

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■ An unpublished work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

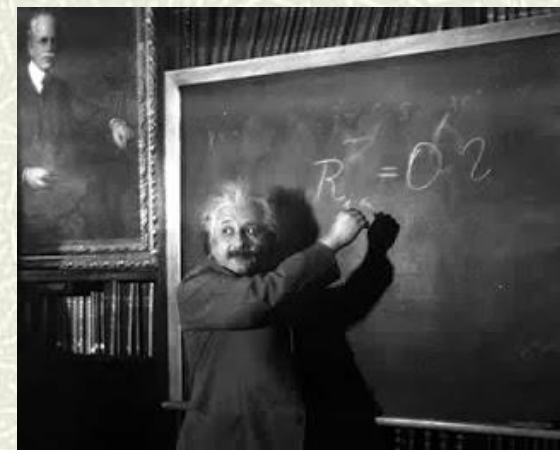
■ Embraced evolving models

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

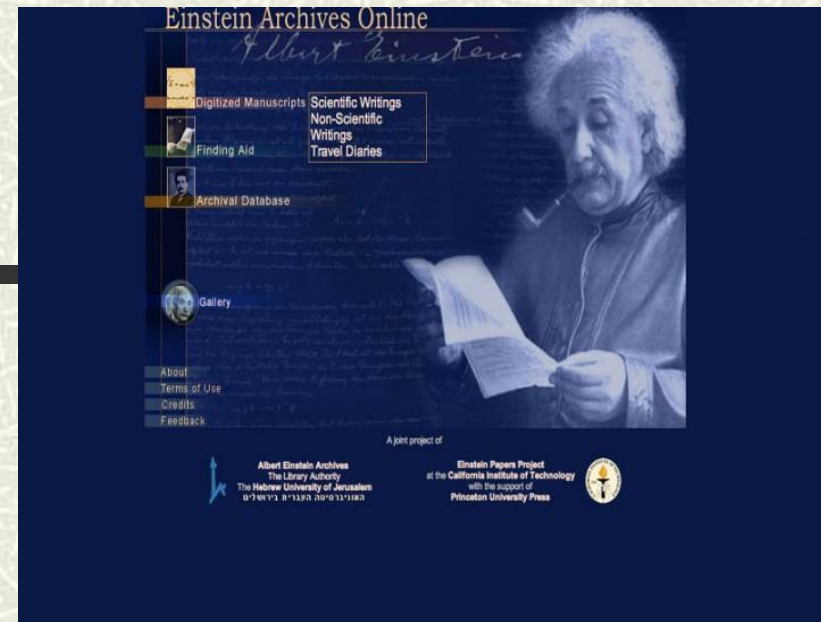
Study and translation of Einstein's 1931 model

Some anomalies in calculations

BMC: Work from original manuscript?

A lucky discovery!

Archive MS something quite different – ss model



ZUM KOSMOLOGISCHEN PROBLEM DER ALLGEMEINEN RELATIVITÄTSTHEORIE

VON

A. EINSTEIN

Einstein's lost theory uncovered

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

Daide Castelvechi

24 February 2014

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

2 comments, 2 called-out + Comment Now + Follow Comments

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. According to this week's article in [Nature](#),

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

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



Physics » Nature

84 | Email | Print

Einstein's Lost Theory Uncovered

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

nature

Feb 25, 2014 | By Daide Castelvechi 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

THE IRISH TIMES

Science

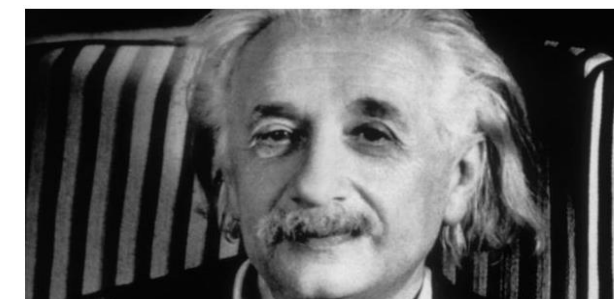
Monday, March 10, 2014

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WIT researchers discover 'lost' Einstein model of universe

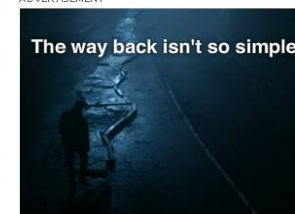
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- 09:05 Family hope public appeal will help daughter beat cancer
- 08:42 Gardaí investigate death of woman in Dublin
- 08:25 Flannery faces call from all parties to attend PAC

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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-Lemaitre models

Friedman's expanding universe (1922)

Lemaitre's expanding universe (1927)

Velocity-Distance Relation among Extra-Galactic Nebulae.

