

Einstein's lost manuscript

A tribute to Brendan McCann

Cormac O'Raifeartaigh FRAS

SETU Maths-Physics Seminar Series 2025

Einstein's lost manuscript

‡ An unpublished work

Written in early 1931

‡ A 'steady-state' model of the universe

Expanding universe of constant density

Anticipates controversial theory (Hoyle)

‡ Fatal flaw

Quickly abandoned

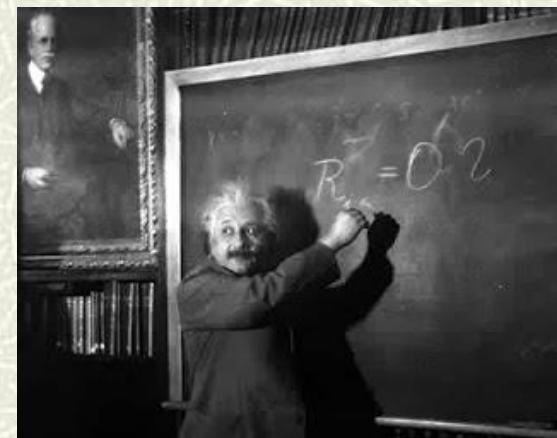
‡ Embraced evolving models

Friedman-Einstein model (1931)

Einstein-de Sitter model (1932)



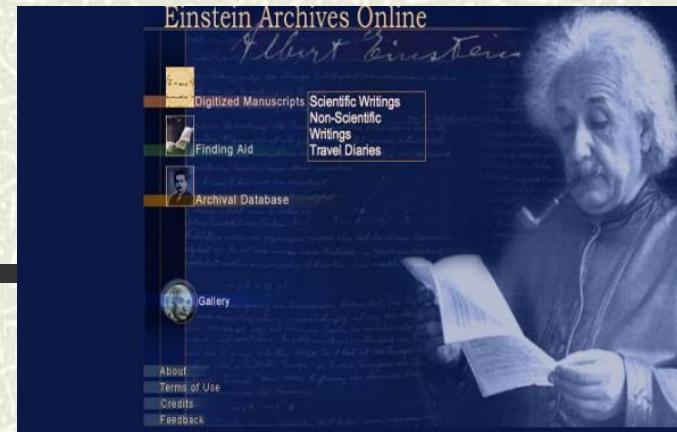
Einstein in California (1931)



How was it found?

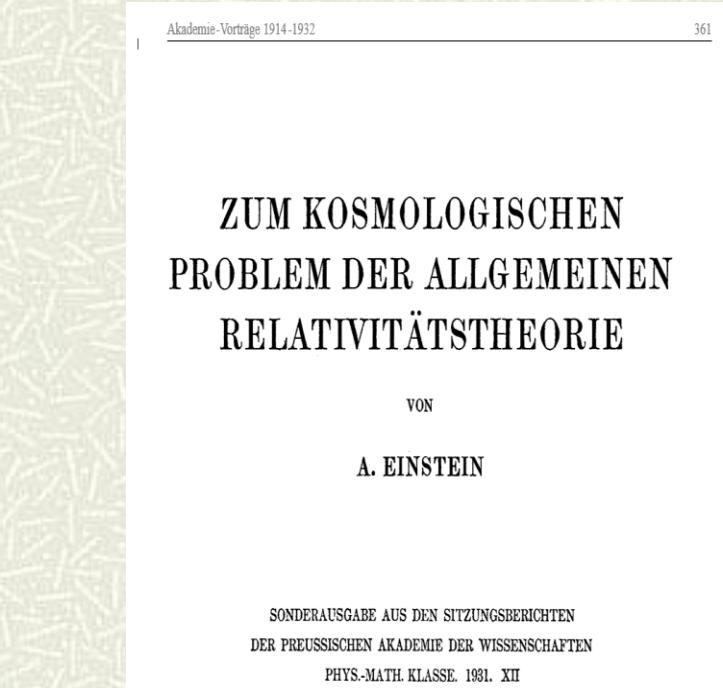
Albert Einstein Archive

Online archive of handwritten manuscripts



Manuscript misfiled

*Misfiled as Einstein's 1931 model of the cosmos
Hidden in plain sight*



COR and BMC

*Study and translation of Einstein's 1931 model
Some anomalies in calculations
BMC: Work from original manuscript?*

A lucky discovery!

Archive MS something quite different – ss model

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Top

Einstein's lost theory uncovered

Physicist explored the idea of a steady-state Universe in 1931.

Davide Castelvecchi

24 February 2014

New Discovery Reveals Einstein Tried To Devise A Steady State Model Of The Universe



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Almost 20 years before the late Fred Hoyle and his colleagues devised the [Steady State Theory](#), Albert Einstein toyed with a similar idea: that the universe was eternal, expanding outward with a consistent input of spontaneously generating matter.

An Irish physicist came across the paper last year and could hardly believe it. According to this week's article in [Nature](#),

model of the universe very different to today's [Big Bang Theory](#).



