Bose and the Angular Momentum of the Photon

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Abstract

2024 is the 100th anniversary of S.N. Bose's paper on quantum statistics [70], so it may be appropriate to highlight an appealing story told by Bose at various times. Namely that the original English version of his paper (now lost) argued that a light quantum (photon) has two, independent, angular momentum ("spin") states, but this view was too novel for Einstein, who replaced this statement (in his translation of the paper which appeared in Zeitschrift für Physik) with the comment that an electromagnetic wave has two polarization states. This joins other anecdotes by physicists (such as Newton on universal gravity and Gauss on the electromagnetic vector potential [1]) claiming priority for an idea they had many years earlier, which illustrates that the process of "discovery" of novel concepts is seldom crisp, and that many people must become involved before a new idea is well accepted.

When Planck introduced the unit/quantum of action, now called h, in 1899 [30],[1] it was a rather abstract concept. In 1900 [32, 33] (see also [131]), Planck associated $h\nu$ with the quantum of energy of a harmonic oscillator of frequency ν,[2,3] which could emit electromagnetic radiation in case of an oscillating electric charge. In 1905 [39], Einstein added that the electromagnetic radiation of a charged oscillator consisted of "light quanta" (*lichtquanta*) whose energies are integral multiples of $h\nu$. This revived the Newtonian notion that light has particle-like properties. Since particles can have momentum and angular momentum as well as energy, the implication that light quanta can have quantized energy should extend to quantized momentum and angular momentum also, but the acceptance of this was slow.

In 1909, Einstein rather indirectly implied (in the equation on p. 824 of [43]) that light quanta of frequency ν have momentum $h\nu/c$. In 1917, he stated more crisply that a light quantum of energy E has momentum E/c (p. 49 of [56]), and identified this momentum as $h\nu/c$ (p. 61 of [56]). However, this relation was not generally accepted until Compton's analysis (1924) [68] of the scattering of x-rays by electrons, in which electrons initially at rest recoiled with nonzero momentum and kinetic energy.[4]

A tentative quantum model of atoms was made by Nicholson (1912), who suggested on p. 679 of [46] that the angular momentum of atomic electrons is quantized. This notion

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[1] Planck recast Wien's (classical) "law" [29], $\rho = 8\pi h\nu^3\, e^{-h\nu/kT}/c^3$, for the energy-density spectrum *vs.* frequency ν of blackbody radiation at temperature T, in a form using three fundamental constants: the speed c of light, a new constant h (initially called b), and Boltzmann's constant k (initially called b/a). He introduced the notion now called the Planck length, $\sqrt{Gh/c^3} \approx 4 \times 10^{-35}$ m, on the last page of [30].

Planck was the first to define Boltzmann's constant, $k = R/A$, where R is the gas constant and A is Avogadro's number, on p. 244 of [32], and then on pp. 556 ff of [33].

[2] This is what others (Einstein [39], Ehrenfest [40], *etc.*) inferred that he meant, while Planck's own view seemed ambiguous and time dependent, as reviewed, for example, in Sec. 2.6 of [133].

[3] In 1911, Planck [44, 45] argued for the existence of zero-point energy $h\nu/2$ of an oscillator of frequency ν, such that possible energies are $(n + 1/2)\, h\nu$ for non-negative integer n.

[4] For a historical review, see [123].

was further developed by Bohr (1913), who identified the basic quantum of orbital angular momentum as $\hbar = h/2\pi$ on p. 15 of [47].

In electromagnetic decays of an excited atom, the electromagnetic radiation carries away the difference in angular momentum between the initial and final atomic levels, so if angular momentum is conserved, the angular momentum of the radiated electromagnetic field is also quantized, in integer multiples of $\hbar$. And, for circularly polarized radiation, the angular momentum cannot be zero. This insight may have been first published by Schaposchnikow (1914) [48], working together with Busch [49]. It was then discussed by Abraham (1914) [50], Bohr (1918) [57], Rubinowicz (1918) [58], and appeared in Sec. 6.1 of the 1921 edition of Sommerfeld's *Atombau* [62]. Rubinowicz seems to have been the first to note that ordinary (*i.e.*, electric-dipole) atomic transitions involve changes in the atomic angular momentum of only 0 (for linearly polarized radiation) or $\pm\hbar$ (for circularly polarized radiation). The implication that circularly polarized light quanta carry angular momentum $\pm\hbar$ was, however, not emphasized in these early works (as the concept of light quanta was not yet well accepted).