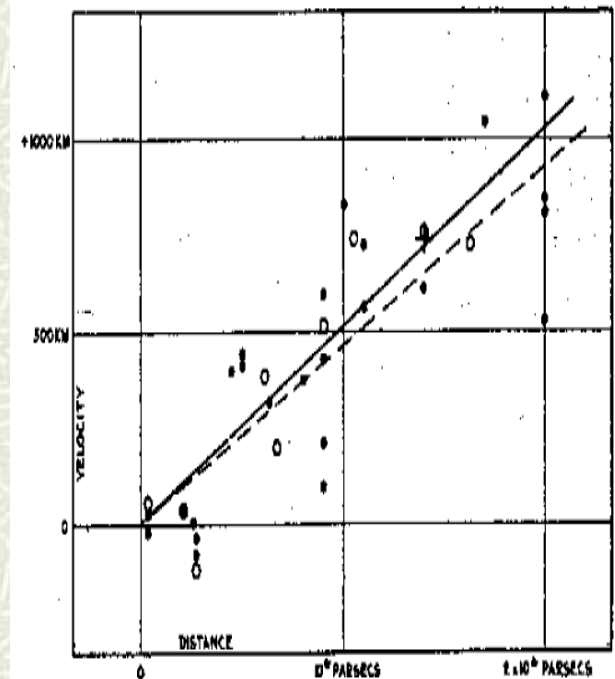


FIGURE 1

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)

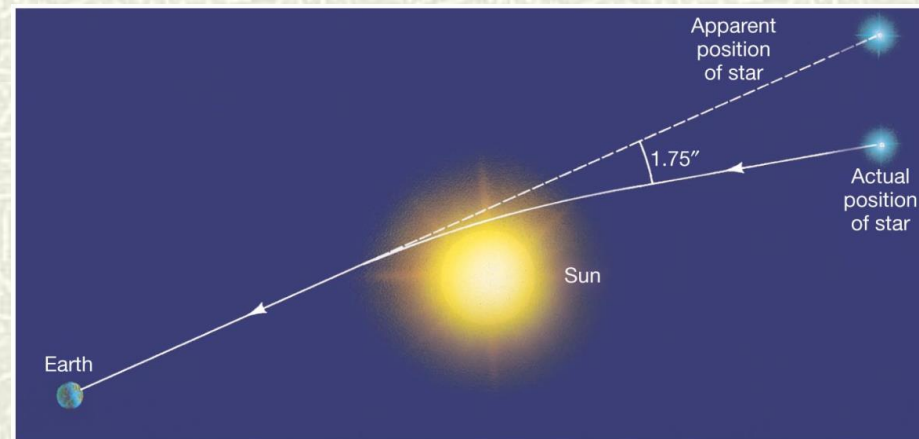
Measure bending of light?

Successful result

General relativity well-known



Albert Einstein



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Relativity and the universe

Einstein model (1917)

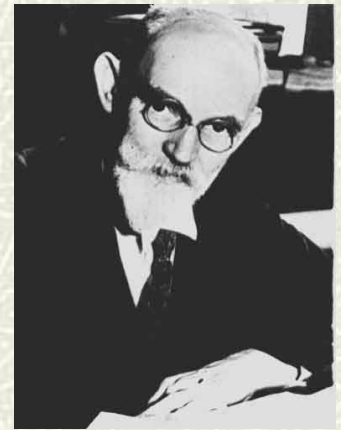
- ▣ Assume static universe
- ▣ Add cosmic constant term to give static solution
- ▣ Closed curvature, finite radius



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

De Sitter (1917)

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



Friedman models of the cosmos



Alexander Friedman 1888 -1925

■ Allow time-varying solutions to the field equations

Expanding, contracting universes

■ Geometry, evolution depends on matter content

Positive curvature (1922)

Hyperbolic curvature (1924)

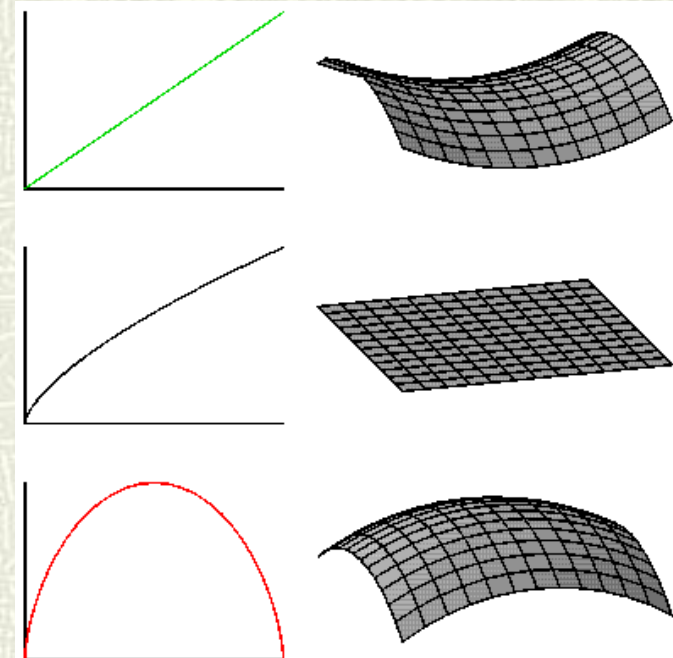
■ Mathematical models (Zf. Ph.)

