

Appendix F

The traditional Indian planetary model and its revision by Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī¹

It is now generally recognized that the Kerala school of Indian astronomers,² starting from Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma (1340–1420 CE), made important contributions to mathematical analysis much before this subject developed in Europe. The Kerala astronomers derived infinite series for π , sine and cosine functions and also developed fast convergent approximations to them.³

Here we shall explain how the Kerala school also made equally significant discoveries in astronomy, and particularly in planetary theory. Mādhava's disciple Parameśvara of Vaṭsaśeri (c. 1380–1460) is reputed to have made continuous and careful observations for over 55 years. He is famous as the originator of the *Drg-gaṇita* system, which replaced the older *Parahita* system. He also discussed the geometrical picture of planetary motion as would follow from the traditional Indian planetary model.

¹ This appendix, prepared by K. Ramasubramanian, M. D. Srinivas and M. S. Sriram, is a revised and updated version of the following earlier studies on the subject: (i) K. Ramasubramanian, M. D. Srinivas and M. S. Sriram, Modification of the Earlier Indian Planetary Theory by the Kerala Astronomers (c. 1500) and the implied Heliocentric Picture of Planetary Motion, *Current Science* 66, 784–790, 1994. (ii) M. S. Sriram, K. Ramasubramanian and M. D. Srinivas (eds), *500 Years of Tantrasangraha: A Landmark in the History of Astronomy*, IAS, Shimla 2002, pp. 29–102. (iii) Epilogue: Revision of Indian Planetary Model by Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī, in *Gaṇita-yukti-bhāṣā* of Jyeṣṭhadeva, ed. and tr. K. V. Sarma with Explanatory Notes by K. Ramasubramanian, M. D. Srinivas and M. S. Sriram, 2 vols, Hindustan Book Agency, Delhi 2008; repr. Springer, 2009, vol II, pp. 837–856.

² For the Kerala school of astronomy, see for instance, K. V. Sarma, *A Bibliography of Kerala and Kerala-based Astronomy and Astrology*, Hoshiarpur 1972; K. V. Sarma, *A History of the Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy*, Hoshiarpur 1972.

³ For overviews of the Kerala tradition of mathematics, see S. Parameswaran, *The Golden Age of Indian Mathematics*, Kochi 1998; G. G. Joseph, *The Crest of the Peacock: Non-European Roots of Mathematics*, 2nd edn. Princeton 2000; C. K. Raju, *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics: The Nature of Mathematical Proof and the Transmission of the Calculus from India to Europe in the 16th c. CE*, Pearson Education, Delhi 2007; Kim Plofker, *History of Mathematics in India: From 500 BCE to 1800 CE*, Princeton 2009; G. G. Joseph (ed.), *Kerala Mathematics: History and Possible Transmission to Europe*, B. R. Publishing, New Delhi 2009. See also the detailed mathematical notes in *Gaṇita-yukti-bhāṣā* cited above.

Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr (c. 1444–1550), a disciple of Parameśvara's son Dāmodara, carried out a fundamental revision of the traditional planetary theory. In his treatise *Tantrasaṅgraha*, composed in 1500, Nīlakaṇṭha outlines the detailed computational scheme of his revised planetary model. For the first time in the history of Astronomy, Nīlakaṇṭha proposed that in the case of an interior planet (Mercury or Venus), the *manda*-correction or the equation of centre should be applied to what was traditionally identified as the *śighrocca* of the planet—which, in the case of interior planets, corresponds to what we currently refer to as the mean heliocentric planet. This was a radical departure from the traditional Indian planetary model where the *manda*-correction for an interior planet was applied to the mean Sun.⁴

In this way, Nīlakaṇṭha arrived at a much better formulation of the equation of centre and the latitudinal motion of the interior planets than was available either in the earlier Indian works or in the Islamic or the Greco-European traditions of astronomy till the work of Kepler, which was to come more than a hundred years later. In fact, in so far as the computation of the planetary longitudes and latitudes is concerned, Nīlakaṇṭha's revised planetary model closely approximates to the Keplerian model, except that Nīlakaṇṭha conceives of the planets as going in eccentric orbits around the mean Sun rather than the true Sun.

In his *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, Nīlakaṇṭha explains the rationale behind his revision of the traditional planetary theory. This has to do with the fact (which was noticed by several Indian astronomers prior to Nīlakaṇṭha) that the traditional Indian planetary model employed entirely different schemes for computing the latitudes of the exterior and the interior planets. While the latitudes of the exterior planets were computed from their so-called *manda-sphuṭa* (which corresponds to what we currently refer to as the true heliocentric planet), the latitudes of the interior planets were computed from their so-called *śighrocca*. Nīlakaṇṭha argued that since the latitude should be dependent on the deflection (from the ecliptic) of the planet itself and not of any other body, what was traditionally referred to as the *śighrocca* of an interior planet should be identified with the planet itself. Nīlakaṇṭha also showed that this would lead to a unified treatment of the latitudinal motion of all the planets—interior as well as exterior.⁵

In *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, Nīlakaṇṭha also discusses the geometrical picture of planetary motion implied by his revised model.⁶ This geometrical picture, which is also stated by Nīlakaṇṭha succinctly in terms of a few verses in *Golasāra* and *Siddhānta-darpaṇa*, is essentially that the planets move in eccentric orbits (which

⁴ It had also been a general feature of all ancient planetary theories in the Greco-European and the Islamic traditions of astronomy, till the work of Kepler, that the equation of centre for an interior planet was wrongly applied to the mean Sun.

⁵ In fact, it has been noted in a later text, *Vikṣepagolavāsanā*, that Nīlakaṇṭha pioneered a revision of the traditional planetary theory in order to arrive at a unified formulation of the motion in latitude of both the interior and the exterior planets.

⁶ The renowned Malayalam work *Gaṇīta-yukti-bhāṣā* (c. 1530) of Jyeṣṭhadeva also gives a detailed exposition of the geometrical picture of planetary motion as per the planetary model of Nīlakaṇṭha outlined in *Tantrasaṅgraha*.

are inclined to the ecliptic) around the *śighrocca*, which in turn goes around the Earth.

While discussing the geometrical picture of planetary motion, *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, as well as *Golasāra* and *Siddhānta-darpaṇa*, consider the orbit of each of the planets individually and they are not put together in a single cosmological model of the planetary system. There is however an interesting passage in *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, where Nīlakaṇṭha explains that the Earth is not circumscribed by the orbit of the interior planets, Mercury and Venus; and that the mean period of motion in longitude of these planets around the Earth is the same as that of the Sun, precisely because they are being carried around the Earth by the Sun. In fact, Nīlakaṇṭha seems to be the first savant in the history of astronomy to clearly deduce from his computational scheme—and not from any speculative or cosmological argument—that the interior planets go around the Sun and that the period of their motion around the Sun is also the period of their latitudinal motion.

In a remarkable short tract called *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā*, which seems to have been written after *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya* as it cites extensively from it, Nīlakaṇṭha succinctly describes his cosmological model, which is that the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, go around the mean Sun in eccentric orbits (inclined to the ecliptic), while the mean Sun itself goes around the Earth.⁷ Following this, Nīlakaṇṭha also states that the dimensions of *śighra* epicycles are specified by measuring the orbit of the mean Sun around the Earth in terms of the planetary orbit in the case of the exterior planets, and they are specified by measuring the planetary orbit (which is smaller) in terms of the orbit of the mean Sun in the case of the interior planets. This remarkable relation⁸ follows clearly from the identification of the *śighrocca* of all the planets with physical mean Sun, a fact also stated by Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*.

Towards the very end of the last chapter of *Tantrasaṅgraha*, Nīlakaṇṭha briefly considers the issue of planetary distances. Unlike the longitudes and latitudes of planets, the planetary distances were not amenable to observations in ancient astronomy and their discussion was invariably based upon some speculative hypothesis. In traditional Indian planetary theory, at least from the time of Āryabhaṭa, the mean planetary distances were obtained based on the hypothesis that all the planets go around the Earth with the same linear velocity—i.e. they all cover the same physical distance in any given period of time. In *Tantrasaṅgraha*, Nīlakaṇṭha proposes an alternative prescription for planetary distances which seems to be based on the principle that all the planets go around the *śighrocca* with the same linear velocity. He also briefly hints at this alternative hypothesis in his *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*. However, among the available works of Nīlakaṇṭha, there is no discussion of plan-

⁷ This cosmological model is the same as the one proposed by Tycho Brahe, albeit on entirely different considerations, towards the end of sixteenth century.

⁸ The *śighra* epicycle is essentially the same as the epicycle associated with the so-called ‘solar anomaly’ in the Greco-European tradition of astronomy, and the above relation is the same as the one proposed by Nicholas Copernicus (perhaps around the same time as Nīlakaṇṭha) by identifying this epicycle as the orbit of the Earth around the Sun in the case of the exterior planets and as the orbit of the planet itself in the case of the interior planets.

etary distances as would follow from his revised cosmological model outlined in *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā*.

Before taking up the various aspects of the revised planetary model of Nīlakaṇṭha it is essential to understand the traditional Indian planetary model, which had been in vogue at least from the time of Āryabhaṭa (c. 499). We shall therefore devote the initial sections of this appendix to a detailed exposition of the traditional Indian planetary theory and important developments in it prior to the work of Nīlakaṇṭha.

F.1 The traditional Indian planetary model: *Manda-saṃskāra*

In the Indian astronomical tradition, at least from the time of Āryabhaṭa (499 CE), the procedure for calculating the geocentric longitudes of the planets consists essentially of two steps:⁹ first, the computation of the mean longitude of the planet known as the *madhyama-graha*, and second, the computation of the true or observed longitude of the planet known as the *sphuṭa-graha*.

The mean longitude is calculated for the desired day by computing the number of mean civil days elapsed since the epoch (this number is called the *ahargaṇa*) and multiplying it by the mean daily motion of the planet. Having obtained the mean longitude, a correction known as *manda-saṃskāra* is applied to it. In essence, this correction takes care of the eccentricity of the planetary orbit around the Sun. The equivalent of this correction is termed the ‘equation of centre’ in modern astronomy, and is a consequence of the elliptical nature of the orbit. The longitude of the planet obtained by applying the *manda*-correction is known as the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* or simply the *manda-sphuṭa*.

While *manda-saṃskāra* is the only correction that needs to be applied in case of the Sun and the Moon for obtaining their true longitudes (*sphuṭa-grahas*), in the case of the other five planets, two corrections, namely the *manda-saṃskāra* and *śiḡhra-saṃskāra*, are to be applied to the mean longitude in order to obtain their true longitudes. Here again, we divide the five planets into two groups: the interior, namely Mercury and Venus, and the exterior, namely Mars, Jupiter and Saturn—not necessarily for the purpose of convenience in discussion but also because they are treated differently while applying these corrections.

The *śiḡhra-saṃskāra* is applied to the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* to obtain the true geocentric longitude known as the *sphuṭa-graha*. As will be seen later, the *śiḡhra* correction essentially converts the heliocentric longitude into the geocentric longitude. We will now briefly discuss the details of the *manda-saṃskāra*, which will

⁹ For a general review of Indian astronomy, see D. A. Somayaji, *A Critical Study of Ancient Hindu Astronomy*, Dharwar 1972; S. N. Sen and K. S. Shukla (eds), *A History of Indian Astronomy*, New Delhi 1985 (rev. edn 2000); B. V. Subbarayappa and K. V. Sarma (eds.), *Indian Astronomy: A Source Book*, Bombay 1985; S. Balachandra Rao, *Indian Astronomy: An Introduction*, Hyderabad 2000; B. V. Subbarayappa, *The Tradition of Astronomy in India: Jyotiḥśāstra*, PHISPC vol. IV, Part 4, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, New Delhi 2008.

be followed by a discussion on the *śiḡhra-saṃskāra* for the exterior and the interior planets respectively.

