Appendix F

The traditional Indian planetary model and its revision by Nīlakantha Somayājī ¹

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.

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 Vaṭaśśeri (c. 1380–1460) is reputed to have made continuous and careful observations for over 55 years. He is famous as the originator of the *Dṛg-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, IIAS, 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 *Ganita-yukti-bhāsā* 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 $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}iya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$, $N\bar{\imath}lakantha$ 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 $N\bar{\imath}lakantha$) 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-sphuta (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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$. $N\bar{\imath}lakantha$ 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ of an interior planet should be identified with the planet itself. $N\bar{\imath}lakantha$ also showed that this would lead to a unified treatment of the latitudinal motion of all the planets—interior as well as exterior.

In $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$, Nīlakantha also discusses the geometrical picture of planetary motion implied by his revised model. This geometrical picture, which is also stated by Nīlakantha succinctly in terms of a few verses in $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $Siddh\bar{a}nta$ -darpana, 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, $Viksepagolav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$, that $N\bar{1}$ akantha 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 $Ganita-yukti-bh\bar{a}_s\bar{a}$ (c. 1530) of Jyesthadeva also gives a detailed exposition of the geometrical picture of planetary motion as per the planetary model of Nīlakantha outlined in Tantrasangraha.

are inclined to the ecliptic) around the $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$, which in turn goes around the Earth.

While discussing the geometrical picture of planetary motion, $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}yabh\bar{a}\bar{s}ya$, as well as $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $Siddh\bar{a}nta-darpana$, 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 $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}\bar{s}ya$, where $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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 $Grahasphut\bar{a}nayane\ viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$, which seems to have been written after $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{z}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$ as it cites extensively from it, $N\bar{1}$ lakantha 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. Following this, $N\bar{1}$ lakantha also states that the dimensions of $s\bar{i}ghra$ 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 relation follows clearly from the identification of the sighrocca of all the planets with physical mean Sun, a fact also stated by $N\bar{1}$ lakantha in his $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{i}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$.

Towards the very end of the last chapter of Tantrasangraha, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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 \bar{A} ryabhaṭa, 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 Tantrasangraha, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha proposes an alternative prescription for planetary distances which seems to be based on the principle that all the planets go around the sighrocca with the same linear velocity. He also briefly hints at this alternative hypothesis in his $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ -bhāsya. However, among the available works of $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha, 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ 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 Nīlakanṭha) 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 $Grahasphut\bar{a}nayane\ viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$.

Before taking up the various aspects of the revised planetary model of $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha it is essential to understand the traditional Indian planetary model, which had been in vogue at least from the time of \bar{A} ryabhaṭa (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 $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha.

F.1 The traditional Indian planetary model: Manda-samskāra

In the Indian astronomical tradition, at least from the time of \bar{A} ryabhaṭa (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 ahargana) and multiplying it by the mean daily motion of the planet. Having obtained the mean longitude, a correction known as $manda-samsk\bar{a}ra$ 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-sphuta-graha or simply the manda-sphuta.

While $manda-samsk\bar{a}ra$ is the only correction that needs to be applied in case of the Sun and the Moon for obtaining their true longitudes (sphuta-grahas), in the case of the other five planets, two corrections, namely the $manda-samsk\bar{a}ra$ and $s\bar{\imath}ghra-samsk\bar{a}ra$, 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 $\dot{sig}hra$ -saṃsk $\bar{a}ra$ is applied to the manda-sphuṭa-graha to obtain the true geocentric longitude known as the sphuṭa-graha. As will be seen later, the $\dot{sig}hra$ correction essentially converts the heliocentric longitude into the geocentric longitude. We will now briefly discuss the details of the manda-saṃsk $\bar{a}ra$, 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 $\dot{sig}hra$ - $samsk\bar{a}ra$ for the exterior and the interior planets respectively.

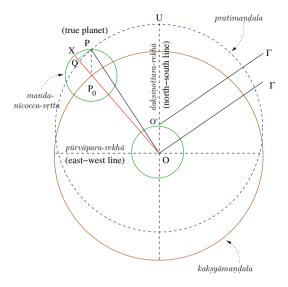


Fig. F.1 The epicyclic and eccentric models of planetary motion.

F.1.1 Epicyclic and eccentric models

As mentioned earlier, the $manda-samsk\bar{a}ra$ 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 $kaksy\bar{a}mandala^{10}$ 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 $Mes\bar{a}di$. The $kaksy\bar{a}-mandala$ is taken to be of radius R, known as the $trijy\bar{a}$. 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 manda-sphuta-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 $kaksy\bar{a}mandala$ 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 $trijy\bar{a}$ 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

$$\Gamma \hat{O}U = mandocca = \theta_m. \tag{F.2}$$

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 $manda-n\bar{\imath}cocca-vrtta^{12}$ or simply as manda-vrtta (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-sphuta-graha P is to be located on this manda- $n\bar{\imath}cocca$ -vrtta 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- $n\bar{\imath}cocca$ -vrtta gives the location of the planet P. Since this method of locating the manda-sphuta-graha involves the construction of an epicycle around the mean planet, it is known as the epicyclic model.

Alternatively, one could draw the $manda-n\bar{\iota}cocca-vrtta$ 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 pratimandala 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,

$$\Gamma \hat{O}'P = \Gamma \hat{O}P_0 = madhyama-graha = \theta_0. \tag{F.3}$$

Thus, the manda-sphuta-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 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-sphuta

The formula presented by the Indian astronomical texts for the calculation of the manda-sphuta—the longitude of the planet obtained by applying the manda- $samsk\bar{a}ra$ (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 $n\bar{\imath}cocca$ is given to this vrtta because, in this conception, it moves from ucca to $n\bar{\imath}ca$ 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- $samsk\bar{\imath}ra$.

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.

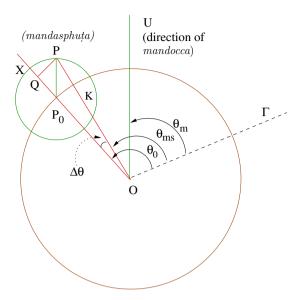


Fig. F.2 Geometrical construction underlying the rule for obtaining the *manda-sphuṭa* from the *madhyama* using the epicycle approach.

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

$$\theta_{ms} = \Gamma \hat{O} P$$

$$= \Gamma \hat{O} P_0 - P \hat{O} P_0$$

$$= \theta_0 - \Delta \theta.$$
(F.4)

Since the mean longitude of the planet θ_0 is known, the manda-sphut a 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 $kaksy\bar{q}mandala$ and the mean planet, to meet the epicycle at X. From P drop the perpendicular PQ onto OX. Then

$$U\hat{O}P_0 = \Gamma \hat{O}P_0 - \Gamma \hat{O}U$$

= $\theta_0 - \theta_m$ (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-karna) is given by

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

$$= \sqrt{(OP_0 + P_0Q)^2 + QP^2}$$

$$= \sqrt{\{R + r\cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m)\}^2 + r^2\sin^2(\theta_0 - \theta_m)}.$$
 (F.6)

Again from the triangle POQ, we have

$$K\sin\Delta\theta = PQ$$

$$= r\sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m). \tag{F.7}$$

Multiplying the above by R and dividing by K we have

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

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 $\bar{A}ryabhaṭ\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}sya$, and also in his $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}skar\bar{\imath}ya$. Thus the relation (F.8) reduces to

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

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- $n\bar{\imath}cocca$ -vritta (r) employed in the the manda process is not a constant. It varies continuously in consonance with the hypotenuse, the manda-karna (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:

$$\frac{r}{K} = \frac{r_0}{R}. ag{F.10}$$

If this is the case, then the question arises as to how one can obtain the manda-karna as well as the the radius of the $manda-n\bar{\iota}cocca-vrta$ at any given instant. For this, Bhāskara provides an iterative procedure called asakrt-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.

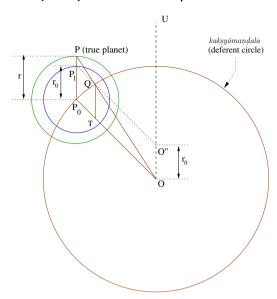


Fig. F.3a The variation of the radius of the manda epicycle with the manda-karna.