To be decided by astronomy

■ Ignored by community

Disliked by Einstein

Correction and retraction



Lemaître's universe (1927)



Fr Georges Lemaître

⌘ Time-varying solutions to the field equations

Expanding universe?

⌘ Redshifts of galaxies = expansion of space?

Rate of expansion from mean distances and redshifts

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

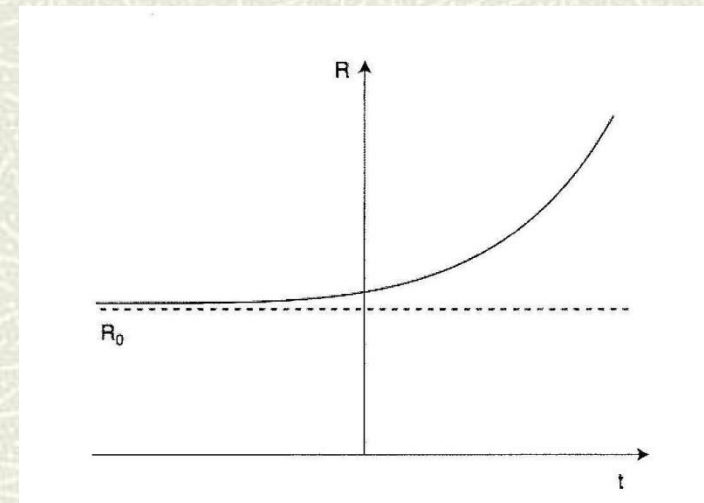
⌘ Rejected by Einstein

“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)**

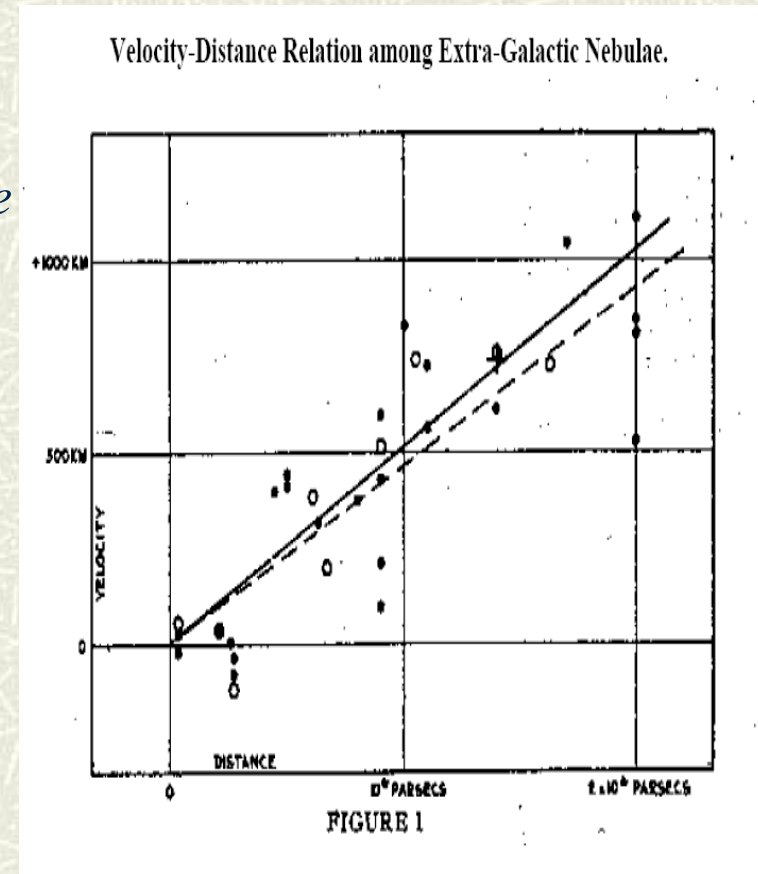
*Einstein/de Sitter models don't fit data
New model required*