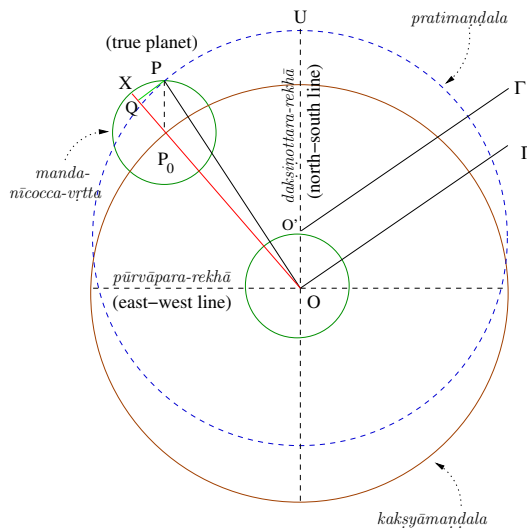


Fig. F.1 The epicyclic and eccentric models of planetary motion.

F.1.1 Epicyclic and eccentric models

As mentioned earlier, the *mandā-saṃskāra* essentially accounts for the eccentricity of the planetary orbit. This may be explained with the help of Fig. F.1. Here, O is the centre of the *kākṣyāmaṇḍala*¹⁰ on which the mean planet P_0 is assumed to be moving with mean uniform velocity. $O\Gamma$ is the reference line usually chosen to be the direction of *Meṣāḍi*. The *kākṣyā-maṇḍala* is taken to be of radius R , known as the *trijyā*.¹¹ The longitude of the mean planet P_0 moving on this circle is given by

$$\Gamma\hat{O}P_0 = madhyama-graha = \theta_0. \tag{F.1}$$

The longitude of the *mandā-sphuṭa-graha* P given by $\Gamma\hat{O}P$ is to be obtained from θ_0 , and this can be obtained by either by an eccentric or epicyclic model.

¹⁰ The centre of the *kākṣyāmaṇḍala* is generally referred to as the *bhagola-madhya* (centre of the celestial sphere), and it coincides with the centre of the Earth in the case of the Sun and the Moon, when the ‘second correction’ which corresponds to the ‘evection term’ is ignored.

¹¹ The value of the *trijyā* is chosen such that one minute of arc in the circle corresponds to unit length. This implies that $2\pi R = 21600$ or $R \approx 3437.74$, which is taken to be 3438 in most of the Indian texts.

The procedure for obtaining the longitude of the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* by either of the two models involves the longitude of the *mandocca*. In Fig. F.1, OU represents the direction of the *mandocca* whose longitude is given by

$$\Gamma \hat{O}U = \text{mandocca} = \theta_m. \quad (\text{F.2})$$

The modern equivalent of *mandocca* is *apoapsis*—apogee in the case of the Sun and the Moon and aphelion in the case of the five planets.

Around the mean planet P_0 , a circle of radius r is to be drawn. This circle is known as the *manda-nīcocca-ṛtta*¹² or simply as *manda-ṛtta* (epicycle). The texts specify the value of the radius of this circle r ($r \ll R$), in appropriate measure, for each planet.

At any given instant of time, the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* P is to be located on this *manda-nīcocca-ṛtta* by drawing a line from P_0 along the direction of *mandocca* (parallel to OU). The point of intersection of this line with the *manda-nīcocca-ṛtta* gives the location of the planet P . Since this method of locating the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* involves the construction of an epicycle around the mean planet, it is known as the epicyclic model.

Alternatively, one could draw the *manda-nīcocca-ṛtta* of radius r centred around O , which intersects OU at O' . With O' as centre, a circle of radius R (shown by dashed lines in the figure) is drawn. This is known as *pratimaṇḍala* or the eccentric circle. Since P_0P and OO' are equal to r , and they are parallel to each other, $O'P = OP_0 = R$. Hence, P lies on the eccentric circle. Also,

$$\Gamma \hat{O}'P = \Gamma \hat{O}P_0 = \text{madhyama-graha} = \theta_0. \quad (\text{F.3})$$

Thus, the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* P can be located on an eccentric circle of radius R centred at O' (which is located at a distance r from O in the direction of *mandocca*), simply by marking a point P on it such that $\Gamma \hat{O}'P$ corresponds to the the mean longitude of the planet. Since this process involves only an eccentric circle, without making a reference to the epicycle, it is known as the eccentric model. Clearly, the two models are equivalent to each other.

F.1.2 Calculation of *manda-sphuṭa*

The formula presented by the Indian astronomical texts for the calculation of the *manda-sphuṭa*—the longitude of the planet obtained by applying the *manda-saṃskāra* (equation of centre) to the mean longitude of the planet—and the underlying geometrical picture can be understood with the help of Fig. F.2.¹³ Here,

¹² The adjective *nīcocca* is given to this *ṛtta* because, in this conception, it moves from *ucca* to *nīca* on the deferent circle along with the mean planet P_0 . The other adjective *manda* is to suggest that this circle plays a crucial role in the explanation of the *manda-saṃskāra*.

¹³ It may be noted that Fig. F.2 is the same as Fig. F.1, with certain circles and markings removed from the latter and certain others introduced in the former for the purposes of clarity.

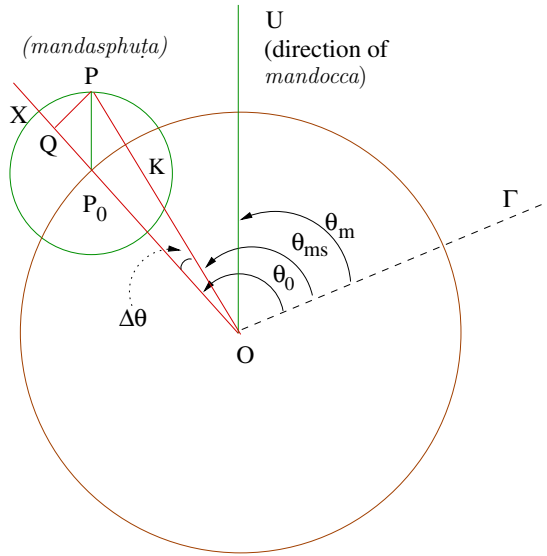


Fig. F.2 Geometrical construction underlying the rule for obtaining the *manda-sphuṭa* from the *madhyama* using the epicycle approach.

$\theta_{ms} = \Gamma \hat{O}P$ represents the *manda-sphuṭa* which is to be determined from the position of the mean planet (*madhyama-graha*) P_0 . Clearly,

$$\begin{aligned} \theta_{ms} &= \Gamma \hat{O}P \\ &= \Gamma \hat{O}P_0 - P \hat{O}P_0 \\ &= \theta_0 - \Delta\theta. \end{aligned} \tag{F.4}$$

Since the mean longitude of the planet θ_0 is known, the *manda-sphuṭa* θ_{ms} is obtained by simply subtracting $\Delta\theta$ from the *madhyama*. The expression for $\Delta\theta$ can be obtained by making the following geometrical construction. We extend the line OP_0 , which is the line joining the centre of the *kakṣyāmaṇḍala* and the mean planet, to meet the epicycle at X . From P drop the perpendicular PQ onto OX . Then

$$\begin{aligned} U \hat{O}P_0 &= \Gamma \hat{O}P_0 - \Gamma \hat{O}U \\ &= \theta_0 - \theta_m \end{aligned} \tag{F.5}$$

is the *manda-kendra* (*madhyama – mandocca*), whose magnitude determines the magnitude of $\Delta\theta$ (see (F.8)). Also, since P_0P is parallel to OU (by construction), $P \hat{P}_0Q = (\theta_0 - \theta_m)$. Hence, $PQ = r \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m)$ and $P_0Q = r \cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m)$. Since the triangle OPQ is right-angled at Q , the hypotenuse $OP = K$ (known as the *manda-karṇa*) is given by

$$K = OP = \sqrt{OQ^2 + QP^2}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
&= \sqrt{(OP_0 + P_0Q)^2 + QP^2} \\
&= \sqrt{\{R + r\cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m)\}^2 + r^2\sin^2(\theta_0 - \theta_m)}. \quad (\text{F.6})
\end{aligned}$$

Again from the triangle POQ , we have

$$\begin{aligned}
K \sin \Delta \theta &= PQ \\
&= r \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \quad (\text{F.7})
\end{aligned}$$

Multiplying the above by R and dividing by K we have

$$R \sin \Delta \theta = \frac{r}{K} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \quad (\text{F.8})$$

In the Āryabhaṭan school, the radius of the *manda* epicycle is assumed to vary in the same way as the *karṇa*, as explained for instance by Bhāskara I (c. 629) in his *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣya*, and also in his *Mahābhāskarīya*. Thus the relation (F.8) reduces to

$$R \sin \Delta \theta = \frac{r_0}{R} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m), \quad (\text{F.9})$$

where r_0 is the mean or tabulated value of the radius of the *manda* epicycle.

F.1.3 *Aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa: iterated hypotenuse*

According to the geometrical picture of planetary motion given by Bhāskara I, the radius of the epicycle *manda-nīcocca-vṛtta* (r) employed in the the *manda* process is not a constant. It varies continuously in consonance with the hypotenuse, the *manda-karṇa* (K), in such a way that their ratio is always maintained constant and is equal to the ratio of the mean epicycle radius (r_0)—whose value is specified in the texts—to the radius of the deferent circle (R). Thus, according to Bhāskara, as far as the *manda* process is concerned, the motion of the planet on the epicycle is such that the following equation is always satisfied:

$$\frac{r}{K} = \frac{r_0}{R}. \quad (\text{F.10})$$

If this is the case, then the question arises as to how one can obtain the *manda-karṇa* as well as the the radius of the *manda-nīcocca-vṛtta* at any given instant. For this, Bhāskara provides an iterative procedure called *asakṛt-karma*, by which both r and K are simultaneously obtained. We explain this with the help of Fig. F.3a. Here P_0 represents the mean planet around which an epicycle of radius r_0 is drawn. The point P_1 on the epicycle is chosen such that PP_1 is parallel to the direction of the *mandocca*, OU .

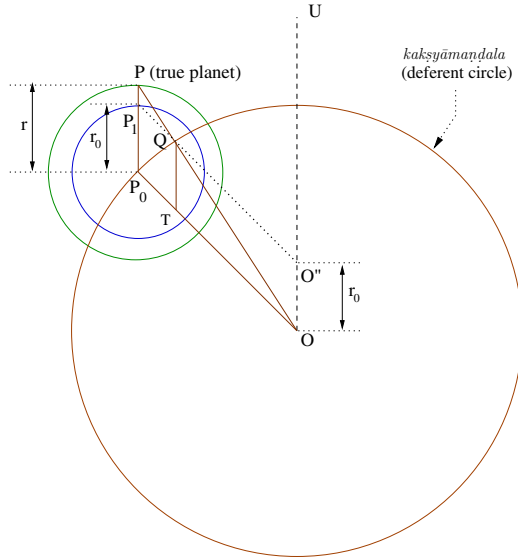


Fig. F.3a The variation of the radius of the *manda* epicycle with the *manda-karṇa*.

Now, the first hypotenuse (*sakṛt-karṇa*) is found from r_0 using the relation

$$OP_1 = K_1 = [(R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m))^2 + (R \cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m) + r_0)^2]^{\frac{1}{2}}. \quad (\text{F.11})$$

From K_1 , using (F.10), we get the next approximation to the radius $r_1 = \frac{r_0}{R} K_1$, and the process is repeated. From r_1 we get the next approximation to the *karṇa*,

$$K_2 = [\{R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m)\}^2 + \{R \cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m) + r_1\}^2]^{\frac{1}{2}}, \quad (\text{F.12})$$

and from that we get $r_2 = \frac{r_0}{R} K_2$ and so on, till the radii and the *karṇas* do not change (*aviśeṣa*). The term *aviśeṣa* means ‘not distinct’. In the present context it means that the successive *karṇas* are not distinct from each other. That is, $K_{i+1} \approx K_i = K$. If this is satisfied, then $r_{i+1} \approx r_i = r$. Consequently, the equation giving the *manda*-correction (F.8) becomes

$$R \sin \Delta \theta = \frac{r}{K} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) = \frac{r_0}{R} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \quad (\text{F.13})$$

Thus the computation of the *manda-phala* involves only the mean epicycle radius and the value of the *trijyā*. It does not involve the value of the *manda-karṇa*. It can be shown that the iterated *manda-karṇa* is actually given (in the limit) by OP in Fig. F.3a, where the point P is obtained as follows.¹⁴ Consider a point O'' at a distance of r_0 from O along the direction of *mandoccca* OU and draw $O''P_1$ so that it meets the concentric at Q . Then produce OQ to meet the extension of P_0P_1 at P .

