Einstein, the expanding universe and the big bang

Paradigm shift or slow dawning?

Cormac O'Raifeartaigh FRAS

A drama in three acts?

A brief history of observation (1912-1931)

The redshifts of the spiral nebulae (Slipher)
The distances to the nebulae (Hubble)
The Hubble graph of 1929



The static universes of Einstein and de Sitter
The dynamic universes of Friedman and Lemaître

An expanding universe? (1930)

Explorations of a dynamic universe (1922-35)
Slow acceptance by physics community (1935-65)









Many other actors

A slow dawning? Acts IV and V

Act I, scene I: The starry nebulae

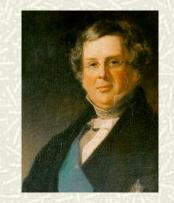
- **Observed by Marius (1614), Halley, Messier**Cloudy structures; not planets or stars
- Island universes? Kant, Laplace (1755-96)
 Galaxies of stars at immense distance?
 Are stars born in the nebulae?
- ₩ Wilhem Herschel36-inch reflecting telescopeCatalogue of a thousand (1786)
- # Earl of Rosse

 72-inch reflecting telescope (1845)

 Some nebulae have spiral structure, stars

Problem of resolution, distance







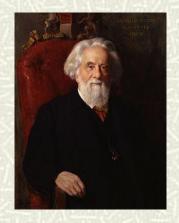
Scene II: The spectra of the nebulae

- **♯** Photography and spectroscopy (19th cent)

 Emission and absorption lines of celestial objects
- **Composition of the stars and planetary nebulae**William Huggins
- **Motion of the stars: Doppler effect**William Campbell
- **♯** Spectroscopy of spiral nebulae?

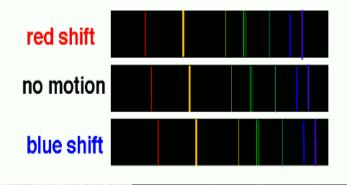
 Composition of nebulae?

 Motion of nebulae?
- **■** Difficult to resolve





$$\Delta \lambda / \lambda = v/c$$



Scene III: Slipher and the nebulae

- Analyse light of the spiral nebulae? (1909)

 Lowell Observatory; evolving solar system?
- Slipher reluctant
 24-inch refractor: larger telescopes failed
- Experiments with spectrograph camera

 Good results with fast camera lens
- Clear spectrum for Andromeda nebula (1912) Significantly blue-shifted; approaching at 300 km/s?
- Many spiral nebulae red-shifted (1915)

 Standing ovation (AAS, 1914)

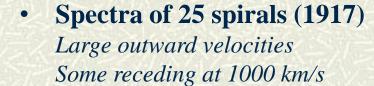
 Attended by Hubble



V.M. Slipher



Redshifts of the nebulae





- Island universe debate

 "Island universe hypothesis gains favour"
- Faintest spectra most redshifted

 Evidence of expansion? (retrospective)
- 41 redshifts by 1922

 Published by Eddington, Strömberg
 What did they mean?



 $\Delta \lambda / \lambda = v/c$

RADIAL VELOCITIES OF TWENTY-FIVE SPIRAL NEBULE.

Nebula,	Vel.	Nebula.	Vel.
N.G.C. 221	- 300 km.	N.G.C. 4526	+ 580 km
224	- 300	4565	+1100
598	- 260	4594	+1100
1023	+ 300	4649	+1090
1068	+1100	4736	+ 290
2683	+ 400	4826	+ 150
3031	- 30	5005	+ 900
3115	+ 600	5055	+ 450
3379	+ 780	5194	+ 270
3521	+ 730	5236	+ 500
3623	+ 800	5866	+ 650
3627	+ 650	7331	+ 500
4258	+ 500		350 A.S.C. II

Act II, Scene I: General relativity

Space+time = space-time

Spacetime dynamic (1905)

■ Spacetime distorted by mass

Distortion causes other mass to move (1915)



$$G_{\mu\nu} = \frac{8\pi G}{c^4} T_{\mu\nu}$$

■ Dyson/Eddington expeditions (1919)

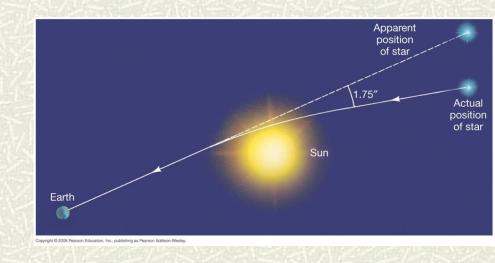
Measure bending of light?