- **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*



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)**

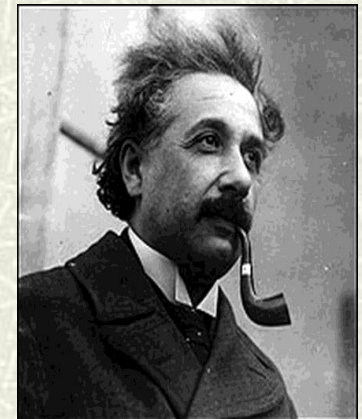
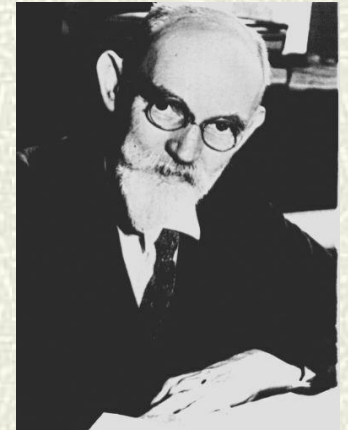
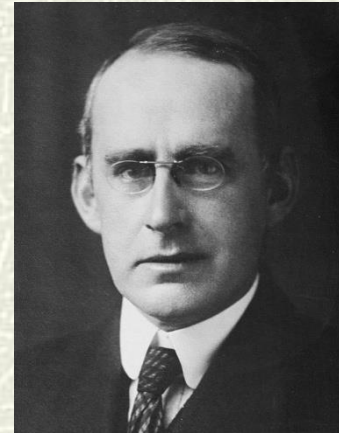
On the behaviour of non-static models

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*)

■ Hubble's observations

Expanding cosmos

■ Adopts Friedman 1922 analysis

Set cosmic constant $\lambda = 0$

■ 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

ZUM KOSMOLOGISCHEN PROBLEM DER ALLGEMEINEN RELATIVITÄTSTHEORIE

VON

A. EINSTEIN

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

Friedman-Einstein universe

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

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

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

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

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

$$P \sim 10^8 \text{ L.y.}$$

$$\lambda \sim 10^{10} (10^{11})$$



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'Riadaigh
and Brendan McCann

$$\begin{aligned}
 D &= \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{l} \frac{dl}{dt} = \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{P} \frac{dP}{dt} \\
 D^2 &= \frac{1}{P^2} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P^2} \quad (1a) \\
 D^2 &= \frac{\kappa_0}{3} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{4} \kappa_0 \quad (2a) \\
 D^2 &\sim 10^{-53} \\
 \rho &\sim 10^{-26} \\
 P &\sim 10^3 \text{ g/cm}^3 \\
 \lambda &\sim 10^{10} (10^{11}) \text{ cm}
 \end{aligned}$$

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?

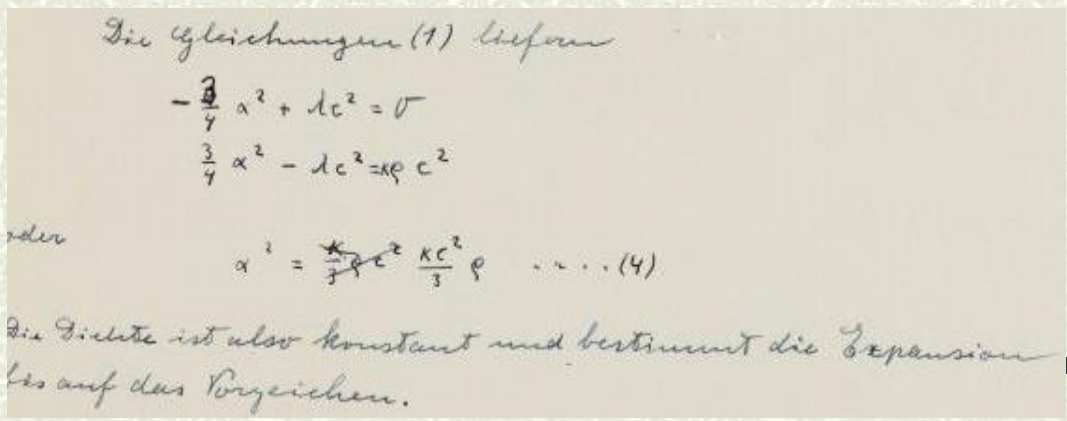
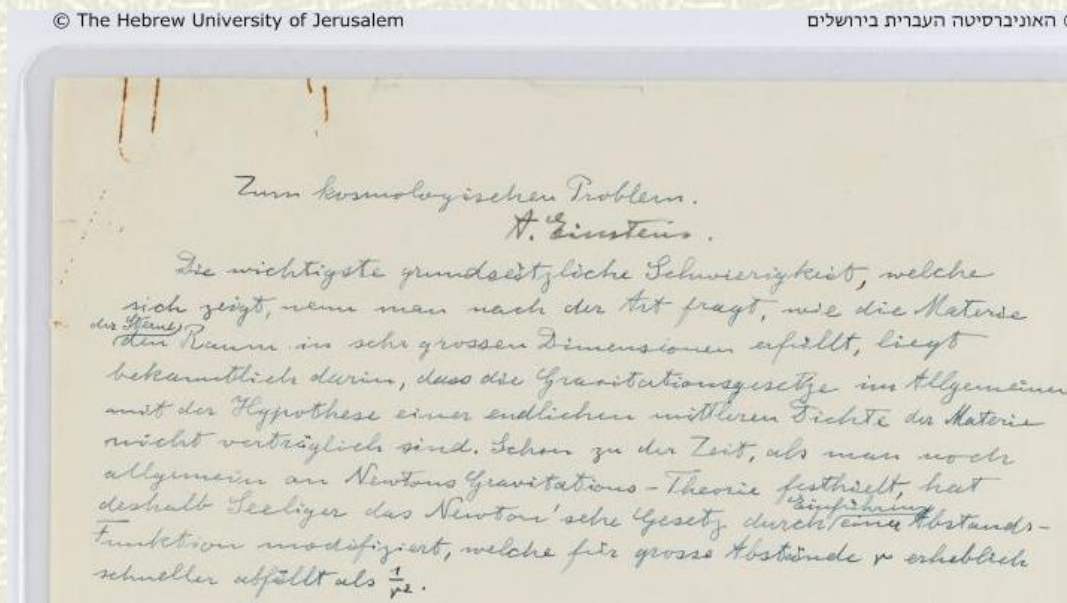
■ Cites evolving models (Tolman)

