunt & cessant. Extra lines quoniam
velocitas in fine motus attingere potest, non autem transgredi.

F 2

Hac

[36]

Hæc est velocitas ultima. Et par est ratio limitis quantitatum & proportionum omnium incipientium & cessantium. Cumq; hic limitis fit certus & definitus, Problema est vere Geometricum eundem determinare. Geometrica vero omnia in aliis Geometricis determinandis ac demonstrandis legitime usurpantur.

Contendi etiam potest, quod si dentur ultimæ quantitatum evanescentium rationes, dabuntur & ultimæ magnitudines: & sic quantitas omnis constabit ex indivisibilibus, contra quam *Euclides* de incommensurabilibus, in libro decimo Elementorum, demonstravit. Verum hæc Objectio falsæ innitur hypothesi. Ultimæ rationes illæ quibuscum quantitates evanescent, revera non sunt rationes quantitatum ultimarum, sed limites ad quos quantitatum lineæ limite decreverunt rationes semper appropriantur, & quas proprius allequi possunt quam pro data quavis differentia, nunquam vero transgredi, neq; prius attingere quam quantitates designantur in infinitum. Res clarius intelligitur in infinitæ magnitudinis duæ quarum data est differentia augentur in infinitum, dabitur harum ultima ratio, limitum ratio æqualitatis, nec tamen ideo dabuntur quarum ultimæ seu maximæ quarum data est ratio. Igitur in sequentibus, quando facili rerum imaginationi conlucens, dixerò quantitates quam minimas, vel evanescentes vel ultimas, cave intelligas quantitates magnitudinis determinatas, sed cogita semper diminuendas lineæ limite.

TRANSLATION

I have put forward these lemmas at the beginning, in order to avoid the tedium of composing intricate demonstrations by contradiction in the manner of the ancient geometers. For the demonstrations are rendered more concise by the method of indivisibles. But since the hypothesis of indivisibles is crude, and that method therefore judged less geometrical, I have preferred to deduce the demonstrations of what follows by means of first or last sums and ratios of nascent or vanishing quantities, that is, to limits of sums and ratios, and therefore to put forward demonstrations of those limits as briefly as I could. For the same can be shown by these as by the method of indivisibles, and the principles having been demonstrated, we may now more safely use them. Consequently in what follows, whenever I have considered quantities as if consisting of particles, or if I have used little curved lines for straight lines, I do not mean indivisibles but vanishing divisors, and there should always be understood not sums and ratios of the known parts but the limits of sums and ratios, and the validity of such demonstrations is always to be based on the method of the preceding lemmas.

The objection is that the ultimate ratio of vanishing quantities might not exist, since before they vanish, it is not ultimate: and where they have vanished, it is non-existent. But by the same argument it could equally be contended that the ultimate velocity

of a body arriving at a certain place does not exist. For in this case, before the body reaches the place, the velocity is not ultimate; where it reaches it, it does not exist. And the answer is easy. By the ultimate velocity is to be understood that with which the body moves, not before it reaches the final place and the motion ceases, nor after, but as it reaches it: that is, that same velocity with which the body reaches the final place and with which the motion ceases. And similarly by the ultimate ratio of vanishing quantities there must be understood the ratio of quantities not before they vanish, nor after, but with which they vanish. And equally the first ratio of nascent quantities is the ratio with which they originate. And the first or ultimate sum is that with which they begin or cease to be (according as they are increasing or decreasing). There exists a limit which at the end of the motion the velocity may attain, but not exceed. [36] This is the ultimate velocity. And likewise for the limiting ratio of all quantities and proportions beginning or ceasing to be. And since this limit is fixed and definite, the problem is to determine it correctly geometrically. Indeed anything geometric can legitimately be used to determine or demonstrate other things geometrically.

It may also be contended that if ultimate ratios of vanishing quantities are given, so are the ultimate magnitudes; and thus every quantity will consist of indivisibles, contrary to what *Euclid* proved of incommensurables in the tenth book of the *Elements*. But this objection is based on a false hypothesis. Those ultimate ratios with which quantities vanish, are not actually ratios of ultimate quantities, but limits to which the ratios of quantities decreasing without limit always approach, and which they may attain more closely than by any given difference, but never exceed, nor attain before the quantities are infinitely diminished. This may be more clearly understood for the infinitely large. If two quantities, whose difference is given, are infinitely increased, their ultimate ratio will be given, namely the ratio of equality, but nevertheless there will not thereby be given the ultimate or greatest quantities of which this is the ratio. Therefore whenever in what follows, to make things easier to imagine, I speak of quantities as the smallest, or vanishing, or ultimate, avoid thinking of quantities of finite magnitude, but always consider that they are to be decreased without limit.

