



# What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Hans Mühlen  
Nordita Day, 8 June 2018



*Can we give an answer  
to the question*

**What was Kepler's  
theory of gravity?**

*without falling into  
any historiographical  
traps?*

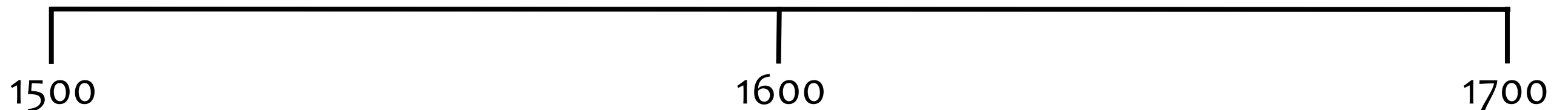
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The setting of this tale is the period we usually call “the Scientific Revolution” in the 16th and 17th centuries.

# The Scientific Revolution

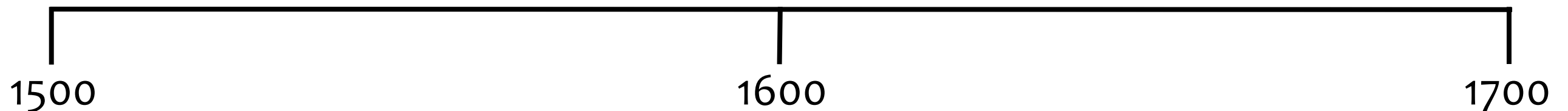


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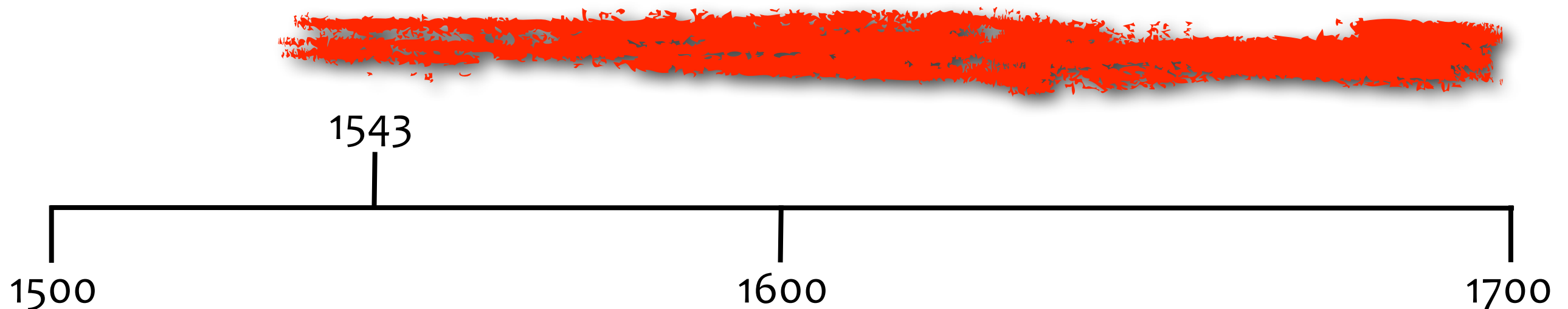


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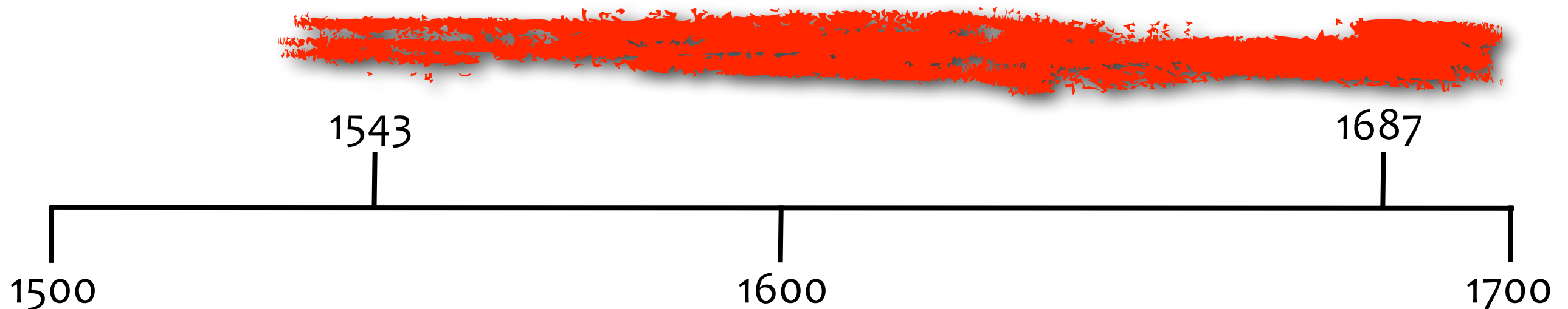
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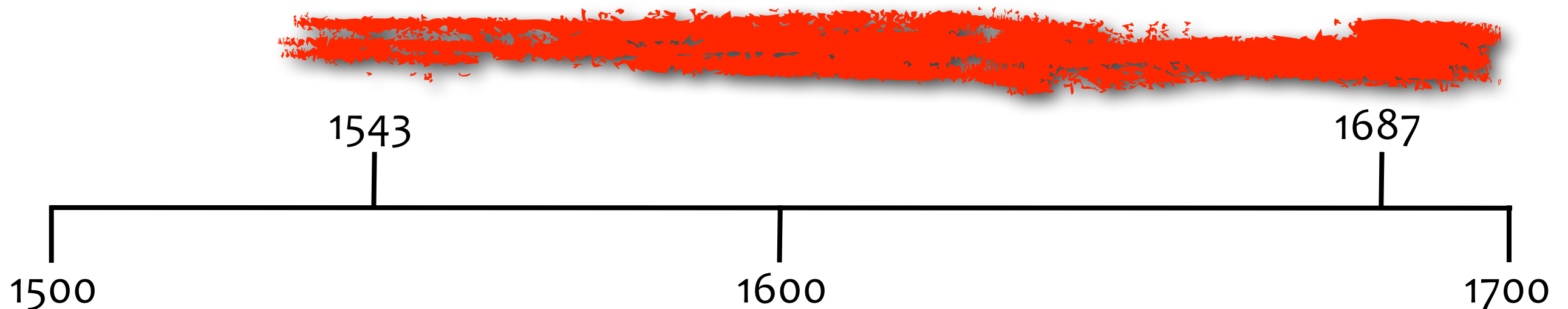


What was Kepler’s theory of gravity?