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 Hubbel'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

Einstein's crossroads

Realised problem on revision

Declined to alter GFE

Switched to evolving models

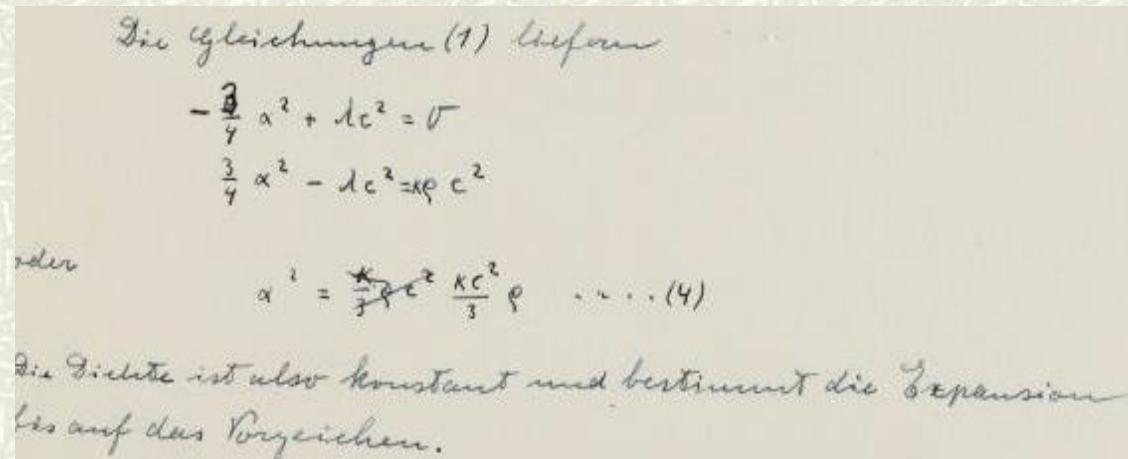
Less contrived and set $\lambda = 0$



Werner Nahm



Simon Mitton



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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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



Bondi, Gold and Hoyle

Continuous creation of matter

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

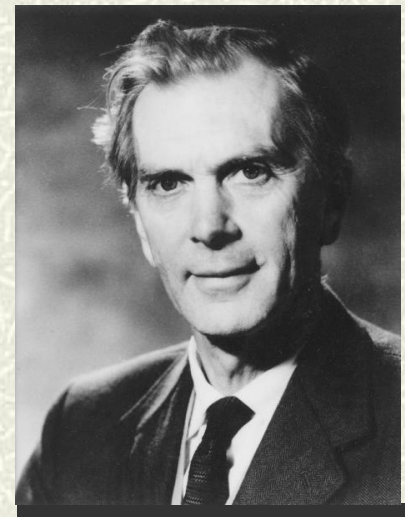
Galaxy distribution over time?