Successful result

General relativity well-known



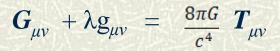
Albert Einstein



Scene II: Relativity and the cosmos

Einstein model (1917)

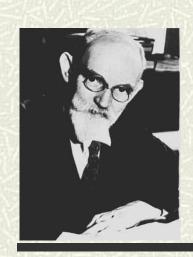
- # Homogenous fluid of uniform density
- # Equations predict dynamic universe
- No evidence for such a universe
- **♯** Add cosmic constant 'static'
- # Closed curvature, finite radius



De Sitter (1917)

- # 'Empty' universe
- **#** Apparently static (co-ordinate system)
- **♯** Cosmic constant determined by curvature of space
- **■** Redshifts due to time dilation/matter





Disliked by Einstein: Mach's principle

Scene III: Redshifts and the deS universe

Karl Wirtz (1922,24)

Redshifts of nebulae increasing with distance Dispersal effect? $v = 2200 - 1200 \log (Dm)$

Ludwik Silberstein (1924)

Relation between redshifts, distance, curvature $\Delta \lambda / \lambda = +/- r/R$ (global clusters)

t Knut Lundmark (1924,25)

Velocity against distance; clusters, nebulae

Gustav Strömberg (1925)

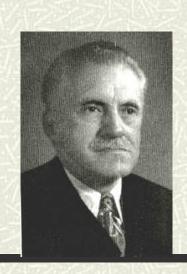
Vel/dist relation for globular clusters, nebulae?











Scene IV: Friedmann models

Allow time-varying solutions to the field equations

Allow cosmic constant

Expanding, contracting universes



Alexander Friedman 1888 -1925

Geometry, evolution depends on matter

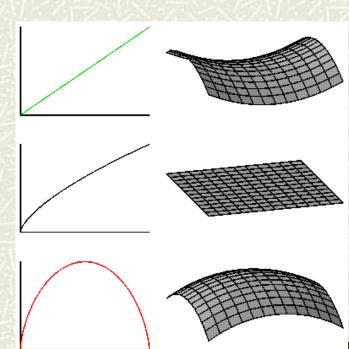
Positive curvature (1922)

Hyperbolic curvature (1924)

Hypothetical models (Zf. Ph.) *To be decided by astronomy*

Disliked by Einstein

Correction and retraction



Ignored by community

Scene V: The distances of the nebulae (1925)

Hooker telescope (Mt Wilson)100-inch reflector (1917)

Edwin Hubble (1921)

Ambitious and dedicated astronomer

Resolved Cepheid stars in nebulae (1925)

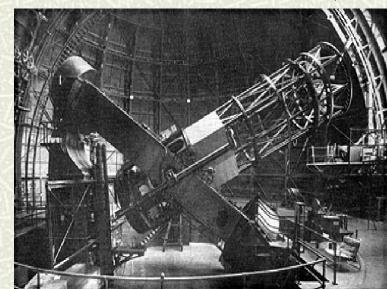
Leavitt's period-luminosity relation
Standard candle

♯ Spirals beyond Milky Way

Beginning of end of 'Great Debate'
Nebulae = galaxies



Edwin Hubble (1889-1953)



Scene VI: A redshift/distance relation (1929)

♯ Is there a redshift/distance relation for galaxies?

<u>Motivation:</u> establishing distance to the galaxies

Combine 24 nebular distances with redshifts

Redshifts from Slipher: not acknowleged

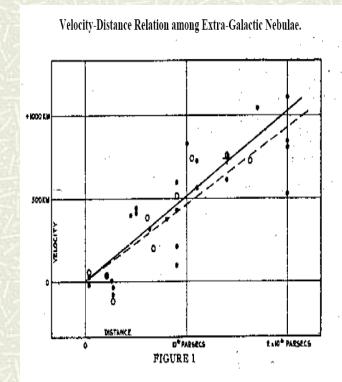
♯ Approx linear relation (Hubble, 1929)

Some errors (Peacock)

Most important point not shown

What do the redshifts mean?