*A “revolution” that took 144 years...*

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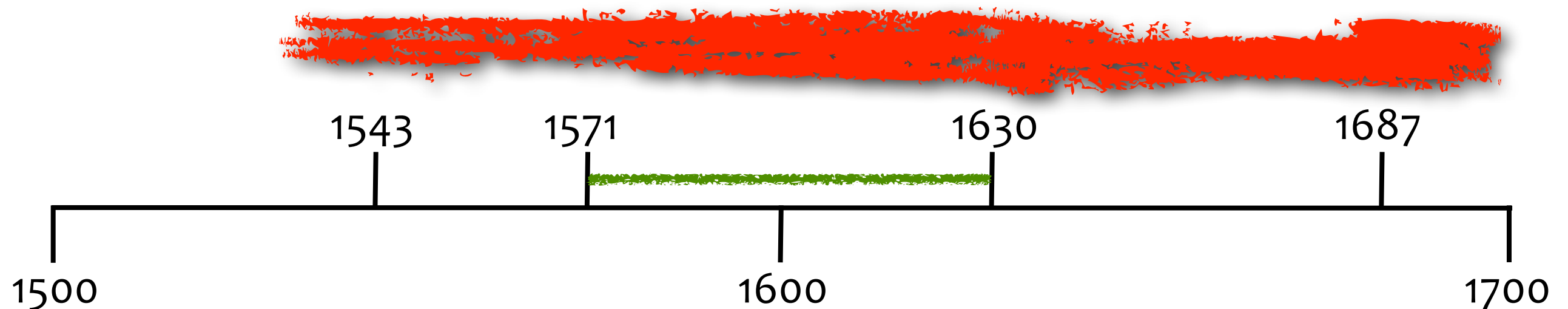
What was Kepler’s theory of gravity?

A “revolution” that took 144 years...

...and our hero, the German astronomer

**Johannes Kepler,**

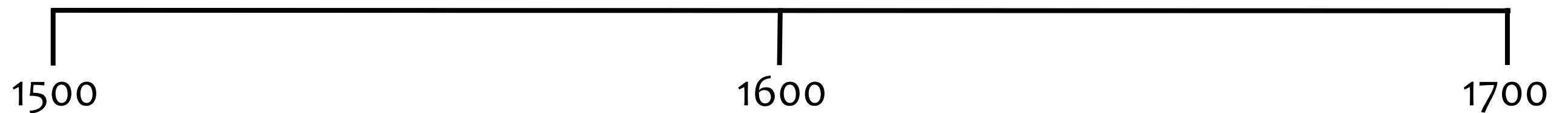
was right in the middle of the action!



