Rossby, Ertel, and potential vorticity

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Summary. It is frequently assumed that ROSSBY (1940) and ERTEL (1942a,b,c) derived their potential vorticity conservation laws independently. Two earlier publications (ROSSBY, 1936, 1938), a visit by Ertel to Rossby's department in 1937, and some other evidence make this traditional interpretation implausible.

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Zusammenfassung. Es wird oft angenommen, daß ROSSBY (1940) und ERTEL (1942a,b,c) ihrer Erhaltungssätze der Potentiellen Vorticity unabhängig voneinander gefunden haben. Zwei frühere Aufsätze (ROSSBY, 1936, 1938), ein Besuch von Ertel in Rossbys Fakultät 1937, und einige anderen Fakten stellen diese verbreitete Auffassung in Frage.

1. Rossby

Carl-Gustav Rossby is most widely remembered for his many contributions to meteorology. His interests in what we would now call geophysical fluid dynamics, however, extended beyond the atmosphere to the ocean. In the course of analyzing a reduced-gravity shallow-water model of the Gulf Stream, ROSSBY (1936) derived the Lagrangian conservation law

\[ f + \nabla \phi = c \, D, \]

which holds exactly along fluid parcel trajectories in flow governed by the inviscid shallow water equations in a reference frame rotating at local angular velocity \( f/2 \) about the local vertical (where \( f \) may vary with position). Here \( \phi \) is the relative vorticity \( \nu_x - u_y \) (with \( u \) and \( v \) the \( x \)- and \( y \)-components of the horizontal velocity), \( D \) is the thickness of the (homogeneous) layer of fluid, and \( c \) is a constant that may depend upon the initial position of the fluid parcel. In this work, Rossby compared the conserved quantity represented by \( c \) to the Bernoulli function in steady flow, and showed how the local relative vorticity was related to the local thickness and the initial (resting) thickness by the conservation law.

ROSSBY (1938) generalized the potential vorticity conservation law to the case of a continuously stratified, hydrostatic fluid, again in the context of a theoretical study of ocean currents, by considering a stack of homogeneous fluid layers with infinitesimal thicknesses and density differences. This argument is repeated, in slightly different form, in ROSSBY (1940). The latter study of atmospheric flow patterns is frequently, and erroneously, cited as the original reference for Rossby's potential vorticity conservation law. The absence of references in ROSSBY (1940) to the earlier derivations by ROSSBY (1936, 1938) is one likely reason for this frequent error. ROSSBY (1940) does, however, mark the first appearance of the term "potential vorticity."
2. Ertel

By the early 1930's, Hans Ertel had begun to work on meteorology and vorticity dynamics. In 1933, for example, he published a new proof (ERTEL 1933) of the Bjerknes circulation theorem. In 1937, Ertel was invited to visit the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Blue Hill Observatory for two months, to participate in an international isentropic analysis project (MAUERSBERGER 1971; PLATZMAN 1994; THORPE and VOLKERT 1997). The invitation evidently came from Rossby, who was chairman of the MIT Meteorological Division at that time. Jerome Namias, who also participated in the project, has written that Ertel "was a top-notch theoretician--and that is why Rossby invited him to MIT" (NAMIAS 1988). Despite the brevity of Ertel's stay at MIT, the preface of his well-received 1938 text (ERTEL 1938) lists the MIT Meteorological Division as his affiliation.

Five years later, in several concise and elegant contributions, Ertel derived a general set of potential vorticity theorems for ideal, non-hydrostatic, compressible fluids (ERTEL 1942a,b,c). These include, as a special case, an isentropic potential vorticity conservation law formulated in terms of potential temperature. Ertel's results are more general than Rossby's, and are stated and derived using vector calculus and a standard Eulerian vertical coordinate rather than the quasi-Lagrangian, isopycnal or isentropic layers and surfaces that Rossby used.

3. Discussion

In many contemporary articles and texts, it is suggested that Rossby and Ertel arrived at their potential vorticity conservation laws independently. The contact between Rossby and Ertel during Ertel's 1937 visit to MIT, and Rossby's 1936 and 1938 publications cited above, together make this traditional interpretation implausible. Another piece of circumstantial evidence, supporting the assumption that Ertel was by 1942 already aware of Rossby's work, is the reference to ROSSBY (1937), the companion paper to ROSSBY (1938), in ERTEL and JAW (1939).

It is natural to ask why Ertel's 1942 articles do not cite Rossby's work, if Ertel had indeed been aware of it. This question cannot be decisively answered. It is possible that reference to prior work for the purposes of attribution was not of great concern to these authors; as noted above, Rossby had not himself bothered to cite ROSSBY (1936) or ROSSBY (1938) in the more well-known ROSSBY (1940). PLATZMAN (1994) and THORPE and VOLKERT (1997), respectively, point out the interesting facts that ERTEL (1942a,c) each contain an unusual, parenthetical reference to Rossby, in each case at the point where the isentropic potential vorticity is discussed. PLATZMAN (1994) suggested that the reference to Rossby in ERTEL (1942a) could be interpreted as an oblique acknowledgement of a familiarity with Rossby's potential vorticity. A literal translation of the relevant, final sentence of ERTEL (1942a), which exhibits an isentropic form of potential vorticity conservation very similar to Rossby's, is "The conservation law yields then...[eq. (12)], which relation [obtains meaning] for example in meteorology for the isentropic analysis (C. G. ROSSBY)." THORPE and VOLKERT (1997) give a translation of a similar sentence from ERTEL (1942c). In both of these sentences, the original German word-order places a verbal phrase (bracketed in the translation above) after the parentheses that end the translations, which has the effect of associating the reference to Rossby with the concept of isentropic analysis rather than with the conservation law. Nonetheless, Ertel may simply have felt that these parenthetical
references were sufficient to indicate the connection between this special case of his results and the previous work in meteorology. Another possibility, suggested by Platzman (1994), who noted that Ertel (1942a,b,c) contain no references to articles published outside Germany, is that the political situation in 1942 may have made Ertel reluctant to include citations to work in languages other than German. In any case, it is hard to imagine that Ertel could have written these sentences without understanding the connection between his and Rossby's conservation principles.

There is no evidence that either Rossby or Ertel felt uncomfortable with the published record of their contributions to the development of the theory of potential vorticity conservation. The joint articles Ertel and Rossby (1949a,b) might have offered convenient opportunities to amend the record, had they felt this necessary, but these cite only Ertel (1942b,c). (Note here, however, that Thorpe and Volkert (1997) speculate that Ertel and Rossby (1949a,b) may have been written entirely by Ertel.) While the true history of their ideas remains uncertain, the circumstantial evidence is persuasive that Ertel was aware of Rossby's results on potential vorticity conservation well before 1942. Although Ertel's methods and approach were different than Rossby's, it is therefore difficult to escape the conclusion that the Ertel's thinking on this subject must have been influenced by Rossby's work. It seems equally clear that Rossby respected Ertel as a theoretician and regarded Ertel's results as substantial generalizations.

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References