# The Discovery of the "Chandrasekhar mass" and the Chandrasekhar-Eddington controversy

Giora Shaviv, Technion

beautifully illustrated book describes the birth and evolution of the ry of stellar structure through the vehement controversy between biol-(as presented by Darwin) and physics (as presented by Kelvin) about the of the Earth, which culminated with Rutherford suggesting radioactive ng. Shaviv analyzes critically many proclaimed scientific results, shownow and why they were wrong, and explains why it took decades to find now accepted scientific answers – where there are such – and why there ains much more to be done before we can say we fully understand what beens up there in the heavens.

Life of Stars provides fascinating reading for all those interested in the s, in the history of astronomy and in what their story tells us about how nee progresses. Moreover, it will bring readers up-to-date on current elems in astrophysics. The Life of Stars

# The Life of Stars

The Controversial Inception and Emergence of the Theory of Stellar Structure







#### quantum+special relativistic effect









- ne plan of the tank
- he discovery of the exclusion principle (Pauli & St
- ne application to the theory of metals Statistics ermi, Dirac Sommerfeld, Fowler)
- rom metals to stars (Fowler)
- eas about a limiting mass and the need of relativity okrovski, Anderson, Stoner)
- Chandrasekhar & Eddington
- Vhat was the controversy about and why did

#### he bizarre way some great personalities may behav

#### The star that caused the commotion in astrophysi

# Sirius A & B



The foundation: The Pauli Exclusion Principle 1924

low Stoner's contribution was neglected

The Fermi-Dirac statistics 1926

Ralf Fowler:The merger of Fermi-Dirac with gravit Solution of Sirius B - 1926

The hypothesis of the existence of a limiting mass

t was not by Chandrasekhar - guess who got it fir





Edmund Clifton Stoner (1899-1968)

The man who was not awarded two Nobel prizes - Wolfgang Pauli (1900 - 1958)

Nobel prize 1945

## ect arrangement of the electrons in the atomic sh

t electron arrangement in atoms found by Edmund Stoner (1899-1968) in 1924. On optical spectra, Stoner attempted to find the arrangement of the electrons in the levels.

reviewed previous trials to find the distribution of the electrons and showed that non of posed schemes worked. It is remarkable stated by Stoner, that:

mber of electrons in each complete level is equal to double the sum of the inner quantun gned. The electrons appeared to come in pairs which occupy the same quantum states.

s distribution of electrons was the one we know today and as Stoner had already shown ed the chemical and the physical properties along the periodic table. In this distribution hs come in pairs, and not more than two occupy the same quantum state.

went one step further and characterized the states of the electrons by two numbers, the e was identical to the principal quantum number n of Bohr, and a second one could take to n - 1. Stoner indeed noticed, that each electron has another *l* value.

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# The electron arrangement as found by Stoner and confirmed by Pauli

# sequence of 2,8,18... of the electrons and failed.

t time the following essential remark by Stoner was published: For a given value principal quantum number is the number of energy levels of a single electron in the alka a in an external magnetic field the same as the number of electrons in osed shell of the rare gases which corresponds to this principal quantum number.

is sentence by Stoner, as Pauli wrote, which led him to the idea that:

omplicated numbers of electrons in closed subgroups are reduced to the simple number of on of the group by giving the values of the four quantum numbers electron is carried so far that every degeneracy is removed . An entirely non degenerate ady closed , if it occupied by a single electron. States in contradiction with this postulate ed.

eneral principle was finally formulated in the spring of 1925 in Hamburg. pler words: in a given system of many electrons, no two electrons can have the

#### 20.1 cm a Drac appreciace the meaning the r Er

ermi wanted to satisfy Nernst law: you cannot reach absolute zero temperature in a finite number of steps.

No mention of electrons in the paper

ording to Pauli (1944) the connection between spin and statistics is one nost important application of the special theory of relativity theory.

# Note the intimate connection PEP and special



#### White Dwarf Stars in M4 PRC95-32 · ST Scl OPO · August 28, 1995 · H. Bond (ST Scl), NASA

#### HST · WFPC2

# Now to the sky

WD appeared as oling objects and was a problem to ington









Upon contraction Pgrav and hence Pgas heating!