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The manuscript, which hadn't been referred to by scientists for decades,

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Einstein's Lost Theory Uncovered

The famous physicist explored the idea of a steady-state universe in 1931

nature

Feb 25, 2014 | By Davide Castelvecchi and Nature magazine

A manuscript that lay unnoticed by scientists for decades has revealed that Albert Einstein once dabbled with an



www.irishtimes.com/news/science/wit-researchers-discover-lost-einstein-model-of-universe-1.1713487

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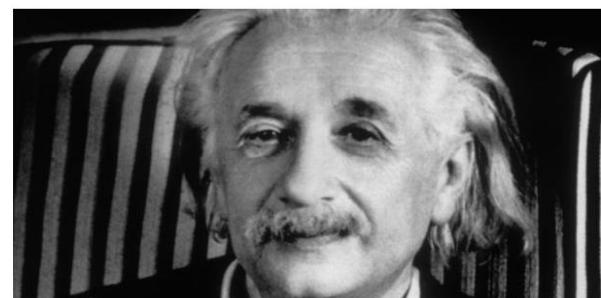
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News / Science

WIT researchers discover 'lost' Einstein model of universe

Scientists uncovered misfiled papers while searching Jerusalem university's online archive



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The way back isn't so simple



Scientific context

■ Hubble's law (1929)

Linear relation between redshift and distance



■ Crisis for cosmology

What is causing the galaxies to move?

■ Expansion of space?

Predicted by general relativity

■ Friedman-Lemaître models

Friedman's expanding universe (1922)

Lemaître's expanding universe (1927)

Velocity-Distance Relation among Extra-Galactic Nebulae.

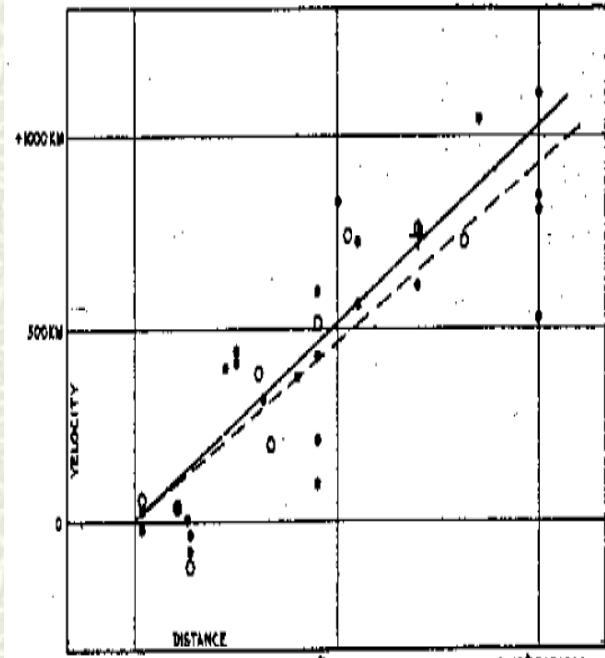


FIGURE 1

Introduction to general relativity

Space+time = space-time

Spacetime dynamic (1905)



Spacetime distorted by mass

Distortion causes other mass to move (1915)

Gravity = curvature of space-time

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

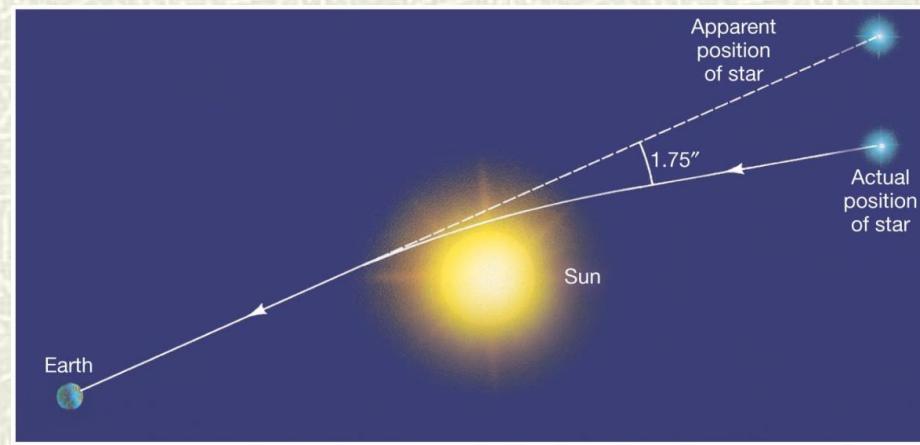
Dyson/Eddington expeditions (1919)

Measure bending of light?

Successful result

General relativity well-known

Albert Einstein



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Relativity and the universe

Einstein model (1917)

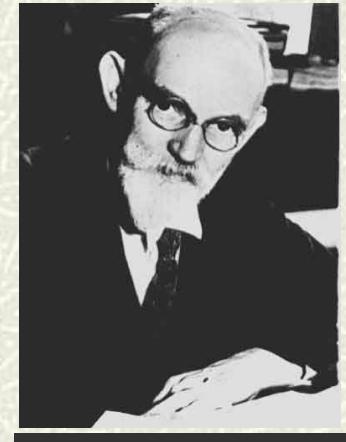
- # Assume static universe
- # Add cosmic constant term to give static solution
- # Closed curvature, finite radius



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

De Sitter (1917)

- # Empty universe
- # Apparently static (co-ordinate system)
- # Prediction of redshifts



Friedman models of the cosmos

- # Allow time-varying solutions to the field equations

Expanding, contracting universes



- # Geometry, evolution depends on matter content

Positive curvature (1922)

