

# **The Mathematics of Sonya Kovalevskaya**

ИМПЕРАТОРСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАУКЪ

На основании Высочайше дарованного Ей въ 8-й день Января 1836 года

избрала

Софью Васильевну Ковалевскую

состоящую профессоромъ Стокгольмскаго Университета

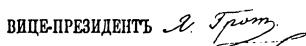
въ свои члены-кореспонденты по разряду математическихъ наукъ

29 ДЕКАБРЯ 1889 ГОДА

ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУКЪ ПРЕЗИДЕНТЪ



ВИЦЕ-ПРЕЗИДЕНТЪ



НЕПРЕМЪННЫЙ СЕКРЕТАРЬ



Kovalevskaya's certificate of election as a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, dated 29 December 1889 (10 January 1890). The certificate reads: The Imperial Academy of Sciences, by the authority of its supreme mandate of 8 January 1836, has elected Sophia Vasilievna Kovalevskaya, professor of the University of Stockholm, a corresponding member in the section of mathematical sciences. (Courtesy of the Institut Mittag-Leffler.)

Roger Cooke

# The Mathematics of Sonya Kovalevskaya

With 21 Figures



Springer-Verlag  
New York Berlin Heidelberg Tokyo

Roger Cooke  
Department of Mathematics  
University of Vermont  
Burlington, Vermont 05405  
U.S.A.

**Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data**

Cooke, Roger,

The mathematics of Sonya Kovalevskaya.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Mathematical analysis—History. 2. Kovalevskaia, S. V. (Sof'ia Vasil'evna), 1850–1891.

3. Mathematicians—Soviet Union—Biography.

I. Title.

QA300.C65 1984 515'.09 84-10599

©1984 by Springer-Verlag New York Inc.

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1984

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be translated or reproduced in any form without written permission from Springer-Verlag, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010, U.S.A.

The use of general descriptive names, trade names, trademarks, etc., in this publication, even if the former are not especially identified, is not to be taken as a sign that such names, as understood by the Trade Marks and Merchandise Marks Act, may accordingly be used freely by anyone.

Typeset by Interactive Composition Corporation, Pleasant Hill, California.

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN-13: 978-1-4612-9766-6 e-ISBN-13: 978-1-4612-5274-0

DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4612-5274-0

To Cathie, who keeps me in touch with what is most important,  
To Katya, Andrew, and Hilary, who bring us joy every day,  
To my father, who gave me an education beyond books and classrooms,  
and  
In loving memory of my mother



Cher Monsieur !

Je vous remercie pour votre invitation pour demain et je viendrais avec plaisir.

Les équations diff. qu'il s'agit d'intégrer sont les suivantes

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \frac{dx}{dt} = (B-C)gt + Job - y_0 \delta'' \\ B \frac{dy}{dt} = (C-A)x + Job \delta'' \\ C \frac{dz}{dt} = (A-B)pg + Job' - x_0 \delta \end{array} \right. \quad \begin{array}{l} \frac{dx}{dt} = g \delta'' - r \delta' \\ \frac{dy}{dt} = r \delta - p \delta'' \\ \frac{dz}{dt} = p \delta' - g \delta \end{array}$$

Jusqu'à présent il n'a pas été intégré que dans deux : 1)  $x_0 = y_0 = z_0 = 0$  (le cas de Bifur  
et de Girobi)

2)  $A = B$   $x_0 = y_0 = 0$

cas cas de Cayrano

Alors j'ai trouvée l'intégrale aussi dans le cas où  $A = B = 2C$   $z_0 = 0$  et je puis montrer que ces 3 cas sont les seuls où l'intégrale

Letter from Kovalevskaya communicating her discovery of the Kovalevskaya case of a rotating rigid body. The letter was in Mittag-Leffler's possession and is possibly to him, though she usually addressed him less formally at the time the letter was written. (Courtesy of the Institut Mittag-Leffler.)

# Preface

This book is the result of a decision taken in 1980 to begin studying the history of mathematics in the nineteenth century. I hoped by doing it to learn something of value about Kovalevskaya herself and about the mathematical world she inhabited. Having been trained as a mathematician, I also hoped to learn something about the proper approach to the history of the subject. The decision to begin the study with Kovalevskaya, apart from the intrinsic interest of Kovalevskaya herself, was primarily based upon the fact that the writing on her in English had been done by people who were interested in sociological and psychological aspects of her life. None of these writings discussed her mathematical work in much detail. This omission seemed to me a serious one in biographical studies of a woman whose primary significance was her mathematical work. In regard to both the content of nineteenth century mathematics and the nature of the history of mathematics I learned a great deal from writing this book. The attempt to put Kovalevskaya's work in historical context involved reading dozens of significant papers by great mathematicians. In many cases, I fear, the purport of these papers is better known to many of my readers than to me. If I persevered despite misgivings, my excuse is that this book is, after all, primarily about Kovalevskaya. If specialists in Euler, Cauchy, etc., find omissions or misinterpretations in my handling of the works of these authors, I can only plead that the background of a painting never has the same clarity as the foreground. In reading secondary sources I found noticeable differences between the accounts written by mathematicians and those written by historians. Among other differences, the former devote much more space to the technical details of how a result was obtained, while the latter tend to emphasize the influence of one idea or school upon another. As a newcomer to the field, I considered it my place to learn as much as I could from both mathematicians and historians. Naturally, the present work is written in the "mathematician's" style, though I have tried to make it as accessible as possible to nonspecialists.