In 1923, de Broglie [64, 65] introduced the notion that (massive) particles of energy E can be associated with a wave of frequency ν related by the "Planck-Einstein" relation $h\nu$ $(= \hbar\omega) = E$, and in Chap. 2 of his thesis [67] (1924) he added that the associated wavelength λ is given by $P = h/\lambda$ $(= \hbar k)$ where P is the momentum of the particle. He also discussed blackbody radiation as what we now call a "photon gas" ([66], dated 1 Oct. 1923, and Sec. 7.2 of [67]). On pp. 455-456 of [66] he argued that a quantum derivation of Plank's radiation law requires use of a factor of two "in consequence of the internal binary symmetry of the light quantum". That is, de Broglie came very close to anticipating Bose's paper [70], as remarked on pp. 370-371 of [136].

It was stated in [94, 117, 118, 124, 134, 135, 139],[5] for which there is no direct evidence, that Bose's[6] original, English paper on quantum statistics (June 1924, but now lost[7]) included an argument that there are two independent states of light quanta for a given energy and momentum, corresponding to two (not three) states of angular momentum with magnitude $\hbar$ (*i.e.*, spin $S = 1$ in units of $\hbar$).[8,9] Bose sent this paper to Einstein, who translated it into German for publication [70], but replaced Bose's argument with the classical observation that light waves have two independent polarization states [72].[10] Bose seemed not to have enough confidence in his argument to publish it later.[11,12]

[5] See also footnote 7, p. 420 of [129].

[6] "Bose" rhymes with "rose" [103].

[7] An earlier version (also now lost) was sent to Phil. Mag. in 1923, but was rejected. See footnote 2 of [69].

[8] Ref. [94] (1931) states on p. 486: *...we understand from a personal communication by Prof. Bose that he envisaged the possibility of the quantum possessing besides energy $h\nu$ and linear momentum $h\nu/c$ also an intrinsic spin or angular momentum $\pm h/2\pi$ round an axis parallel to the direction of its motion. The weight factor 2 thus arises from the possibility of the spin of the quantum being either right-handed or left-handed, corresponding to the two alternative signs of the angular momentum.*

[9] A weaker version of this claim was reported on p. 1219 of [104].

[10] Einstein elaborated on Bose's paper in [74, 75]. A second paper by Bose in 1924 [71] was also translated by Einstein, but Einstein disagreed with that paper [108].

[11] An argument via quantum field theory that massless particles with nonzero (discrete) spin S have only 2 spin components $S_z = \pm S$ along the direction of motion (rather than $2S + 1$ components as for a particle of nonzero mass) was given only in 1948, Sec. 3.II, p. 216 of [99].

[12] A classical argument can be given [109] that gauge invariance of the potentials implies electromagnetic

Meanwhile, studies of the anomalous Zeeman effect suggested that some atoms have energy levels whose angular momentum has the form $(n + 1/2)\hbar$ for integer n (first noted by Lande (1921) [61]). Already in 1920, Compton [59] had speculated that electrons have quantized angular momentum, of value $\hbar$, but only in 1925 did Uhlenbeck and Goudsmit infer from the anomalous Zeeman effect that the electron has intrinsic "spin" of $\hbar/2$ [77, 80].[13,14,15,16]

Einstein's term "light quantum" became replaced by the now-familiar term "photon" following papers by Lewis in 1926 [84, 86], although the physics of these papers was "non-standard".[17]

Once the notion of electron "spin" became accepted, it was natural consider that light quanta also have "spin", as argued, for example, by Beck (1927) [87], and further discussed by Ruark and Urey (1927) [88].

In 1931, Raman discussed other experimental evidence for the angular momentum of light in three little-known papers [92, 93, 94], citing the experiments of Hanle [89] and Bär [90], and crediting Bose for anticipating the existence of photon spin in [94]. The more well known demonstration of the angular momentum of light is that by Beth (1936) [95].