Now, the first hypotenuse (sakrt-karna) is found from r_0 using the relation

$$OP_1 = K_1 = \left[(R\sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m))^2 + (R\cos(\theta_0 - \theta_m) + r_0)^2 \right]^{\frac{1}{2}}.$$
 (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 karna,

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

and from that we get $r_2 = \frac{r_0}{R}K_2$ and so on, till the radii and the karnas do not change $(avi\acute{s}es\acute{a})$. The term $avi\acute{s}es\acute{a}$ means 'not distinct'. In the present context it means that the successive karnas 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

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

Thus the computation of the manda-phala involves only the mean epicycle radius and the value of the $trijy\bar{a}$. It does not involve the value of the manda-karna. It can be shown that the iterated manda-karna 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 mandocca 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 aviśista-manda-karņa

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 *Tantrasangraha* (II, 43–44) present the way of obtaining the *aviśiṣṭa-manda-karṇa* proposed by Mādhava that circumvents the iterative process.

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ातात ो नातायातप ते ना गायता।
भेने ता नाते ति तिपयय ती तित ना॥
तेतितास्यान यास तोऽसिष ना यात्।
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The square of the dohphala is subtracted from the square of the $trijy\bar{a}$ and its square root is taken. The kotiphala is added to or subtracted from this depending upon whether the kendra (anomaly) is within six signs beginning from Karki (Cancer) or Mrga (Capricorn). This gives the viparyaya-karna. The square of the $trijy\bar{a}$ divided by this viparyaya-karna is the $avi\acute{s}e\dot{s}a-karna$ (iterated hypotenuse) obtained without any effort [of iteration].

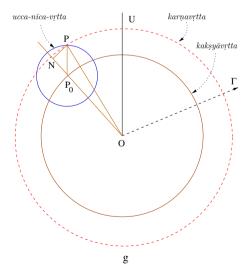


Fig. F.3b Determination of the *viparīta-karna* when the *kendra* is in the first quadrant.

The rationale behind the formula given for the $vipar\bar{\imath}ta$ -karna is outlined in the Malayalam text $Yuktibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$, 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 karnavrtta OP be set equal to the $trijy\bar{a}$ R. Then the radius of the $uccan\bar{\imath}ca-vrtta$ P_0P is r_0 , as it is in the measure of the karnavrtta. In this measure, the radius of the $kaksy\bar{\imath}vrtta$ $OP_0 = R_v$, the $vipar\bar{\imath}ta-karna$, and is given by

$$R_{\nu} = ON \pm P_{0}N$$

$$= \sqrt{R^{2} - (r_{0}\sin(\theta_{0} - \theta_{m}))^{2}} \pm |r_{0}\cos(\theta_{0} - \theta_{m})|.$$
 (F.14a)

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

$$R_{\nu} = \sqrt{R^2 + r_0^2 - 2Rr_0\cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_m)}.$$
 (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 $vipar\bar{\imath}ta-kar\bar{\imath}a$. 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

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

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

$$\frac{OP}{OP_0} = \frac{OQ}{OT} = \frac{R}{R_v}$$
or, $OP = K = \frac{R^2}{R_v}$. (F.15)

Thus we have obtained an expression for the avisista-manda-karna in terms of the $trijy\bar{a}$ and the $vipar\bar{\imath}ta$ -karna. As the computation of the $vipar\bar{\imath}ta$ -karna as given by (F.14a) does not involve iteration, the avisista-manda-karna 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 (*bhaganas*)

made by the planets in a large period known as $Mah\bar{a}yuga$. In Table F.1, we list the bhaganas as specified in the texts $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ and Tantrasaigraha. 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	Sidereal period	Revolutions	Sidereal period	Modern values	
	$(in \ \bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya)$		(in Tantrasangraha)		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	17937020	87.96988	17937048	87.96974	87.96930	
$\acute{s}ar{\imath}ghrocca$						
Venus's	7022288	224.69814	7022268	224.70198	224.70080	
$\acute{s}ar{\imath}ghrocca$						
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 *bhaganas* 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 $manda-saṃsk\bar{a}ra$ is applied to the madhyama-graha to obtain the manda-sphuta-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-sphuta-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

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

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

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

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

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

$$\Delta\theta \approx (2e)\sin(\theta_0 - \theta_m).$$
 (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 $\frac{r_0}{P}$ are fairly close to 2e.

The values of $\frac{r_0}{R}$ for different planets as specified in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ and Tantrasangraha 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	$ar{A}ryabhatar{\imath}ya$.		Tantrasangraha		2e
the planet	$\frac{r_0}{R}$	Average	$\frac{r_0}{R}$	Average	Modern
Sun	$\frac{13.5}{360}$	0.0375	$\frac{3}{80}$	0.0375	0.034
Moon	31.5 360	0.0875	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	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-sphuta-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 $\bar{sig}hrocca$ 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 $\bar{sig}hrocca$ 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 $\bar{sig}hrocca$, crucially, in the calculation of both the longitudes and latitudes of the interior planets.

F.2 $\acute{S}\bar{\imath}ghra$ -sa $msk\bar{a}ra$

We will now show that the application of $\hat{sig}hra$ - $samsk\bar{a}ra$ is equivalent to the transformation of the manda-sphuta to the true geocentric longitude of the planet called the sphuta-graha. Just as the mandacca plays a major role in the application of manda- $samsk\bar{a}ra$, so too the $\hat{sig}hracca$ plays a key role in the application of $\hat{sig}hracsamsk\bar{a}ra$. As in the case of manda- $samsk\bar{a}ra$, we shall consider the application of $\hat{sig}hra$ - $samsk\bar{a}ra$ 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-sphuta-graha is the true heliocentric longitude of the planet. The $s\bar{i}ghra$ - $samsk\bar{a}ra$ for them can be explained with reference to Fig. F.4a. Here A denotes the nirayana- $mes\bar{a}di$, E the Earth and P the planet. The mean Sun S is referred to as the $s\bar{i}ghrocca$ for exterior planets and thus we have

$$A\hat{S}P = \theta_{ms}$$
 (manda-sphuṭa)
 $A\hat{E}S = \theta_{s}$ (longitude of śīghrocca (mean Sun))
 $A\hat{E}P = \theta$ (geocentric longitude of the planet).

The difference between the longitudes of the $\dot{sig}hrocca$ and the $manda-sphu\dot{t}a$, namely

$$\sigma = \theta_s - \theta_{ms}, \tag{F.20}$$

is called the $\hat{sig}hra$ -kendra (anomaly of conjunction) in Indian astronomy. From the triangle EPS we can easily obtain the result

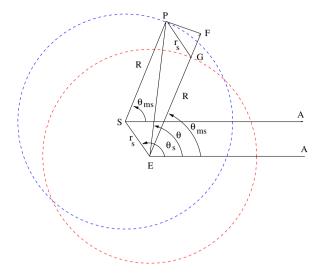


Fig. F.4a $\hat{S}ighta$ correction for exterior planets.

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

which is the $\pm ighra$ 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 $\pm ighra$ -sphu $\pm a$ is found in the same manner from the manda-sphu $\pm a$, as the manda-sphu $\pm a$ is found from the mean planet, the madhyama-graha.

From Fig. F.4a it is clear that the $\pm ighra-samsk\bar{a}ra$ 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 my 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 $\dot{sig}hra$ -sa \dot{m} sk \ddot{a} ra 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-sphu \dot{t} a-graha and P, the so-called $\dot{sig}hrocca$, actually corresponds to the (mean heliocentric) planet. We have

$$A\hat{E}S = \theta_{ms}$$
 (manda-sphuṭa)
 $A\hat{S}P = \theta_{s}$ (longitude of śīghrocca)
 $A\hat{E}P = \theta$ (geocentric longitude of the planet).

Again, the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra\text{-}kendra$ is defined as the difference between the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghrocca$ and the $manda\text{-}sphu\dot{\imath}a\text{-}graha$ as in (F.20). Thus, from the triangle EPS we get the same formula

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

which is the $\sqrt[r]{g}hra$ 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.

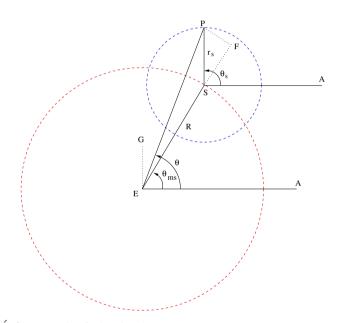


Fig. F.4b $\acute{Sig}hra$ correction for interior planets.