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



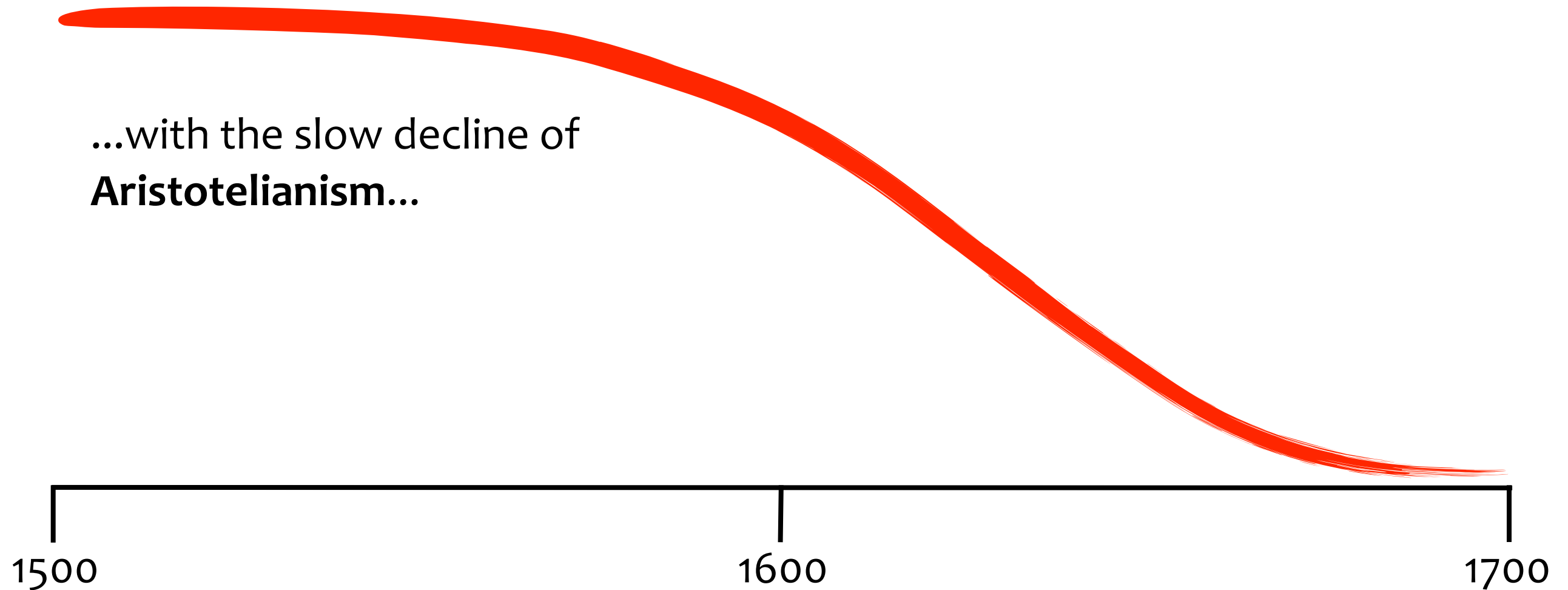
The 16th and 17th centuries  
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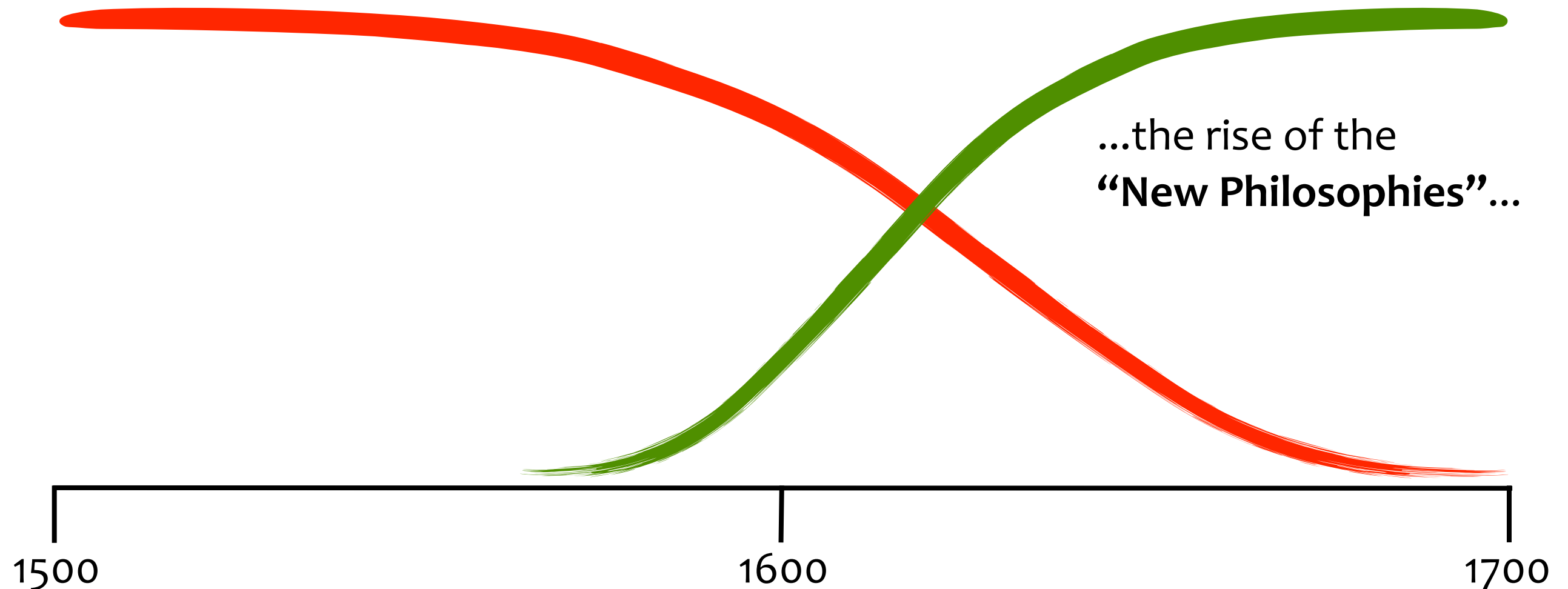
The 16th and 17th centuries  