- f thongravitation Electron and the rest is radiated away. So stars are un ounter balance) and the rest is radiated away. So stars are un ts, they lose energy all their life and as a consequence heat nversely, the stars cannot cool!
- ddington's words: We can scarcely credit the star with suf sight to retain more than 90% in reserve for the difficulty iting it. ...Imagine a body continually losing heat but with fficient energy to grow cold!.

- h Howard Fowler(1889-1944m) was a ing physicists with contributions to
- stical mechanics and astrophysics.
- 925 he worked out with Guggenheim on the
- erties of stellar material assuming that the gas tars behaves like an ideal gas. Fowler had also contribution heory of stellar spectra. Fowler was the first to apply the hi-Dirac statistics to WD.

ler served as a lieutenant in the Royal Marine Artillery and was seriously nded during the battle of Galipoli, a battle in which Moseley lost his life. ler married Eileen, Rutherford's only daughter. Fermi-Dirac statistics , was communicated by Fowler to the Royal Society on August

vember 3, Fowler communicated a paper of his own in

the application of the laws of the new quantum theory to the statistical mechanics olies consisting of similar particles was systematically

ped and incorporated into the general scheme of the Darwin-Fowler method.

cember 10 his paper entitled Dense Matter was read before the Royal Astronomical

er solved the Eddington's paradox by applying the Fermi-Dirac statister at high densities. What Fowler found was that the ultimate state was h which the star can be considered as a gigantic atom with only one guration. The star, if it is devoid of energy sources, can reach zero erature and the pressure generated by the compresses electrons wo enough to balance the weight of the stellar layers attempting to collar of the stellar layers.

like a quantum system! This is part of Eddington's problem to accept

Eddington did not attack Fowler

assumed that all atoms were stripped of their electrons and the electrons roam freely in the value of the stripped of their electrons and the electrons roam freely in the vas shown before by Eddington.

re star is strictly analogous to one gigantic molecule in its lowest quantum state.

est quantum state Fowler meant that all states are occupied like in an atom on the Earth.

Sommerfeld included quantum statistics in Lorentz+Drude metal theory. at Fowler's idea to see the entire star as a single system or as a piece of metal (but with of their electrons) in which the Fermi-Dirac statistics plays the dominant role, preceded ion of the Fermi-Dirac statistics to metals.

asekhar, in his obituary to Fowler, described this discovery as among the more importar stronomical discoveries of our time. Indeed, Fowler's application of the Pauli Exclusion e in the form of the Fermi-Dirac statistics changed stellar evolution forever. Fowler, in on's language, allowed stars to die by cooling.

# If you think that Fowler got the Nobel prize

# ndirectly correct idea but mpletely wrong arguments



ut of the blue, a Russian author, Pokrowski appeared.

ski: the maximum density of the matter in the star is obtained when all atoms lose their enuclei touch each other. Provided nuclei cannot be compressed, found later to be the case, this should be the maximum density matter can be in. This stat oday as nuclear matter . Pokrowski estimated this density to be  $3\pm 1$  gm/cc.

The maximal density is fixed, there exists a stellar mass for which the energy to escape exceeds the rest mass energy  $E = mc^2$ , and hence no energy/particle can leave annot be observed. According to Pokrowski's calculations, this mass is 30.29 M $\odot$ .

ski's calculation was based on Newtonian mechanics. In a way, Pokrowski essentially ruries old calculation by Laplace who discussed the idea that the limiting state of a star is a stoprevent the light from escaping it

#### 

en years after the discovery of general relativity by Einstein and 12 after Schwarzschild discovered his solution to the general theory of relativity, there was ation to carry out a calculation which ignored completely general relativity. Moreover, yski formulated his result by stating that:

ong gravitational field curves the space around the star in an extraordinary way which is ge of the general theory of relativity. So it is plausible to assume that Pokrowski knew al l Relativity and still published a wrong calculation.

here was no reference to Fowler's seminal work. On the contrary, Pokrowski adopted ton's assumption for stars on the main sequence, namely that the stars behave like ideal