Hyperbolic curvature (1924)

Alexander Friedman 1888 -1925

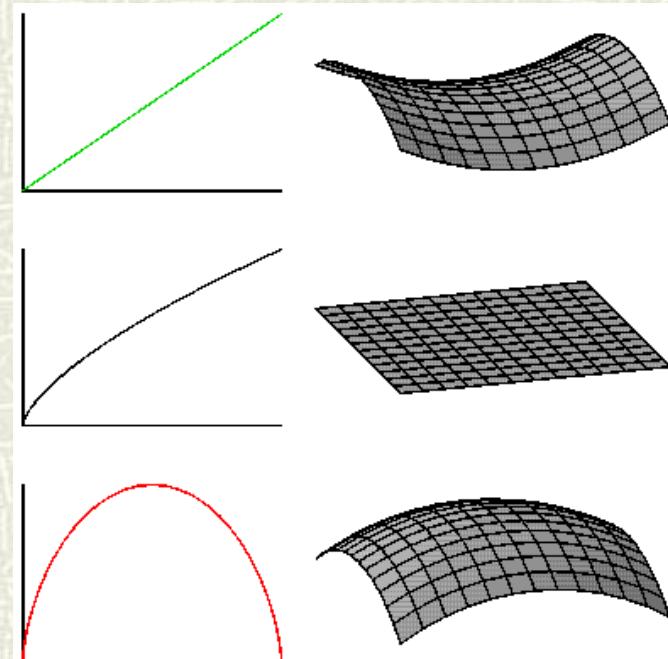
- # Mathematical models (Zf. Ph.)

To be decided by astronomy

- # Ignored by community

Disliked by Einstein

Correction and retraction



Lemaître's universe (1927)



Time-varying solutions to the field equations

Expanding universe?

Redshifts of galaxies = expansion of space?

Rate of expansion from mean distances and redshifts

$$H = 585 \text{ km/s/Mpc} \quad (1927)$$

Fr Georges Lemaître

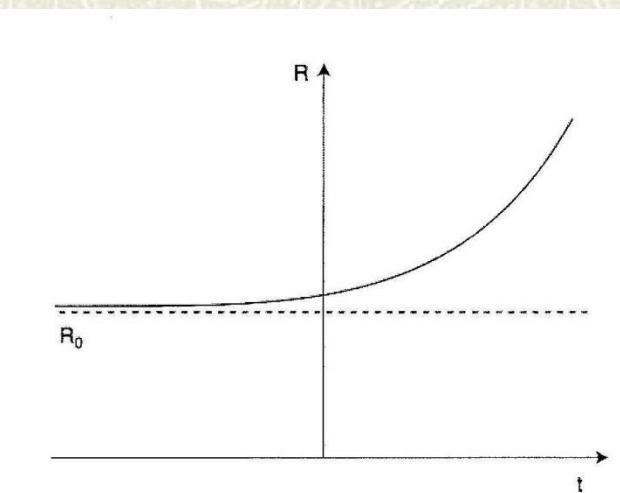
Rejected by Einstein

“Votre physique est abominable”

Ditto for Friedman

No beginning: indefinite age

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



The paradigm shift

- **Hubble's law (1929)**
Linear relation between redshift and distance
- **RAS meeting (1930)**
Einstein/de Sitter models don't fit data
New model required
- **Hubble's law = cosmic expansion?**
If redshifts are velocities (Zwicky)
If effect is non-local
- **Letter from Lemaître**
Recalls his 1927 model
Eddington, de Sitter impressed

Velocity-Distance Relation among Extra-Galactic Nebulae.

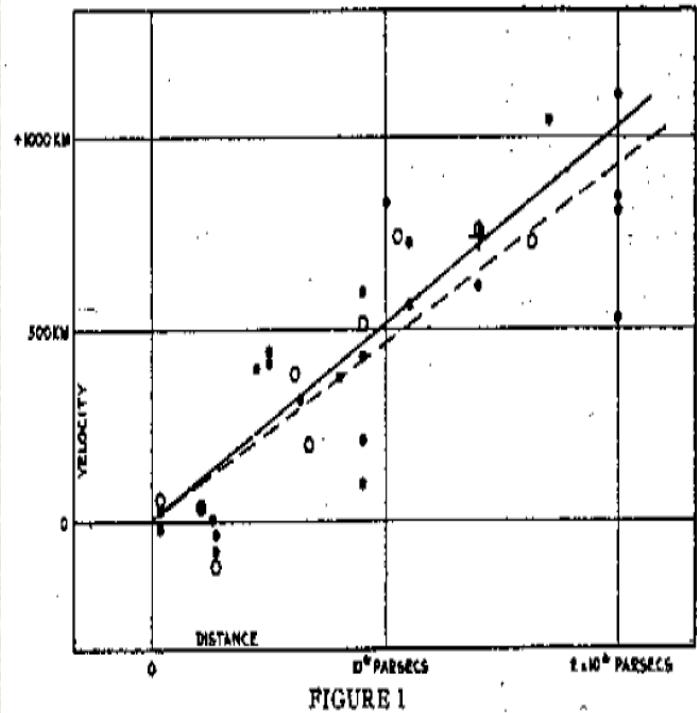


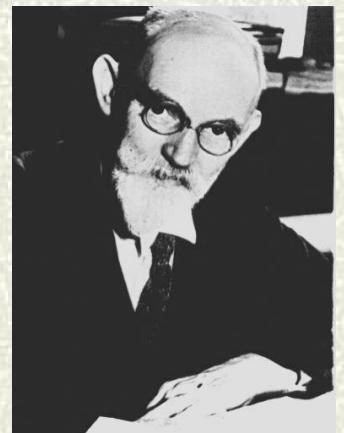
FIGURE 1

Cosmic expansion?