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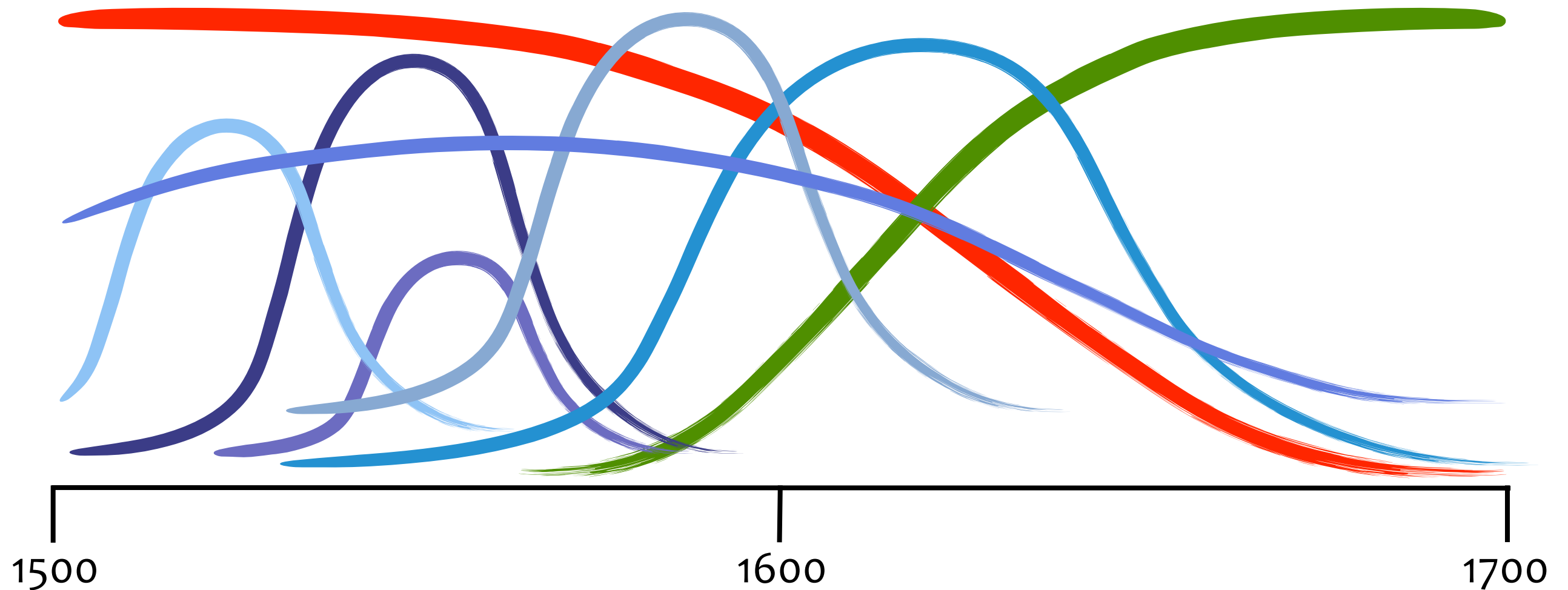
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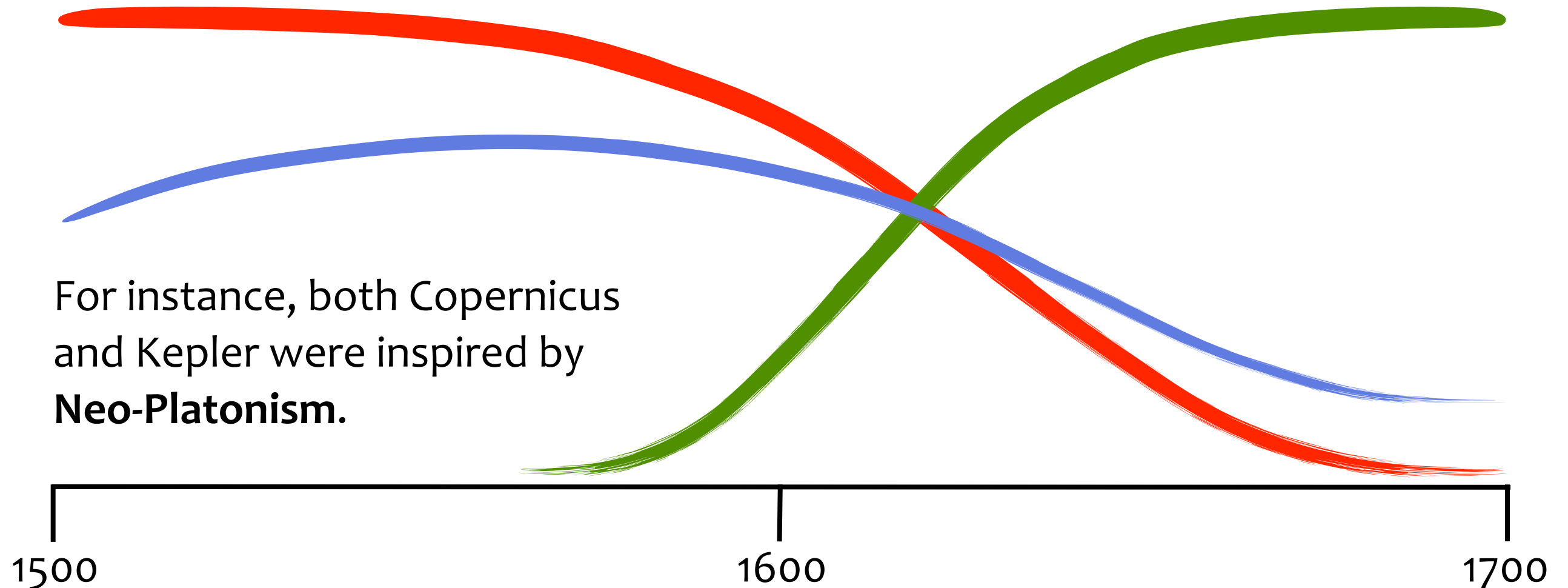
...as well as a host of  
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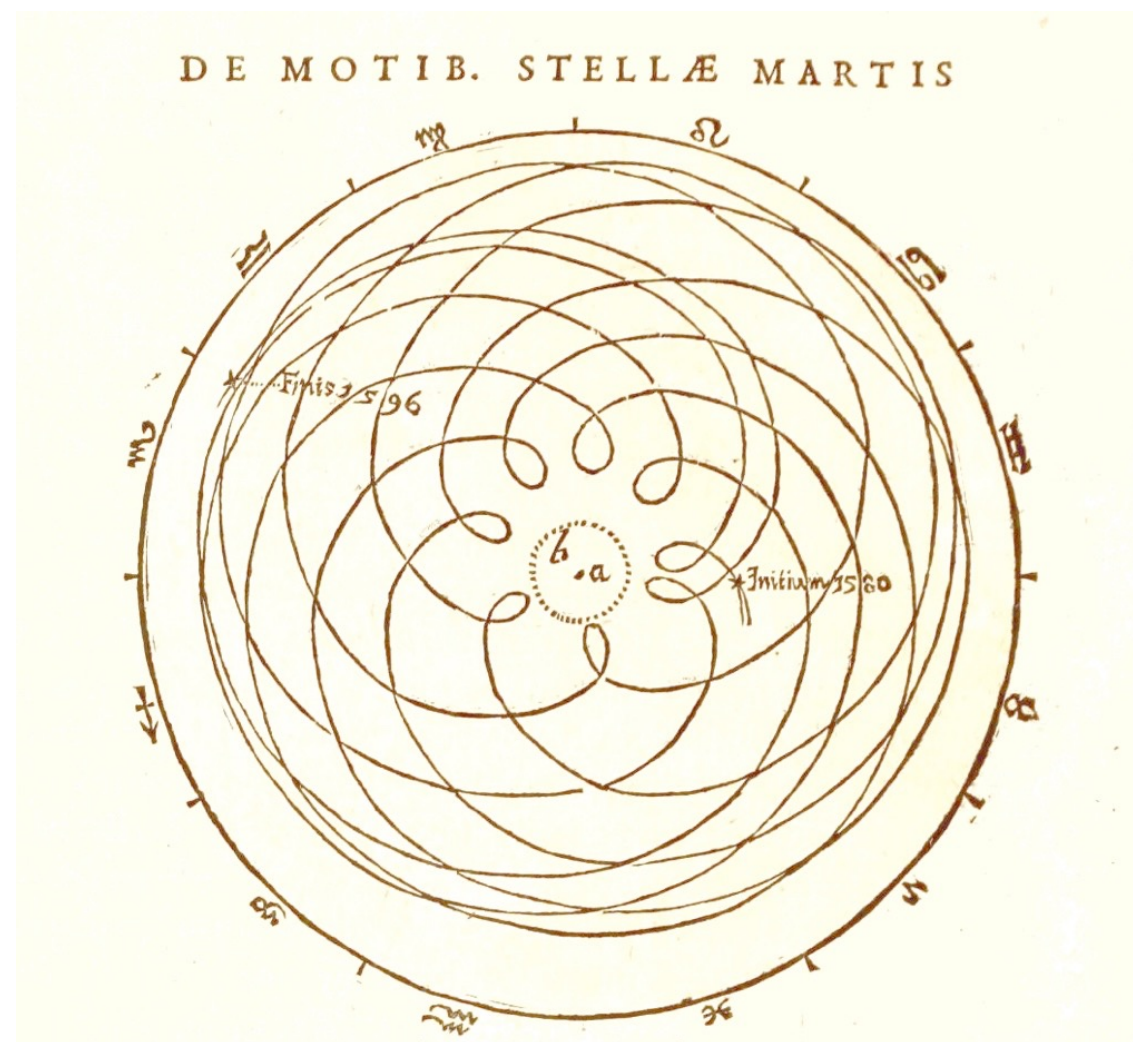