¹⁴ See for instance, the discussion in {MB 1960}, pp. 111–9.

Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma, the renowned mathematician and astronomer of the 14th century, by carefully analysing the geometry of the problem, came up with a brilliant method of finding the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* without performing an iterative process, which is explained in the next section.

F.1.4 Mādhava’s formula for the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa*

Mādhava’s procedure for determining the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* involves finding a new quantity called the *viparyaya-karṇa* or *viparīta-karṇa*. The term *viparīta-karṇa* literally means ‘inverse hypotenuse’, and is nothing but the radius of the *kakṣyāvṛtta* when the *manda-karṇa* is taken to be the *trijyā*, R . The following verses from *Tantrasaṅgraha* (II, 43–44) present the way of obtaining the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* proposed by Mādhava that circumvents the iterative process.

॥ तात ि ि तायातप िा ि तायात ॥
 ि ि ता ताते ता तायाय त्ति ित ता ॥
 ते ता ताया तत य ता तातोडा िष ता यात ॥

The square of the *doḥphala* is subtracted from the square of the *trijyā* and its square root is taken. The *koṭiphala* is added to or subtracted from this depending upon whether the *kendra* (anomaly) is within six signs beginning from *Karkī* (Cancer) or *Mṛga* (Capricorn). This gives the *viparyaya-karṇa*. The square of the *trijyā* divided by this *viparyaya-karṇa* is the *aviśeṣa-karṇa* (iterated hypotenuse) obtained without any effort [of iteration].

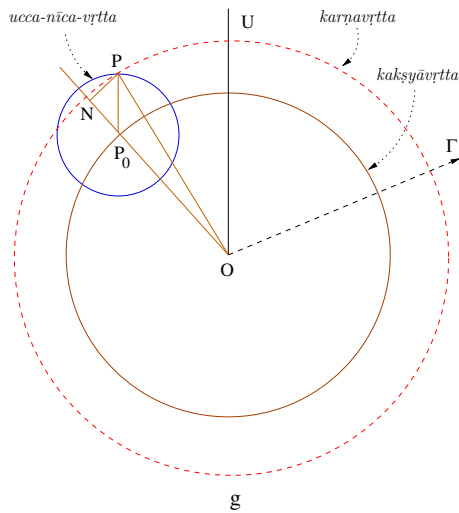


Fig. F.3b Determination of the *viparīta-karṇa* when the *kendra* is in the first quadrant.

The rationale behind the formula given for the *viparīta-karṇa* is outlined in the Malayalam text *Yuktibhāṣā*, and can be understood with the help of Figs F.3a and F.3b. In these figures P_0 and P represent the mean and the true planet respectively. N denotes the foot of a perpendicular drawn from the true planet P to the line joining the centre of the circle and the mean planet. NP is equal to the *dohphala*. Let the radius of the *karṇavṛtta* OP be set equal to the *trījyā* R . Then the radius of the *uccanīca-vṛtta* P_0P is r_0 , as it is in the measure of the *karṇavṛtta*. In this measure, the radius of the *kakṣyāvṛtta* $OP_0 = R_v$, the *viparīta-karṇa*, and is given by

$$\begin{aligned} R_v &= ON \pm P_0N \\ &= \sqrt{R^2 - (r_0 \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m))^2} \pm |r_0 \cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m)|. \end{aligned} \quad (\text{F.14a})$$

Nilakaṇṭha has also given another alternative expression for the *viparīta-karṇa* in terms of the longitude θ_{ms} of the *manda-sphuṭa*.

$$R_v = \sqrt{R^2 + r_0^2 - 2Rr_0 \cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_m)}. \quad (\text{F.14b})$$

This is clear from the triangle OP_0P , where $OP_0 = R_v$, $OP = R$ and $P_0PO = \theta_{ms} - \theta_m$.

In Fig. F.3a, Q is a point where $O'P_1$ meets the concentric. OQ is produced to meet the extension of P_0P_1 at P . Let T be the point on OP_0 such that QT is parallel to P_0P_1 . Then it can be shown that $OT = R_v$ is the *viparīta-karṇa*. Now, in triangle OQT , $OQ = R$, $QT = P_1P_0 = r_0$ and $O\hat{Q}T = P\hat{O}U = (\theta_{ms} - \theta_m)$ and we have

$$OT = \sqrt{R^2 + r_0^2 - 2Rr_0 \cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_m)} = R_v. \quad (\text{F.14c})$$

Now, since triangles OQT and OPP_0 are similar, we have

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{OP}{OP_0} &= \frac{OQ}{OT} = \frac{R}{R_v} \\ \text{or, } OP &= K = \frac{R^2}{R_v}. \end{aligned} \quad (\text{F.15})$$

Thus we have obtained an expression for the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* in terms of the *trījyā* and the *viparīta-karṇa*. As the computation of the *viparīta-karṇa* as given by (F.14a) does not involve iteration, the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* can be obtained in one stroke using (F.15) without having to go through the arduous iterative process.

F.1.5 *Manda-saṃskāra for the exterior planets*

We will now discuss the details of the *manda* correction for the case of the exterior planets, namely Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, as outlined in the traditional texts of Indian astronomy. The texts usually specify the the number of revolutions (*bhagaṇas*)

made by the planets in a large period known as *Mahāyuga*. In Table F.1, we list the *bhagaṇas* as specified in the texts *Āryabhaṭīya* and *Tantrasaṅgraha*. In the same table, we have also given the corresponding sidereal period of the planet in civil days along with the modern values for the same.

Planet	Revolutions (in <i>Āryabhaṭīya</i>)	Sidereal period	Revolutions	Sidereal period	Modern values
		(in <i>Āryabhaṭīya</i>)	(in <i>Tantrasaṅgraha</i>)	(in <i>Tantrasaṅgraha</i>)	of sidereal period
Sun	4320000	365.25868	4320000	365.25868	365.25636
Moon	57753336	27.32167	57753320	27.32168	27.32166
Moon's apogee	488219	3231.98708	488122	3232.62934	3232.37543
Moon's node	232226	6794.74951	232300	6792.58502	6793.39108
Mercury's <i>śighrocca</i>	17937020	87.96988	17937048	87.96974	87.96930
Venus's <i>śighrocca</i>	7022288	224.69814	7022268	224.70198	224.70080
Mars	2296824	686.99974	2296864	686.98778	686.97970
Jupiter	364224	4332.27217	364180	4332.79559	4332.58870
Saturn	146564	10766.06465	146612	10762.53990	10759.20100

Table F.1 The *bhagaṇas* and sidereal periods of the planets.

In the case of exterior planets, while the planets move around the Sun they also move around the Earth, and consequently, the mean heliocentric sidereal period of the planet is the same as the mean geocentric sidereal period. Therefore, the *madhyama-graha* or the mean longitude of the planet, as obtained from the above *bhagaṇas*, would be the same as the mean heliocentric longitude of the planet as understood today. Now the *manda-saṃskāra* is applied to the *madhyama-graha* to obtain the *manda-sphuṭa-graha*. As we will see below, this *manda* correction is essentially the same as the equation of centre in modern astronomy and thus the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* would essentially be the true heliocentric longitude of the planet.

It was shown above in (F.9) that the magnitude of the correction $\Delta\theta$ to be applied to the mean longitude is given by

$$R \sin \Delta\theta = \frac{r_0}{R} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m), \quad (\text{F.16})$$

If $\frac{r_0}{R}$ is small in the above expression, then $\sin \Delta\theta \ll 1$ and we can approximate $\sin \Delta\theta \approx \Delta\theta$. Hence (F.16) reduces to

$$\Delta\theta = \frac{r_0}{R} \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \quad (\text{F.17})$$

As $\Delta\theta = \theta_0 - \theta_{ms}$, in this approximation we have

$$\theta_{ms} \approx \theta_0 - \frac{r_0}{R} \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \quad (\text{F.18})$$

As outlined in Section F.8.1, in the Keplerean picture of planetary motion the equation of centre to be applied to the mean heliocentric longitude of the planet is given—to the first order in eccentricity—by the equation

$$\Delta\theta \approx (2e) \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \tag{F.19}$$

Now, comparing (F.19) and (F.17), we see that the *manda* correction closely approximates the equation of centre as understood in modern astronomy if the values of $\frac{r_0}{R}$ are fairly close to $2e$.

The values of $\frac{r_0}{R}$ for different planets as specified in *Āryabhaṭṭīya* and *Tantrasaṅgraha* are listed in Table F.2. It may be noted here that the ratios specified in the texts are close to twice the value of the eccentricity ($2e$) associated with the planetary orbits. In Table F.2, the modern values of $2e$ are listed according to Smart.¹⁵

Name of the planet	<i>Āryabhaṭṭīya</i>		<i>Tantrasaṅgraha</i>		$2e$ Modern
	$\frac{r_0}{R}$	Average	$\frac{r_0}{R}$	Average	
Sun	$\frac{13.5}{360}$	0.0375	$\frac{3}{80}$	0.0375	0.034
Moon	$\frac{31.5}{360}$	0.0875	$\frac{7}{80}$	0.0875	0.110
Mercury	$\frac{31.5 - 9 \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{360}$	0.075	$\frac{1}{6}$	0.167	0.412
Venus	$\frac{18 - 9 \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{360}$	0.0375	$\frac{1}{14 + \frac{R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{240}}$	0.053	0.014
Mars	$\frac{63 + 18 \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{360}$	0.200	$\frac{7 + \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{39}$	0.192	0.186
Jupiter	$\frac{31.5 + 4.5 \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{360}$	0.0938	$\frac{7 + \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{82}$	0.091	0.096
Saturn	$\frac{40.5 + 18 \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) }{360}$	0.1375	$\frac{39}{360}$	0.122	0.112

Table F.2 Comparison of *manda* epicycle radii and modern eccentricity values.

F.1.6 *Manda-saṃskāra* for interior planets

For the interior planets Mercury and Venus, since the mean geocentric sidereal period of the planet is the same as that of the Sun, the ancient Indian astronomers took the mean Sun as the *madhyama-graha* or the mean planet. Having taken the mean Sun as the mean planet, they also prescribed the application of the *manda* correction, or the equation of centre characteristic of the planet, to the mean Sun, instead of the mean heliocentric planet. Therefore, the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* in the case of

¹⁵ W. M. Smart, *Textbook on Spherical Astronomy*, Cambridge University Press, 1965, pp. 422–3.

an interior planet, as computed from (F.17) in the traditional planetary model, is just the mean Sun, with a correction applied, and does not correspond to the true heliocentric planet.

However, the ancient Indian astronomers also introduced the notion of the *śīghrocca* for these planets whose period (see Table F.1) is the same as the mean heliocentric sidereal period of these planets. Thus, in the case of the interior planets, it is the longitude of the *śīghrocca* which will be the same as the mean heliocentric longitude of the planet as understood in the currently accepted model of the solar system. As we shall see below, the traditional planetary model made use of this *śīghrocca*, crucially, in the calculation of both the longitudes and latitudes of the interior planets.

F.2 Śīghra-saṃskāra

We will now show that the application of *śīghra-saṃskāra* is equivalent to the transformation of the *manda-sphuṭa* to the true geocentric longitude of the planet called the *sphuṭa-graha*. Just as the *mandocca* plays a major role in the application of *manda-saṃskāra*, so too the *śīghrocca* plays a key role in the application of *śīghra-saṃskāra*. As in the case of *manda-saṃskāra*, we shall consider the application of *śīghra-saṃskāra* for the exterior and interior planets separately.