The expanding, evolving universe (1930 -32)

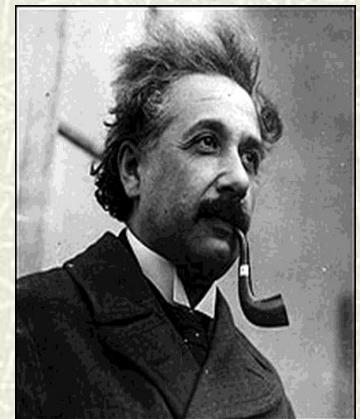
- **Eddington (1930, 31)**

*On the instability of the Einstein universe
Expansion caused by condensation?
The Eddington-Lemaître model*



- **de Sitter (1930, 31)**

*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)**

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

Evolving models

Einstein's 1931 model (*F-E*)

ZUM KOSMOLOGISCHEN
PROBLEM DER ALLGEMEINEN
RELATIVITÄTSTHEORIE

VON

A. EINSTEIN

SONDERAUSGABE AUS DEN SITZUNGSBERICHTEN
DER PREUßISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHYS.-MATH. KLASSE. 1931. XII

Hubble's observations

Expanding cosmos

Adopts Friedman 1922 analysis

Set cosmic constant $\lambda = 0$

Friedman-Einstein universe

Extract parameters

Density of matter: $\rho \sim 10^{-26} \text{ g/cm}^3$

Size of universe: $P \sim 10^8 \text{ light-years}$

Some numerical inconsistencies

Translation and analysis?

Brendan McCann – use original MS?

COR – use Oxford blackboard instead

$$\begin{aligned}
 D &= \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{\ell} \frac{d\ell}{dt} = \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{P} \frac{dP}{dt} \\
 D^2 &= \frac{1}{P^2} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P^2} \quad (1a) \\
 D^2 &= \frac{K\varrho}{3} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{3} K\varrho \quad (2a) \\
 D^2 &\sim 10^{-53} \\
 \varrho &\sim 10^{-26} \\
 P &\sim 10^8 \text{ L.J.} \\
 t &\sim 10^{10} (10^{11}) \text{ J}
 \end{aligned}$$

EPJ H



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Historical Perspectives
on Contemporary Physics

An image of the blackboard
used in Einstein's 2nd Rhodes
lecture at Oxford in April 1931
(reproduced by permission of
the Museum of the History of
Science, University of Oxford)

*Einstein's cosmic model
of 1931 revisited:
An analysis and translation
of a forgotten model
of the universe*

by Cormac O'Raifeartaigh
and Brendan McCann

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

$$D^2 = \frac{1}{P^2} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P^2} \quad (1a)$$

$$D^2 = \frac{K_0}{3} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{3} K_0 \quad (2a)$$

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

$$\rho \sim 10^{-26}$$

$$P \sim 10^3 \text{ erg}$$

$$t \sim 10^{40} (10^{41}) \text{ J}$$

Surprise: Einstein's steady-state model

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האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

▣ Filed as draft of 1931 F-E model

Similar title, opening

▣ Cites Hubble's law

Cosmic expansion?