Reference to de Sitter universe



 $H = 585 \text{ kms}^{-1} \text{Mpc}^{-1}$

Act III An expanding universe? (1930-)

• RAS meeting (1930)

Eddington, de Sitter
Redshift/distance relation of the nebulae
Static models don't fit
New model required

Letter from Lemaître

Reminds Eddington of his 1927 model Eddington, de Sitter impressed

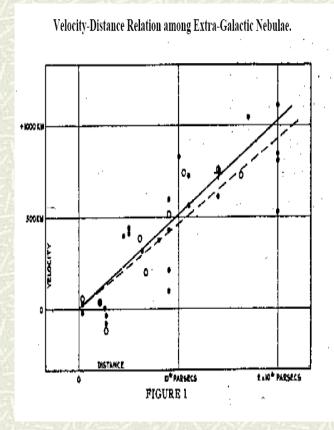
Expansion of space-time metric?

Considered by many theoreticians

If redshifts are velocities (Zwicky)

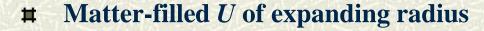
If effect is non-local

Not accepted by astronomers (Hubble)



Cosmic expansion?

Scene 1: Lemaître's universe (1927)



de Sitter model not static (1925)

New evolving solution : Einstein \rightarrow de Sitter



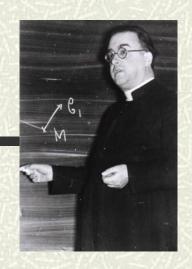
Rate of expansion from ave. distance and redshift H = 585 km/s/Mpc

■ No beginning: indefinite age

Starts from Einstein universe at $t = -\infty$

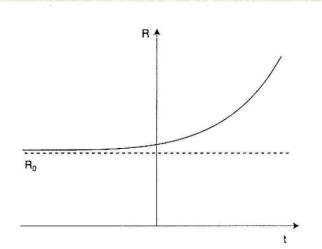
Rejected by Einstein

An idea whose time had not yet come



Fr Georges Lemaître

Not an empirical law Edited in 1931 translation



Scene II: Dynamic cosmic models (1931,32)

- Eddington (1930, 31)
 - On the instability of the Einstein universe The Eddington-Lemaître model Expansion caused by condensation?
- **de Sitter (1930, 31)**Further remarks on the ex
 - Further remarks on the expanding universe Expanding universes of every flavour
- Tolman (1930, 31)

 On the behaviour of non-static models

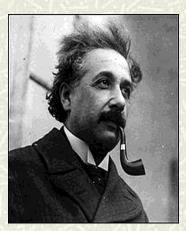
 Expansion caused by annihilation of matter?
- Einstein (1931, 32)

Friedmann-Einstein model $\lambda = 0$, k = 1Einstein-deSitter model $\lambda = 0$, k = 0



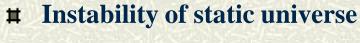






If redshifts represent velocities...
If effect is non-local

Einstein's 1931 model (F-E)



Eddington's paper



Expanding cosmos

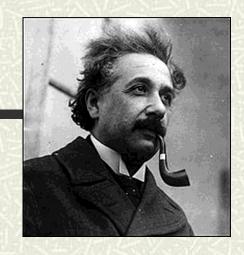
Remove cosmic constant?

Adopt Friedmann 1922 analysis

Time-varying universe, k = 1, $\lambda = 0$

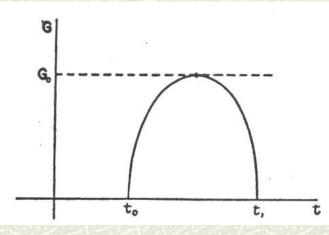
Age and singularity problems

Attributes to limitations of theory



Friedmann-Einstein universe

$$\left(\frac{dP}{dt}\right)^2 = c^2 \frac{P_0 - P}{P}$$



Einstein's 1931 model (F-E)





Use Hubble parameter $P \sim 10^8 \ light-years, \rho \sim 10^{-26} \ g/cm^3$



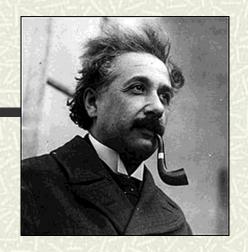
 $H_0 \sim 500 \text{ kms}^{-1} \text{Mpc}^{-1} : D^2 \sim 10^{-55} \text{ cm}^{-2}$

Age estimate problematic

Age from Friedmann

Not a periodic solution

"Model fails at P = 0"