No wonder it took 144 years to get it right!



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

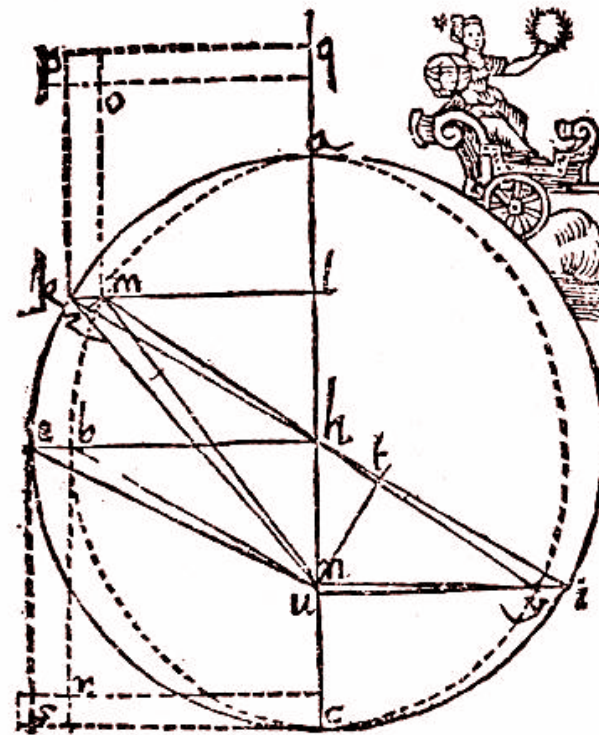
But now let's focus on  
**Kepler,**  
**the motion of planets,**  
**and gravity.**



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

We all know **Kepler's three laws** of planetary motion:

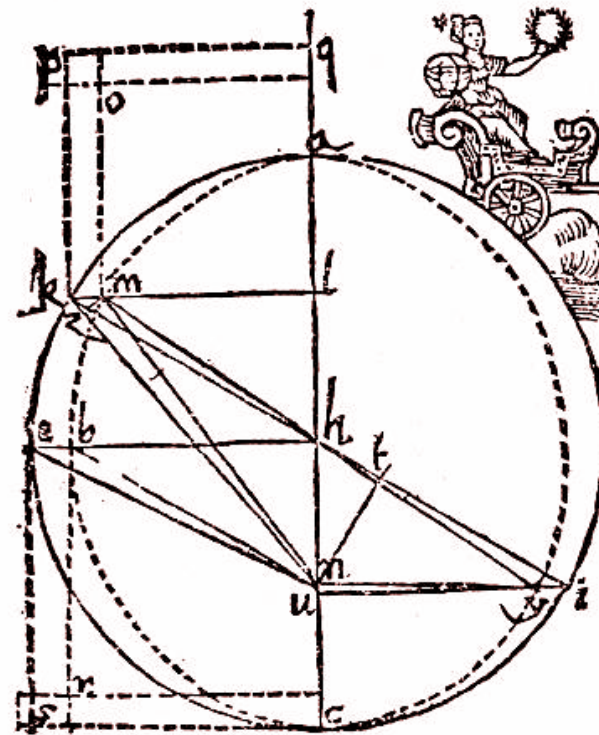
1. *Elliptic orbits*
2. *Area law*
3. *Harmonic law*



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

We all know **Kepler's three laws** of planetary motion:

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2. *Area law*
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...but here I want to focus  
on another aspect of  
Kepler's pioneering work.