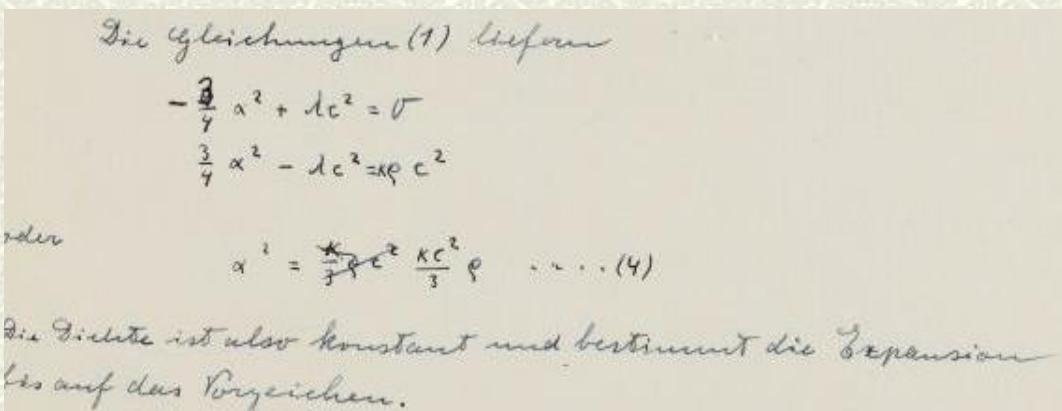
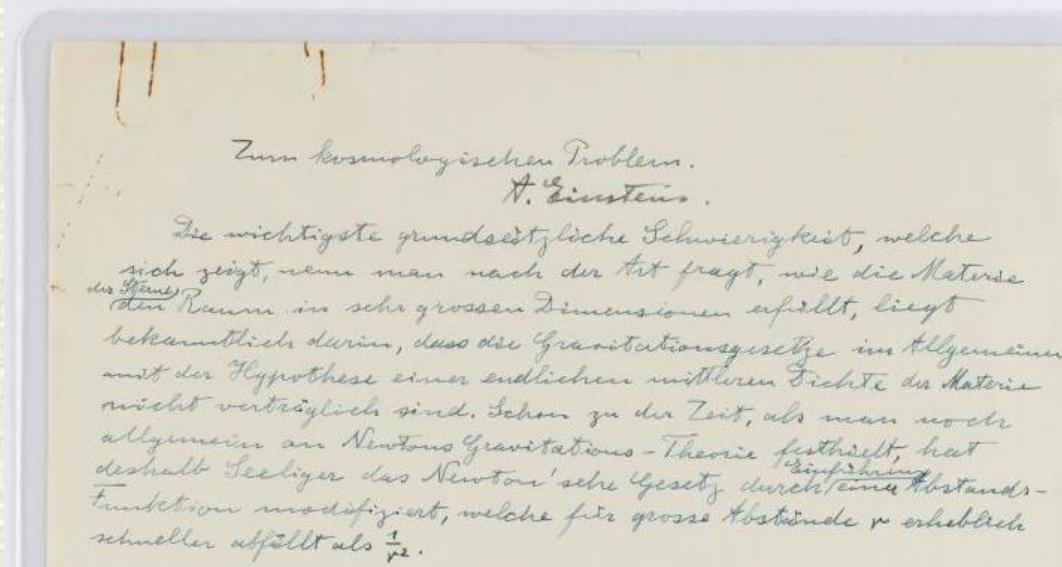
▣ Cites evolving models (Tolman)

Discusses age problem

▣ Proposes alternative solution

Constant density

Determines the expansion



Einstein's steady-state model: key quotes

Transl. BMC

New solution

“In what follows, I wish to draw attention to a solution to equation (1) that can account for Hubble's facts, and in which the density is constant over time”

Matter creation

“If one considers a physically bounded volume, particles of matter will be continually leaving it. For the density to remain constant, new particles of matter must be continually formed within that volume from space “

Dark energy

“The conservation law is preserved in that, by setting the λ -term, space itself is not empty of energy; its validity is well known to be guaranteed by equations (1).”

Why was the model not published?

Model fails

De Sitter metric

No creation term in GFE



Null solution masked by error

Error in Christoffel coefficient

9/4 instead of -3/4

Werner Nahm

Simon Mitton

Einstein's crossroads

Realised problem on revision

Declined to alter GFE

Die Gleichungen (1) liefern

$$-\frac{3}{4} \alpha^2 + \lambda c^2 = 0$$
$$\frac{3}{4} \alpha^2 - \lambda c^2 = \kappa \rho c^2$$

oder

$$\alpha^2 = \frac{\kappa \rho c^2}{\frac{3}{4} \lambda c^2} \quad \dots \quad (4)$$

Die Dichte ist also konstant und bestimmt die Expansion bis auf das Vorzeichen.

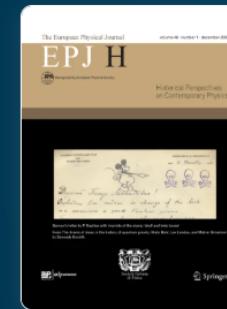
Switched to evolving models

Less contrived and set $\lambda = 0$

Einstein's steady-state theory: an abandoned model of the cosmos

Published: 20 June 2014

Volume 39, pages 353–367, (2014) [Cite this article](#)



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Cormac O'Raifeartaigh , Brendan McCann, Werner Nahm & Simon Mitton

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Abstract

We present a translation and analysis of an unpublished manuscript by Albert Einstein in which he attempted to construct a 'steady-state' model of the universe. The manuscript, which appears to have been written in early 1931, demonstrates that Einstein once explored a cosmic model in which the mean density of matter in an expanding universe is maintained constant by the continuous formation of matter from empty space. This model is very different to previously known Einsteinian models of the cosmos (both static and dynamic) but anticipates the later steady-state cosmology of Hoyle, Bondi and Gold in some ways. We find that Einstein's steady-state model contains a fundamental flaw and suggest that it was abandoned for this reason. We also suggest that he declined to explore a more sophisticated version because he found such theories rather contrived. The manuscript is of historical interest because it reveals that Einstein debated between steady-state and evolving models of the cosmos decades before a similar debate took place in the cosmological community.

The steady-state universe (1948)

Expanding but unchanging universe

Hoyle, Bondi and Gold (1948)

No beginning, no age paradox

No assumptions about physics of early epochs



Continuous creation of matter

Bondi, Gold and Hoyle

Very little matter required

Replace λ with creation term (Hoyle)

$$G_{\mu\nu} + C_{\mu\nu} = k T_{\mu\nu}$$

Conservation of energy violated



Improved version (1962)

$$G_{\mu\nu} + \lambda g_{\mu\nu} = k T (C_\mu + C_\nu)$$

Hoyle and Narlikar (1962)

A bitter debate (1950-1965)

‡ Steady-State or Big Bang universe?