In 1947, p. 210 of [98], Dirac introduced the terms *boson* and *fermion* to describe a particle that obeys Bose-Einstein statistics[18] or Fermi-Dirac statistics [81, 82], respectively. This illustrates the relation between spin and quantum statistics discussed by Fierz (1939) [96] and Pauli (1940) [97] that bosons have integer spin (in units of $\hbar$), while fermions have half-integer spin.[19]

A Appendix: Energy, Momentum and Angular Momentum of Classical Electromagnetic Fields

This Appendix reviews how the "mechanical" concepts of energy, momentum and angular momentum came to be associated with classical electromagnetic fields as well. In particular, the first computation of the a field angular momentum that was recognized as such is due to J.J. Thomson [38].[20] However, that computation had previously been made by both

(and gravitational) plane waves have only two independent polarization states.

[13]Uhlenbeck and Goudsmit were inspired in part by Pauli's discussion of a fourth quantum number of electrons in atoms [76], in the paper that introduced the "exclusion principle".

[14]The term "spin" was used in the second paper of Uhlenbeck and Goudsmit [80].

[15]For reminiscences by Goudsmit and Uhlenbeck, see [102, 106, 107], which mention that Kronig had the idea of electron spin in early 1925, but was discouraged from publishing it by Pauli. Bichowsky and Urey [83] also claimed to have invented the notion of electron spin.

[16]Indirect evidence for nonclassical electron "spin" was obtained by Barnett [52] already in 1915, when he measured the ratio L/μ of the angular momentum L to the magnetic moment μ of electrons in iron to be 1/2 of the classical prediction. However, in the same year Einstein and de Haas [53] reported experimental agreement with the classical model, and Barnett's (correct) result was largely ignored.

[17]As recounted, for example, in [127, 132], the term "photon" was first used by Troland (1916) [54, 55] in a physiological context, and was employed in a similar context by Joly (1921) [60]. Usage of the term "photon" closer to its present meaning occurred in France in 1925 [73, 78, 85], apparently inspired by Perrin.

[18]The term "Bose-Einstein statistics" may have first appeared on p. 609 of [79].

[19]See also [113].

[20]This example was later made famous as the Feynman disk paradox [101, 110].

Darboux [13] and Poincaré [28], who did not realize its physical significance.

A.1 Field Energy

Already by 1800, potential energy was associated with gravity, electrostatics and magnetostatics, but no location was assigned to these energies. In 1856, Maxwell argued on p. 63 of [7] that the magnetic potential energy $U_m = \int \rho_m \Psi_m \, d\mathrm{Vol}/2$ could be re-expressed in terms of the magnetic fields $\mathbf{B}$ and $\mathbf{H} = \mathbf{B}/\mu$, where ρ_m is the density of hypothetical magnetic charge, Ψ_m is the magnetic scalar potential and μ is the relative magnetic permeability, as $U_m = \int \mathbf{B} \cdot \mathbf{H} \, d\mathrm{Vol}/8\pi$ (in Gaussian units), and that the density of magnetic-field energy at some point in space is $\mathbf{B} \cdot \mathbf{H}/8\pi$.

The analogous argument for electric field energy was given by Maxwell in Arts. 630-631 of his *Treatise* [11], *i.e.*, $U_e = \int \rho_e \Psi_e \, d\mathrm{Vol}/2 = \int \mathbf{E} \cdot \mathbf{D} \, d\mathrm{Vol}/8\pi$ such that the density of electric-field energy at some point in space is $\mathbf{D} \cdot \mathbf{E}/8\pi$.[21,22]

A.2 Field Momentum

Apparently, Kepler considered the pointing of comets' tails away from the Sun as evidence for radiation pressure of light [37].

Pressure is associated with force, which is associated with time rate of change of momentum, so the notion of radiation pressure has an implication that light is associated with momentum. However, the historical development of this association was not swift.

The topic of radiation pressure was long dormant, until reconsidered by Balfour Stewart in 1871 [10] for the case of thermal radiation.