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Since antiquity the task of the astronomer had been to  
**“save the phenomena”**



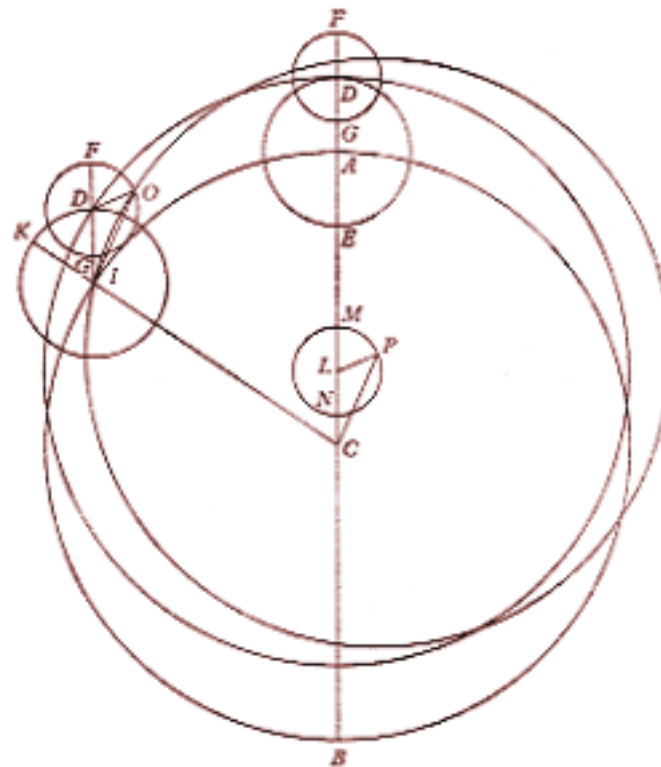
What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



Since antiquity the task of the astronomer had been to

**“save the phenomena”**

i.e, to develop a mathematical (geometrical) system that *did not need to have any relation to real physics*, as long as it *accurately reproduced observations*.



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Kepler instead wanted to find  
**the true physical causes**  
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What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Kepler instead wanted to find  
**the true physical causes**  
of the motions of the planets.

His ambition was to fuse all three sciences

- **astronomy**
- **mathematics** (geometry)
- **physics** (mechanics)

into one integrated system:

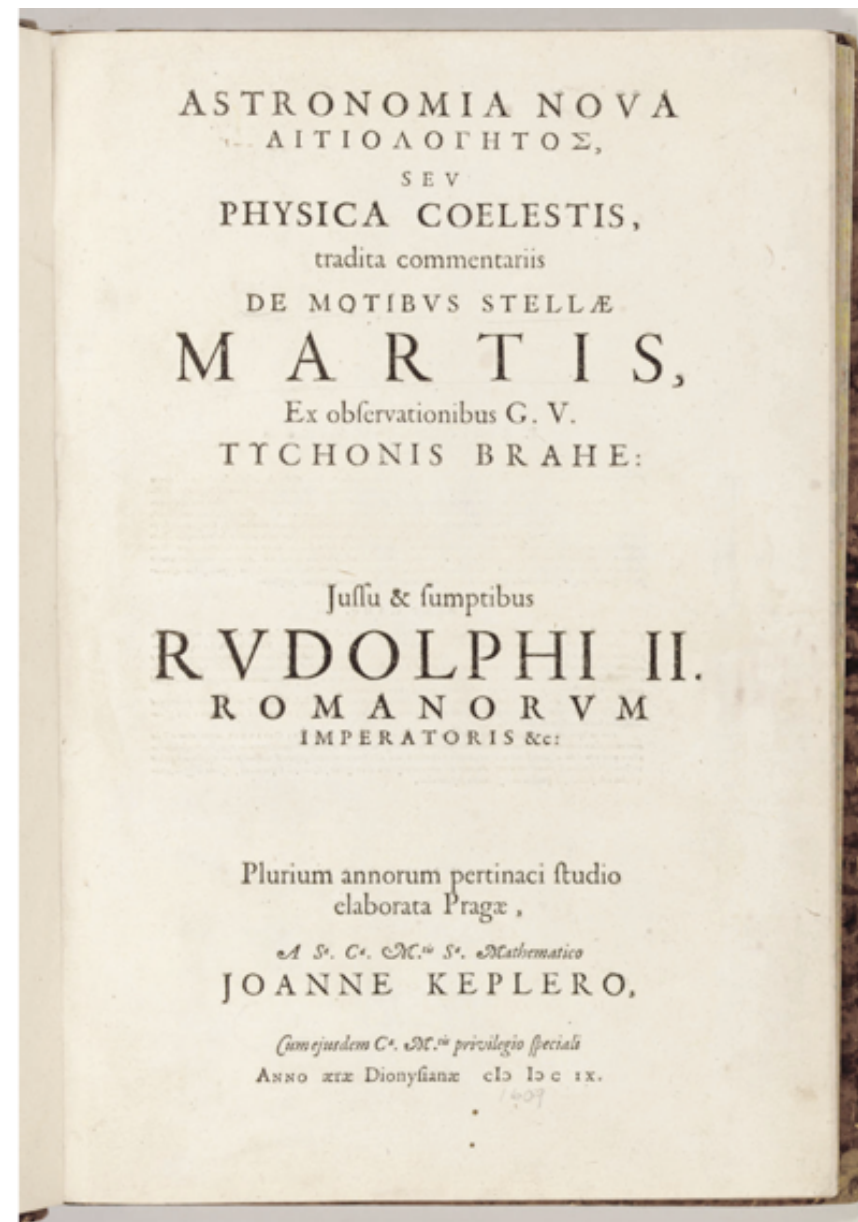
**a mathematical theory of  
Celestial Physics**



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

This is beautifully illustrated by the title of one of Kepler's most important books:

## **A New Astronomy, Causally Oriented, or Celestial Physics (1609)**



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Since **Kepler broke with ancient traditions** he had little guidance in where to find such physical causes.



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His main conceptual tools were **analogies**, bits and pieces of **Aristotelian physics**, and a deeply held belief in the **harmonies** God had embedded in his creation.



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But Kepler's ambitious project to found astronomy on physical causes would remain **unsuccessful...**

...until Newton completed the task some 70 years later.