F.2.1 Exterior planets

For the exterior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, we have already explained that the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* is the true heliocentric longitude of the planet. The *śīghra-saṃskāra* for them can be explained with reference to Fig. F.4a. Here *A* denotes the *nirayaṇa-meṣādi*, *E* the Earth and *P* the planet. The mean Sun *S* is referred to as the *śīghrocca* for exterior planets and thus we have

$$\begin{aligned} A\hat{S}P &= \theta_{ms} && (\textit{manda-sphuṭa}) \\ A\hat{E}S &= \theta_s && (\textit{longitude of śīghrocca (mean Sun)}) \\ A\hat{E}P &= \theta && (\textit{geocentric longitude of the planet}). \end{aligned}$$

The difference between the longitudes of the *śīghrocca* and the *manda-sphuṭa*, namely

$$\sigma = \theta_s - \theta_{ms}, \quad (\text{F.20})$$

is called the *śīghra-kendra* (anomaly of conjunction) in Indian astronomy. From the triangle *EPS* we can easily obtain the result

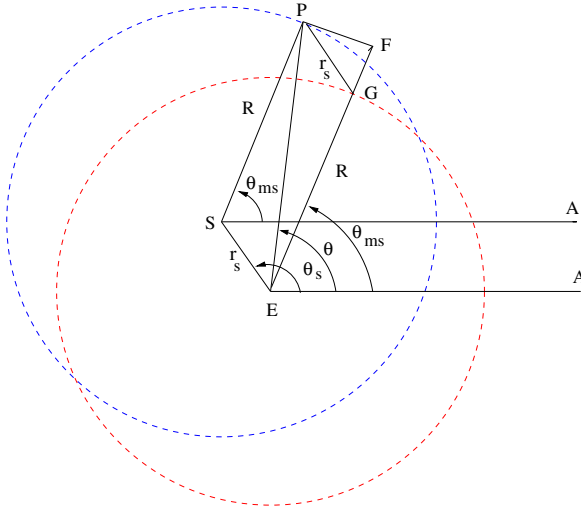


Fig. F.4a *Śīghra* correction for exterior planets.

$$\sin(\theta - \theta_{ms}) = \frac{r_s \sin \sigma}{[(R + r_s \cos \sigma)^2 + r_s^2 \sin^2 \sigma]^{\frac{1}{2}}}, \tag{F.21a}$$

which is the *śīghra* correction formula given by Indian astronomers to calculate the geocentric longitude of an exterior planet. It may be noted that the true or geocentric longitude of the planet known as the *śīghra-sphuṭa* is found in the same manner from the *manda-sphuṭa*, as the *manda-sphuṭa* is found from the mean planet, the *madhyama-graha*.

From Fig. F.4a it is clear that the *śīghra-saṃskāra* transforms the true heliocentric longitudes into geocentric longitudes only if the ratio of the radii of the epicycle and the deferent circle is equal to the ratio of the Earth–Sun and planet–Sun distances. That this is indeed very nearly so in the Indian texts, as may be seen from Table F.3. It may also be noted that (F.21a) has the same form as the formula for the difference between the geocentric and heliocentric longitudes for an exterior planet in the Keplerian model (see (F.46)) if $\frac{r_s}{R}$ is identified with the ratio of the Earth–Sun and planet–Sun distances. However, (F.21a) is still an approximation as it is based upon mean Sun and not the true Sun.

F.2.2 Interior planets

The *śīghra-saṃskāra* for the interior planets can be explained with reference to Fig. F.4b. Here *E* is the Earth and *S* (the *manda*-corrected mean Sun) is the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* and *P*, the so-called *śīghrocca*, actually corresponds to the (mean heliocentric) planet. We have

$$\begin{aligned}
 A\hat{E}S &= \theta_{ms} && (\text{manda-sphuṭa}) \\
 A\hat{S}P &= \theta_s && (\text{longitude of śīghrocca}) \\
 A\hat{E}P &= \theta && (\text{geocentric longitude of the planet}).
 \end{aligned}$$

Again, the śīghra-kendra is defined as the difference between the śīghrocca and the manda-sphuṭa-graha as in (F.20). Thus, from the triangle *EPS* we get the same formula

$$\sin(\theta - \theta_{ms}) = \frac{r_s \sin \sigma}{[(R + r_s \cos \sigma)^2 + r_s^2 \sin^2 \sigma]^{\frac{1}{2}}}, \tag{F.21b}$$

which is the śīghra correction given in the earlier Indian texts to calculate the geocentric longitude of an interior planet. For the interior planets also, the value specified for $\frac{r_s}{R}$ is very nearly equal to the ratio of the planet–Sun and Earth–Sun distances, as may be seen from Table F.3.

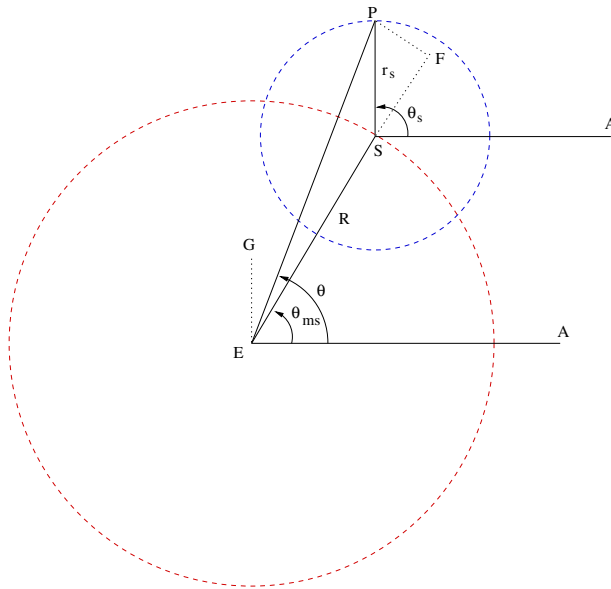


Fig. F.4b Śīghra correction for interior planets.

Since the *manda* correction or equation of centre for an interior planet was applied to the longitude of the mean Sun instead of the mean heliocentric longitude of the planet, the accuracy of the computed longitudes of the interior planets according to the ancient Indian planetary models would not have been as good as that achieved for the exterior planets. But for the wrong application of the equation of centre, equation (F.21b) has the same form as the formula for the difference between the geocentric longitude of an interior planet and the Sun in the Keplerian model (see (F.50)), if $\frac{r_s}{R}$ is identified with the ratio of the planet–Sun and Earth–Sun distances.

Name of the planet	Āryabhaṭṭīya		Tantrasaṅgraha		Modern value
	$\frac{r_s}{R}$	Average	$\frac{r_s}{R}$	Average	
Mercury	$\frac{139.5 - 9 \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{360}$	0.375	$\frac{133 - \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{360}$	0.368	0.387
Venus	$\frac{265.5 - 9 \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{360}$	0.725	$\frac{59 - 2 \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{80}$	0.725	0.723
Mars	$\frac{238.5 - 9 \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{360}$	0.650	$\frac{7 + \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{39}$	0.656	0.656
Jupiter	$\frac{72 - 4.5 \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{360}$	0.194	$\frac{16 - \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{80}$	0.194	0.192
Saturn	$\frac{40.5 - 4.5 \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{80}$	0.106	$\frac{9 - \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) }{80}$	0.106	0.105

Table F.3 Comparison of $\frac{r_s}{R}$, as given in *Āryabhaṭṭīya* and *Tantrasaṅgraha*, with the modern values of the ratio of the mean values of Earth–Sun and planet–Sun distances for the exterior planets and the inverse ratio for the interior planets.

F.2.3 Four-step process

In obtaining the expression (F.21) for the *śīghra* correction, we had taken *SP*, the Sun–planet distance, to be given by *R*. But actually *SP* is a variable and is given by the (iterated) *manda-karṇa* *K*. Hence the correct form of the *śīghra* correction should be

$$\sin(\theta_s - \theta_{ms}) = \frac{r_s \sin \sigma}{\{(K + r_s \cos \sigma)^2 + r_s^2 \sin^2 \sigma\}^{\frac{1}{2}}}, \tag{F.22}$$

where *K* is the (iterated) *manda-karṇa*. Since *K* as given by (F.14) and (F.15) depends on the *manda* anomaly $\theta - \theta_m$, the *śīghra* correction as given by (F.22) cannot be tabulated as a function of the *śīghra* anomaly (σ) alone.

It is explained in *Yuktibhāṣā* (section 8.20) that, in order to simplify computation, the ancient texts on astronomy advocated that the computation of the planetary longitudes may be done using a four-step process—involving half-*manda* and half-*śīghra* corrections followed by the full *manda* and *śīghra* corrections. The *śīghra* corrections involved in the four-step process are based on the simpler formula (F.21) which can be read off from a table. According to *Yuktibhāṣā*, the results of the four-step process indeed approximate those obtained by the application of the *manda* correction followed by the *śīghra* correction where, in the latter correction, the effect of the *manda-karṇa* is properly taken into account as in (F.22).

F.2.4 Computation of planetary latitudes

Planetary latitudes (called *vikṣepa* in Indian astronomy) play an important role in the prediction of planetary conjunctions, the occultation of stars by planets etc. In Fig. F.5, *P* denotes the planet moving in an orbit inclined at an angle *i* to the ecliptic, intersecting the ecliptic at point *N*, the node (called the *pāta* in Indian astronomy). If β is the latitude of the planet, θ_h its heliocentric longitude and θ_n the heliocentric

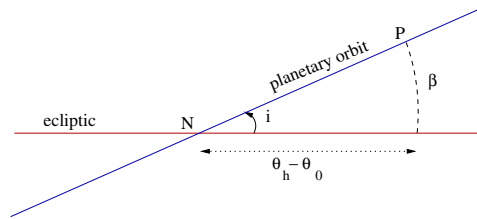


Fig. F.5 Heliocentric latitude of a planet.

longitude of the node, then it can be shown that

$$\sin \beta = \sin i \sin(\theta_h - \theta_n). \quad (\text{F.23})$$

For small i we have

$$\beta = i \sin(\theta_h - \theta_n). \quad (\text{F.24})$$

This is essentially the rule for calculating the latitude of a planet, as given in Indian texts, at least from the time of Āryabhaṭa.¹⁶ For the exterior planets, it was stipulated that

$$\theta_h = \theta_{ms}, \quad (\text{F.25})$$

the *manda-sphuṭa-graha*, which, as we saw earlier, coincides with the heliocentric longitude of the exterior planet. The same rule applied for interior planets would not have worked, because in the traditional Indian planetary model the *manda*-corrected mean longitude for the interior planet has nothing to do with its true heliocentric longitude. However, most of the Indian texts on astronomy stipulated that the latitude in the case of the interior planets is to be calculated from (F.24) with

$$\theta_h = \theta_s + \text{manda correction}, \quad (\text{F.26})$$

the *manda*-corrected longitude of the *śiḡhrocca*. Since the longitude of the *śiḡhrocca* for an interior planet, as we explained above, is equal to the mean heliocentric longitude of the planet, (F.26) leads to the correct relation that, even for an interior planet, θ_h in (F.24) becomes identical with the true heliocentric longitude. Thus we see that the earlier Indian astronomical texts did provide a fairly accurate theory for the planetary latitudes. But they had to live with two entirely different rules for calculating latitudes: one for the exterior planets given by (F.25), where the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* appears; and an entirely different one for the interior planets given by (F.26), which involves the *śiḡhrocca* of the planet, with the *manda* correction included.

This peculiarity of the rule for calculating the latitude of an interior planet was noticed repeatedly by various Indian astronomers, at least from the time of

¹⁶ Equation (F.24) actually gives the heliocentric latitude and needs to be multiplied by the ratio of the geocentric and heliocentric distances of the planet to get the geocentric latitude. This feature was implicit in the traditional planetary models.