11.1.3 Maclaurin's definition of a limit, 1742

Maclaurin, writing some sixty years after Newton, continued to use the word *limit* in much the same sense, as a bound that may be approached as closely as one wishes. Stung by the criticisms of Berkeley and others (see 10.2.2) he took great pains to show that limits were well defined, but his words 'it is manifest ... did nothing to avoid or disguise the fundamental problem of neglecting o after dividing by it.

Maclaurin's definition of a limit

from Maclaurin, *A treatise of fluxions*, 1742, I, §502-§503

§02. But however safe and convenient this method may be, some will always scruple to admit infinitely little quantities, and infinite orders of infinitesimals, into a science that boasts of the most evident and accurate principles as well as of the most rigid demonstrations; and therefore we chose to establish by extensive and useful a doctrine in the preceding chapters on more unexceptionable *possibilia*. In order to avoid such suppositions, Sir ISAAC NEWTON considers the simultaneous increments of the flowing quantities as finite, and then investigates the ratio which is the limit of the various proportions which those increments bear to each other, while he supposes them to decrease together till they vanish; which ratio is the same with the ratio of the fluxions by what was shewn in art. 66, 67 and 68. In order to discover this limit, he first determines the ratio of the increments in general, and reduces it to the most simple terms so as that (generally speaking) a pair at least of each term may be independent of the

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value of the increments themselves; then by supposing the increments to decrease till they vanish, the limit readily appears.

§03. For example, let a be an invariable quantity, x a flowing quantity, and o any increment of x ; then the simultaneous increments of ax and ax^2 will be $2xo + oo$ and $2ox$, which are in the same ratio to each other as $2x + o$ is to a . This ratio of $2x + o$ to a continually decreases while o decreases, and is always greater than the ratio of $2x$ to a while o is any real increment, but it is manifest that it continually approaches to the ratio of $2x$ to a as its limit; whence it follows that the fluxion of ax is to the fluxion of ax^2 as $2x$ is to a . If x be supposed to flow uniformly, ax will likewise flow uniformly, but ax^2 with a motion continually accelerated: The motion with which ax flows may be measured by ao , but the motion with which ax^2 flows is not to be measured by its increment $2xo + oo$, (by ax. 1.) but by the part $2xo$ only, which is generated in consequence of that motion; and the part oo is to be rejected because it is generated in consequence only of the acceleration of the motion with which the variable square flows, while o the increment of its side is generated: And the ratio of $2xo$ to ao is that of $2x$ to a , which was found to be the limit of the ratio of the increments $2xo + oo$ and ao .

II.1.4 D'Alembert's definition of a limit, 1765

When d'Alembert wrote and edited the mathematical sections of the great *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot, published between 1751 and 1765, he provided new and useful definitions of many recent mathematical concepts. His definition of 'limit' in Volume IX was close to Newton's idea of a limit as a bound that could be approached as closely as one chose, and because d'Alembert, like Newton, worked with examples that were primarily geometric, there was still no obvious need to consider quantities that might oscillate from one side of a limit to the other.

D'Alembert's definition of a limit

from Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, 1751-65, IX, 542

TRANSLATION

LIMIT (*Mathematics*) One says that a magnitude is the *limit* of another magnitude, when the second may approach the first more closely than by a given quantity, as small as one wishes, moreover without the magnitude which approaches being allowed ever to surpass the magnitude that it approaches; so that the difference between such a quantity and its *limit* is absolutely unassignable.

For example, suppose we have two polygons, one inscribed in a circle and the other circumscribed; it is clear that one may increase the number of sides as much as one wishes, and in that case each polygon will approach ever more closely to the circumference of the circle; the perimeter of the inscribed polygon will increase and that of the circumscribed polygon will decrease, but the perimeter or edge of the first will never surpass the length of the circumference, and that of the second will never be smaller than that same circumference; the circumference of the circle is therefore the *limit* of the increase of the first polygon and of the decrease of the second.

1. If two magnitudes are the *limit* of the same quantity, the two magnitudes will be equal to each other.

2. Suppose $A \times B$ is the product of two magnitudes A, B . Let us suppose that C is the *limit* of the magnitude A , and D the *limit* of the quantity B , I say that $C \times D$, the product of the *limits*, will necessarily be the *limit* of $A \times B$, the product of the magnitudes A, B .

These two propositions which one will find demonstrated exactly in the *Institutions de Géométrie*, serve as principles for demonstrating rigorously that one has the area of a circle from multiplying its semicircumference by its radius. See the work cited, p. 331 and following in the second volume.