After his unification of electricity, magnetism and light [8], Maxwell argued (Art. 792 of [11]) that the radiation pressure P of light is equal to its energy density u,

$$P = u = \frac{D^2}{4\pi} = \frac{H^2}{4\pi} \tag{1}$$

for an electromagnetic wave with fields $\mathbf{D}$ and $\mathbf{H}$ in vacuum, but he did not explicitly associate this pressure with momentum in the electromagnetic field.[23]

Building on the concept of Faraday's electrotonic state,[24] Maxwell did have a vision of electromagnetic momentum, computed as [9, 11] (see also [119]),

$$\mathbf{P}_{\mathrm{EM}}^{(\mathrm{Maxwell})} = \int \frac{\rho \mathbf{A}^{(C)}}{c} \, d\mathrm{Vol}, \tag{2}$$

[21] In Sec. 82, p. 492 of [9], Maxwell noted that if this argument were applied to gravity, assuming the existence of a vector gravitational field $\mathbf{G}$, then the density of gravitational field energy would be $-G^2/8\pi$. Maxwell considered this to be physically implausible, and inferred that gravity is not describable by a vector field.

[22] Some people consider that electrostatic and magnetostatic field energy are part of the rest masses of the charged particles in the system [138].

[23] Maxwell (and Thomson and Lorentz and most others influenced by the concept of a material aether), regarded the fields $\mathbf{D}$ and $\mathbf{H}$ as more "basic" than $\mathbf{E}$ and $\mathbf{B}$.

[24] Art. 60 of [3], Art. 1661 of [4], Arts. 1729 and 1733 of [5], and Art. 3269 of [6].

where ρ is the electric charge density and $\mathbf{A}^{(C)}$ is the vector potential in the Coulomb gauge (that Maxwell used prior to the explicit recognition of gauge conditions [116]). However, the form (2) seems to associate the momentum with charges rather than with fields, although Maxwell sometimes called the vector potential $\mathbf{A}$ the "electromagnetic momentum".[25]

In 1891, J.J. Thomson noted [18] that a sheet of electric displacement $\mathbf{D}$ (in the plane of the sheet) which moves perpendicular to the sheet with velocity $\mathbf{v}$ must be accompanied by a sheet of magnetic field $\mathbf{H} = \mathbf{v}/c \times \mathbf{D}$ according to the free-space Maxwell equation $\boldsymbol{\nabla} \times \mathbf{H} = (1/c)\,\partial\mathbf{D}/\partial t$.[26,27] Then, the motion of the energy density of these sheets implies there is also a momentum density, eqs. (2) and (6) of [18],

$$\mathbf{p}_{\mathrm{EM}}^{(\mathrm{Thomson})} = \frac{\mathbf{D} \times \mathbf{H}}{4\pi c}\,. \tag{3}$$

Also in 1891, Heaviside identified the momentum of the *free ether* in Sec. 26 of [21] as,[28]

$$\mathbf{p}_{\mathrm{EM}}^{(\mathrm{Heaviside})} = \frac{\mathbf{D} \times \mathbf{B}}{4\pi c}\,. \tag{4}$$

This was a clarification of his discussion in 1886, eq. (7a) of [16], of a *magnetoelectric force* $\mathbf{D}/4\pi c \times \partial\mathbf{B}/\partial t$.[29]

In 1893, Thomson transcribed much of his 1891 paper into the beginning of *Recent Researches* [24], adding the remark (p. 9) that the momentum density (3) is closely related to the Poynting vector [14, 15],[30,31]

$$\mathbf{S} = \frac{c}{4\pi}\mathbf{E} \times \mathbf{H}. \tag{5}$$

The form (3) was also used by Poincaré in 1900 [31], following Lorentz' convention [22] that the force on electric charge q be written $q(\mathbf{D} + \mathbf{v}/c \times \mathbf{H})$, and that the Poynting vector is $(c/4\pi)\,\mathbf{D} \times \mathbf{H}$. In 1903 Abraham [36] argued for,

$$\mathbf{p}_{\mathrm{EM}}^{(\mathrm{Abraham})} = \frac{\mathbf{E} \times \mathbf{H}}{4\pi c} = \frac{\mathbf{S}}{c^2}\,, \tag{6}$$

and in 1908 Minkowski [41] advocated the form,[32,33]

$$\mathbf{p}_{\mathrm{EM}}^{(\mathrm{Minkowski})} = \frac{\mathbf{D} \times \mathbf{B}}{4\pi c}\,. \tag{7}$$

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[25] See, for example, the discussion of p. 503 of [137].