॥११॥ त य ता ॥११॥ त ॥११॥ तै ॥
 - या प्रा त्यात ो पू ॥ ॥
 ॥ यतेऽता ॥११॥ तै प्रा यत्यये ॥११॥ ॥
 तात् ॥११॥ प्रा प ॥११॥ तै ॥११॥ पू ॥¹⁹

Since the rationale for the *sphuṭavidhi* (the scheme of computing the true planet) for the celestial bodies is not clear without the aid of *chedyaka* (diagrams), we present briefly the way of obtaining the diagrams.

For Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, with the centre of the Earth as the centre, the *śighra-kakṣyā-vṛtta* (concentric circle) is drawn with the *trijyā* ($R \sin 90$) as the radius. Then draw the *śighra-pratimaṇḍala* (eccentric circle) with its centre located at a distance of the *śighra-antyaphala* (maximum *śighra*-correction) in the direction of the *śighrocca*. The same will be the *manda*-concentric. From its centre go along in the direction of the *mandocca* a distance equal to the maximum *manda* correction, and with this as the centre draw a circle. This is referred as the *manda* eccentric circle. The planets Mars, Jupiter and Saturn move on this eccentric when reduced to the *manda*-concentric they are referred to as *manda-sphuṭa*, and when reduced to the *śighra*-concentric they are *sphuṭa* (true planets). . .

For Mercury and Venus, the *manda*-concentric is first drawn with the centre of the Earth as the centre. From that go along in the direction of *mandocca* a distance equal to the maximum *manda* correction and with that as the centre draw the *manda* eccentric circle. The point where the Sun is located on that eccentric is the centre of the *śighra* epicycle and the radius of that circle is [not the *trijyā* but] as enunciated. In that *śighra* epicycle, the Mercury and the Venus always move . . .

The *chedyaka* procedure enunciated by Parameśvara is illustrated in Figs F.6 and F.7. In both these figures, *O* represents the observer, *M* the *mandocca* and *P* the planet whose longitude as measured from *O* is to be determined. In Fig. F.6, the circles C_1, C_2 and C_3 are all of radius R . The circle C_1 , centred around the observer *O*, is the *śighra-kakṣyā-maṇḍala* or the *śighra*-concentric circle. The circle C_2 which is centred at the *śighrocca* *S* is the *śighra-pratimaṇḍala* (*śighra*-eccentric circle). The distance of separation between these two circles denoted by *OS* is the *śighrāntya-phala*, and corresponds to the radius of the *śighra* epicycle. It has been clearly enunciated by Parameśvara that the *śighra-pratimaṇḍala*, denoted by C_2 in the figure, itself serves as the *manda-kakṣyā-maṇḍala*, or the *manda*-concentric circle. The third circle C_3 , which is centred around the *mandocca* *M*, is the *manda-pratimaṇḍala* or the *manda*-eccentric circle. The distance of separation between the centers of the *manda*-concentric and the *manda*-eccentric circles is equal to the radius of the *manda* epicycle and is also the *mandāntya-phala*, whose measure varies from planet to planet.

Parameśvara has depicted the geometrical picture of motion of the interior planets also by employing three circles, C_1, C_2 and C_3 , as in the case of exterior planets, as shown in Fig. F.7. However, here these three circles have completely different connotations and, while C_1 and C_2 are of radius R , C_3 is of radius r_s , the radius of the *śighra* epicycle. Here the circle C_1 centred around *O*, is the *manda-kakṣyā-maṇḍala*, or the *manda*-concentric circle. The circle C_2 , which is centred around the *mandocca* *M*, is the *manda-pratimaṇḍala*, which serves as the locus for the

¹⁹ {AB 1874}, pp. 60-1.

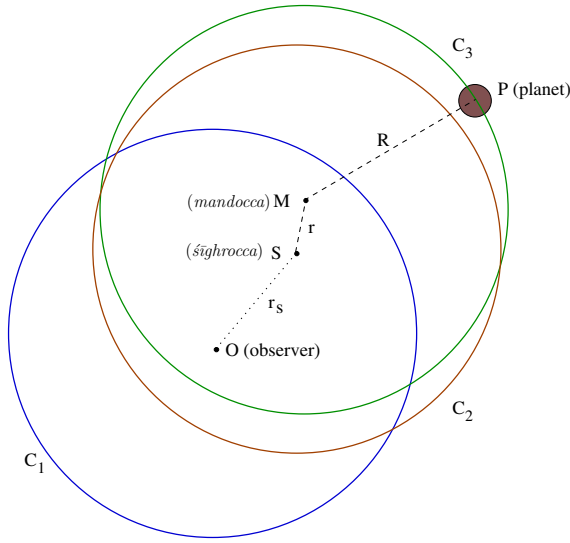


Fig. F.6 Geometrical picture of the motion of an exterior planet given by Parameśvara.

centre of the *śighra-vṛtta* denoted by the circle C_3 . The distance of separation between the centers of C_1 and C_2 is equal to the radius of the *manda* epicycle, and is also the *mandāntya-phala*. P represents the *śighrocca* associated with the interior planet and S is the *manda*-corrected Sun on the *manda-pratimaṇḍala*.

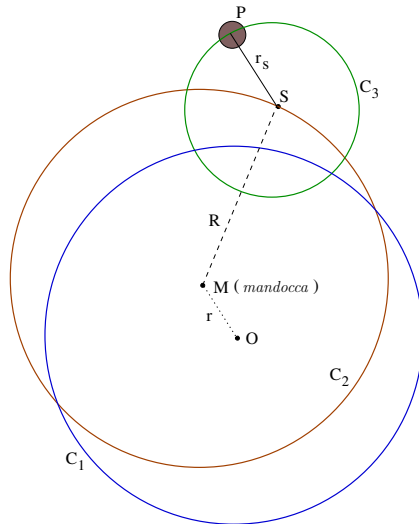


Fig. F.7 Geometrical picture of the motion of an interior planet given by Parameśvara.

It is important to note that, through his diagrammatic procedure, Parameśvara clearly illustrates the fact that, in the traditional planetary model, the final longitude that is calculated for an interior planet is actually the geocentric longitude of what is called the *śīghrocca* of the planet. From Figs F.6 and F.7 we can see easily that Parameśvara's geometrical picture of planetary motion is fairly accurate except for the fact that the equation of centre for the interior planets is wrongly applied to the mean Sun. Incidentally, it may also be noted that Parameśvara has given a succinct description of the same *chedyakavidhi* in his *Goladīpikā*.²⁰

F.4 Nīlakaṇṭha's revised planetary model

Among the available works of Nīlakaṇṭha, his revised planetary motion is discussed in the works *Tantrasaṅgraha*, *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya*, *Siddhānta-darpaṇa* and the *Vyākhyā* on it, *Golasāra* and the tract called *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā*. Of these, *Golasāra* and *Siddhānta-darpaṇa* are presumed to have been written prior to the detailed work *Tantrasaṅgraha* composed in 1500. The *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya* refers to *Golasāra* and *Tantrasaṅgraha*. The *Siddhānta-darpaṇa-vyākhyā* cites the *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya*. In the same way, the small but important tract *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā* includes long passages from the *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya* and is clearly a later composition.

In *Tantrasaṅgraha*, Nīlakaṇṭha presents the revised planetary model and also gives the detailed scheme of computation of planetary latitudes and longitudes, but he does not discuss the geometrical picture of planetary motion. Towards the end of the last chapter of the work, Nīlakaṇṭha introduces a prescription for the *spṛṭakakṣyā* (the true distance of the planets). There seems to be just a brief (and incomplete) mention of this subject in *Golasāra* and *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya*.

The geometrical picture of planetary motion is discussed in detail in the *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya*. It is also succinctly presented in terms of a few verses in both *Golasāra* and *Siddhānta-darpaṇa*. Nīlakaṇṭha presents some aspects of his cosmological model while discussing the geometrical picture of the motion of the interior planets in his *Āryabhaṭṭīya-bhāṣya*. He presents a definitive but succinct account of his cosmological model in terms of a few verses in his later work *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā*.

F.4.1 Identifying the mean Mercury and Venus

In the very first chapter of *Tantrasaṅgraha* (c. 1500), Nīlakaṇṭha introduces a major revision of the traditional Indian planetary model, according to which what were traditionally referred to as the *śīghroccas* of the interior planets (Mercury and

²⁰ {GD 1916}, pp. 14–15.

$$\theta_1 = M + \frac{1}{2}R \sin^{-1} \left[-\frac{r_0}{R} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m) \right], \quad \text{with}$$

$$\frac{r_0}{R} = \frac{[7 + |\sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m)|]}{39} \quad (\text{for Mars})$$

$$\frac{r_0}{R} = \frac{[7 + |\sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m)|]}{82} \quad (\text{for Jupiter})$$

$$\frac{r_0}{R} = \frac{39}{320} \quad (\text{for Saturn}).$$

Then θ_2 is found by applying the half-*śighra* correction with the mean Sun θ_s as the *śighrocca* as follows:

$$\theta_2 = \theta_1 + \frac{1}{2}R \sin^{-1} \left[\frac{r_s}{K_{s1}} R \sin(\theta_s - \theta_1) \right], \quad \text{with}$$

$$K_{s1} = [\{r_s \sin(\theta_1 - \theta_s)\}^2 + \{R + r_s \cos(\theta_1 - \theta_s)\}^2]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R}\right) = \frac{[53 - 2|\sin(\theta_1 - \theta_s)|]}{80} \quad (\text{for Mars})$$

$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R}\right) = \frac{[16 - |\sin(\theta_1 - \theta_s)|]}{80} \quad (\text{for Jupiter})$$

$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R}\right) = \frac{[9 - |\sin(\theta_1 - \theta_s)|]}{80} \quad (\text{for Saturn}).$$

Then the *manda-sphuṭa* θ_{ms} is found by adding the whole *manda* correction obtained with θ_2 to θ_0 :

$$R \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_0) = -\left(\frac{r_0}{R}\right) R \sin(\theta_2 - \theta_m).$$

Then the true planet *sphuṭa-graha* P is found by applying the whole of the *śighra* correction to θ_{ms} .

$$R \sin(\theta - \theta_{ms}) = \left[\frac{r_s}{K_s} R \sin(\theta_s - \theta_{ms}) \right]$$

where $K_s = [\{r_s \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)\}^2 + \{R + r_s \cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)\}^2]^{\frac{1}{2}}. \quad (\text{F.27})$

Again, as we had noted earlier in connection with the traditional planetary model, in the above four-step process also the iterated *manda-hypotenuse* (*aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa*) does not appear and the *manda* and *śighra* corrections can be read off from a table.

In the case of the interior planets, Nīlakaṇṭha presents just the two-step process: *manda-saṃskāra* followed by *śighra-saṃskāra*. For the interior planets, if θ_0 is the longitude of the mean planet (as per his revised model), θ_m its *mandocca* and θ_s that of the mean Sun (*śighrocca*), then the *manda* correction leading to the *mandasphuṭa* is given by

$$R \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_0) = -\frac{r_0}{R} R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m)$$

$$\frac{r_0}{R} = \frac{1}{6}, \left[\frac{1}{14 + \frac{|R \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m)|}{240}} \right] \quad (\text{for Mercury, Venus}).$$

It may be recalled that the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* K is to be calculated using the Mādhava formula (F.15). The *śighra* correction giving the true planet θ is given by

$$R \sin(\theta - \theta_s) = \left[\left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) \left(\frac{K}{K_s} \right) R \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) \right]$$

where $K_s = [R \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)^2 + \{R \cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) + \left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) K\}^2]^{\frac{1}{2}}$ (F.28)

$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) = \frac{[31 - 2|\sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)|]}{80R} \quad (\text{for Mercury})$$

$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) = \frac{[59 - 2|\sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)|]}{80R} \quad (\text{for Venus}).$$

Note that in the above two-step process the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* K shows up in the *śighra* correction. In his discussion of the geometrical picture of planetary motion in the *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, Nīlakaṅṭha presents the two-step process as the planetary model for all the planets. This has also been the approach of *Yuktibhāṣā*.

F.4.3 Planetary latitudes

In the seventh chapter of *Tantrasaṅgraha*, Nīlakaṅṭha gives the method for calculating the latitudes of planets, and prescribes that for all planets, both exterior and interior, the latitude is to be computed from the *manda-sphuṭa-graha*.