#### ISONS

- y a year after the publication of Pokrowski's 3 pages long paper, Wil rson from Tartu university in Estonia, took Pokrowski's idea a bit furt ating a calculation without GR, Anderson argued as follows:
- minosity that the star radiates is equivalent to mass, so when the sta es into space it decreases its mass. (Forgot Jeans)
- Iculated therefore, how much mass a star loses as a function of the al mass before it reaches the limiting density. For example, if the initi is 334 M<sub> $\odot$ </sub> about 0.55 M<sub> $\odot$ </sub> of the stellar mass is radiated before the states the limiting density and when the initial mass is 4.82 × 10<sup>7</sup> M<sub> $\odot$ </sub> the is 370 M<sub> $\odot$ </sub> so that the amount radiated away is  $D^{-6} = 0.9999999$  of the initial mass. Hence, concluded Anderson, the f

erson then criticized Eddington's claim that the gravitational contraction energy is fficient to support the Sun for billions of years. The contraction, claimed Anderson, be so high that it can easily supply all the energy the Sun needs in its lifetime. erson was right from the point of view of the energy balance. aclear transmutation of hydrogen into helium about 0.007 of the rest mass is

verted into energy. So if gravitational contraction can supply the entire rest mass, ould be able to supply a small part of it.

ever, Anderson did not carry out a calculation of the lifetime of the Sun and did r to the necessary changes in the radius of the Sun, had it really derived its energy craction. As a matter of fact, except for references to Pokrowski, Eddington, and he value of the constant of gravity), Anderson chose to ignore all previously pub its. After sending the paper for publication, Anderson became aware of Stoner's remarked correctly in 'a note added in proof' that Stoner ignored the change e mass of the the electron due to special relativity and hence his results are for small stellar masses. Anderson was right about this point. point Stoner re-entered the picture and published a sequence of papers in the idea of a limiting pass evolved gradually.

r developed the idea that there may be a limiting density not due to nuclei los lectrons but due to the 'jamming' of the electrons which must obey the Fermi cs.

There exists a limiting density which is smaller than the one assumed by wski and Anderson. Stoner mentioned Jeans stellar stability theory (which wa et proven to be wrong) that a star cannot be stable if it satisfies the ideal gas to the matter in a stable star must be in a liquid state. Stoner cited from the newl hed book by Jeans that: In white dwarfs atoms are mainly ionized down to their heir jamming, rather than that of the nuclei, which results in the departure from the rhich ensure the stability of the star.

ner adopted the new theory of Fowler and assumed that the mean molecular we te dwarfs is 2.5. To simplify the calculation he assumed that the density in the st n and does not change from the high density in the center to vanishing density c e. If the star behaves like a liquid, this assumption is logical. in criticism Stoner had been on the accuracy of the approximations Anderson and not on the idea that relativity is important. Stoner found the way to carry the ion accurately (by using the energy of the particles instead of the mass). Again, ed a mean molecular weight of 2.5.

a of a limiting mass due to relativistic degeneracy appeared for the first time in t and the approximate value for it is very close to the accurate one. The effect of ecial theory of relativity is clearly seen. Without incorporating relativity the curve d was the straight line which shows no signs of 'saturation' or tending to a finite ass.



e the power to provide the energy to the electrons so as to allow fur raction. The resulting density (for a molecular weight of 2.5) was for e:

# $\rho = 3.85 \text{ X I0}^{6} (\text{M/Msun}) \text{gm/cc}$

r: Stars that reach this density cannot contract anymore, so they cannot extract ne gravitational field and consequently they do not shine, they are dark and at ze rature.