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	$ar{A}ryabhatar{\imath}ya$		$Tantrasa\dot{n}graha$		Modern
the planet		Average	$\frac{r_S}{R}$	Average	value
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 $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{r}ya$ and Tantrasangraha, 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ 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-karna~K. Hence the correct form of the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ correction should be

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

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

It is explained in $Yuktibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ (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- $s\bar{i}ghra$ corrections followed by the full manda and $s\bar{i}ghra$ corrections. The $s\bar{i}ghra$ 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 $Yuktibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$, the results of the four-step process indeed approximate those obtained by the application of the manda correction followed by the $s\bar{i}ghra$ correction where, in the latter correction, the effect of the manda-karna is properly taken into account as in (F.22).

F.2.4 Computation of planetary latitudes

Planetary latitudes (called $vik \not= pa$ 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 $p\bar{a}ta$ in Indian astronomy). If β is the latitude of the planet, θ_h its heliocentric longitude and θ_n the heliocentric

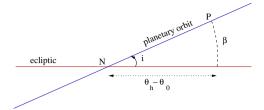


Fig. F.5 Heliocentric latitude of a planet.

longitude of the node, then it can be shown that

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

For small i we have

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

This is essentially the rule for calculating the latitude of a planet, as given in Indian texts, at least from the time of $\bar{\rm A}$ ryabhaṭa. ¹⁶ For the exterior planets, it was stipulated that

$$\theta_h = \theta_{ms},$$
 (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

$$\theta_b = \theta_s + manda$$
 correction, (F.26)

the manda-corrected longitude of the $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$. Since the longitude of the $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ 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-sphuta-graha appears; and an entirely different one for the interior planets given by (F.26), which involves the $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ 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.

Bhāskara I (c. 629), who in his $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ -bhāṣya drew attention to the fact that the procedure given in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ for calculating the latitude of an interior planet is indeed very different from that adopted for the exterior planets. The celebrated astronomer Bhāskarācārya II (c. 1150) also draws attention to this peculiar procedure adopted for the interior planets, in his $V\bar{a}san\bar{a}$ -bhāṣya on his own $Siddh\bar{a}nta\acute{s}iromani$, and quotes the statement of Caturveda Pṛthūdakasvāmin (c. 860) that this peculiar procedure for the interior planets can be justified only on the ground that this is what has been found to lead to predictions that are in conformity with observations. The statement of the interior planets can be conformity with observations.

F.3 Geometrical picture of planetary motion according to Parameśvara

The renowned Kerala astronomer Parameśvara of Vaṭasseri (1380–1460) has discussed in detail the geometrical model implied in the conventional planetary model of Indian astronomy in his super-commentary $Siddh\bar{a}ntad\bar{v}pik\bar{a}$ (on Govindasvāmin's commentary on) $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}skar\bar{v}ya$ of Bhāskara I. A shorter version is available in his commentary on $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{v}ya$, which is given below.

```
- ााधया । ध्येौाााा े िाा ॥॥॥
       ाोपा े । - - । प्रयते तेषा ॥
ायात ध्य या। ो।तीया।
ाप्राातय<sup>े</sup> ।।प्रात्य ातेपा े ।॥
 त्ताता है । त्राप्राता है या ता ।
ो। ोमाे -या। पात तहे- ात॥
    यातप्राता ााता । ।।। प्रापा।।
ा प्राता 'ा। तह 'याया तया 'य ते।
ता। तेषा । - । प्रा । ती ौ प्रे ते ॥
प्राता ने । ।ता यते नयते पाती ग्राये।
 चारिया । ।।) ता - * ।। ते य ।
राता । ता - याता ।।।त
या ॥ वतेता ॥ नतायतोऽया ॥
ा यते ऽाता ॥ ।।।।।ध्ये ॥ ।धा।पौराधा।
       11
          ौरोात । तोऽया॥
   -याप्राबिधा यो - <u>ध्यियात।</u>
तते । म । । । त्याति त । ध्य यात।
॥ प्राता व्यता । या । तो । ति।
प्राता विश्वित येत्र यत्त या।।।पि।।। त।।
```

¹⁷ {AB 1976}, p. 32, 247.

¹⁸ {SSR 1981}, p. 402.

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 $\pm \bar{s}\bar{s}phra-kaksy\bar{a}-vrtta$ (concentric circle) is drawn with the $trijy\bar{a}$ ($R\sin 90$) as the radius. Then draw the $\pm \bar{s}\bar{s}phra-pratimandala$ (eccentric circle) with its centre located at a distance of the $\pm \bar{s}\bar{s}phra-antyaphala$ (maximum $\pm \bar{s}\bar{s}phra-correction$) in the direction of the $\pm \bar{s}\bar{s}phraca$. The same will be the manda-concentric. From its centre go along in the direction of the mandac distance equal to the maximum manda correction, and with this as the centre draw a circle. This is referred as the manda-concentric circle. The planets Mars, Jupiter and Saturn move on this eccentric when reduced to the manda-concentric they are referred to as manda-sphuta, and when reduced to the $\pm \bar{s}\bar{s}phra$ -concentric they are $\pm sphuta$ (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 $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle and the radius of that circle is [not the $trijy\bar{a}$ but] as enunciated. In that $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ 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 $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ - $kaksy\bar{\imath}g$ -mandala or the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ -concentric circle. The circle C_2 which is centred at the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ -cache is the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ -cache pratimandala ($\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ -eccentric circle). The distance of separation between these two circles denoted by OS is the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ -phala, and corresponds to the radius of the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle. It has been clearly enunciated by Parameśvara that the $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ -pratimandala, denoted by C_2 in the figure, itself serves as the manda- $kaksy\bar{a}$ -mandala, or the manda-concentric circle. The third circle C_3 , which is centred around the manda-concentric circle. The distance of separation between the centers of the manda-concentric 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 mandantya-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 $s\bar{s}ghra$ epicycle. Here the circle C_1 centred around O, is the $manda-kaksy\bar{u}-mandala$, or the manda-concentric circle. The circle C_2 , which is centred around the mandacca M, is the manda-pratimandala, which serves as the locus for the

¹⁹ {AB 1874}, pp. 60-1.

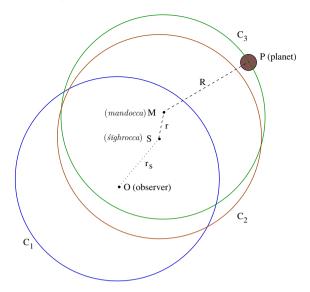


Fig. F.6 Geometrical picture of the motion of an exterior planet given by Parameśvara.

centre of the $\acute{sig}hra-vrtta$ denoted by the circle C_3 . The distance of separation between the centers of $\dot{C_1}$ and $\dot{C_2}$ is equal to the radius of the manda epicycle, and is also the $mand\bar{a}ntya-phala$. P represents the $\acute{sig}hrocca$ associated with the interior planet and S is the manda-corrected Sun on the manda-pratimandala.

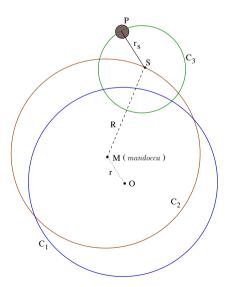


Fig. F.7 Geometrical picture of the motion of an interior planet given by Parameśvara.

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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ 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 $Golad\bar{\imath}pik\bar{a}.^{20}$

F.4 Nīlakantha's revised planetary model

Among the available works of Nīlakaṇṭha, his revised planetary motion is discussed in the works Tantrasangraha, $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$, $Siddh\bar{a}nta$ -darpana and the $Vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}$ on it, $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and the tract called $Grahasphut\bar{a}nayane$ $viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$. Of these, $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $Siddh\bar{a}nta$ -darpana are presumed to have been written prior to the detailed work Tantrasangraha composed in 1500. The $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$ refers to $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and Tantrasangraha. The $Siddh\bar{a}nta$ -darpana- $vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}$ cites the $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$. In the same way, the small but important tract $Grahasphut\bar{a}nayane$ $viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$ includes long passages from the $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$ and is clearly a later composition.

In Tantrasaigraha, $N\bar{l}$ akantha 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, $N\bar{l}$ akantha introduces a prescription for the $sphutakaksy\bar{u}$ (the true distance of the planets). There seems to be just a brief (and incomplete) mention of this subject in $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{v}ya-bh\bar{a}sya$.