र - षात्तु षात्तु तौ षा षा षा षा षात्तु।
 प - षोषा षात्तु यात्तु षोषत्तु त्र षा षात्तु ॥²⁴

The Rsine of the *manda-sphuṭa* of the planet Mars etc., from which the longitude of its node is subtracted, is multiplied by the maximum latitude and divided by the last hypotenuse (the *śighra* hypotenuse of the last step). The result is the latitude of the planet.

This is as it should be, for in Nīlakaṅṭha's model the *manda-sphuṭa-graha* (the *manda* corrected mean longitude) coincides with the true heliocentric longitude for both exterior and interior planets. In this way, Nīlakaṅṭha, by his modification of the traditional Indian planetary theory, solved the problem, long-standing in Indian astronomy, of there being two different rules for calculating the planetary latitudes.

In the above verse, Nīlakaṅṭha states that the last hypotenuse that arises in the process of computation of longitudes, namely the *śighra-karṇa* K_s , is to be used as the divisor. In *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, he identifies this as the Earth-planet distance (the *bhū-tārāgraha-vivara*). There, Nīlakaṅṭha has also explained how the computations of true longitude and latitude get modified when latitudinal effects are also

²⁴ {TS 1958}, p. 139.

taken into account. The true Earth-planet distance (the *bhū-tārāgraha-vivara*) is also calculated there in terms of the K_s and the latitude.²⁵

From the above discussion it is clear that the central feature of Nīlakaṇṭha's revision of the traditional planetary model is that the *manda* correction, or the equation of centre for the interior planets, should be applied to the mean heliocentric planet (or what was referred to as the *śighrocca* in the traditional Indian planetary model), and not the mean Sun. In this way Nīlakaṇṭha, by 1500 CE, had arrived at the correct formulation of the equation of centre for the interior planets, perhaps for the first time in the history of astronomy. Nīlakaṇṭha was also able to formulate a unified theory of planetary latitudes.

Just as was the case with the earlier Indian planetary model, the ancient Greek planetary model of Ptolemy and the planetary models developed in the Islamic tradition during the 8th–15th centuries postulated that the equation of centre for an interior planet should be applied to the mean Sun, rather than to the mean heliocentric longitude of the planet as we understand today.²⁶ Further, while the ancient Indian astronomers successfully used the notion of the *śighrocca* to arrive at a satisfactory theory of the latitudes of the interior planets, the Ptolemaic model is totally off the mark when it comes to the question of latitudes of these planets.²⁷

Even the celebrated Copernican revolution brought about no improvement in the planetary theory for the interior planets. As is widely known now, the Copernican model was only a reformulation of the Ptolemaic model—with some modifications borrowed from the Maragha school of astronomy of Nasir ad-Din at-Tusi (c. 1201–74), Ibn ash-Shatir (c. 1304–75) and others—for a heliocentric frame of reference, without altering his computational scheme in any substantial way for the interior planets. As an important study notes:

‘Copernicus, ignorant of his own riches, took it upon himself for the most part to represent Ptolemy, not nature, to which he had nevertheless come the closest of all’. In this famous and just assessment of Copernicus, Kepler was referring to the latitude theory of Book V [of *De Revolutionibus*], specifically to the ‘librations’ of the inclinations of the planes of the eccentrics, not in accordance with the motion of the planet but by the unrelated motion of the Earth. This improbable connection between the inclinations of the orbital planes and the motion of the Earth was the result of Copernicus's attempt to duplicate the apparent latitudes of Ptolemy's models in which the inclinations of the epicycle planes were variable. In a way this is nothing new since Copernicus was also forced to make the equation of centre of the interior planets depend upon the motion of the Earth rather than the planet.²⁸

Indeed, it appears that the correct rule for applying the equation of centre for an interior planet to the mean heliocentric planet (as opposed to the mean Sun), and a

²⁵ {ABB 1957}, pp. 6–7. This issue has also been discussed at great length in {GYB 2008}, pp. 495–500, 653–9, 883–9).

²⁶ See for example *The Almagest by Ptolemy*, translated by G. J. Toomer, London 1984.

²⁷ As a well-known historian of astronomy has remarked: ‘In no other part of planetary theory did the fundamental error of the Ptolemaic system cause so much difficulty as in accounting for the latitudes, and these remained the chief stumbling block up to the time of Kepler’ (J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler*, New York 1953, p. 200).

²⁸ N. M. Swerdlow and O. Neugebauer, *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus' De Revolutionibus*, Part I, New York 1984, p. 483.

satisfactory theory of latitudes for the interior planets, were first formulated in the Greco-European astronomical tradition only in the early 17th century by Kepler.

We have already seen how the traditional Indian planetary model presented a fairly accurate computational scheme for calculating longitudes and latitudes for the exterior planets. With his revision of the traditional model, Nīlakaṇṭha arrived at a fairly accurate scheme for the interior planets also. In fact, as a computational scheme for calculating planetary longitudes and latitudes, Nīlakaṇṭha's model is indeed a good approximation to the Keplerian model of planetary motion.

F.4.4 Rationale for the revised planetary model

In his *Āryabhaṭṭya-bhāṣya*, Nīlakaṇṭha explains the rationale behind his revision of the traditional planetary theory. This has to do with the fact (which, as we have mentioned above, was also noticed by several Indian astronomers prior to Nīlakaṇṭha) that the traditional planetary model employed entirely different schemes for computing the latitudes of the exterior and the interior planets. While the latitude of the exterior planets was computed from their so-called *manda-sphuṭa* (which corresponds to what we currently refer to as the true heliocentric planet), the latitudes of the interior planets was computed from their so-called *śiḅhrocca*. Nīlakaṇṭha argued that since the latitude should be dependent upon the deflection (from the ecliptic) of the planet itself and not of any other body, what was traditionally referred to as the *śiḅhrocca* of an interior planet should be identified with the planet itself. Nīlakaṇṭha also showed that this would lead to a unified treatment of the latitudinal motion of all the planets—interior as well as exterior.

In his commentary on verse 3 of *Golapāda* of Āryabhaṭṭa dealing with the calculation of latitudes, Nīlakaṇṭha discusses the special features that arise in the case of interior planets. It is here that he provides a detailed rationale for his revision of the traditional planetary model:

आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।

एतच्च गोपयति यन्त्रोक्तं । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।
 आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च । ततोत्तमं यते? आराधयन्तः सौम्यं च ।

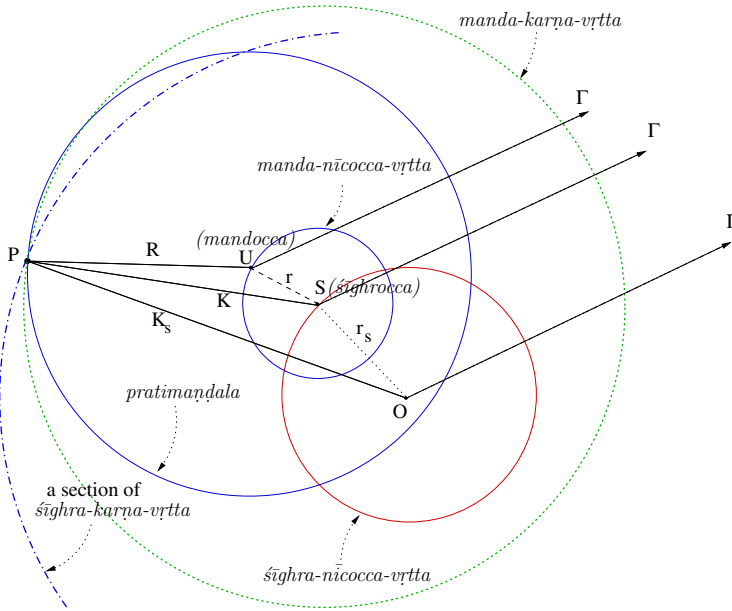


Fig. F.8a Geometrical picture of the motion of an exterior planet given by Nīlakaṇṭha.

and the *manda* concentric (which is not indicated in the figure), are inclined to the plane of the ecliptic towards the north and the south. The figure also depicts a section of the *śighra-karṇa-vṛtta*—centred around O —which represents the instantaneous orbit (the orbit in which the planet moves at that instant) of the planet with respect to the Earth.

F.5.2 Geometrical picture of the motion of the interior planets

Nīlakaṇṭha explains in the commentary on verse 3 of *Golapāda* that the above geometrical picture of motion needs to be modified in the case of the interior planets. We have earlier (in Section F.4.4) cited a part of this discussion where Nīlakaṇṭha had noted that the interior planets go around the Sun in orbits that do not circumscribe the Earth, in a period that corresponds to the period of their latitudinal motion, and that they go around the zodiac in one year as they are dragged around the Earth by the Sun. Having identified the special feature of the orbits of the interior planets that they do not circumscribe the Earth, Nīlakaṇṭha explains that it is their own orbit, which is smaller than the *śighra-nīcocca-vṛtta*, that is tabulated as the epicycle in a measure where the latter is 360 degrees.

ते णो ण पा णो यव्य य ष्येते। तयो णोच्च णा णा य षा णाया णो ण
 पा णाय ण ष्या णो ण णोच्च णा णा णो ष्येते। णोच्च णा णा णा त णो ण
 पा णाय पा णत ण।³³

These two circles (the concentric and the *śīghra* epicycle) are now to be imagined in the contrary way. Of them, the concentric itself (being smaller than the epicycle) is given in units where the *śīghra* epicycle is taken to be 360°, and will now play the role of epicycle. The *manda* epicycle is also taken to be tabulated in terms of this (concentric).

Nīlakaṇṭha then goes on to explain the process of computation of the true longitude of these planets in the same manner as outlined in *Tantrasaṅgraha* and one that corresponds to the following geometrical picture of motion.

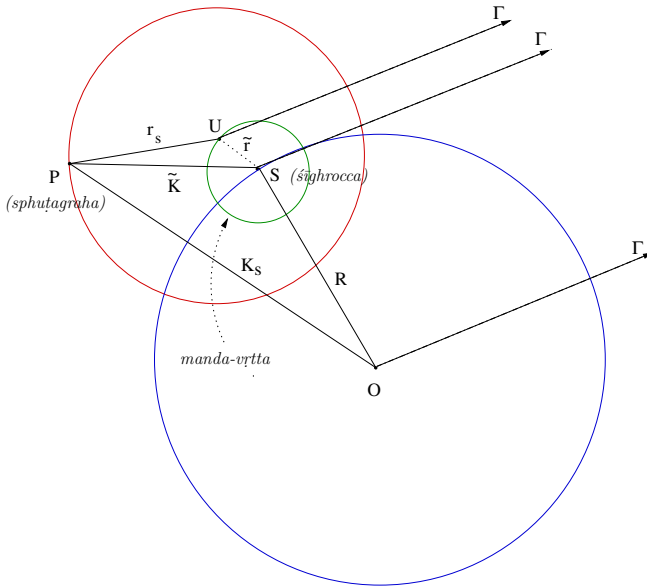


Fig. F.8b Geometrical picture of the motion of an interior planet given by Nīlakaṇṭha.

The geometrical picture of the motion of the interior planets as presented by Nīlakaṇṭha is shown in Fig. F.8b. Here, *O* is the observer, assumed to be at the centre of the celestial sphere (the *bhagola-madhya*). *S* is the *śīghrocca* which is taken to be the mean Sun for all the planets. *P* is the planet moving around the mean Sun in an eccentric orbit. This eccentric orbit is centred at *U*, the *mandocca*. The point *U* itself is conceived to be moving on the *manda-nīcocca-vṛtta* centred around *S*.