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

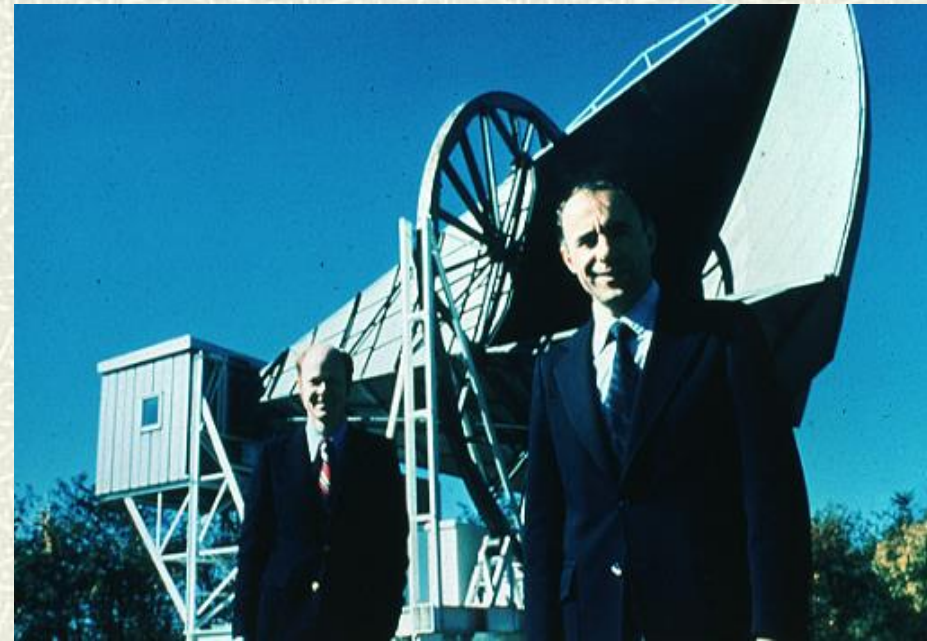
Low frequency (microwave)

Low temperature (3K)

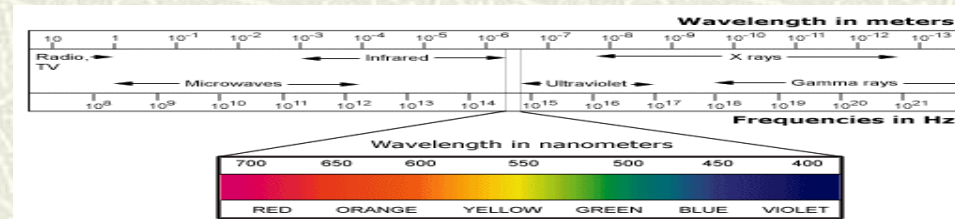
Echo of big bang

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

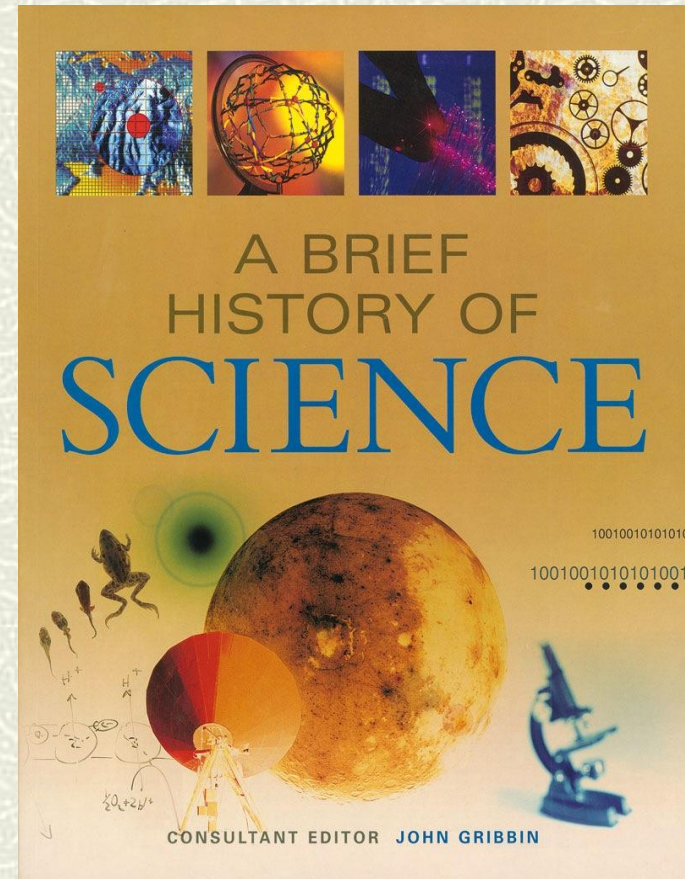
Steady-state solutions not considered before 1948?
Obvious possibility