The geometrical picture of planetary motion is discussed in detail in the $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}sya$. It is also succinctly presented in terms of a few verses in both $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $Siddh\bar{a}nta-darpana$. Nīlakantha presents some aspects of his cosmological model while discussing the geometrical picture of the motion of the interior planets in his $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}sya$. He presents a definitive but succinct account of his cosmological model in terms of a few verses in his later work $Grahasphut\bar{a}nayane$ $viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$.

F.4.1 Identifying the mean Mercury and Venus

In the very first chapter of *Tantrasangraha* (c. 1500), Nīlakantha 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.

Venus) are now identified with the planets themselves; and the mean Sun is taken as the $\delta \bar{\imath} qhrocca$ of all the planets.

[The number of revolutions in a $mah\bar{a}yuga$] of the Moon is 57753320. That of Mars is 2296864. The number of own revolutions of Mercury is 17937048. That of Jupiter is 364180. The number of revolutions of Venus is 7022268.

Here the commentator Śańkara Vāriyar observes:

Here, by the use of the word sva (own), the association of this number of revolutions with the $\pm ighrocca$ of Mercury, as done by Bhāskara and others, is rejected.

It may be noted (see Table F.1) that, except for the above redefinition of the mean Mercury and Venus, the bhagaṇ as, or the number of planetary revolutions in a $Mah\bar{a}yuga$, are nearly same as those given in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{v}ya$.

F.4.2 Computation of planetary longitudes

Nīlakantha presents the details of his planetary model in the second chapter of *Tantrasangraha*. For the exterior planets, he essentially follows the traditional model. He also retains the four-step process, while noting that (the rationale for such a scheme seems to be essentially that) such has been the recommendation of the earlier masters:

ण ौत्रपाण ौत्रात्साया
$$^{-}$$
 ॥त्रात्मा । 23

The earlier masters have stated that the manda, $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ and again manda and $\delta \bar{\imath}ghra$ are the four corrections that have to be applied in sequence in the case of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (in order to obtain their geocentric longitude).

The actual procedure given by Nīlakaṇṭha is the following: If θ_0 is the mean longitude of the planet and θ_m that of its mandocca, then θ_1 (the longitude at the end of the first step of the four-step process) is found by applying the half-manda correction as follows:

²¹ {TS 1958}, p. 8.

²² {TS 1958}, p. 9.

²³ {TS 1958}, p. 41.

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

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

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

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

Then θ_2 is found by applying the half- $\dot{sig}hra$ correction with the mean Sun θ_s as the $\dot{sig}hrocca$ as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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 $sphu
artia-graha\ P$ is found by applying the whole of the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ correction to θ_{ms} .

$$R\sin(\theta - \theta_{ms}) = \left[\frac{r_s}{K_s}R\sin(\theta_s - \theta_{ms})\right]$$
where
$$K_s = \left[\left\{r_s\sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)\right\}^2 + \left\{R + r_s\cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)\right\}^2\right]^{\frac{1}{2}}.$$
 (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, Nīlakanṭha presents just the two-step process: $manda-saṃsk\bar{a}ra$ followed by $ś\bar{\imath}ghra-saṃsk\bar{a}ra$. 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 ($ś\bar{\imath}ghrocca$), then the manda correction leading to the mandasphuta is given by

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

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

It may be recalled that the $avi\acute{s}i\acute{s}ta$ -manda-karna K is to be calculated using the Mādhava formula (F.15). The $\acute{s}ighra$ 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
$$K_s = \left[R \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s)^2 + \left\{ R \cos(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) + \left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) K \right\}^2 \right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$
 (F.28)
$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) = \frac{\left[31 - 2 \left| \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) \right| \right]}{80R}$$
 (for Mercury)
$$\left(\frac{r_s}{R} \right) = \frac{\left[59 - 2 \left| \sin(\theta_{ms} - \theta_s) \right| \right]}{80R}$$
 (for Venus).

Note that in the above two-step process the $avisista-manda-karṇa\ K$ shows up in the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ correction. In his discussion of the geometrical picture of planetary motion in the $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}sya$, $N\bar{\imath}lakantha$ presents the two-step process as the planetary model for all the planets. This has also been the approach of $Yuktibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$.

F.4.3 Planetary latitudes

In the seventh chapter of *Tantrasangraha*, Nīlakaṇṭha 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*.

The Rsine of the manda-sphuta 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 $\dot{s}\bar{s}ghra$ hypotenuse of the last step). The result is the latitude of the planet.

This is as it should be, for in $N\bar{l}$ akantha's model the manda-sphuta-graha (the manda corrected mean longitude) coincides with the true heliocentric longitude for both exterior and interior planets. In this way, $N\bar{l}$ akantha, 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, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha states that the last hypotenuse that arises in the process of computation of longitudes, namely the $\bar{sig}hra$ -karna K_s , is to be used as the divisor. In $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$, he identifies this as the Earth-planet distance (the $bh\bar{u}$ - $t\bar{a}r\bar{a}graha$ -vivara). There, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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 $bh\bar{u}$ - $t\bar{a}r\bar{a}graha$ -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 śīghrocca 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. Further, while the ancient Indian astronomers successfully used the notion of the *śīghrocca* 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 $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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 $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha) 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-sphuta (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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$. $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ of an interior planet should be identified with the planet itself. $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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 $Golap\bar{a}da$ of Aryabhaṭa dealing with the calculation of latitudes, Nīlakanṭha 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:

The latitudinal motion is said to be due to that of the $\pm \bar{\imath} ghrocca$. How is this appropriate? Isn't the latitudinal motion of a body dependent on the motion of that body only, and not on the motion of something else? The latitudinal motion of one body cannot be obtained as being due to the motion of another. Hence [we should conclude that] Mercury goes around its own orbit in 88 days ... However this also is not appropriate because we see it going around [the Earth] in one year and not in 88 days. True, the period in which Mercury completes one full revolution around the bhagola (the celestial sphere) is one year only [like the Sun] ...

All this can be explained thus: Their [Mercury and Venus] orbits do not circumscribe the Earth. The Earth is always outside their orbit. Since their orbit is always confined to one side of the [geocentric] celestial sphere, in completing one revolution they do not go around the twelve signs $(r\bar{a}\acute{s}is)$. Even for them in reality the mean Sun is the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghrocca$. It is only their own revolutions which are stated to be the revolutions of the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ [in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ryal$]. It is only due to the revolution of the Sun [around the Earth] that they (i.e. the interior planets, Mercury and Venus) complete their movement around the twelve signs [and complete their revolution of the Earth]. Because the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle is larger than their orbit, their orbit is completed on one side of the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle. Just as in the case of Jupiter etc. [the exterior planets] the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ attracts [and drags around] the manda-orbits on which they move (the manda- $kaksy\bar{a}$ -mandala), in the same way it does for these [interior] planets also. And it is owing to this attraction that these [interior planets] move around the twelve signs.

There is also a later work of unknown authorship, Vik sepagolav $\bar{a}san$ \bar{a} , which confirms that it was indeed Nīlakantha who proposed that the manda correction for the interior planets, Mercury and Venus, should be applied to the mean planets themselves and not to their sighrocca, in order to arrive at a coherent and unified theory of planetary latitudes. The relevant verses of this work are the following:

Indeed by the earlier $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ryas$, even in the manda procedure, orbits [for Mercury and Venus] were stated by measuring them in terms of the orbit of the mean Sun, and hence for them their own mean position would be that of the mean Sun. For obtaining the latitudinal deflection ($ksepan\bar{\imath}tau$) [of the planet] they were also applying the manda-correction (mrduphala)—obtained by subtracting the mandocca [of the planet] from the mean

²⁹ {ABB 1957}, pp. 8-9.

 $^{^{30}}$ $Vikṣepagola-v\bar{a}san\bar{a}$ in {GVV 1979}, p. 52. As we shall see later, these verses closely follow the verses of Nīlakantha's $Grahassphut\bar{a}nayane\ viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$, in {GVV 1979}, p. 58.

Sun—to the $\hat{sig}hrocca$. There is no rationale for this and that it was omitted in $M\bar{a}nasa$ ($Laghum\bar{a}nasa$ of Mañjulācārya) seems quite reasonable. This approach followed by the earlier $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ryas$ is also inappropriate because the quantities [that which is used for finding the mrduphala and that to which mrduphala is applied] belong to different classes ($bhinnaj\bar{a}ti$).