For interior planets the planet–Sun distance is smaller than the Earth–Sun distance. Hence, the radius of the planet’s eccentric orbit (*UP*) is taken to be the radius of the *śīghrocca-nīca-vṛtta* r_s , and the radius of the mean Sun’s orbit (*OS*) is taken

³³ {ABB 1957}, p. 9.

$$\frac{r_s}{R} = \frac{\text{mean Sun-planet distance}}{\text{mean Earth-Sun distance}} \quad (\text{for interior planets}). \quad (\text{F.29b})$$

where r_s is the radius of the *śīghra* epicycle and R is the radius of the concentric. We had noted earlier in Section F.2 that the *śīghra*-process serves to transform the heliocentric longitudes to geocentric longitudes, precisely because the above relations (F.29a) and (F.29b) are indeed satisfied (see Table F.3), even though the traditional Indian astronomical texts did not conceive of any such relation between the radii of the *śīghra* epicycles and the mean ratios of Earth-Sun and Sun-planet distances. In fact, Nīlakaṇṭha seems to be the first Indian astronomer to explicitly state the relations (F.29a and F.29b), which seems to follow clearly from his identification of the *śīghrocca* of each planet with the physical ‘mean Sun lying on the orbit of the Sun’ (*dinakara-kakṣyāstha-madhyārka*).³⁷

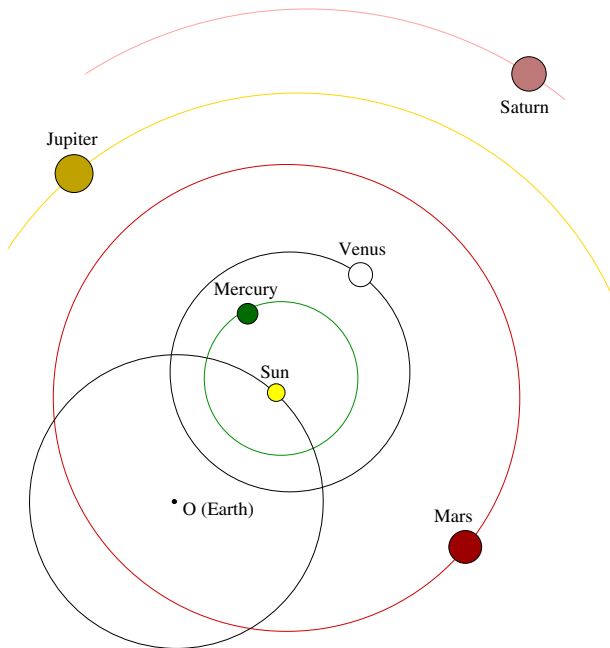


Fig. F.9 Nīlakaṇṭha's cosmological model showing the five planets moving in eccentric orbits around the mean Sun.

The last two verses above discuss the rationale behind the revised planetary model proposed by Nīlakaṇṭha and have been dealt with already in Section F.4.4. However, what is noteworthy in the context of the cosmological model of

³⁷ As we noted earlier, Nicholas Copernicus also seems to have arrived at the same relation (perhaps around the same time as Nīlakaṇṭha) by identifying the epicycle associated with the so-called ‘solar anomaly’ in the Ptolemaic model with the orbit of the Earth around the Sun in the case of the exterior planets and with the orbit of the planet itself in the case of the interior planets.

Nīlakaṇṭhais the clear statement that is found again in these verses that the orbits of the interior planets are indeed smaller than the orbit of the Sun (*dinakaravalaya*).

F.7 The problem of planetary distances

F.7.1 Planetary distances in traditional Indian astronomy

Unlike the longitudes and latitudes of planets, the planetary distances were not directly amenable to observation in ancient astronomy and their discussion was often based upon some speculative hypothesis. In traditional Indian planetary theory, at least from the time of Āryabhaṭa, the mean planetary distances were obtained based on the hypothesis that all the planets go around the Earth with the same linear velocity—i.e. they all cover the same physical distance in a given period of time.

Āryabhaṭa, indicates this principle in verse 6 of *Gītikāpāda* of *Āryabhaṭīya*, where he also mentions that one minute of arc in the orbit of the Moon measures 10 *yojanas* (which is a distance measure used in Indian Astronomy). In verse 7 of *Gītikāpāda* he gives the diameters of the Earth, Moon and the Sun in *yojanas*. The number of revolutions of the various planets (see Table F.1) are given in verses 3 and 4 of *Gītikāpāda*. Based on these, we can work out the *kakṣyā* (mean orbital circumference) and the *kakṣyāvyaśārdha* (orbital radii) of the Sun, Moon and the various planets as given in Table F. 4.

Planet	Diameter (<i>yojanas</i>)	Revolutions in a <i>Mahāyuga</i>	<i>Kakṣyā</i> (circumference)	<i>Kakṣyāvyaśārdha</i> (radius) (in <i>yojanas</i>)	Radius/Earth- diameter
Earth	1050				
Moon	315	57753336	216000	34380	65.5
Sun	4410	4320000	2887667	459620	875.5

Table F.4 *Kakṣyāvyaśārdhas* (orbital radii) of the Sun and the Moon given by Āryabhaṭa.

From Table F.4, we can see that the mean distance of the Moon has been estimated by the Indian astronomers fairly accurately (the modern value of the mean distance of Moon is about 60 Earth radii), but the estimate of the distance of Sun is short by a factor of around 30 (the modern value of the mean distance of Sun is around 23500 Earth radii).³⁸

³⁸ The ancient astronomers’ estimates of the Earth–Sun distance were all greatly off the mark. Ptolemy estimated the mean distance of the Sun to be 1210 Earth radii which is low by a factor of 20. The values given by Copernicus and Tycho were also of the same order. The value estimated by Kepler was short by a factor of 6. In 1672 the French astronomer Cassini arrived at a value which is within 10% of the actual mean distance.

The above relation (F.30) gives the true Earth–planet distance in minutes, as usually the *manda-karṇa* and *śīghra-karṇa* are evaluated with respect to a concentric circle whose radius is given by the *trijyā*, $R \approx 3438'$. From this, the true Earth–planet distance (sometimes called the *sphuṭa-kakṣyā*) in *yojanas* is obtained by using the relation

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣyā \text{ (in yjn)} = \frac{\text{Earth–planet distance (in min)} \times kakṣyā-vyāsārdha \text{ (in yjn)}}{\text{Radius (in min)}} \tag{F.31}$$

The above relation is based on the hypothesis employed in the traditional Indian planetary theory that the *kakṣyāvvyāsārdha* given in Table F.5 represents the mean Earth–planet distance in *yojanas*.

F.7.2 Nīlakaṇṭha on planetary distances

In the fourth chapter of *Tantrasaṅgraha*, dealing with lunar eclipses, Nīlakaṇṭha gives the mean radius of the orbit of the Moon in *yojanas* to be the *trijyā* (radius) in minutes multiplied by 10, i.e. 34380 *yojanas*. He also states that the radii of the orbits of the Sun and the Moon are in inverse proportion to their *bhagaṇas*, or the number of revolutions in a *Mahāyuga*. He further gives the diameters of the Moon and Sun in *yojanas* to be 315 and 4410, respectively, and also states that the diameter of the Earth is to be found from the circumference of 3,300 *yojanas* given in verse 1.29. Table F. 6 gives diameters and mean distances in *yojanas*.

Planet	Diameter (<i>yojanas</i>)	Revolutions in a <i>Mahāyuga</i>	<i>Kakṣyā</i> (circumference) (in <i>yojanas</i>)	<i>Kakṣyā-vyā-</i> <i>sārdha</i> (radius)	Radius/Earth- diameter
Earth	1050.4				
Moon	315	5,77,53,336	216,000	34,380	65.5
Sun	4410	43,20,000	28,87,667	4,59,620	875.5

Table F.6 *Kakṣyāvvyāsārdhas* (orbital radii) of the Sun and the Moon given by Nīlakaṇṭha.

Nīlakaṇṭha then states that the *sphuṭa-yojana-karṇas*, the first approximations to the true distance of the centres of Sun and Moon from the centre of the Earth, are given by their mean distances multiplied by the iterated *manda-karṇa* divided by the radius. Finally he gives the *dvitīya-sphuṭa-yojana-karṇas*, the true distances taking into account the second correction, corresponding to the so-called evection term, for both Sun and Moon at times of conjunction and opposition. The general expression for *dvitīya-sphuṭa-yojana-karṇa* is given in the first two verses of Chapter

Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣya is not really consistent with the cosmological model that he clearly enunciates in his later tract *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā*. It is herein that Nīlakaṇṭha identifies the *śīghrocca* with the physical mean Sun and also gives the relations (F.29a) and (F.29b) between the ratio of the radii of the *śīghra* epicycle and the concentric with the ratio of the Earth–planet and Earth–Sun distances. Since the size of *śīghra* epicycles have already been fixed (see the tabulated values of radii of *śīghra* epicycles both in traditional planetary theory and in Nīlakaṇṭha’s model in Table F.3), there is no longer any freedom to introduce a separate new hypothesis for the determination of the *śīghrocca*–planet distances.

Therefore, Nīlakaṇṭha’s relations (F.32) and (F.33) for the planetary distances (however revolutionary they may be in relation to the traditional planetary models) are not consistent with the cosmological model definitively stated by Nīlakaṇṭha in *Grahasphuṭānayanane vikṣepavāsanā*. In fact, once the *śīghrocca* of all the planets is identified with the physical mean Sun, the planetary distances get completely determined by the dimensions of the *śīghra* epicycles which are related to the ratios of the mean Sun–planet and Earth–Sun distances. The true Earth–planet distances in *yojanas* would then be given by the following:

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣyā = \frac{\text{kakṣyāvyaśārdha of the Sun} \times \text{śīghra-karṇa}}{\text{Radius of śīghra epicycle}} \quad [\text{ext.}] \quad (\text{F.34})$$

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣyā = \frac{\text{kakṣyāvyaśārdha of the Sun} \times \text{śīghra-karṇa}}{\text{Radius}} \quad [\text{int.}] \quad (\text{F.35})$$

The above relations follow from the fact that the mean orbit of the Sun is the *śīghra* epicycle in the case of the exterior planet, while it would be the concentric in the case of the interior planet.

It would be interesting to see whether any of the later works of Nīlakaṇṭha (which are yet to be located) or any of the works of later Kerala astronomers deal with these implications of the cosmological model of Nīlakaṇṭha for the calculation of planetary distances.

F.8 Annexure: Keplerian model of planetary motion

The planetary models described above can be appreciated better if we understand how the geocentric coordinates of a planet are calculated in Kepler’s model. The three laws of planetary motion discovered by Kepler in the early seventeenth century, which form the basis of our present understanding of planetary orbits, may be expressed as follows:

1. Each planet moves around the Sun in an ellipse, with the Sun at one of the foci.
2. The areal velocity of a planet in its orbit is a constant.
3. The square of the orbital period of a planet is proportional to the cube of the semi-major axis of the ellipse in which it moves.

Kepler's laws can be derived from Newton's second law of motion and the law of gravitation. It may be recalled that Kepler's laws are essentially kinematical laws, which do not make any reference to the concepts of 'acceleration' and 'force', as we understand them today. Even then, they capture the very essence of the nature of planetary orbits and can be used to calculate the planetary positions, once we know the parameters of the ellipse and the initial coordinates. Since the planetary models proposed in Indian astronomy are also kinematical in nature, it makes sense to compare the two. So in what follows we will attempt to summarize the computation of the geocentric longitude and latitude of a planet which follows from Kepler's laws. This will also help in understanding the similarity that exists between the Keplerian model and the computational scheme adopted by the Indian astronomers.

F.8.1 Elliptic orbits and the equation of centre

A schematic sketch of the elliptic orbit of a planet P , moving around the Sun S with the latter at one of its foci is shown in Fig. F.10. Here a and b represent the semi-major and semi-minor axes of the ellipse. Γ refers to the first point of Aries. $\theta_a = \Gamma\hat{S}A$ denotes the longitude of the aphelion (A) and $\theta_h = \Gamma\hat{S}P$ is the heliocentric longitude of the planet.