Unchanging or evolving universe?



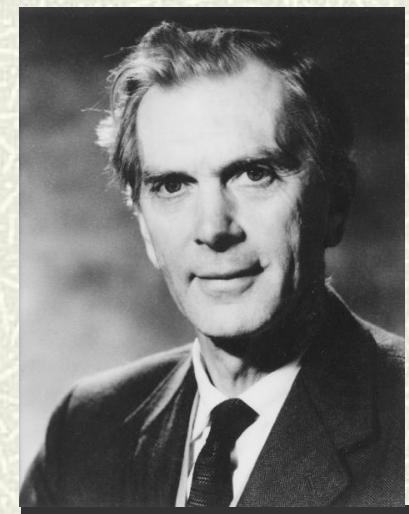
‡ Study most distant galaxies

Compare with local galaxies

Galaxy distribution over time?

‡ Radio-astronomy (Ryle)

Cambridge 3C Survey: evolving universe



‡ Developments in optical astronomy

Timescale of expansion (Baade)

Cosmic microwave background (1965)

■ Radio receivers (AT&T)

Large, sensitive horn

■ Ubiquitous radio signal

From every direction

■ Low frequency (microwave)

Low temperature (3K)

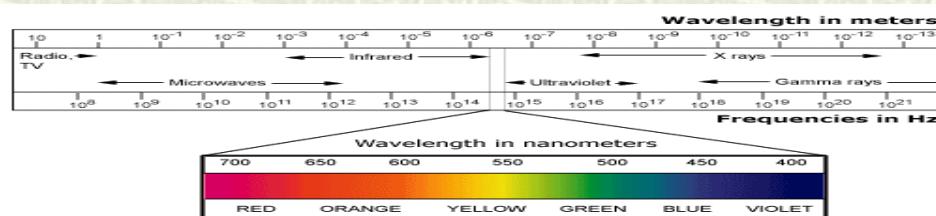
■ Echo of big bang

Evidence of expansion

BB model goes mainstream



Penzias and Wilson



Why is Einstein's steady-state model interesting?

■ Unsuccessful theories important

Understanding the development of successful theories

'Whig' histories avoided

■ A puzzle explained

Steady-state solutions not considered before 1948?

Obvious possibility

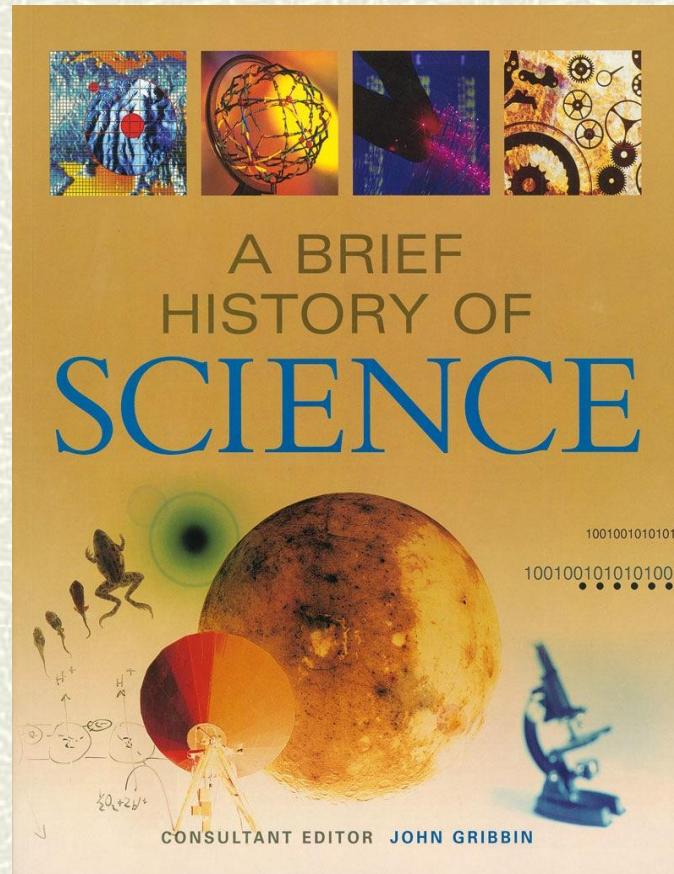
■ Insight into Einstein's cosmology

Discards model rather than add new term to GFE

Occam's razor approach

■ Some aspects of model still relevant

Dark energy, inflation



The best tribute: both translations to be used in CPAE (18)



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The Collected Papers of Albert Einstein, Volume 17 (Documentary Edition): *The Berlin Years: Writings and Correspondence, June 1929– November 1930*