Therefore, it was proposed by $G\bar{a}rgya$ ($N\bar{a}lakantha$) that in the manda procedure it is their own mean position [and not the mean Sun] that should be considered as the mean position of Mercury and Venus. The dimension of mandavrtta should also be taken to be given in terms of the measure of their own orbits ($sv\bar{v}yakaksy\bar{u}-kal\bar{u}bhih$). In the $s\bar{v}ghra$ process, since the orbit of the Sun is larger than their own mean orbit (madhyavrtta), he also proposed that a simple way of formulating the correction would be by supposing that the mean and the ucca ($s\bar{v}ghrocca$) and their corresponding orbits ($kaksy\bar{u}vrtta$ and sighravrtta) are indeed reversed.

F.5 Geometrical picture of planetary motion according to Nīlakantha

In his $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ -bh $\bar{a}sya$, while commenting on verses 17–21 of the $K\bar{a}la-kriy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$, Nīlakaṇṭha explains that the orbits of the planets, and the locations of various concentric and eccentric circles or epicycles associated with the manda and $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ processes, are to be inferred from the computational scheme for calculating the true geocentric longitude (sphuta-graha) and the latitude of the planets (viksepa).

We have explained that in the case of the $t\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ -grahas (the five planets) there are two uccas and two epicycles. There, issues such as which epicycle has a centre on the concentric and where the other epicycle is located, can be settled by (analysing) the procedure for finding out the true longitude and latitude of the planet.

F.5.1 Geometrical picture of the motion of the exterior planets

Nīlakantha first gives the following general outline of the geometrical picture of planetary motion:

Here, what is intended to be conveyed is as follows: The centre of the $kaksy\bar{a}$ -mandala (concentric) is also the centre of the $\hat{sig}hra$ epicycle; on that epicycle, at the location of the $\hat{sig}hrocca$, is the centre of the manda epicycle; in the same way, on that manda epicycle at the location of mandocca is the centre of the pratimandala (eccentric). (The circumference of) that pratimandala is equal to the circumference of the sky ($\bar{a}k\bar{a}\hat{s}a-kaksy\bar{a}$) divided by the revolution number of the planet. The planetary orb moves with the same linear velocity, as that of the others, in that (pratimandala) only. The corresponding concentric ($kaksy\bar{a}$ -mandala) should be drawn with the same dimension with its centre on the sighra epicycle at the location of sighrocca. There also the circle of the hypotenuse is to be obtained by the process of iteration as per the rule for the manda-karna.

Later, while commenting on verse 3 of $Golap\bar{a}da$, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha explains how the above picture needs to be modified when the latitudinal motion is also taken into account. The main feature is that it is the manda epicycle together with the eccentric which is inclined to the ecliptic and not the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle (which represents the Earth–Sun relative motion):

It has already been stated in the $K\bar{a}lakriy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$ that on the $s\bar{i}ghra-vrtta$, which has its centre at the centre of the celestial sphere and is in the plane of the ecliptic, the point which corresponds to the $s\bar{i}ghrocca$ is in fact the centre of the $kaksy\bar{a}-mandala$ (concentric) in the manda process. The same ($s\bar{i}ghrocca$) is also the centre of the manda-nicocca-vrtta (the manda epicycle) and also of the (manda) karna-mandala (the hypotenuse circle or the orbit). In this way these three circles (manda concentric, epicycle and hypotenuse circle) are inclined to the ecliptic towards both the north and the south.

Based on the description presented above, we arrive at the geometrical picture of motion—for an exterior planet—as shown in Fig. F.8a. In this figure, O represents the location of the observer and is considered to be the bhagola-madhya (the centre of the celestial sphere). The circle centred around O, with radius equal to the tabulated radius of the $ś\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle, r_s , is called the $ś\bar{\imath}ghra-n\bar{\imath}cocca-vrta$, on which the $ś\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ or the mean Sun S is located.

It is said that the $manda-n\bar{\imath}cocca-vrtta$ (also called the mandaparidhi) is a circle with the $\acute{sig}hrocca$ as the centre. The $mandocca\ U$ is located on this circle, whose radius is equal to the (variable) radius of the manda epicycle. The pratimandala on which the planet P moves is centred at the mandocca. SP is the manda-karna denoted by K and $\Gamma \^SP$ is the manda-sphuta. $\Gamma \^OP$ is the true geocentric planet known as the $\acute{sig}hra-sphuta$. The distance of the planet from the centre of the bhagola is denoted by K_s and it is also the $\acute{sig}hra-karna$.

Among the various circles depicted in Fig. F.8a, it is said that the circles centred around the $\delta \bar{\imath}qhrocca~S$, namely the $manda-n\bar{\imath}cocca-vrtta$, the manda-karna-vrtta

³¹ {ABB 1931}, vol. II, p. 70.

³² {ABB 1957}, p. 5.

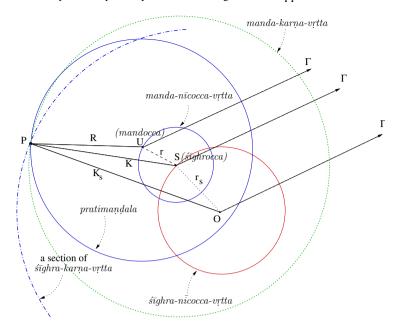


Fig. F.8a Geometrical picture of the motion of an exterior planet given by Nīlakantha.

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 \dot{sighta} -karna-vrtta—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

Nīlakantha explains in the commentary on verse 3 of $Golap\bar{a}da$ 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 Nīlakantha 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, Nīlakantha explains that it is their own orbit, which is smaller than the $s\bar{s}ghra-n\bar{v}cocca-vrtta$, that is tabulated as the epicycle in a measure where the latter is 360 degrees.

ते गो । पा पित्यय प्येते। तयो । । त्रोद्या। । या । तायाी। पा । । प्यते। । व्यते। । व्यति। । विषा । । । विषा पा । । विषा पा ता । विषा पा । विषा पा ता । विषा पा त

These two circles (the concentric and the $\dot{sig}hra$ 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 $\dot{sig}hra$ 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).

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

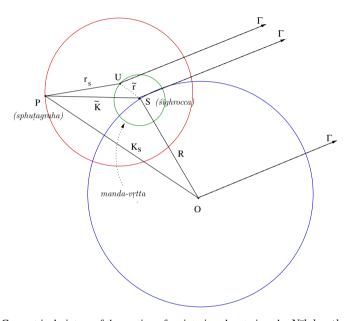


Fig. F.8b Geometrical picture of the motion of an interior planet given by Nīlakantha.

The geometrical picture of the motion of the interior planets as presented by Nīlakanṭha 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ 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 $manda-n\bar{\imath}cocca-vr\bar{\imath}tta$ 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca-n\bar{\imath}ca-vrtta$ r_s , and the radius of the mean Sun's orbit (OS) is taken

³³ {ABB 1957}, p. 9.

to be the $trijy\bar{a}$, R. Further, since the mandapratimandala, or the manda eccentric on which the planet moves, is of dimension r_s and not R, the (variable) manda epicycle r itself is to be scaled by a factor $\frac{r_s}{R}$ and will be $\tilde{r} = r\frac{r_s}{R}$. Correspondingly the (iterated) manda-karna K will also be scaled to $\tilde{K} = K\frac{r_s}{R}$.

Nīlakaṇṭha presents a clear and succinct statement of the geometrical picture of planetary motion for both interior and exterior planets in both $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $Siddh\bar{a}nta-darpana$. The verses from the latter are cited below:

```
त्रिताताता त्यद्यातायाप।
ति े ते त्यद्यातायाप।
ध्या ताता येषात मध्य त्यातातातातीय विष्यत्य स्थ्यतात्रातातीय विष्यत्य स्थ्यत्य स्थाति विषयत्य स्थिति स्याति स्थिति स्थिति
```

The [eccentric] orbits on which planets move (the *graha-bhramaṇa-vrtta*) themselves move at the same rate as the apsides (the *ucca-gati*) on the *manda-vrtta* [or the *manda* epicycle drawn with its centre coinciding with the centre of the *manda* concentric]. In the case of the Sun and the Moon, the centre of the Earth is the centre of this *manda-vrtta*.

For the others [namely the planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn] the centre of the manda-vrtta moves at the same rate as the mean Sun $(madhy\bar{a}rka-gati)$ on the $s\bar{\imath}ghra-vrtta$ [or the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle drawn with its centre coinciding with the centre of the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ concentric. The $s\bar{\imath}ghra-vrtta$ for these planets is not inclined with respect to the ecliptic and has the centre of the celestial sphere as its centre.