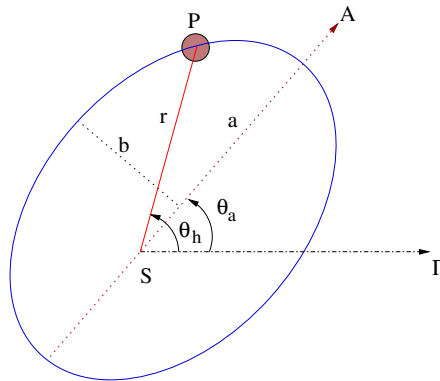


Fig. F.10 Elliptic orbit of a planet around the Sun.

The equation of the ellipse (in polar coordinates, with the origin at one of the foci), may be written as

$$\frac{l}{r} = 1 - e \cos(\theta_h - \theta_a), \quad (\text{F.36})$$

where e is the eccentricity of the ellipse and $l = a(1 - e^2)$. Therefore

$$r = l[1 + e \cos(\theta_h - \theta_a)] + O(e^2),$$

$$r^2 = l^2[1 + 2e \cos(\theta_h - \theta_a)] + O(e^2). \quad (\text{F.37})$$

As the area of an ellipse is πab , the areal velocity can also be written as $\frac{\pi ab}{T} = \frac{\omega ab}{2}$, where T is the time period and $\omega = \frac{2\pi}{T}$ is the mean angular velocity of the planet. Since the areal velocity of the planet at any instant is given by $\frac{1}{2}r^2\dot{\theta}_h$, and is a constant according to Kepler's second law, we have

$$r^2\dot{\theta}_h = \omega ab. \quad (\text{F.38})$$

Using the above expression for r^2 in (F.37), we find

$$l^2\dot{\theta}_h[1 + 2e \cos(\theta_h - \theta_a)] = \omega ab + O(e^2). \quad (\text{F.39})$$

Now $l = a(1 - e^2) = a + O(e^2)$ and $ab = a^2 + O(e^2)$. Hence

$$\dot{\theta}_h[1 + 2e \cos(\theta_h - \theta_a)] \approx \omega, \quad (\text{F.40})$$

where the equation is correct to $O(e)$. Integrating with respect to time, we obtain

$$\begin{aligned} \theta_h + 2e \sin(\theta_h - \theta_a) &\approx \omega t, \\ \text{or } \theta_h - \omega t &= -2e \sin(\theta_h - \theta_a). \end{aligned} \quad (\text{F.41})$$

The argument of the sine function in the above equation involves θ_h , the actual heliocentric longitude of the planet, which is to be determined from the mean longitude θ_0 . However, θ_h may be expressed in terms of θ_0 to $O(e^2)$. On so doing, the above equation reduces to

$$\theta_h - \omega t = \theta_h - \theta_0 = -2e \sin(\theta_0 - \theta_a) + O(e^2). \quad (\text{F.42})$$

It may be noted that in (F.42) we have written ωt as θ_0 , as the mean longitude of the planet increases linearly with time, t . $\theta_0 - \theta_a$, the difference between the longitudes of the mean planet and the apogee/aphelion, is known as the 'anomaly'. It may be noted that this difference is termed the *manda-kendra* in Indian astronomy. Thus (F.42) gives the equation of centre which is the difference between the true heliocentric longitude θ_h and the mean longitude θ_0 , correct to $O(e)$, in terms of the anomaly. It is straightforward to see that the equation of centre correction arises owing to the eccentricity of the orbit and that its magnitude depends upon the value of the anomaly.

F.8.2 Geocentric longitude of an exterior planet

The orbits of all the planets are inclined at small angles to the plane of the Earth's orbit around the Sun, known as the ecliptic. We will ignore these inclinations and assume that all the planetary orbits lie on the plane of the ecliptic while calculat-

ing the planetary longitudes, as the corrections introduced by these inclinations are known to be small. We will consider the longitude of an exterior planet, i.e. Mars, Jupiter or Saturn, first and then proceed to discuss separately the same for an interior planet, i.e. Mercury or Venus.

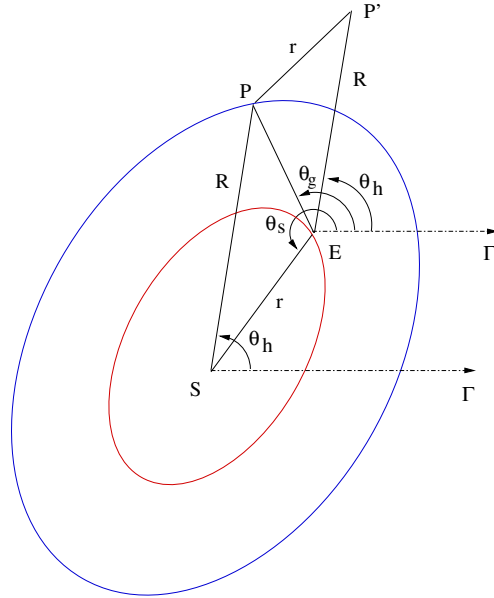


Fig. F.11 Heliocentric and geocentric longitudes of an exterior planet in Kepler's model.

The elliptic orbit of an exterior planet P and that of the Earth E around the Sun S are shown in Fig. F.11. Here, $\theta_h = \Gamma\hat{S}P$ is the true heliocentric longitude of the planet. $\theta_s = \Gamma\hat{E}S$ and $\theta_g = \Gamma\hat{E}P$ are the true geocentric longitudes of the Sun and the planet respectively, while r and R are the distances of the Earth and the planet from the Sun, which vary along their orbits.

We draw $EP' = R$ parallel to SP . Then, by construction, $P'P = r$ is parallel to ES . In the previous section (see (F.42)) it was described how θ_h is computed from the mean longitude θ_0 , by applying the equation of centre. Now we need to obtain the true geocentric longitude θ_g from the heliocentric longitude θ_h . It may be noted that

$$E\hat{P}S = P\hat{E}P' = \theta_g - \theta_h \quad \text{and} \quad E\hat{S}P = 180^\circ - (\theta_s - \theta_h). \quad (\text{F.43})$$

In the triangle ESP ,

$$\begin{aligned} EP^2 &= R^2 + r^2 - 2rR\cos[180^\circ - (\theta_s - \theta_h)], \\ \text{or} \quad EP &= [(R + r\cos(\theta_s - \theta_h))^2 + r^2\sin^2(\theta_s - \theta_h)]^{\frac{1}{2}}. \end{aligned} \quad (\text{F.44})$$

Also,

$$\frac{\sin(E\hat{P}S)}{ES} = \frac{\sin(E\hat{S}P)}{EP}. \tag{F.45}$$

Using (F.43)–(F.44), we have

$$\sin(\theta_g - \theta_h) = \frac{r \sin(\theta_s - \theta_h)}{[(R + r \cos(\theta_s - \theta_h))^2 + r^2 \sin^2(\theta_s - \theta_h)]^{\frac{1}{2}}}. \tag{F.46}$$

Here $(\theta_s - \theta_h)$, the difference between the longitude of the Sun and that of the heliocentric planet, is known as the ‘solar anomaly’ or ‘anomaly of conjunction’.⁵⁰ Thus (F.46) gives $(\theta_g - \theta_h)$ in terms of the solar anomaly. Adding this to θ_h , we get the true geocentric longitude θ_g of the planet.

F.8.3 Geocentric longitude of an interior planet

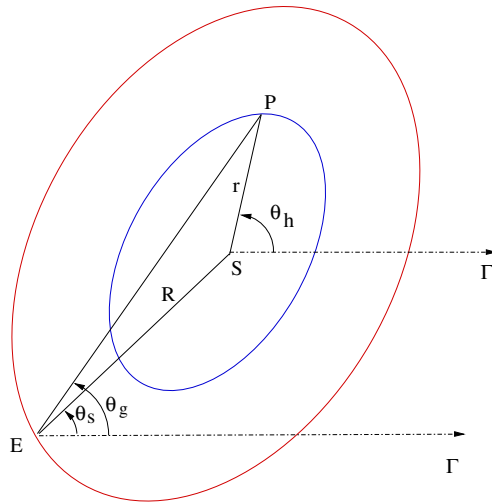


Fig. F.12 Heliocentric and geocentric longitudes of an interior planet in Kepler’s model.

The elliptic orbit of an interior planet P and that of the Earth E around the Sun are shown in Fig. F.12. Here, $\theta_h = \Gamma\hat{S}P$ is the true heliocentric longitude of the planet, which can be computed from the mean heliocentric longitude and the equation of centre (see (F.42)). $\theta_s = \Gamma\hat{E}S$ and $\theta_g = \Gamma\hat{E}P$ are the true geocentric longitudes of the Sun and the planet respectively. As in the case of exterior planets, here too r

⁵⁰ The equivalent of this in Indian astronomy is the difference between the longitude of the *mandasphuṭa* θ_{ms} and that of the *śiḡhrocca* θ_s , known as the *śiḡhra-kendra*.

and R represent the variable distances of the planet and the Earth from the Sun respectively.

It can easily be seen that

$$S\hat{E}P = \theta_g - \theta_s \quad \text{and} \quad E\hat{S}P = 180^\circ - (\theta_h - \theta_s). \tag{F.47}$$

Now considering the triangle ESP , we have

$$EP = [(R + r \cos(\theta_h - \theta_s))^2 + r^2 \sin^2(\theta_h - \theta_s)]^{\frac{1}{2}}. \tag{F.48}$$

Also,

$$\frac{\sin(S\hat{E}P)}{SP} = \frac{\sin(E\hat{S}P)}{EP}. \tag{F.49}$$

Using (F.47)–(F.49), we get

$$\sin(\theta_g - \theta_s) = \frac{r \sin(\theta_h - \theta_s)}{[(R + r \cos(\theta_h - \theta_s))^2 + r^2 \sin^2(\theta_h - \theta_s)]^{\frac{1}{2}}}. \tag{F.50}$$

Since all the parameters in the RHS of the above equation are known, the difference $(\theta_g - \theta_s)$ can be determined from this equation. Adding θ_s to this, we get the true geocentric longitude, θ_g of the planet. We now proceed to explain how the latitude of a planet is obtained in the Keplerian model.

F.8.4 Heliocentric and geocentric latitudes of a planet

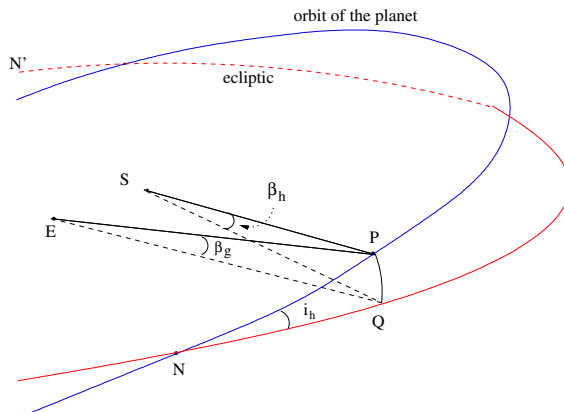


Fig. F.13 Heliocentric and geocentric latitudes of a planet in Kepler's model.

In Fig. F.13, the orbit of the planet P is shown to be inclined at an angle i_h to the ecliptic. N and N' are the nodes of the planetary orbit. PQ is the circular arc perpendicular to the ecliptic. Then the heliocentric latitude β_h is given by

$$\beta_h = \frac{PQ}{SP}. \tag{F.51}$$

If λ_P and λ_N are the heliocentric longitudes of the planet and the node, it can easily be seen that

$$\sin \beta_h = \sin i_h \sin(\lambda_P - \lambda_N) \quad \text{or} \quad \beta_h \approx i_h \sin(\lambda_P - \lambda_N), \tag{F.52}$$

as i_h and β_s are small. In the figure we have also shown the location of the Earth E . The latitude β_g (geocentric latitude) as measured from E would be different from the one measured from the Sun and is given by

$$\beta_g = \frac{PQ}{EP}. \tag{F.53}$$

From (F.51)–(F.53), we find that

$$\begin{aligned} \beta_g &= \beta_h \frac{SP}{EP} \\ &= \frac{i_h SP \sin(\lambda_P - \lambda_N)}{EP}, \end{aligned} \tag{F.54}$$

where EP , the true distance of the planet from the Earth, can be found from (F.44) or (F.48).