Since Kovalevskaya's periods of mathematical activity, first as a student of Weierstrass and later as a mature scholar, were separated by a 6-year period of more or less domestic life, this natural division has been used as the plan for this book. In order to fix the chronology, the chapters discussing her work during these two periods are preceded by chapters of biography. It is very light biography, written to entertain as well as to instruct. It skims lightly over the years, touching down at points that seemed particularly interesting. The reader should by no means infer that the incidents reported here for any given year were necessarily the most important ones for understanding Kovalevskaya's life. For a serious scientific biography of Kovalevskaya the reader should turn to the excellent recent account by Ann Hibner Koblitz

(1983). Readers who know Russian will also find much of interest in the book of P. Ya. Kochina (1981). The present book uses the two just mentioned extensively as sources. The primary sources used in Chapters 1, 5, and 9 of the present book are in the archives of the Institut Mittag-Leffler. All letters quoted in this book, unless otherwise cited, come from that source.

The motivation for this book resides in the six chapters of mathematical analysis, in which an attempt is made to place Kovalevskaya's work in context within the history of nineteenth-century analysis. The effect of focusing on, and, so to speak, enlarging Kovalevskaya's papers, is a certain distortion of the picture. To make this book of reasonable length and readability, it was necessary to restrict the discussion of the works of her predecessors to the most significant results relevant to Kovalevskaya's work. Such a restriction makes the history of each topic resemble a ladder on which each successive mathematician moved one rung higher than his predecessors, whereas the reality is more like a tree, with branches sprouting in all directions. With that caveat I trust the reader will be better able to place Kovalevskaya's work in perspective after reading this book than before.

A few words are in order about the text itself, especially the mathematical analysis in Chapters 2–4 and 6–8. These chapters contain too few formulas to constitute a textbook exposition of the subjects they discuss and too many for a popular exposition. My impression after reading older histories of mathematics which discuss the works of great mathematicians in prose has been that such a style conveys no real idea of what the mathematics was. The formulas seem essential to any real communication of ideas. They should be used however as one would use a child's model airplane to explain that invention to someone who had never seen one. One would not expect to fly in a model airplane. For the same reason, one should not take the formulas in this book, even the long strings of formulas, for an attempt at a mathematical proof. The formulas are in the book only as a means of referring to the mathematics.

The six appendices were written for two reasons. The first was to make the book more "user-friendly" to a hypothetical undergraduate reader who has had only a year or two of mathematics. With these appendices, such a reader should be able to understand the gist of what is said in the text. The second reason for the appendices is that in the text it was necessary to touch on two topics (Weierstrass' method of solving partial differential equations of a certain form, and Jacobi's last multiplier method) which are no longer part of the basic courses in differential equations. I thought that mathematicians who, like me, had not seen these topics before, would be interested in a more detailed exposition of them.

Finally I should also explain my system, or rather my lack of system, in transliterating Cyrillic. Since the ending -sky is familiar to Europeans and Americans in such names as Dostoevsky and Tchaikovsky, I see no point in using -skii. In general Russian words are transliterated in a way which will cause the average English-speaking reader to pronounce them in an approximately correct manner. Those who know Russian will recognize these words

anyway, and those who do not will suffer no harm from reading a nonstandard transliteration. Knowing that Kovalevskaya's maternal ancestors came from Germany, I refer to them by the name Schubert, rather than Shubert. On the other hand, I have retained the spelling Mendel'son in preference to Mendelssohn, because the woman in question was Polish. In connection with Russian names, many conversations with non-Russian-speaking devotees of Russian literature have convinced me that the invariable sequence of given-name-plus-patronymic is excessively wearisome to most readers. Therefore I make very little use of patronymics, trusting that any Russian-speaking readers will understand that no disrespect is intended. Similarly, in order to avoid confusing my readers with the many diminutives of the name Sophia I consistently use "Sonya" even though Kovalevskaya did not get that nickname until adulthood.

It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to the many organizations and individuals who have assisted me in carrying out this project. My sincere thanks go

to Patricia and Philip Kitcher for many years of friendship and for advice on both technical and scholarly problems;

to the University of Vermont for sabbatical leave and travel support;

to Lennart Carleson, Mrs. Karin Göransson, and the Institut Mittag-Leffler for allowing me to use the archives of the Institut and for arranging housing in Djursholm, Sweden for my family and me in the summer of 1981, a summer we shall always remember as one of the most pleasant of our lives;

to the International Research & Exchanges Board for nominating me for the 1981–82 exchange with the Soviet Union and for emergency support when the vagaries of international cooperation made my trip to the Soviet Union impossible;

to Ivor Grattan-Guinness for invaluable help; I trust he will accept this acknowledgment in lieu of a citation at each point where I have used one of the references he supplied; he will know from comparing this book with the draft he read how many improvements are due to his advice;

to the London Mathematical Society, the British Society for the History of Mathematics, University College London, and the British Museum for access to sources and other assistance during my year in England. Indeed I would like to thank the entire United Kingdom for making the year 1981–82 so pleasant for me and my family;

to Jeremy Gray for helpful conversations;

to P. Ya. Kochina for helpful correspondence;

to Ann Hibner Koblitz for sharing information, thereby saving me many mistakes;

to Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts for permission to consult archival materials;

to the staff of Springer-Verlag for their very considerate cooperation.