Oxford lecture (May 1931)

$$D = \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{l} \frac{dl}{dt} = \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{P} \frac{dP}{dt}$$

$$D^{2} = \frac{1}{P^{2}} \frac{P_{0} - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P^{2}} \qquad (1a)$$

$$D^{2} \times \frac{10^{2}}{P^{2}} \frac{P_{0} - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{R^{2}} \qquad (2a)$$

$$D^{2} \sim 10^{-53}$$

$$P \sim 10^{8} \text{ G. T.}$$

$$P \sim 10^{8} \text{ G. T.}$$

$$t \sim 10^{10} (10^{11}) \text{ T.}$$

Einstein-deSitter model (1932)

Remove curvature

Not known (Occam's razor)

Adopt Friedmann analysis

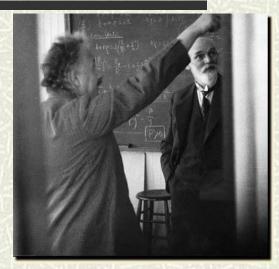
Time-varying universe with k = 0, $\lambda = 0$ Critical universe

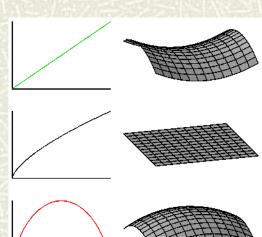
♯ Calculate critical density

 10^{-28} g/cm³: agrees with astrophysics

Well-known model

Despite age problem





Models: observational parameters needed

Spatial curvature

$$k = -1, 0, 1$$
?

Cosmic constant

$$\lambda = 0$$
?

Deacceleration

$$q_0 = - \ddot{R}/\dot{R}^2$$

■ Density of matter

$$\rho < \rho_{crit}$$
 ?

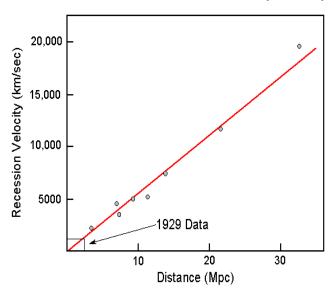
Timespan

$$\tau = 10^{10} \, yr?$$

Hubble constant

$$\dot{R}/R = 500 \text{ kms}^{-1} Mpc^{-1}$$
?

Hubble & Humason (1931)



What do redshifts represent? Is expansion a local effect?

Hubble and Tolman 1935

The formation of galaxies

Growth in static medium

Natural fluctuations in density Exponential growth by gravitational collapse $\lambda_i = c_s/(G\rho_0/\pi)^{1/2}$

Growth in expanding medium

Lemaître 1934, Tolman 1935

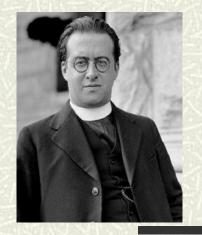
Linear growth of density perturbations $\delta \rho / \rho \propto R$

Structure not from density fluctuations?

New mechansim needed Eddington-Lemaître model?



James Jeans





Scene III: An origin for the universe?

Rewind Hubble graph

U smaller in the past

Extremely dense, extremely hot

Primeval atom
Expanding and cooling since

Singularity problem

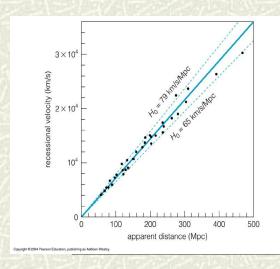
 ∞ density, ∞ temp at t = 0? Quantum theory

Age problem

U younger than stars?



The big bang



Lemaître's hesitating universe (1931-34)

Primeval atom

Explosive expansion from radioactive decay

Expansion slows down

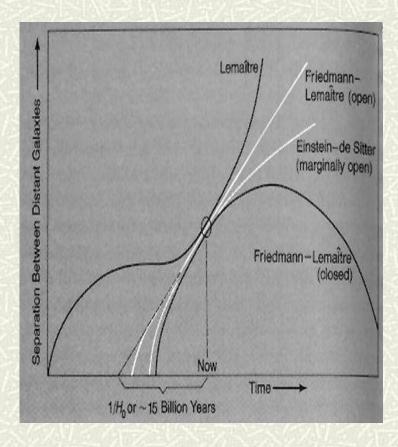
Positive cosmic constant

Energy of vacuum; stagnation

♯ Indefinite timespan

No age problem Formation of structure?