[26] This example was illustrated more clearly by Feynman in Sec. 18-4 of [101], who considered a sheet of uniform charge density that is suddenly given a velocity in the plane of the sheet. Then, Faraday's law, $\boldsymbol{\nabla} \times \mathbf{E} = -(1/c)\,\partial\mathbf{B}/\partial t$, combined with the Maxwell equation for $\mathbf{H}$ implies that the velocity of propagation of the fields $\mathbf{E}$ and $\mathbf{B}$ (or $\mathbf{D}$ and $\mathbf{H}$) away from the charged sheet is $v = c$ in vacuum, which point seems to have been initially overlooked by Thomson, although noted by him in Sec. 265 of [27].

[27] A variant of Thomson's argument was given by Heaviside in 1891, Sec. 45 of [19].

[28] See also p. 557 of [26] and p. 495 of [20].

[29] Heaviside also mentioned this concept in 1889 on pp. 399-330 of [17].

[30] Thomson argued, in effect, that the field momentum density (3) is related by $\mathbf{p}_{\mathrm{EM}} = \mathbf{S}/c^2 = u\mathbf{v}/c^2$ [18, 24]. See also eq. (19), p. 79 of [23], and p. 6 of [51]. The energy flow velocity defined by $\mathbf{v} = \mathbf{S}/u$ cannot exceed c; see, for example, Sec. 2.1.4 of [121] and Sec. 4.3 of [122].

[31] The idea that an energy flux vector is the product of energy density and energy flow velocity seems to be due to Umov [12], based on Euler's continuity equation [2] for mass flow, $\boldsymbol{\nabla} \cdot (\rho\mathbf{v}) = -\partial\rho/\partial t$.

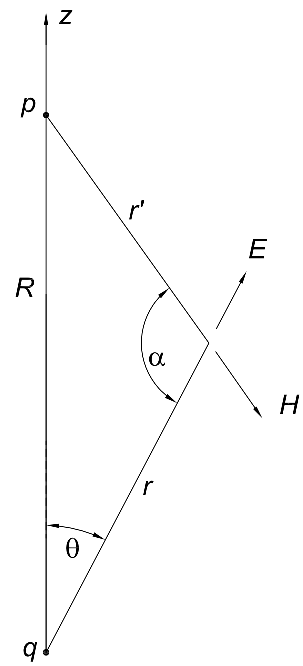
[32] Minkowski, like Poynting [14], Heaviside [15] and Abraham [36], wrote the Poynting vector as $\mathbf{E} \times \mathbf{H}$. See eq. (75) of [41].

[33] For some remarks on the "perpetual" Abraham-Minkowski debate see [125].

Thomson did not relate the momentum density (3) to the radiation pressure P of light, eq. (1), until 1904 (p. 355 of [38]) when he noted that $P = F/A = c\, p_{\rm EM} = D^2/4\pi = H^2/4\pi$ for fields moving with speed c in vacuum, for which $D = H$. He also gave an argument (p. 348 of [38]) that the forms (2) and (3) for field momentum are equivalent once the sources of the fields are taken into account.[34]

A.3 Field Angular Momentum

In 1904, J.J. Thomson [38] considered a (Gilbertian) magnetic (mono)pole p and electric charge q, both at rest (although we now consider that such monopoles do not exist).



Suppose the electric charge q is at the origin, and the magnetic pole p at distance R away along the positive z-axis, as shown in the figure above. Then, the (Abraham) field-momentum density is, in spherical coordinates $(r, \theta\, \phi)$,

$$\mathbf{p}_{\rm EM} = \frac{\mathbf{E} \times \mathbf{H}}{4\pi c} = \frac{pq \sin\alpha}{4\pi c\, r^2 r'^2}\, \hat{\boldsymbol{\phi}} = \frac{pqR \sin\theta}{4\pi c\, r^2 r'^3}\, \hat{\boldsymbol{\phi}}\,, \tag{8}$$

noting that $H = p/r'^2$ for the magnetic pole, and that $\sin\alpha/R = \sin\theta/r'$ by the sine law.[35]

Thomson also considered the angular momentum in the electromagnetic fields of the pole

[34] Possibly, Thomson delayed publishing the relation of radiation pressure to his expression (3) until he could demonstrate its equivalence to Maxwell's form (2). For other demonstrations of this equivalence, see [120], and Appendix B of [126].