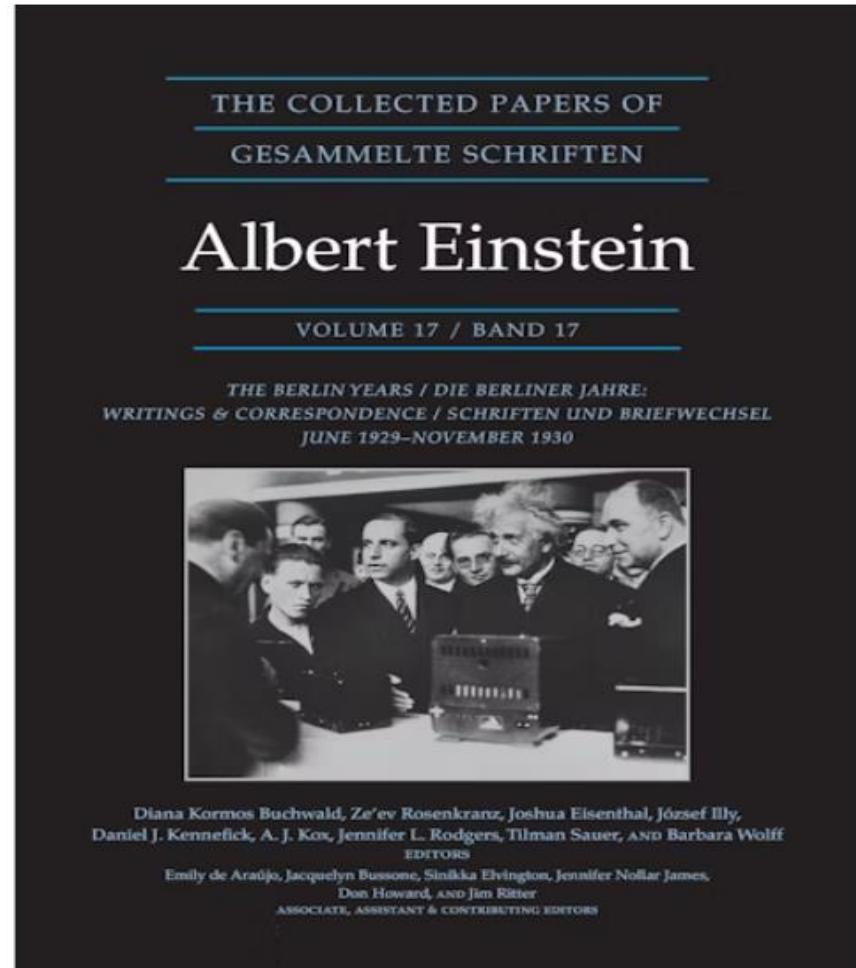
Albert Einstein

Edited by Diana Kormos Buchwald

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Einstein's lost theory uncovered

Physicist explored the idea of a steady-state Universe in 1931.

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24 February 2014

New Discovery Reveals Einstein Tried To Devise A Steady State Model Of The Universe



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The manuscript, which hadn't been referred to by scientists for decades,

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Einstein's Lost Theory Uncovered

The famous physicist explored the idea of a steady-state universe in 1931

nature

Feb 25, 2014 | By Davide Castelvecchi and Nature magazine

A manuscript that lay unnoticed by scientists for decades has revealed that Albert Einstein once dabbled with an



www.irishtimes.com/news/science/wit-researchers-discover-lost-einstein-model-of-universe-1.1713487

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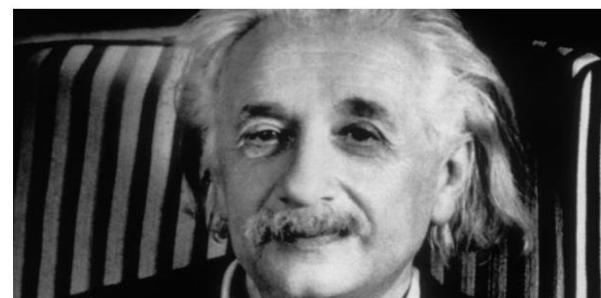
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Worst moment



I knew... your father

Physics > History and Philosophy of Physics

Einstein's steady-state theory: an abandoned model of the cosmos

Cormac O'Raifeartaigh, Brendan McCann, Werner Nahm, Simon Mitton

(Submitted on 1 Feb 2014 (v1), last revised 22 May 2014 (this version, v3))

We present a translation and analysis of an unpublished manuscript by Albert Einstein in which he attempted to construct a 'steady-state' model of the universe. The manuscript, which appears to have been written in early 1931, demonstrates that Einstein once explored a cosmic model in which the mean density of matter in an expanding universe is maintained constant by the continuous formation of matter from empty space. This model is very different to previously known Einsteinian models of the cosmos (both static and dynamic) but anticipates the later steady-state cosmology of Hoyle, Bondi and Gold in some ways. We find that Einstein's steady-state model contains a fundamental flaw and suggest that it was abandoned for this reason. We also suggest that he declined to explore a more sophisticated version because he found such theories rather contrived. The manuscript is of historical interest because it reveals that Einstein debated between steady-state and evolving models of the cosmos decades before a similar debate took place in the cosmological community.