The theory of *limits* is the foundation of the true justification of the differential calculus. See DIFFERENTIAL, FLUXION, ENNAUSTRON, INFINITE. Strictly speaking, the *limit* never coincides, or never becomes equal to the quantity of which it is the *limit*,

but the latter approaches it ever more closely, and may differ from it as little as one wishes. The circle, for example, is the *limit* of the inscribed and circumscribed polygons; for strictly it never coincides with them, although they may approach it indefinitely. This notion may serve to clarify several mathematical propositions. For example, one says that the sum of a decreasing geometric progression in which the first term is a and the second b , is $\frac{a}{a-b}$; this value is never strictly the sum of the progression, it is the *limit* of that sum, that is to say, the quantity which it may approach as closely as one wishes, without ever arriving at it exactly. For if e is the last term in the progression, the exact value of the sum is $\frac{aa-be}{a-b}$, which is always less than $\frac{aa}{a-b}$ because even in a decreasing geometric progression, the last term e is never 0; but as this term continually approaches zero, without ever arriving at it, it is clear that zero is its *limit*, and that consequently the *limit* of $\frac{aa-be}{a-b}$ is $\frac{aa}{a-b}$, supposing $e = 0$, that is to say, on putting in place of e its *limit*. See SEQUENCE or SERIES, PROGRESSION, etc.

11.1.5 Cauchy's definition of a limit, 1821

Cauchy's definition of a limit, first given in his *Cours d'analyse* in 1821, imitated that of d'Alembert and combined the same basic ideas: the existence of a fixed value, and the possibility of approaching it as closely as one wishes. The same definition was repeated, with further examples, at the beginning of his *Résumé des leçons* in 1823.

Cauchy established the concept of a limit as the starting point of textbook expositions of analysis but in most respects his definition was no clearer than Newton's 150 years earlier; for there was still no precise discussion of what it meant to approach a fixed value 'indefinitely', nor of whether a variable quantity might actually attain or even at times surpass its limit. Cauchy offered the well worn illustration of a circle and polygons, but also produced a new and more interesting example, of an irrational number approached by rationals; he did not yet suggest, however, that a limit could be approached from both sides simultaneously.

Cauchy's definition of a limit, 1821

from Cauchy, *Cours d'analyse*, 1821, 4-5

On nomme quantité *variable* celle que l'on considère comme devant recevoir successivement plusieurs valeurs différentes les unes des autres. On désigne une semblable quantité par une lettre prise ordinairement parmi les dernières de l'alphabet. On appelle au contraire quantité *constante*, et on désigne ordinairement par une des premières lettres de l'alphabet toute quantité qui reçoit une valeur fixe et déterminée. Lorsque les valeurs successivement attribuées à une même variable s'approchent indéfiniment d'une valeur fixe, de manière à finir par en différer aussi peu que l'on voudra, cette dernière est appelée la *limite* de toutes les autres. Ainsi, par exemple, un nombre irrationnel est la limite des diverses fractions qui en fournissent des valeurs de plus en plus approchées. En géométrie, la surface du cercle est la limite vers laquelle convergent les surfaces des polygones inscrits, tandis que le nombre de leurs côtés croît de plus en plus; &c....

Lorsque les valeurs numériques successives d'une même variable décroissent indéfiniment, de manière à s'abaisser au-dessous de tout nombre donné, cette variable devient ce qu'on nomme un *infimement petit* ou une quantité *infimement petite*. Une variable de cette espèce a zéro pour limite.

Lorsque les valeurs numériques successives

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d'une même variable croissent de plus en plus, de manière à s'élever au-dessus de tout nombre donné, on dit que cette variable a pour limite l'infini positif, indiqué par le signe ∞ , s'il s'agit d'une variable positive, et l'infini négatif, indiqué par la notation $-\infty$, s'il s'agit d'une variable négative. Les infinis positif et négatif sont désignés conjointement sous le nom de *quantités infinies*.

TRANSLATION

One calls a *variable* quantity one that is considered to take successively several values different from each other. One denotes such a quantity by a letter usually taken from amongst the last in the alphabet. On the other hand one calls a *constant* quantity every quantity that takes a fixed and known value, and one usually denotes it by one of the first letters of the alphabet. When the values successively attributed to the same variable approach indefinitely to a fixed value, in such a way as to end by differing from it as little as one wishes, this last is called the *limit* of all the others. Thus, for example, an irrational number is the limit of various fractions that furnish values more and more closely approaching it. In geometry, the area of a circle is the limit towards which converge the areas of inscribed polygons, when the number of their sides increases more and more; etc....

When the successive numerical values of the same variable decrease indefinitely, in such a way as to fall below every given number, this variable becomes what one calls an *infinitesimal* or an *infinitely small* quantity. A variable of this kind has zero for its limit.

When the successive numerical values [5] of the same variable increase more and more, in such a way as to rise above every given number, one says that this variable has for its limit *positive infinity*, indicated by the sign ∞ , if one is dealing with a positive variable, and *negative infinity*, indicated by the notation $-\infty$, if one is dealing with a negative variable. Positive and negative infinities are known jointly under the name of *infinite quantities*.