- mean density of B is 5×10<sup>4</sup>gm/cc, ni B is 9.8 × 10<sup>4</sup> gm/cc, Aaanen' s star has a mean density in excess of 10<sup>5</sup> gm/cc on B has a mean density of several thousands.
- mass of Sirius B is 0.85M $_{\odot}$ , then according to Stoner the maximum density shoux 10^6 gm/cc and
- ni B with a mass of  $0.44M_{\odot}$ gm/cc should have a maximum density of  $7.48 \times 10^{5}$ gm e the temperatures of the stars are not yet zero, it appeared that the observed ties agree nicely with the predictions of the theory. Moreover, if the density in the shat can be compared with observations. Indeed, the minimal radius of Sirius B value to be 0.0075 R<sub>☉</sub>, while the observations yielded 0.03 R<sub>☉</sub>.
- ridani B the minimal theoretical radius was 0.011 R<sub> $\odot$ </sub>, while the ved was 0.018 R<sub> $\odot$ </sub>. Every star has a minimal radius, and it cannot contract beyo adius.  $\rho = 3.85 \times 10^6$  gm/cm<sup>3</sup>.

er assumed that white dwarfs, which are at the end of the station, are composed of lead, and the mean molecular weighed lead is 207.2/(82 + 1) = 2.50. Jeans derived a molecular 6 because he assumed the matter of the dwarf stars to be bosed of uranium.

id not discuss what happens to stars which are more massive than the limiting mass. D forever? At a later time (1930) Stoner attempted to improve the estimates of the limiting to account the density distribution. To that goal he applied the model polytropes from E asgugeIn monogram. His result was 1Msun.

ssure of the condensed electron gas varies like  $\rho^{5/3}$  at low densities and as  $\rho^{4/3}$  at high s.

change in the exponent which would be the subject of the fierce and emotionally charg up controversy between Chandrasekhar and Eddington.

s papers were communicated by Eddington to the journal.

on communicated papers which included a result he objected to. Moreover, Stoner ende ith acknowledgment to Eddington for proposing the problem of the 'upper limits'.

ct that partly the reason why Stoner's cardinal contribution to the theory of white dwarf ed by astrophysicists is because of its publication in The Philosophical Magazine, a jou ently read by astrophysicists.

# Despite his objection to the result,

sekhar (1910-1995) met Sommerfeld in 1928 during Sommerfeld's trip to India and hea on the new theory of metals and the Fermi-Dirac statistics.

sekhar even got the galley proofs of the new book from Sommerfeld. Chandrasekhar ap ory of metals to stars. The reverse of Fowler!

ime Chandrasekhar decided to go to England and not Germany though the intentions of feld's visit to India were to strengthen the relations between German and Indian science ision might have been affected by the language barriers.

ference of England over Germany had major consequences and impact on Chandrasekh ing years.

e being on the boat going from India to England, at the age of 19, drasekhar worked out the limiting mass of white dwarfs, rk that granted him the Nobel prize in 1983 (Stoner died in 1968)

basic difference between Stoner's limiting mass expression (which drasekhar apparently was not aware of while on the boat) and drasekhar's was that the latter included a better model for the ity distribution in the star and consequently, obtained a supposedly material rate value for the limiting mass. Indeed, the first result for the limiting obtained by Chandrasekhar was 0.91Mo. Chandrasekhar compared his result with that of Stoner and concluded that:

preement between the accurate working out, based on the theory of the polytropes, e cruder form of the theory is rather surprising.

rasekhar knew about Eddington's objection to the idea of a limiting mass, yo page long note was published in the American Astrophysical Journal although the ant astrophysical literature on the subject of stars was published at that time was the ly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society.

uld be noted that Chandrasekhar used to write long and comprehensive papers and the limiting pass was exceptionally short by Chandrasekhar standards. In only wonder why Chandrasekhar chose this venue for his seminal contribution.

e piquant side, Chandrasekhar was Fowler's PhD student in Cambridge and got the o 3 and his limiting mass prize winning paper was published while he was still a gradu t. summary, what Stoner first and Chandrasekhar second t independently proved was that cold stars are stable for asses smaller than the limiting mass, while more massive are apparently unstable. ddington argued that there is no such a thing as "relativistic degeneracy"

1935 Eddington published the first straightforward attack on the ea that special relativistic effects are important to the theory of hite dwarfs.

lington argued that Chandrasekhar combined spe relativity with non relativistic quantum mechanics One may wonder what triggered Eddington's and why he was upset, to put it mildly, with Chandrasekhar's result.