Comments: 22 pages, 2 figures. Includes first English translation of unpublished Einstein manuscript. Accepted for publication in *Eur.Phys.J.(H)*

Subjects: History and Philosophy of Physics (physics.hist-ph)

Cite as: arXiv:1402.0132 [physics.hist-ph]

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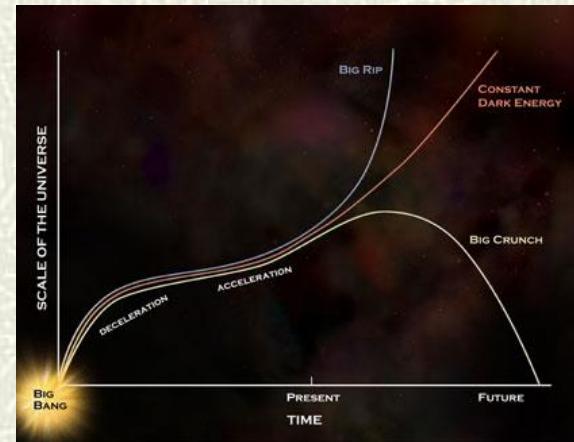
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Einstein's steady-state model and cosmology today

Dark energy (1998)

Accelerated expansion (observation)
Positive cosmological constant

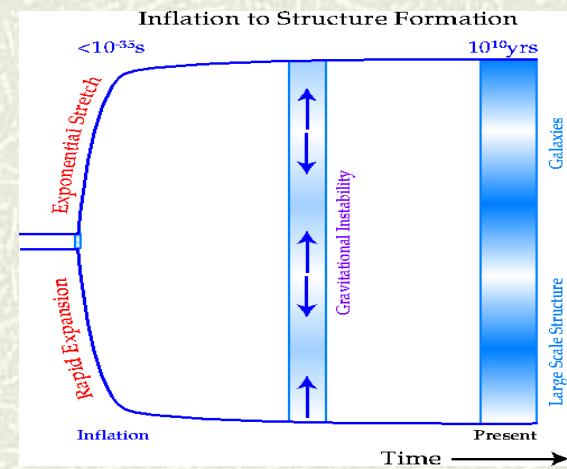


Einstein's dark energy

“The conservation law is preserved in that, by setting the λ -term, space itself is not empty of energy; its validity is well known to be guaranteed by equations (1).”

Cosmic inflation

Inflationary models use de Sitter metric
Used in all steady-state models
Flat curvature, constant rate of matter creation
Different time-frame!



Einstein-deSitter model (1932)

Remove curvature

Not known (Occam's razor)

Adopt Friedmann analysis

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

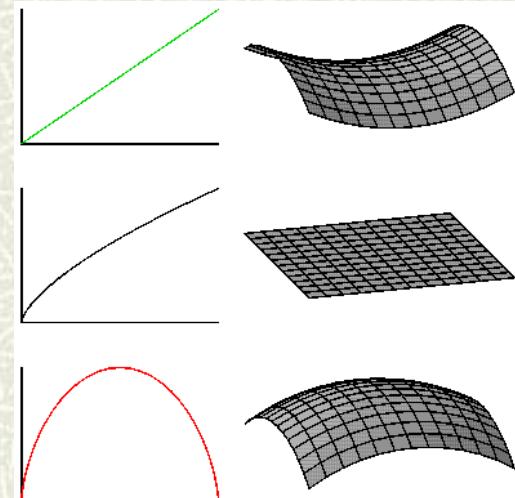
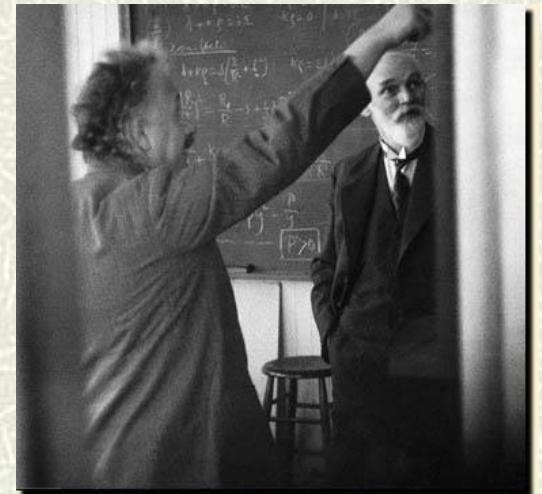
Critical universe

Calculate critical density

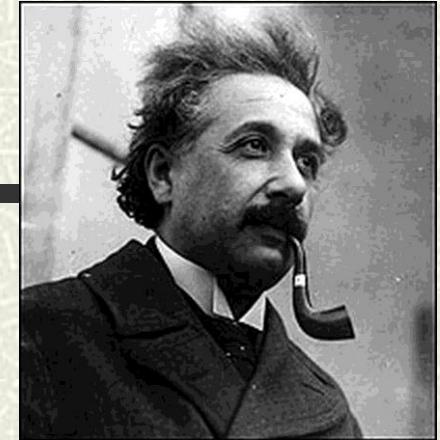
10^{-28} g/cm^3 : *agrees with astrophysics*

Well-known model

Despite age problem



Einstein's 1931 model (F-E)



Numerical estimates of radius and density

Use Hubble parameter

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

Oxford lecture (May 1931)

Calculations problematic

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

Age estimate problematic

Age from Friedman

Not a periodic solution

“Model fails at $P = 0$ ”

$$\begin{aligned} D &= \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{\ell} \frac{d\ell}{dt} = \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{P} \frac{dP}{dt} \\ D^2 &= \frac{1}{P^2} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P^2} \quad (1a) \\ D^2 &= \frac{K_0}{3} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{3} K_0 \quad (2a) \\ D^2 &\sim 10^{-53} \\ \rho &\sim 10^{-26} \\ P &\sim 10^8 \text{ J} \\ t &\sim 10^{10} (10^{11}) \text{ J} \end{aligned}$$