⌘ 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*

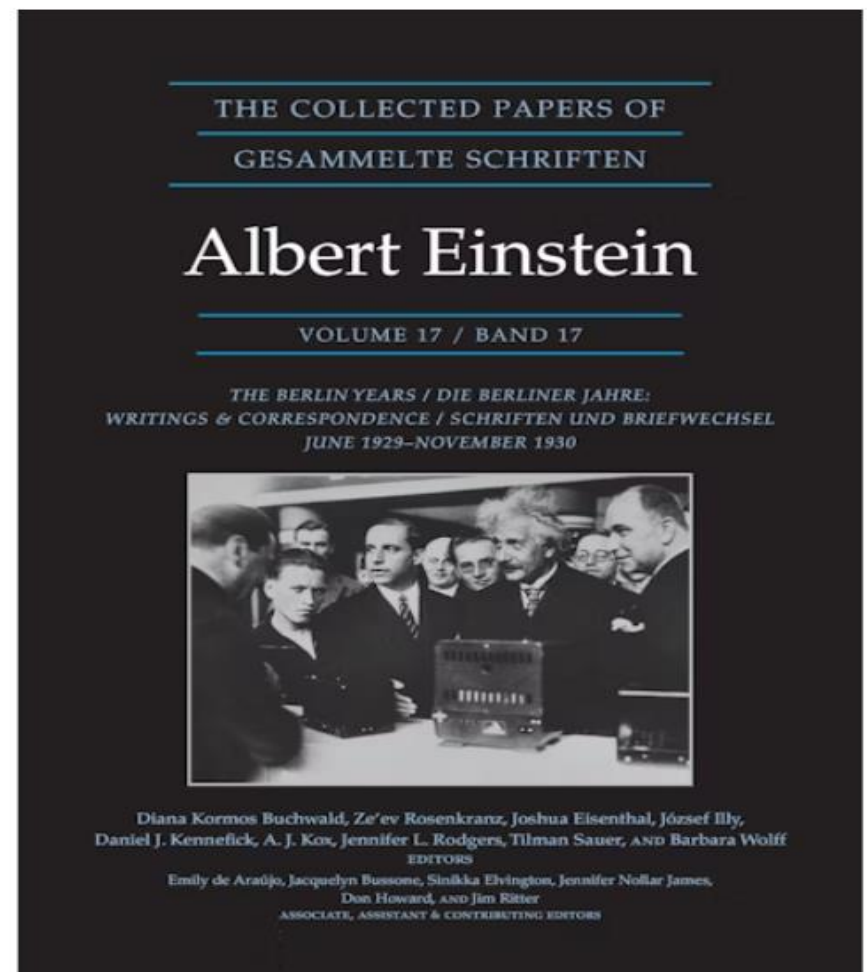
[Albert Einstein](#)

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Einstein's lost theory uncovered

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

Daide Castelvechi

24 February 2014

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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 Daide Castelvechi and Nature magazine

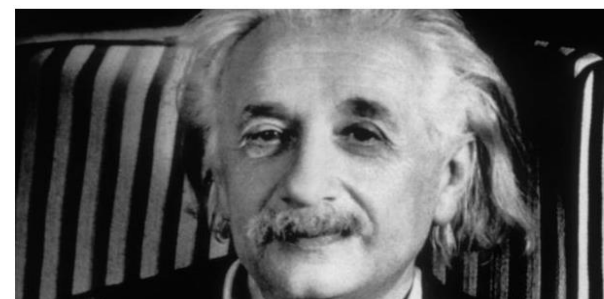
A manuscript that lay unnoticed by scientists for decades has revealed that Albert Einstein once dabbled with an



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

WIT researchers discover 'lost' Einstein model of universe

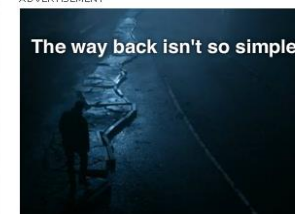
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Einstein's steady-state theory: an abandoned model of the cosmos

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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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).”