★ Accelerated expansionde Sitter universe at large t



Cosmic rays = radiation from early universe?

Finale: Paradigm shift or slow dawning?

Hubble/Slipher Empirical law for nebulae

Friedmann Time-varying solutions

Lemaître Theory and observation

Obs: Parsons, Huggins, Leavitt, Shapley

Models I: Einstein, de Sitter, Weyl, Lanczos, Robertson

Models II: Einstein, de Sitter, Eddington, Tolman, Robertson

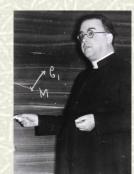
Slow emergence of theory and evidence

Slow acceptance: no upsurge of interest 1935-65











Act IV Slow acceptance: 1935-65

Hot big bang (1940s)

Nucleosynthesis in the hot infant universe? Background radiation from early universe?

■ Little interest from community

No search for the cosmic radiation General relativity difficult, abstruse

■ Steady-state universe (1948)

Continuous creation of matter from vacuum No age or singularity problems

Later ruled out by experiment (1960s) *Radio-galaxy counts, CMB*



Gamow, Alpher and Hermann

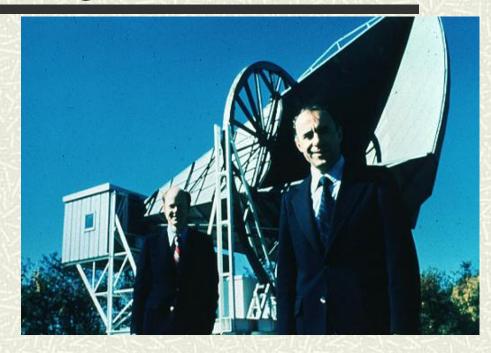
Hoyle, Bondi and Gold



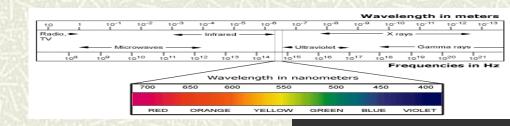
Act V Cosmic background radiation

- **Search for radio signals**Large, sensitive receiver
- **Universal signal (1965)**From every direction
- **Low frequency (microwave)** *Low temperature (3K)*
- **★ Echo of big bang**Radiation from early universe