[35] The electromagnetic momentum (8) circulates azimuthally, such that the total electromagnetic momentum $\mathbf{P}_{\rm EM}$ is zero, $\mathbf{P}_{\rm EM} = \int \mathbf{p}_{\rm EM}\, d{\rm Vol} = 0$. Further, the total electromagnetic-field momentum for any configuration of static magnetic poles and electric charges is zero, being the sum of the momenta of all pairs of such particles. Hence, Thomson demonstrated the notable fact that electromagnetic field momentum can be nonzero only if electric charges, or Gilbertian magnetic poles (should they exist), are in motion. See also [112].

plus charge,

$$\mathbf{L}_{\rm EM} = \int \mathbf{r} \times \mathbf{p}_{\rm EM}\, d{\rm Vol} = -\frac{pqR}{4\pi c} \int \frac{r \sin\theta}{r^2 r'^3}\, d{\rm Vol}\, \hat{\boldsymbol{\theta}}. \tag{9}$$

This has only a nonzero z-component,

$$\begin{aligned} L_{{\rm EM},z} &= \frac{pqR}{2c} \int_{-1}^{1} \sin^2\theta\, d\cos\theta \int_0^\infty \frac{r\, dr}{(r^2 - 2rR\cos\theta + R^2)^{3/2}} \\ &= \frac{pqR}{2c} \int_{-1}^{1} \sin^2\theta\, d\cos\theta\, \frac{1+\cos\theta}{R\sin^2\theta} = \frac{pq}{c}\,, \end{aligned} \tag{10}$$

using Dwight 380.013 [100].[36] The angular momentum vector $\mathbf{L}_{\rm EM}$ points from the electric charge q to the magnetic pole p.[37]

In 1904 the notion of quantizing angular momentum was still years away, and the provocative result (10), that the angular momentum of a magnetic pole (if such exists) plus electric charge is independent of their separation, went unremarked until 1931 when Dirac [91] argued that $pq/c = \hbar/2$ (if magnetic poles p exist). See also Sec. 6.12 of [115].

The next discussions (after [38]) of classical electromagnetic-field angular momentum may have been by Poynting (1909) [42] and by Abraham (1914) [50].

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[36] The constant of the motion (10) had been deduced by Darboux in 1878 [13] and by Poincaré in 1896 [28], but this was not recognized as field angular momentum by them [130].

[37] On p. 348 of [38], Thomsom discussed a small dipole magnet together with an electric charge, noting that if the magnetic field went to zero the initial field angular momentum would be transfered to mechanical angular momentum of the system. This is the origin of the Feynman disk paradox [101, 110].

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[This meeting featured an inspirational address by W. Thomson (later Lord Kelvin) as a memorial to Herschel; among many other topics Thomson speculates on the size of atoms, on the origin of life on Earth as due to primitive organisms arriving in meteorites, and on how the Sun's source of energy cannot be an influx of matter as might, however, explain the small advance of the perihelion of Mercury measured by LeVerrier.];
On Æthereal Friction, Brit. Assoc. Reports, 43rd Meeting, Notes and Abstracts, pp. 32-35 (1873). https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/94452#page/664/mode/1up
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Stewart argued that the radiation resistance felt by a charge moving through blackbody radiation should vanish as the temperature of the bath went to zero, just as he expected the electrical resistance of a conductor to vanish at zero temperature. [The 43rd meeting was also the occasion of a report by Maxwell on the exponential atmosphere as an example of statistical mechanics (pp. 29-32), by Rayleigh on the diffraction limit to the sharpness of spectral lines (p. 39), and perhaps of greatest significance to the attendees, a note by A.H. Allen on the detection of adulteration of tea (p. 62).]

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