In the case of Mercury and Venus, the dimension of the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ -vrtta is taken to be that of the concentric and the dimensions [of the epicycles] mentioned are of their own orbits. The manda-vrtta [and hence the manda epicycle of all the planets] undergoes increase and decrease in size in the same way as the karna [or the hypotenuse or the distance of the planet from the centre of the manda concentric].

As was noted earlier, the renowned Malayalam work $Ganita-yukti-bh\bar{a}_{\dot{s}}\bar{a}$ (c. 1530) of Jyeṣṭhadeva also gives a detailed exposition of the above geometrical picture planetary motion. The expressions for the longitudes for the exterior and interior planets obtained from the above pictures are essentially the same as the ones in the Keplerian model in (F.46) and (F.50).

F.6 Nīlakaṇṭha's cosmological model

While discussing the geometrical picture of planetary motion, $Aryabhat\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}sya$ as well as $Golas\bar{a}ra$ and $Siddh\bar{a}nta-darpana$ 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 of course a remarkable passage in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$ (which we have cited earlier (see Section F.4.4) while explaining $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha's rationale for the revision of the traditional planetary model) where $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha explains that the Earth

³⁴ {SDA 1978}, p. 18.

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.

Nīlakaṇṭha presents his cosmological model very clearly in a remarkable short tract called $Grahasphut\bar{u}nayane\ vikṣepav\bar{u}san\bar{u}$, which seems to have been written after $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{v}ya-bh\bar{u}sya$ as it quotes extensively from it. Here he clearly integrates the geometrical picture of motion of different planets into a single model of the planetary system by identifying the $s\bar{v}ghrocca$, that each of the planets goes around, with the physical 'mean Sun moving on the orbit of the Sun'. Based on this identification, Nīlakaṇṭha also states that the ratio of the radius of the $s\bar{v}ghra$ epicycle to that of the concentric is nothing but the ratio of the mean radius of the orbit of the Sun around the Earth to the mean radius of the orbit of the planet itself, in the case of the exterior planets, while it is the other way around in the case of the interior planets. He further explains that this difference between the exterior and interior planets is because, in the case of the interior planets, their orbit is smaller than the orbit of the Sun around the Earth and the dimensions of the epicycle and concentric have to be interchanged. In Nīlakantha's own words:

```
ा प्राप्त यत ाप्ता धा ततात

प्राप्ता या प्राप्ता विद्या है।

तो भा या प्राप्ता या ध्या ने ना

प्राप्ता विद्या त्या प्राप्ता न्या

भित्रा ना प्राप्ता विद्या त्यो ता न्या ना।

प्राप्ता प्राप्ता प्राप्ता विद्या विद्या विद्या

प्राप्ती ता प्राप्ता प्राप्ता विद्या विद्या
```

The manda-vrttas of the Moon and the others (the five planets) are deflected from the two nodes of their own orbits, half-way towards the north and the south of the ecliptic $(kr\bar{a}nti-vrtta)$ by a measure that has been specified separately [for each planet] and which remains the same for all times. There [again] the manda-vrtta of the Moon is centred at the centre of the ecliptic (apamavalaya), whereas the manda-vrttas of Mars etc. (the five planets) are centred at the mean Sun which lies on the orbit of the Sun $(dinkara-kakṣy\bar{a}stha-madhy\bar{a}rka)$ situated in the celestial sphere (bhagola).

Moreover, in the case of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, the [dimensions of their] $\dot{sig}hra$ -vrttas have been stated by measuring the orbit of the [mean] Sun (arka- $kaksy\bar{a})$ in terms of minutes of (the dimensions of) their own orbits (nija-vrti- $kalay\bar{a})$. However in the case of Mercury and Venus, the [dimensions of their] $\dot{sig}hra$ -vrttas have indeed (punah) been stated by measuring their own orbits in terms of the minutes of (the dimension of) the orbit of the [mean] Sun (arka- $kakshy\bar{a}$ - $kal\bar{a}bhih$). Since it is done this way (yatah), (atah) the mean Sun becomes the mean planet in the $\dot{sig}hra$ procedure (calavidhi) and their own mean positions become the $\dot{sig}hroccas(caloccas)$.

Indeed, by the earlier $ac\bar{a}ryas$, even in the manda procedure [their own] orbits [for Mercury and Venus] were stated by measuring them in terms of the orbit of the mean Sun, and hence for them their own mean position would be that of the mean Sun. Even in this school $(asmin\ hi\ pakse)$ for obtaining the latitudinal deflection $(ksepan\bar{\imath}tau)$ [of the planet] they were applying the manda correction (mrduphala) [which was] obtained by subtracting the mandocca [of the planet] from the mean Sun, to the $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$. This is however inappropriate because these (the quantity used for finding the mrduphala and the quantity to which the mrduphala is applied) belong to different classes $(bhinnaj\bar{\imath}ti)$.

Therefore, even in the manda procedure it is their own mean position [and not the mean Sun] that should be considered as the mean position of Mercury and Venus. The dimension of the manda-vrtta should also be taken to be given in terms of the measure of their own orbits $(sv\bar{v}ya-kaksy\bar{a}-kal\bar{a}bhih)$. In the $s\bar{v}ghra$ process, since the orbit of the Sun is larger than their own mean orbit (madhyavrtta), one has to devise an intelligent scheme $(yukty\bar{a})$, in which the mean and the ucca $(s\bar{v}ghracca)$ and their corresponding orbits $(kaksy\bar{a}-vrtta)$ are reversed.

The first verse clearly describes the cosmological model of $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha, which is that the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, go around the mean Sun in an eccentric orbit—inclined to the ecliptic (see Fig. F.9)—while the mean Sun itself goes around the Earth³⁶. It is in the second verse that $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha makes the remarkable identification that

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

 $^{^{35}}$ {GVV 1979} 1979, p. 58. As we noted earlier, the initial verses of the anonymous tract $Vik\bar{s}epagolav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$ closely follow the above verses of $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha.

³⁶ As we noted earlier, this cosmological model is the same as the one proposed by Tycho Brahe, albeit on entirely different considerations, towards the end of sixteenth century.

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

where r_s is the radius of the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle and R is the radius of the concentric. We had noted earlier in Section F.2 that the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ -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 $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ of each planet with the physical 'mean Sun lying on the orbit of the Sun' ($dinakara-kaksy\bar{\imath}astha-madhy\bar{\imath}rka$).³⁷

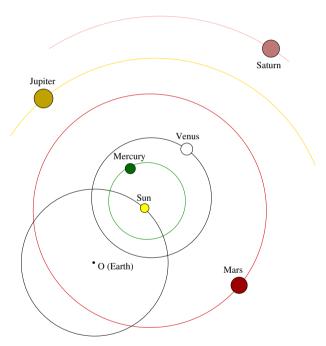


Fig. F.9 Nīlakaṇṭha's cosmological model showing the five planets moving in eccentric orbits around the mean Sun.

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.

Nīlakanthais 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 $G\bar{\imath}tik\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$ of $\bar{A}ryabhaṭ\bar{\imath}ya$, 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 $G\bar{\imath}tik\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$ 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 $G\bar{\imath}tik\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$. Based on these, we can work out the $kaksy\bar{a}$ (mean orbital circumference) and the $kaksy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$ (orbital radii) of the Sun, Moon and the various planets as given in Table F. 4.

Planet	Diameter	Revolutions in	Kak $sy\bar{a}$	Kakṣyāvyā-	Radius/Earth-
	(yojanas)	a Mahāyuga	(circumference)	$s\bar{a}rdha$ (radius)	diameter
			(in yojanas)		
Earth	1050				
Moon	315	57753336	216000	34380	65.5
Sun	4410	4320000	2887667	459620	875.5

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

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.

Planet	Diameter	Revolutions in a	Kakṣyā (circum-
	(yojanas)	$Mahar{a}yuga$	$ference \ (in \ yojanas))$
Moon	5,77,53,336	2,16,000	34,380
Sun	43,20,000	28,87,667	4,59,620
Mercury	1,79,37,020	6,95,473	1,10,696
Venus	70,22,388	17,76,421	2,82,747
Mars	22,96,824	54,31,195	8,64,481
Jupiter	3,64,224	3,42,50,133	54,51,480
Saturn	1,46,564	8,51,14,493	1,35,47,390

Table F.5 Kaksyāvyāsārdhas (orbital radii) of the planets given by Āryabhata.