BB model goes mainstream



Penzias and Wilson



Cosmology today

Satellite measurements of CMB

No interference from atmosphere

• Expected temperature

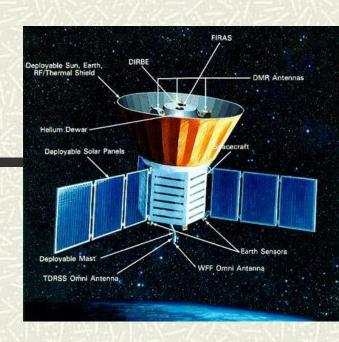
Expected frequency

Full spectrum

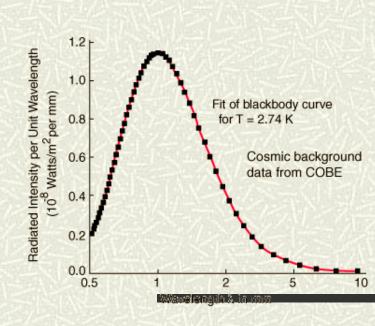
Perfect blackbody spectrum

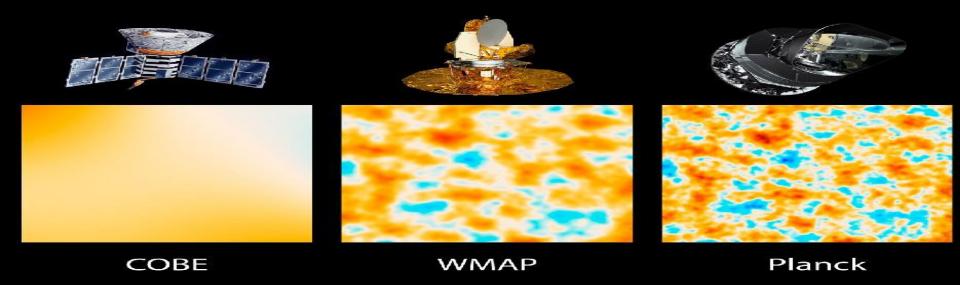
Perturbations

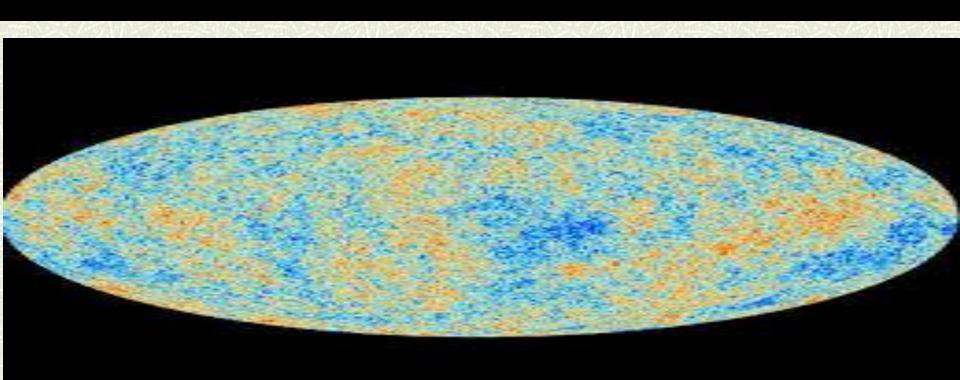
Variation of 1 in 10⁵



COBE satellite (1992)







Paradigm shift or slow dawning?

Revolutionary v normal science

Normal science interspersed by revolutions

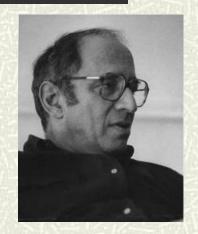
♯ The paradigm shift

Change of worldview occurs
Social factors important

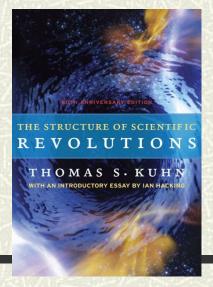
♯ Incommensurability

New worldview incommensurate with old

Exp U: Slow exploration of theory and observation Slow acceptance of new paradigm (1935-65)



Thomas Kuhn



Coda: Einstein's steady-state model

rder

♯ Non-static line element (1930)

$$ds^2 = -e^{2kt}(dx_1^2 + dx_2^2 + dx_3^2) + c^2 dt^2$$

♯ Age problem

Conflict with stellar ages

♯ Non-evolving universe

Continuous creation of matter Associated with \(\lambda\): energy of space

Anticipates Hoyle et al.

Not published Declines creation term © The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Lum kosmologischen Troblem. A. Linstein . The wichtigate grundsest Joche Schwierigkeist, welche sich zeigt, nem man nach der Art fragt, wie die Materie willen Runn in sehr grossen Dimensionen erfiellt, liegt bekanntlich durin, dass die Granitationsgesetze im Algemeiner must der Hypothese einer endlichen milleren Tichte der Materie

wicht verträglich sind. Schon zu der Zeit, als man noch allymen an Newtons Gravitations - Theorie fisthfully heat deshalt Teeliger das Newton sehr Gesetz durch eine Abstandstunktion modefy est, welche fits grosse Hostiende & erhebliele

Die Gleichungen (1) before - 1 x2 + de2 = 0 3 x2 - 1c2=xpc2 a = \$ pet xc p ... (4)

schweller abfallt als - .

Die Gielete ist also konstant und bestimmt die Zepansion bes and das Vorgeichen.

Tolman's annihilation of matter

Non-static line element (1930)

Einstein, de Sitter models ruled out

$$ds^2 = -e^{2kt}(dx_1^2 + dx_2^2 + dx_3^2) + c^2dt^2$$

Cause of cosmic expansion?

