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## How the theory of relativity came into being (a brief historical sketch)

### 1.1 Special versus general relativity

The name ‘relativity’ covers two physical theories. The older one, called special relativity, published in 1905, is a theory of electromagnetic and mechanical phenomena taking place in reference systems that move with large velocities relative to an observer, but are not influenced by gravitation. It is considered to be a closed theory. Its parts had entered the basic courses of classical mechanics, quantum mechanics and electrodynamics. Students of physics study these subjects before they begin to learn general relativity. Therefore, we shall not deal with special relativity here. Familiarity with it is, however, necessary for understanding the general theory. The latter was published in 1915. It describes the properties of time and space, and mechanical and electromagnetic phenomena in the presence of gravitational field.

### 1.2 Space and inertia in Newtonian physics

In the Newtonian mechanics and gravitation theory the space was just a background – a room to be filled with matter. It was considered obvious that the space is Euclidean. The masses of matter particles were considered their internal properties independent of any interactions with the remaining matter. However, from time to time it was suggested that not all of the phenomena in the Universe can be explained using such an approach. The best known among those concepts was the so-called Mach principle. This approach was made known by Ernst Mach in the second half of the nineteenth century, but had been originated by the English philosopher Bishop George Berkeley, in 1710, while Newton was still alive. Mach began with the following observation: in the Newtonian mechanics a seemingly obvious assumption is tacitly made, namely that all the space points can be labelled, for example by assigning Cartesian coordinates to them. One can then observe the motion of matter by finding in which point of space a given particle is located at a given instant. However, this is not actually possible. If we accept another basic assumption of Newton, namely that the space is Euclidean, then its points do not differ from one another in any way. They can be labelled only by matter being present in the space. In truth, we thus can observe only the motion of one portion of matter relative to another portion of matter. Hence, a correctly formulated theory should speak only about relative motion

(of matter relative to matter), not about absolute motion (of matter relative to space). If this is so, then the motion of a single particle in a totally empty Universe would not be detectable. Without any other matter we could not establish whether the lone particle is at rest, or is moving or experiencing acceleration. But the reaction of matter to acceleration is the only way to measure its inertia. Hence, that lone particle would have zero inertia. It follows then that inertia is, likewise, not an absolute property of matter, but is induced by the remaining matter in the Universe, supposedly via the gravitational interaction.

One can question this principle in several ways. No-one will ever be able to find him/herself in an empty Universe, so any theorems on such an example cannot be verified. It is possible that the inertia of matter is a 'stronger' property than the homogeneity of space, and would still exist in an empty Universe, thus making it possible to measure absolute acceleration. Criticism of Mach's principle is made easier by the fact that it has never been formulated as a precise physical theory. It is just a collection of critical remarks and suggestions, partly based on calculations. It happens sometimes, though, that a new way of looking at an old theory, even if not sufficiently justified, becomes a starting point for meaningful discoveries. This was the case with Mach's principle that inspired Einstein at the starting point of his work.

### 1.3 Newton's theory and the orbits of planets

In addition to the above-mentioned theoretical problem, Newton's theory had a serious empirical problem. It was known already in the first half of the nineteenth century that the planets revolve around the Sun in orbits that are not exactly elliptic. The real orbits are rosettes – curves that can be imagined as follows: let a point go around an ellipse, but at the same time let the ellipse rotate slowly around its focus in the same direction (see Fig. 1.1). Newton's theory explained this as follows: an orbit of a planet is an exact ellipse only if we assume that the Sun has just one planet.<sup>1</sup> Since the Sun has several planets, they interact gravitationally and mutually perturb their orbits. When these perturbations are taken into account, the effect is *qualitatively* the same as observed.