Roger Cooke

# Contents

## PART I: CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

### Chapter 1. Biography: 1850–1874

1.1.	Introduction	3
1.2.	Kovalevskaya's Ancestors	4
1.3.	Kovalevskaya's Family	5
1.4.	Kovalevskaya's Uncles	8
1.5.	Aniuta	8
1.6.	Early Mathematical Training	9
1.7.	In Search of Higher Education	10
1.8.	Vladimir Kovalevsky	11
1.9.	Study Abroad	12
1.10.	Weierstrass	15
1.11.	Kovalevskaya and Weierstrass	16

### Chapter 2. Partial Differential Equations

2.1.	Introduction	22
2.2.	Differential Equations in the Complex Domain	22
2.3.	The Year 1842: Cauchy	24
2.4.	The Year 1842: Weierstrass	28
2.5.	The Problem Posed to Kovalevskaya	29
2.6.	Kovalevskaya's Paper	30
2.7.	Unpublished Work	34
2.8.	Publishing the Result	34
2.9.	Evaluation of the Work	36

### Chapter 3. Degenerate Abelian Integrals

3.1.	Introduction	39
3.2.	Euler	40
3.3.	Legendre	40
3.4.	Abel	44
3.5.	Cauchy	46
3.6.	Jacobi	46
3.7.	Göpel and Rosenhain	49
3.8.	Weierstrass' Early Work	49
3.9.	Hermite	52
3.10.	Riemann	54
3.11.	Weierstrass' Later Work	55
3.12.	Kovalevskaya's Paper	59
3.13.	Evaluation	64

## Chapter 4. The Shape of Saturn's Rings

4.1.	Introduction	66
4.2.	Laplace's Work: Physical Assumptions	66
4.3.	Laplace's Work: Mathematical Assumptions	67
4.4.	The Potential of the Ring	67
4.5.	Final Computations	71
4.6.	Extensions	73
4.7.	Reformulation of the Problem	74
4.8.	Kovalevskaya's Method	75
4.9.	Execution of the Program	76
4.10.	Significance of the Paper	79
4.11.	Personal Notes	81

## PART II: MATURE LIFE

### Chapter 5. Biography: 1875–1891

5.1.	Return to Russia	85
5.2.	Mittag-Leffler	89
5.3.	The Year 1880	91
5.4.	A New Project	93
5.5.	Crisis	97
5.6.	The Year 1883	100
5.7.	Stockholm	103
5.8.	The Academic Year 1884–85	108
5.9.	The Academic Year 1885–86	110
5.10.	Life as an Untenured Professor	112
5.11.	New Distractions	113
5.12.	The Bordin Competition	114
5.13.	Reactions	115
5.14.	Final Days	116

### Chapter 6. The Lamé Equations

6.1.	Introduction	119
6.2.	Huyghens	120
6.3.	Fresnel	121
6.4.	Lamé	122
6.5.	Weierstrass	127
6.6.	Kovalevskaya	131

### Chapter 7. The Euler Equations

7.1.	Introduction	137
7.2.	Euler	137
7.3.	Lagrange	143
7.4.	Some Nineteenth-Century Work	147

7.5.	Weierstrass	150
7.6.	The Mathematical Mermaid	151
7.7.	Kovalevskaya	153
7.8.	Conclusions	159
7.9.	Klein	160
7.10.	Evaluation	163

## Chapter 8. Bruns' Theorem

8.1.	Introduction	165
8.2.	Kovalevskaya's Paper	165
8.3.	Commentary	166

## Chapter 9. Evaluations

9.1.	Introduction	168
9.2.	Poincaré	168
9.3.	Markov	168
9.4.	Kovalevskaya	169
9.5.	The Moscow Mathematicians	171
9.6.	Volterra	173
9.7.	Women in Mathematics	174
9.8.	Loria	175
9.9.	Mittag-Leffler	176
9.10.	Klein	177
9.11.	Golubev	178
9.12.	Kovalevskaya as a Mathematician	178

## PART III: APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Appendices

Appendix 1.	The Method of Majorants	185
Appendix 2.	Some Complex Analysis	188
Appendix 3.	Weierstrass' Formula	201
Appendix 4.	Derivation of Euler's Equations	202
Appendix 5.	Calculus of Variations	205
Appendix 6.	Jacobi's Last-Multiplier Method	206

### Bibliography

209

### Index

227