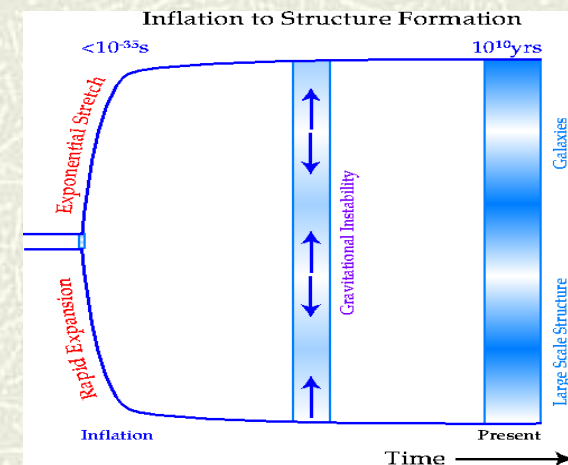
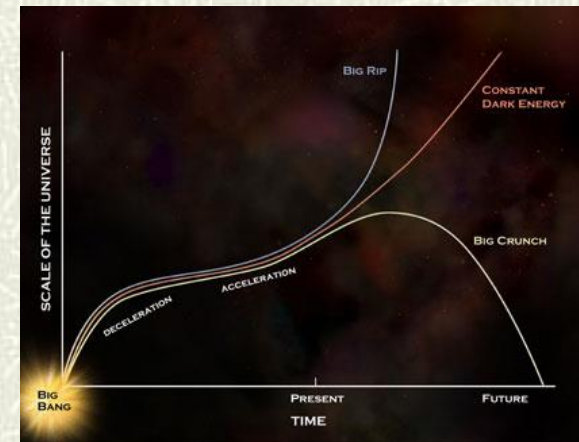
Cosmic inflation

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 $\lambda = 0$, $k = 0$

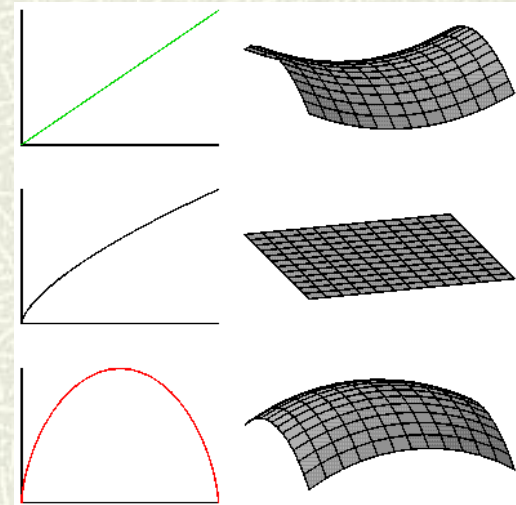
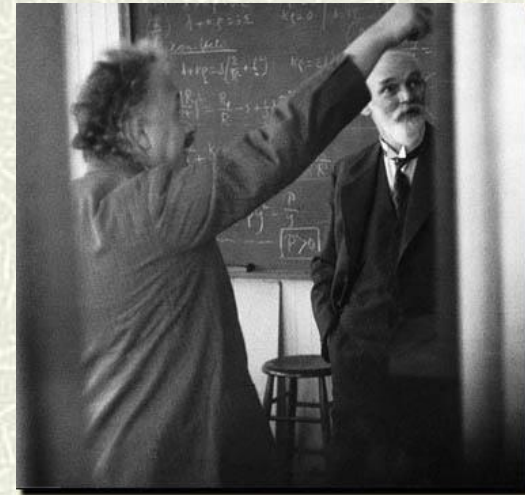
Critical universe

Calculate critical density

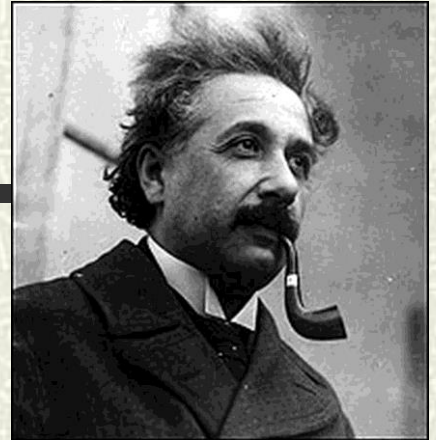
10^{-28} g/cm^3 : agrees with astrophysics

Well-known model

Despite age problem



Einstein's 1931 model (F-E)



Oxford lecture (May 1931)

■ Numerical estimates of radius and density

Use Hubble parameter

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

■ Calculations problematic

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

■ Age estimate problematic

Age from Friedman

■ Not a periodic solution

"Model fails at $P = 0$ "

$$\begin{aligned} D &= \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{l} \frac{dl}{dt} = \frac{1}{c} \frac{1}{P} \frac{dP}{dt} \\ D^2 &= \frac{1}{P^2} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P^2} \quad (1a) \\ D^2 &= \frac{K \rho}{3} \frac{P_0 - P}{P} \sim \frac{1}{P} K \rho \quad (2a) \\ D^2 &\sim 10^{-53} \\ \rho &\sim 10^{-26} \\ P &\sim 10^8 \text{ L.y.} \\ \lambda &\sim 10^{10} (10^{11}) \text{ y} \end{aligned}$$