General evolutionary process

Transformation of matter into radiation

Rate of transformation

From Hubble's law and from stellar physics

Influenced Einstein

Steady-state model



$$\frac{\delta\lambda}{\lambda} = k\Delta l$$

$$\frac{1}{M}\frac{dM}{dt} = -3k$$

$$k = 5 \times 10^{-10} \text{ yr}^{-1}$$

New results: Planck Satellite (ESA, 2013)

1. Improved sensitivity

 $\Delta T/T \approx 1 \times 10^{-6}$

2. Full spectrum of T anisotropy

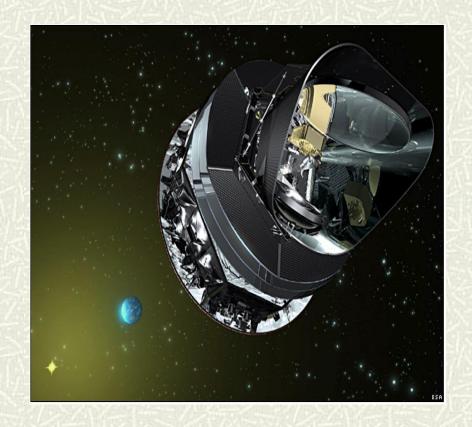
New acoustic peaks :scale invariance? Accurate values for Ω_{Λ} , Ω_{M}

3. Gravitational lensing

Remove degeneracies

4. Polarization measurements

E-modes: fluctuations B-modes: gravity waves?



Planck results (2013)

1. New Hubble constant

67.3 + -1.2 km/s/MPC

Age = 13.8 billion yr

No age conflict with astrophysics

2. Curvature: flat

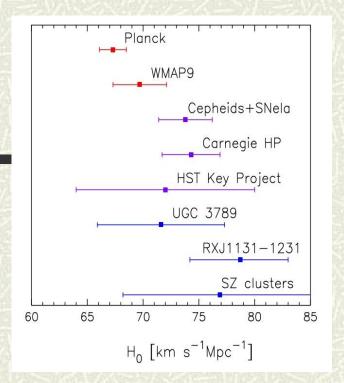
$$\Omega_{\rm k} = -0.0005 + -.07$$

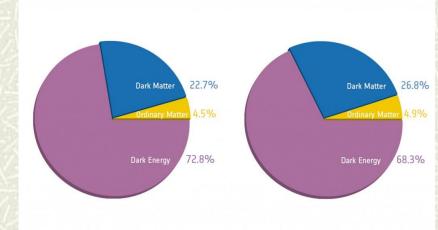
3. Positive cosmic constant

$$\Omega_{\Lambda} = 68\%$$

4. New mass/energy parameters

$$\Omega_{\rm DM} = 27\%$$
, $\Omega_{\rm OM} = 4.9 \%$





After Planck

Before Planck

Planck Results

1. Power spectrum

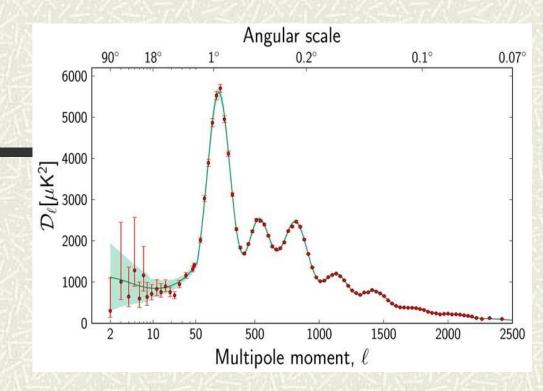
Not scale invariant $n_s = 0.96$

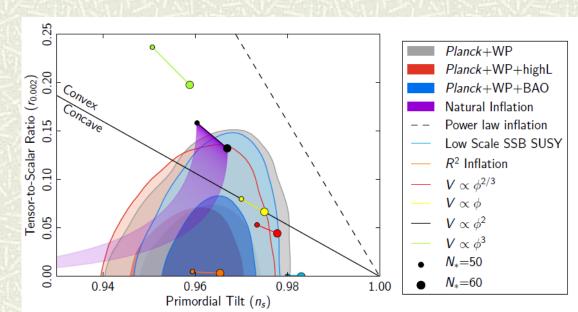
2. Compatible with inflation

Simple 'slow-roll' models Higgs-type field?

3. Complex inflation out

Double field out
Hybrid models out
Cyclic models out





The big bang model - questions

Nature of dark energy?

Role in BB?

■ Nature of dark matter?

Particle experiments?

Which model of inflation?

The multiverse?

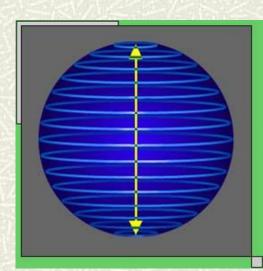
♯ The singularity problem

What banged?

What does time zero mean?



No-boundary universe



The case is never closed