However, in 1859, Urbain J. LeVerrier (the same person who, a few years earlier, had predicted the existence of Neptune on the basis of similar calculations) verified whether the calculated and observed motions of Mercury's perihelion agree. It turned out that they do not – and the discrepancy was much larger than the observation error. The calculated rate of perihelion shift was smaller than the one observed by 43 arc seconds per century (the modern value is  $43.11 \pm 0.45''$  per century (Will, 2018)). Astronomers and physicists tried to explain this effect in various simple ways, e.g. by assuming that yet another planet, called Vulcan, revolves around the Sun inside Mercury's orbit and perturbs it; by allowing for gravitational interaction of Mercury with the interplanetary dust; or by assuming that the Sun is flattened in consequence of its rotation. In the last case, the gravitational field of the Sun would not be spherically symmetric, and a sufficiently large flattening would

<sup>1</sup> More assumptions were actually made, but the other ones seemed so obvious at that time that they were not even mentioned: that the Sun is exactly spherical, and that the space around the Sun is exactly empty. None of these is strictly correct, but the departures of observations from theory caused by the nonsphericity of the Sun and by the interplanetary matter are insignificant.

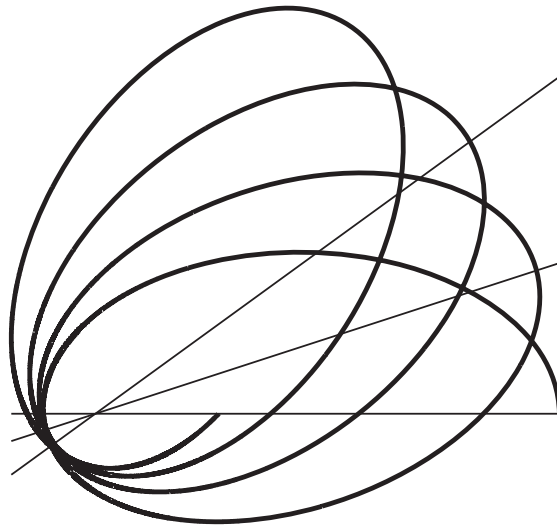


Fig. 1.1 Real planetary orbits, in consequence of various perturbations, are not ellipses but non-closed curves. The perihelion shift in this figure is greatly exaggerated. In reality, the greatest angle of perihelion shift observed in the Solar System, for Mercury, equals approximately  $1.5^\circ$  per 100 years.

explain the additional rotation of Mercury's perihelion. All these hypotheses did not pass the observational tests. The hypothetical planet Vulcan would have to be so massive that it would be visible in telescopes, but wasn't. There was not enough interplanetary dust to cause the observed effect. The Sun, if it were sufficiently flattened to explain Mercury's motion, would cause yet another effect: the planes of the planetary orbits would swing periodically around their mean positions with an amplitude of about  $43''$  per century, and that motion would have been observed, but wasn't (Dicke, 1964).

In spite of these difficulties, nobody doubted the correctness of Newton's theory. The general opinion was that Mach's critique would be answered by formal corrections in the theory, and the anomalous perihelion motion of Mercury would be explained by new observational discoveries. Nobody expected that any other gravitation theory could replace Newton's, which had been going from one success to another for over 200 years. General relativity was not created in response to experimental or observational needs. It resulted from speculation, it preceded all but one of the experiments and observations that confirmed it, and it became broadly testable only about 50 years after it had been created, in the 1960s. So much time did technology need to catch up and go beyond the opportunities provided by astronomical phenomena.

#### 1.4 The basic assumptions of general relativity

It is interesting to follow the development of relativistic ideas in the same order as that in which they actually appeared in the literature. However, this was not a straight and smooth road. Einstein made a few mistakes and put forward a few hypotheses that he had

to revoke later. He had been constructing the theory gradually, while at the same time learning the Riemannian geometry – the mathematical basis of relativity. If we followed that gradual progress, we would have to take into account not only some blind paths but also competitors of Einstein, some of whom questioned the need for the (then) new theory, while some others tried to get ahead of Einstein, but without success (Mehra, 1974). Learning relativity in this way would not be efficient, so we will take a shortcut. We shall begin by justifying the need for this theory, then we shall present the basic elements of Riemann's geometry and then we will present Einstein's theory in its final shape. The history of relativity's taking shape is presented in Mehra's book (Mehra, 1974), and its original presentation is to be found in the collection of classic papers (Einstein et al., 1923).

Einstein's starting point was a critique of Newton's theory based on Mach's ideas. Newtonian physics said that in a space free of any interactions, material bodies would either remain at rest or would move by uniform rectilinear motion. Since, however, the real Universe is permeated by gravitational fields that cannot be shielded, all bodies in the Universe move on curved trajectories in consequence of gravitational interactions.