Any be the answer can be found in the introduction to his paper Jsing the relativistic formula, he (Chandrasekhar) finds the a so of large mass will never become degenerate, but will remain practically a perfect gas up to the highest densities contemplat When its supply of subatomic energy is exhausted, the star mucontinue radiating energy and therefore contracting - presumation intil, at a diameter of a few kilometer, its gravitation becomes strong enough to prevent the escape of radiation.

This result seems to me almost a reductio ad absurdum of the elativistic formula. It must at least rouse suspicion as to the oundness of its foundation.

ington and appreciated Milne's core-envelope mo

# dington detested Milne and disapproved of his mo

In a sthe remotest chance of being right.
In a sthe remotest chance of being right.

Chandrasekhar had almost a daily contact with dington and told him about his results. Eddington never attacked or criticized Chandrasekhar in private, always in public in front of great audience other words, Eddington did not believe in the physical reality of th chwarzschild solution, exactly like Einstein who refused to accept in hysical one.

b, because he did not believe in what we call today black holes, he rned the argument namely, if Chandrasekhar's theory leads to the rmation of black holes, it must be wrong.

y guess is that Chandrasekhar knew about Eddington's basic reas r the objection to his results and for this reason refrained from edicting the fate of massive star in his communication to the Roya stronomical Society (February, 1934) and speculated about the nathe interaction between the nuclei change at high densities

# years.

# The final victory



# o far we discussed what appears in the profession literature.



# Royal Society dinner , June 12, 1936. Chandra is Eddington's guest and sits by him

## Royal Society meeting

- 935 IAU Paris meeting: Eddington claims "Chandrasekhar result is simple heresy"
- There is no such a thing as relativistic degeneracy

### ohr, Pauli and Dirac

# osenfeld response:

ay say that your letter was *some* surprise for me: for nobody had ever amt of questioning the equations, and Eddington's remark as reported your letter is utterly obscure. So I think you had better cheer up and let you scare so much by high priests: for I suppose you know ough Marxist history to be aware of the fundamental identity of high ests and mountebanks.....

if "Eddington's principle" had any sense at all, it would be different from Paul uld you perhaps induce Eddington to state his views in terms intelligible to hu rtals? What are the mysterious reasons of relativistic invariance which compel nulate a natural law in what seems to ordinary human beings a non-relativistic nner. That would be curious to know.

# enfeld, Bohr and Pauli unwilling to challenge Edding

he relations between Eddington and Chandrasekh emained warm and cordial.They exchanged letters 936 Chandrasekhar recruited Rudolf Peierls (1907-1995), a ing nuclear physicist, to write a note on the derivation of the ation for a relativistic gas. This time the paper was municated to the MNRAS by Chandrasekhar. e end though it was Chandrasekhar who had to thank Peier rls discussed Eddington's contentions that the behavior of in the star may depend on the shape of the volume inside v rls admitted that the solution was obvious, but in view of the roversy it is perhaps worthwhile to give a proof.

cknowledgment to Chandrasekhar appeared at the end thous as Chandrasekhar who had to thank Peierls.

spite the fact that Chandrasekhar was invited to g ted talks on the limiting mass, Eddington exercised ormous influence and prevented Chandrasekhar fr g invited to international conferences. It was clear ndra had no future in England and he left for the l and did not return to England for over 30 years. tely arbitrary, there is no guaranty that such a star actually exists. Namely, of all e luminosities and masses only certain combinations correspond to actual stars I claimed that Milne reached this conclusion because he assumed the absorptio ent to be constant throughout the star.

more, Landau claimed that this assumption was made for mathematical convent thing to do with reality. Under this limiting assumption the radius of the star disapped e L, M, R relation. Moreover, any real absorption coefficient leads to a relation b R and in this way be exempt from the criticism put forwards Eddington's mass-luminosity relation.