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Let me give you a quick taste of the kind of **physical forces** that Kepler suggested would explain the **motion of the planets**.



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

# PROBLEM 1

The mean circular orbit  
around the Sun



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



- Only the (central) Sun can provide a mechanism for moving the planets.



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What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

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- Surely, if the Earth rotates (Copernicus), the Sun must also rotate.



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

- Only the (central) Sun can provide a mechanism for moving the planets.
- Surely, if the Earth rotates (Copernicus), the Sun must also rotate.
- There are “emanations” from the Sun, grabbing hold of the planets so that they follow in the rotation of the Sun.

**... a rotational force**



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

**Kepler kept revising his ideas** on what the nature of these “emanations” were:

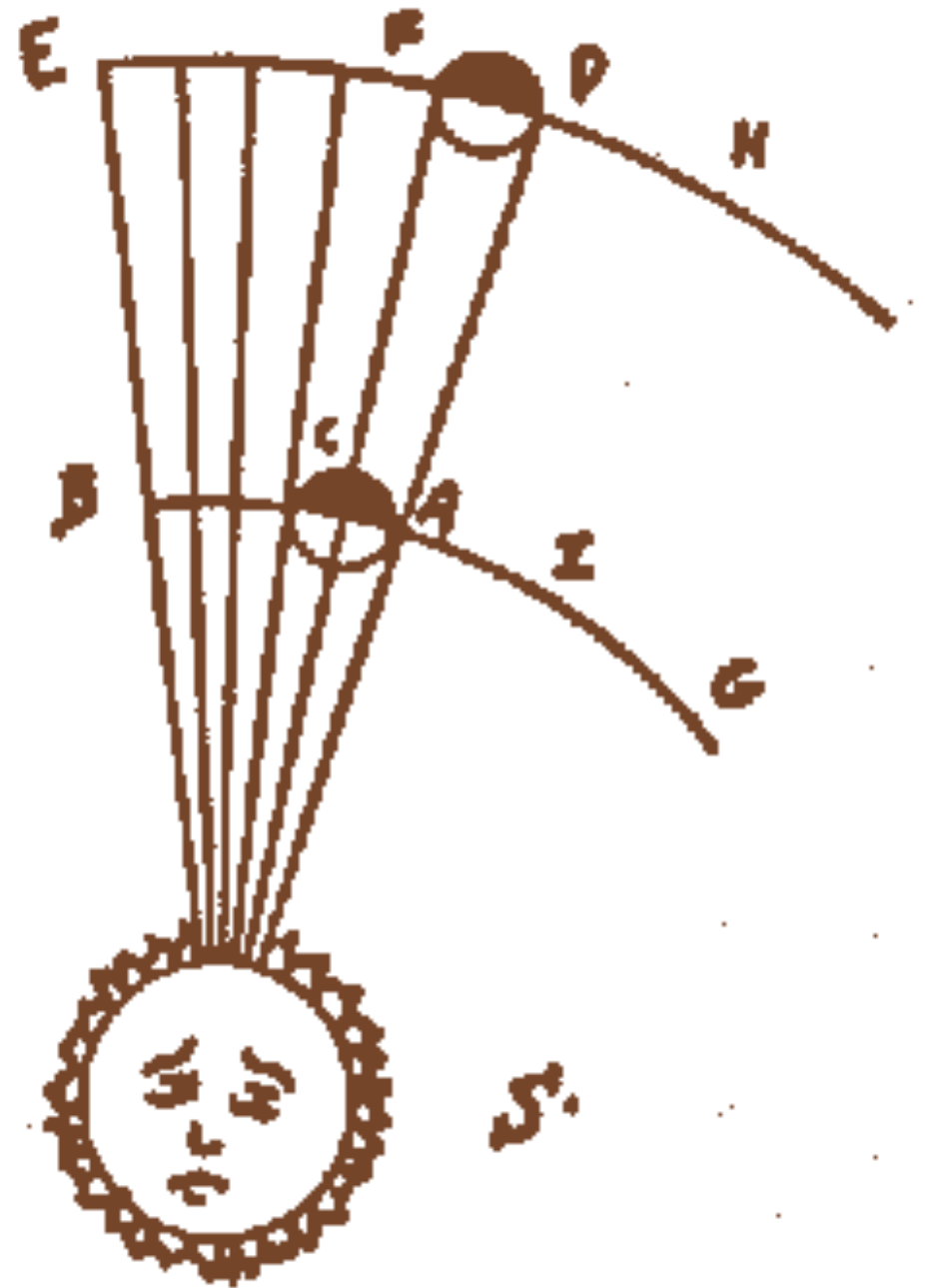
- perhaps communicating **souls** in the Sun and in the planets?  
(anima motrix)
- perhaps something like (the Medieval concept of) **light**?
- perhaps **magnetic fibers**?  
(cf. William Gilbert’s book “On the magnet” from 1600)



What was Kepler’s theory of gravity?

The moving force would **decrease with the distance** from the Sun.

$$f \sim \frac{1}{r}$$



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In Aristotelian physics, **force gives rise to motion** (rather than to change in motion)

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Kepler's Inverse Distance Law:

$$v \sim \frac{1}{r}$$



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



## **PROBLEM 2**

Orbits are elliptical



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- Again in analogy with magnetism: if the Earth is a **magnet** (Gilbert) then surely so are the other planets.