The $kak sy \bar{a}vy \bar{a}s \bar{a}r dhas$ given in Table F.5 give the mean Earth–planet distance as per the planetary model of \bar{A} ryabhaṭa. They essentially served the purpose of fixing the order of the various planets, ³⁹ which is given by \bar{A} ryabhaṭa in the $K\bar{a}lakriy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$ of \bar{A} ryabhatīya:

Below the stars [are the orbits of] Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and Moon. Below them is the solid Earth [suspended] in the middle of the space.

Āryabhaṭa gives a prescription for the true Earth–planet distance towards the end of $K\bar{a}lakriy\bar{a}p\bar{a}da$:

The Earth-planet distance is given by the product of the $[manda \text{ and } \hat{sig}hra] karnas$ of the planet divided by the radius (of the concentric).

Thus the prescription of Āryabhaṭa is that

Earth-planet distance =
$$\frac{manda-karna \times \bar{sig}hra-karna}{R}.$$
 (F.30)

Nīlakaṇṭha in his $\bar{A}ryabhaṭ\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$ explains that, since usually the $s\bar{\imath}ghra-karna$ is evaluated with respect to a concentric of the standard radius, the above prescription of $\bar{A}ryabhaṭa$ implies that the Earth–planet distance is actually given by the $s\bar{\imath}ghra-karna$ which is evaluated with respect to a concentric circle whose radius is given by the (iterated) manda-karna. This is in accordance with his geometrical picture of planetary motion as given, say, in Fig. F.6.

³⁹ On the other hand, in the early Greco-European tradition, there was considerable ambiguity concerning the order of planets. Neither does Ptolemy discuss the issue of planetary distances in his *Almagest*. In his later work, *Planetary Hypothesis*, Ptolemy uses the principle that the orbit of each planet fills the entire space between those of the neighbouring planets to arrive at estimates of planetary distances.

⁴⁰ {AB 1976}, p. 102.

⁴¹ {AB 1976}, p. 111.

⁴² {ABB 1931}, pp. 53-4.

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

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a} \text{ (in }yjn) = \frac{\text{Earth-planet distance (in min)} \times kakṣy\bar{a}-vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha \text{ (in }yjn)}{\text{Radius (in min)}}.$$
(F.31)

The above relation is based on the hypothesis employed in the traditional Indian planetary theory that the $kak sy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$ given in Table F.5 represents the mean Earth-planet distance in yojanas.

F.7.2 Nīlakantha on planetary distances

In the fourth chapter of Tantrasaigraha, dealing with lunar eclipses, Nīlakaṇṭha gives the mean radius of the orbit of the Moon in yojanas to be the $trijy\bar{a}$ (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 $Mah\bar{a}yuga$. 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		Revolutions in a <i>Mahāyuqa</i>		Kakṣyā-vyā- sārdha (radius)	Radius/Earth- diameter
	(gojana)	u mayaga	(in yojanas)		Gianiotoi
Earth	1050.4				
Earth Moon	1050.4 315	5,77,53,336	216,000	34,380	65.5

Table F.6 Kakṣyāvyāsārdhas (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

8. Tantrasangraha does not discuss the corresponding geometrical picture of lunar motion, which is however dealt with in detail in $Yuktibh\bar{a}s\bar{a}^{43}$.

Nīlakaṇṭha takes up the issue of planetary distances towards the very end of the last chapter (Chapter 8) of Tantrasaigraha. Here, he first notes that the mean radius of the orbit ($kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$) of each planet is to be found in the same way as was prescribed in the case of the Sun in Chapter 4, namely by multiplying the $kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$ and the revolutions in a $Mah\bar{a}yuga$ of the Moon, and dividing the product by the revolutions of the planet in a $Mah\bar{a}yuga$.

This is essentially the principle of traditional Indian astronomy that all the planets travel equal distances in their orbits in any given period of time, or that they all have the same linear velocity. $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha in fact states this principle explicitly in his $Siddh\bar{a}nta-darpana$ as follows:

The velocity in minutes [per unit time] $(kal\bar{a}gati)$ of the Moon multiplied by 10 is the velocity of [each] planet in yojanas [per unit time] (yojanabhukti).

Based on the number of revolutions given in Chapter 1 of Tantrasaigraha we can calculate the mean orbital radii $(kak sy \bar{a}vy \bar{a}s \bar{a}rdha)$ of all the planets as given in Table F.7.

Planet	Revolutions in a		$Kak sy \bar{a}vy \bar{a}s \bar{a}rdha$
	$Mahar{a}yuga$	ference in yojanas)	(radius in yojanas)
Moon	57753320	216000	34380
Sun	4320000	2887666	459620
Mercury	17937048	695472	110696
Venus	7022268	1776451	282752
Mars	2296864	5431195	864465
Jupiter	364180	34254262	5452137
Saturn	146612	85086604	13542951

Table F.7 Kaksyāvyāsārdhas (orbital radii) of the planets given by Nīlakantha.

While the values of the $kaksy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$ given by Nīlakantha differ only marginally from those given in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ (see Table F.5), Nīlakantha's inter-

⁴³ {GYB 2008}, Section 11.36, pp. 584–7, 786–8, 975–80. It may be of interest to note that the maximum variation in the distance of Moon due to the second correction in Nīlakaṇṭha's model is only of the order of 10% and not the ridiculous figure of around 50% found in the Ptolemaic model of evection. Of course, the expression for the second correction given by Nīlakaṇṭha is essentially the same as the one given by Mañjulācārya (c. 932) and is more accurate and elegant than the Ptolemaic formulation of evection. See also M. S. Sriram, Planetary and Lunar Models in *Tantrasaṅgraha* and *Gaṇita-Yuktibhāṣā*, in *Studies in History of Indian Mathematics*, ed. by C. S. Seshadri, Hindustan Book Agency, New Delhi 2010, pp. 353–89.

⁴⁴ {TS 1958}, p. 154.

⁴⁵ {SDA 1976}, p. 13.

pretation of this $kak \circ y \bar{a}vy \bar{a}s \bar{a}rdha$ and his prescription for the true Earth-planet distance in yojanas (the $sphuta-kak \circ y \bar{a}$) are indeed very different from what we outlined earlier in connection with the traditional Indian planetary model. Nīlakaṇṭha presents his prescription for $sphuta-kak \circ y \bar{a}$ rather tritely in just a single verse of Tantrasangraha:

[In the case of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn], the mean radii of their orbits $(kaksy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdhas)$ multiplied by the $\pm s\bar{i}ghra-karna$ [and divided by the $trijy\bar{a}$] give the true orbital radii $(sphuta-kaksy\bar{a}s)$. In the case of Mercury and Venus their mean orbital radii $(kaksy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha)$ multiplied by the $\pm s\bar{i}ghra-karna$ and divided by the mean radii of their own orbits (tad-vrttas), give the true values of their orbital radii $(sphuta-kaksy\bar{a}s)$. And from that the lambana etc. [must be calculated].

The above prescription has been clearly explained by Śańkara Vāriyar as follows:

In the case of Mercury and Venus, the mean radii of their orbit in yojanas ($kaksy\bar{u}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha-yojana$) has to be multiplied by the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghra-karna$ and divided by the radius of their own orbit which is the indeed the $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghra-vrtta$. The result is the true radius of the orbit ($sphuta-kaksy\bar{u}$) [in yojanas]. For the other planets (Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) the difference is that the mean radii ($kaksy\bar{u}vy\bar{u}s\bar{u}rdhas$) [in yojanas] obtained as before and multiplied by their own $\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ghra$ [karna] should be divided by the radius of the concentric (the $trijy\bar{u}$) [in order to obtain true radius of the orbit in yojanas].

There is a verse in $Golas\bar{a}ra$ which seems to give a partially similar prescription for the case of interior planets:

[For Mercury and Venus] their distance from the Earth (their $\hat{sig}hra$ -karna) multiplied by their (mean orbit radius in) yojanas is to be divided only by their last $\hat{sig}hra$ -phala (or the radius of the $\hat{sig}hra$ epicycle).