dau proposed to overcome this problem by 'methods of theoretical physics', a ent reminiscent of Eddington's years ago logo. What Landau did was to derive to on for the structure of the star (the equation of hydrostatics) from thermodynamic iderations based on dynamics, which is the usual way. Assuming the cold (vanis ature) gas to obey the Fermi-Dirac statistics and without mentioning whic es of the gas that obey this statistics, Landau derived that the gas should a the equation used by Eddington for his gaseous stars (supported by radi mandrasekhar for his white dwarf (supported by a gas But, Landau noticed that: As in reality such masses exist quietly as s show any such ridiculous tendencies, we must conclude that all star or than 1.5Mo certainly posses regions in which the laws of quantum anics are violated.

led Landau to assume such a far reaching conclusion? As Landau ated: As we have no reason to believe that stars can be divided into ally different classes according to the condition if the mass is greate or than M<sub>crit</sub>, we may suppose that all stars posses such pathological s.

ospect, it is difficult to understand why the assumption of the violation of theory by stars, which contradicts Landau's very first premise ab theoretical physics, was easier to accept than the assumption that s ave different courses of evolution depending on their mass, or was it esentment from a collapse to a black hole? Should we apply Landau's s quotation: Cosmologist are often wrong but never in doubt to this c n of Chandrasekhar's of Stoner's discoveries of a childar mass whi not too long before. The only paper Landau mentioned was his own j eierls.

1 Chandrasekhar extended his research in two directions: in a paper unicated by Milne, he expanded Milne's theory of collapsed objects oted to explain the structure of white dwarfs. At the end of this paper rasekhar gave a table in which he separated between the fate of the stars and the high mass stars, just the point Landau rejected.

cember 1932 Russell gave the First Maiben Lecture before the American Associatio cement of Science the topic being: The Constitution of the Stars. He stated that: The have, within the last few years, changed their role from most perplexing to the best tood class of stars. The present theory of their nature (which we owe to Milne) is the notable triumph of the application of general physics to stellar constitution. All the were attributed to Milne and his colleagues at Oxford. The cambridgian Chandrase t even mentioned. sary to emphasize one major result of the whole investigation, namely, that be taken as well established that the life history of a star of small mass mutially different from the life history of star of large mass. For a star of small tural white dwarf stage is an initial step towards complete extinction. A star cannot pass into the white dwarf stage, and one is left speculating on othe illities.

rasekhar final paper on the limiting mass with the new and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and rigorous derivation of the limiting mass for Wps came in 1935. First, Chandrasekhar removed any references to circle and the second derivation of the limiting mass of the limiting mass of the limit of the linit of the o write this time: configurations of greater mass must be composite (which means Milne's models) these composite configurations have a natural limit ...zero radius. In a foot If a composite configurations of the top of the top of the composite (which means Milne's models) these composite configurations have a natural limit ...zero radius. In a foot If a composite considerations that when the central density is high enough for marked deviations from the known gas laws to occur, the configuration then would have s he oppestion in manatinappens to masses above it of miting a mass of What Ohandras ed to state in the previous paper he dared to write this time: configurations of gro nust be composite (which means Milne's models) these composite configuration al limit ...zero radius. In a footnote Chandrasekhar added that: In the previous p idency of the radius to zero was formally avoided by introducing a state of 'maxi ' for matter, but now we shall not introduce any such states, namely for the rea s from general considerations that when the central density is high enough for d deviations from the known gas laws to occur, the configuration then would hav adii that they would cease to have any practical importance in astrophysics. In c Chandrasekhar did not believe at that time in the reality of what we call today b

### Black Holes

# 9 (two months later) Einstein published an examp (proof?) that no collapse to BH takes place.

Eddington published his last paper on the physics of white dwarfs where he reperuments why the Stoner-Anderson formula was wrong. A formula established emin conditions, claimed Eddington, is extended to conditions in which it has not be by a procedure known as 'the principle of induction' or less euphemistically as lation'. Such extrapolation, though often leading to progress, is fairly sure to bre sooner or later . . . Eddington betrayed his own principles about the universal values is a laws.

## o not be afraid of big names, they may be in error

ireat names may make great errors

he truth eventualy comes out



ngton was an english quaker. Refused the draft dur WWI. Never married.

ington did a lot to bring german science to englan ught relativity to england at a time german science o a large extent ignored in england or was at a fier competition

Chandrasekhar was married never had children handrasekhar descends from a noble indian family who had several famous scientists