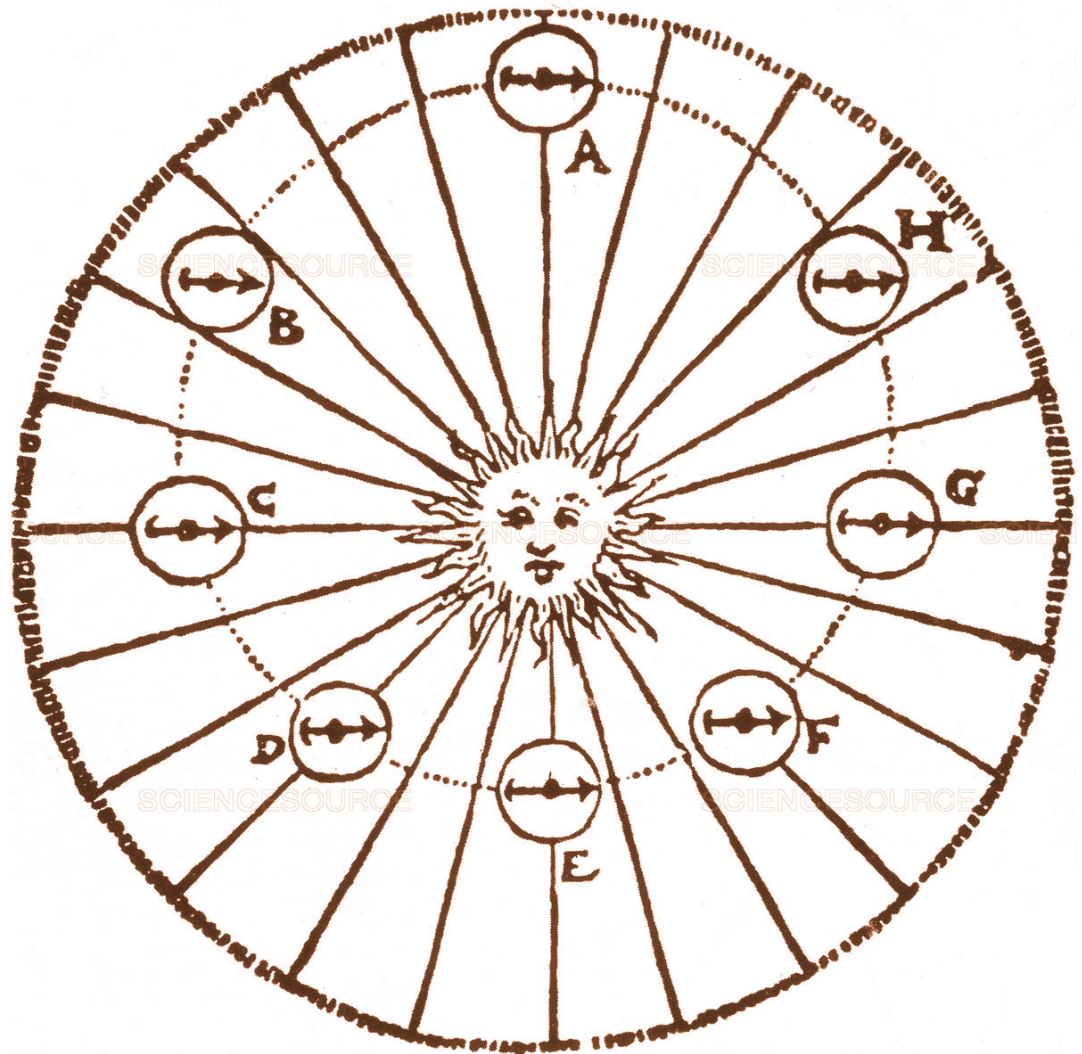
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- The Sun, however, is a magnet with one pole in its center and one on its surface.



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

- As a result, a planet will be attracted to the Sun for half its orbit, and repelled for the other half (a motion Kepler called “libration”).



**...an alternating  
radial force**



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Kepler never managed to prove that the physical forces he suggested would actually reproduce the observed motions of the planets.



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What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



Kepler never managed to prove that the physical forces he suggested would actually reproduce the observed motions of the planets.

This is in part because:

- he didn't have the correct *laws of physics*
- he didn't have the necessary *mathematical tools*



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What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



Let's come back to the question

## What was Kepler's theory of gravity?



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?





Let's come back to the question

## What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Is the answer the combination of the two quasi-magnetic forces I just have sketched?



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?





Let's come back to the question

## What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

Is the answer the combination of the two quasi-magnetic forces I just have sketched?

# NO!



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

When we today speak of

## **“gravity”**

we are influenced in our thinking by our knowledge of

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What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

When we today speak of

**“gravity”**

we are influenced in our thinking by our knowledge of

- universal gravitation (Newton) and
- general relativity (Einstein).

In Kepler’s time, and since antiquity,

**“gravity”**

meant only one thing:

- heaviness.



What was Kepler’s theory of gravity?

Kepler actually did have a “theory of gravity”:

- “Gravity [heaviness] is a mutual corporeal disposition among kindred bodies to unite or join together.”
- This attractive power is proportional to the volume of each body, so that “the earth attracts a stone much more than the stone seeks the earth.”
- “The orb of the attractive power in the moon is extended all the way to the earth” and this is the cause of tides.

*(Astronomia Nova, introduction)*



What was Kepler’s theory of gravity?



**Exercise** (discuss amongst yourselves):

*Show that a **purely attractive radial force** (like gravity) cannot be the cause of elliptical planetary orbits, given the laws of physics that Kepler had at his disposal.*



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

The moral of this story is simple:



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If you want to understand a historical process on its own terms, **don't make the mistake of projecting modern ideas and concepts into the past.**



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The moral of this story is simple:

If you want to understand a historical process on its own terms, **don't make the mistake of projecting modern ideas and concepts into the past...**

**... or into the future.**



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What was Kepler's theory of gravity?

## KEPLER SOURCES

- “Mysterium cosmographicum”  
(The Sacred Mystery of the Cosmos) (1596)
- “Astronomia nova”  
(New Astronomy) (1609)
- “Epitome astronomiae Copernicanae”  
(Epitome of Copernican Astronomy) (1618–1621)
- “Harmonices mundi”  
(Harmony of the Worlds) (1619)
- “Tabulae Rudolphinae”  
(Rudolphine Tables) (1627)



What was Kepler's theory of gravity?