Thus, Nīlakantha's prescription for the $sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a}$ or the true Earth–planet distance in yojanas can be expressed as follows:

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a} = \frac{kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha \times ś\bar{\imath}ghra-karṇa}{\text{Radius}} \qquad \text{[exterior]} \quad \text{(F.32)}$$

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a} = \frac{kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha \times ś\bar{\imath}ghra-karṇa}{\text{Radius of } ś\bar{\imath}ghra \text{ epicycle}} \qquad \text{[interior]}. \quad \text{(F.33)}$$

⁴⁶ {TS 1958}, chapter 8, verses 37b–38a.

⁴⁷ {TS 1958}, p. 155.

⁴⁸ {GS 1970}, p. 23.

The expression for the $sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a}$ for the exterior planets seems to be the same as that given by (F.31) used in the traditional planetary models, while that for the interior planets (F.33) differs by the fact that the radius (of the concentric) in the denominator in (F.31) is replaced by the radius of the $ś\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle. ⁴⁹ In other words, the $kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$ for Nīlakaṇṭha is a mean distance in yojanas which corresponds to the radius of the concentric in the case of the exterior planets; and it is a mean distance in yojanas corresponding to the radius of the $ś\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle in the case of interior planets. If we take a careful look at the geometrical picture of planetary motion given in Fig. F.8a and Fig. F.8b, we can easily see that, according to Nīlakaṇṭha, the $kakṣy\bar{\imath}avy\bar{\imath}as\bar{\imath}ardha$ in yojanas (given in Table F.7), following the equal linear velocity principle, is not the mean Earth–planet distance, but is in fact the $ś\bar{\imath}qhrocca$ –planet distance.

This fact that the $kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha$ in yojanas, obtained based on the principle that all the planets cover equal distances in equal times, should be understood as the mean $ś\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ -planet distance (and not the mean Earth-planet distance) has been clearly stated by Nīlakaṇṭha in the passage from $\bar{A}ryabhaṭ\bar{\imath}ya-bh\bar{a}ṣya$ that we cited earlier while discussing the geometrical picture of planetary motion:

The centre of the $kaksy\bar{a}$ -mandala (concentric) is also the centre of the $s\bar{i}ghra$ epicycle; on that epicycle, at the location of the $s\bar{i}ghrocca$, is the centre of the manda epicycle; in the same way, on that manda epicycle at the location of mandocca is the centre of the pratimandala (eccentric). (The circumference of) that pratimandala is equal to the circumference of the sky $(\bar{a}k\bar{a}sa-kaksy\bar{a})$ divided by the revolution number of the planet. The planetary orb moves with the same linear velocity as that of the others in that (pratimandala) only.

In the above passage in $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}\bar{\imath}ya$, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha states that the planets are orbiting with equal linear velocity in eccentric orbits about the $\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}ghrocca$. In other words, the $kak\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdhas$ in yojanas given in Table F.7 refer to the mean $\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ -planet distances in $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha's model. This seems to be a major departure from the conventional identification of these $kak\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdhas$ (derived in inverse ratio with bhaganas) with mean Earth-planet distances.

Thus, both in his $Tantrasa \dot{n} graha$ (c. 1500 CE) and in the later work $\bar{A}ryabha \bar{t} \bar{v}yabh\bar{a} \dot{s}ya$, Nīlakaṇṭha seems to be clearly working towards an alternative cosmology, where the planets—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn—all go around the $\dot{s}\bar{\iota}ghrocca$. His attempt to modify the traditional prescription for the planetary distances is also a step in this direction. However, even this modified prescription for the planetary distances that Nīlakaṇṭha proposes in $Tantrasa \dot{n} graha$ and

⁴⁹ This important difference between the $sphuta-kakṣy\bar{a}s$ for the exterior and interior planets, in Nīlakaṇṭha's theory, seems to have been overlooked by Pingree in his analysis of 'Nīlakaṇṭha's Planetary Models' (D. Pingree, Journal of Indian Philosophy 29, 187–95, 2001). Pingree uses the $Sphuta-kakṣy\bar{a}$ formula (F.32), as applicable to the exterior planets, to arrive at the upper and lower limits of the Earth–planet distance in the case of Venus.

 $\bar{A}ryabhat\bar{\imath}ya$ - $bh\bar{a}sya$ is not really consistent with the cosmological model that he clearly enunciates in his later tract $Grahasphut\bar{\imath}anayane\ viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$. It is herein that Nīlakaṇṭha identifies the $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ with the physical mean Sun and also gives the relations (F.29a) and (F.29b) between the ratio of the radii of the $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycle and the concentric with the ratio of the Earth–planet and Earth–Sun distances. Since the size of $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ epicycles have already been fixed (see the tabulated values of radii of $s\bar{\imath}ghra$ 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 $s\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ –planet distances.

Therefore, $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha'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 $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha in $Grahasphut\bar{\imath}anayane\ viksepav\bar{a}san\bar{a}$. In fact, once the $\hat{\imath}\bar{\imath}ghrocca$ of all the planets is identified with the physical mean Sun, the planetary distances get completely determined by the dimensions of the $\hat{\imath}\bar{\imath}ghra$ 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:

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a} = \frac{kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha \text{ of the Sun} \times ś\bar{\imath}ghra-karṇa}{\text{Radius of } ś\bar{\imath}ghra \text{ epicycle}} \quad \text{[ext.]}$$

$$Sphuṭa-kakṣy\bar{a} = \frac{kakṣy\bar{a}vy\bar{a}s\bar{a}rdha \text{ of the Sun} \times s\bar{\imath}ghra-karṇa}{\text{Radius}} \text{ [int.]}.$$
 (F.35)

The above relations follow from the fact that the mean orbit of the Sun is the $\dot{sig}hra$ 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 $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha (which are yet to be located) or any of the works of later Kerala astronomers deal with these implications of the cosmological model of $N\bar{\imath}$ lakantha 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.

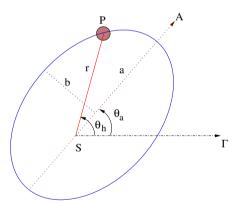


Fig. F.10 Elliptic orbit of a planet around the Sun.

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

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

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

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

$$r^{2} = l^{2}[1 + 2e\cos(\theta_{h} - \theta_{a})] + O(e^{2}).$$
 (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

$$r^2\dot{\theta}_h = \omega ab. \tag{F.38}$$

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

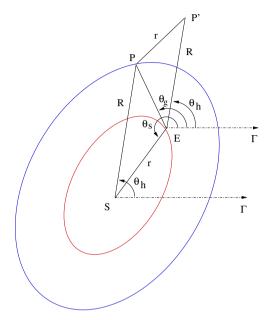


Fig. F.11 Heliocentric and geocentric longitudes of an exterior planet in Kepler's model.

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 heliolcentric longitude θ_h . It may be noted that

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

In the triangle ESP,

$$EP^{2} = R^{2} + r^{2} - 2rR\cos[180^{\circ} - (\theta_{s} - \theta_{h})],$$
or
$$EP = [(R + r\cos(\theta_{s} - \theta_{h}))^{2} + r^{2}\sin^{2}(\theta_{s} - \theta_{h})]^{\frac{1}{2}}.$$
(F.44)

Also,

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

Using (F.43)–(F.44), we have

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

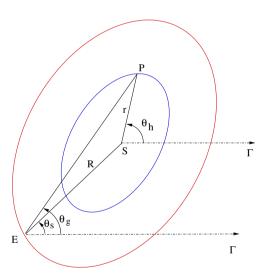


Fig. F.12 Heliocentric and geocentric longitudes of an interior planet in Kepler's model.

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 $manda-sphuta\ \theta_{ms}$ and that of the $\tilde{sig}hrocca\ \theta_{s}$, known as the $\tilde{sig}hra-kendra$.

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

It can easily be seen that

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

Now considering the triangle ESP, we have

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

Also,

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

Using (F.47)–(F.49), we get

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

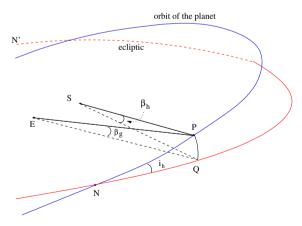


Fig. F.13 Heliocentric and geocentric latitudes of a planet in Kepler's model.

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

$$\sin \beta_h = \sin i_h \sin(\lambda_P - \lambda_N)$$
 or $\beta_h \approx i_h \sin(\lambda_P - \lambda_N)$, (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

$$\beta_g = \beta_h \frac{SP}{EP}$$

$$= \frac{i_h SP \sin(\lambda_P - \lambda_N)}{EP},$$
(F.54)

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