There is a problem here. When we say that a trajectory is curved, we assume that we can define a straight line. But how can we do this when no real body follows a straight line? The terrestrial standards of straight lines are useful only because no distances on the Earth are truly great, and at short distances the deformation of 'rigid' bodies due to gravitation is unmeasurably small. Maybe then the trajectory of a light ray would be a good model of a straight line?

To see whether this could be the case, consider two Cartesian reference systems  $K$  and  $K'$ , whose axes  $(x, y, z)$  and  $(x', y', z')$  are, respectively, parallel. Let  $K$  be inertial, and let  $K'$  move with respect to  $K$  along the  $z$ -axis with acceleration  $g(t, x, y, z)$ . Let the origins of both systems coincide at  $t = 0$ . Then

$$x' = x, \quad y' = y, \quad z' = z - \int_0^t d\tau \int_0^\tau ds g(s, x, y, z).$$

Hence, the equations of motion of a free particle, that in  $K$  are

$$\frac{d^2x}{dt^2} = \frac{d^2y}{dt^2} = \frac{d^2z}{dt^2} = 0,$$

in  $K'$  assume the form

$$\frac{d^2x'}{dt^2} = \frac{d^2y'}{dt^2} = 0, \quad \frac{d^2z'}{dt^2} = -g(t, x, y, z).$$

The quantity that we interpreted in  $K$  as acceleration would be interpreted in  $K'$  as the intensity of a gravitational field (with opposite sign). The gravitational field can thus be simulated by accelerated motion, or, more exactly, the gravitational force is simulated by the force of inertia. If so, then light in a gravitational field should behave similarly to when it is observed from an accelerated reference system.

How would we see a light ray in such a system? Imagine a space vehicle that flies across a light ray. Let the light ray enter through the window  $W$  and fall on a screen on the other side of the vehicle (see Fig. 1.2). If the vehicle were at rest, then the light ray entering at  $W$  would hit the screen at the point  $A$ . Since the vehicle keeps flying, it will move a bit

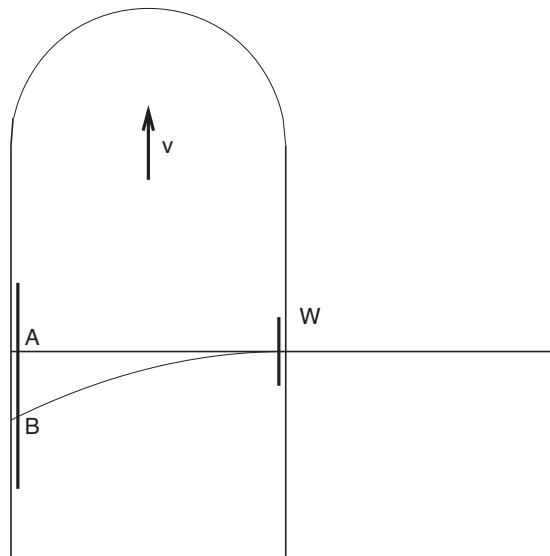


Fig. 1.2 A space vehicle flying across a light ray. See the explanation in the text.

before the ray hits the screen, and the bright spot will appear at the point  $B$ . Now assume that the light ray indeed moves in a straight line when observed by an observer who is at rest. Then it is easy to see that the path  $WB$  will be straight when the vehicle moves with a constant velocity, whereas it will be curved when the vehicle moves with acceleration. Hence, if the gravitational field behaves analogously to the field of inertial forces, then the light ray should be deflected also by gravitation. Consequently, it cannot be the standard of a straight line.

If we are unable to provide a physical model of a fundamental notion of Newton's physics, let us try to do without it. Let us assume that no such thing exists as 'gravitational forces' that curve the trajectories of celestial bodies, but that the geometry of space is modified by gravitation in such a way that the observed trajectories are paths of free motion. Such a theory might be more complicated than Newton's in practical instances, but it will use only such notions as are related to actual observations, without an unobservable background of the Euclidean space.

A modified geometry means non-Euclidean geometry. A theory created in order to deal with broad classes of non-Euclidean geometries is differential geometry. It is the mathematical basis of general relativity, and we will begin by studying it.

