

Persian Astronomy in Sanskrit A Comparative Study of Mullā Farīd's Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī and its Sanskrit Translation in Nityānanda's Siddhāntasindhu

Anuj Misra

Volume 9, 2021

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1077081ar>
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18732/hssa64>

[See table of contents](#)

Publisher(s)

University of Alberta Library

ISSN

2369-775X (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Cite this article

Misra, A. (2021). Persian Astronomy in Sanskrit: A Comparative Study of Mullā Farīd's Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī and its Sanskrit Translation in Nityānanda's Siddhāntasindhu. *History of Science in South Asia*, 9, 30–127.
<https://doi.org/10.18732/hssa64>

Article abstract

Starting from the late medieval period of Indian history, Islamicate and Sanskrit astral sciences exchanged ideas in complex discourses shaped by the power struggles of language, culture, and identity. The practice of translation played a vital role in transporting science across the physical and mental realms of an ever-changing society. The present study begins by looking at the culture of translating astronomy in late-medieval and early-modern India. This provides the historical context to then examine the language with which Nityānanda, a seventeenth-century Hindu astronomer at the Mughal court of Emperor Shāh Jahān, translated into Sanskrit the Persian astronomical text of his Muslim colleague Mullā Farīd. Nityānanda's work is an example of how secular innovation and sacred tradition expressed themselves in Sanskrit astral sciences. This article includes a comparative description of the contents in the second discourse of Mullā Farīd's Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī (c. 1629/30) and the second part of Nityānanda's Siddhāntasindhu (c. early 1630s), along with a critical examination of the sixth chapter from both these works. The chapter-titles and the contents of the sixth chapter in Persian and Sanskrit are edited and translated into English for the very first time. The focus of this study is to highlight the linguistic (syntactic, semantic, and communicative) aspects in Nityānanda's Sanskrit translation of Mullā Farīd's Persian text. The mathematics of the chapter is discussed in a forthcoming publication. An indexed glossary of technical terms from the edited Persian and Sanskrit text is appended at the end of the work.

© Anuj Misra, 2021



This document is protected by copyright law. Use of the services of Érudit (including reproduction) is subject to its terms and conditions, which can be viewed online.

<https://apropos.erudit.org/en/users/policy-on-use/>

érudit

This article is disseminated and preserved by Érudit.

Érudit is a non-profit inter-university consortium of the Université de Montréal, Université Laval, and the Université du Québec à Montréal. Its mission is to promote and disseminate research.

<https://www.erudit.org/en/>



Persian Astronomy in Sanskrit: A Comparative
Study of Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and its
Sanskrit Translation in Nityānanda's
Siddhāntasindhu

University of Copenhagen

Online version available at: <http://hssa-journal.org>

HISTORY OF SCIENCE IN SOUTH ASIA

A journal for the history of all forms of scientific thought and action, ancient and modern, in all regions of South Asia, published online at <http://hssa-journal.org>

ISSN 2369-775X

Editorial Board:

- Dominik Wujastyk, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada
- Kim Plofker, Union College, Schenectady, United States
- Clemency Montelle, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand
- Fabrizio Speziale, School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHSS), Paris, France
- Michio Yano, Kyoto Sangyo University, Kyoto, Japan
- Gudrun Bühnemann, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
- Anuj Misra, University of Copenhagen, Denmark
- Aditya Kolachana, Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, India
- Dagmar Wujastyk, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

Publisher:

History of Science in South Asia

Principal Contact:

Dominik Wujastyk, Editor, University of Alberta

Email: wujastyk@ualberta.ca

Mailing Address:

History of Science in South Asia,
Department of History, Classics and Religion,
2-81 HM Tory Building,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4
Canada

This journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge.

Copyrights of all the articles rest with the respective authors and published under the provisions of [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) License.

The electronic versions were generated from sources marked up in [L^AT_EX](https://www.latex-project.org/) in a computer running GNU/LINUX operating system. PDF was typeset using [X_YT_EX](https://www.xetex.org/) from [T_EX](https://www.texlive.org/)Live. The base font used for Latin script and oldstyle numerals was [T_EX](https://www.gust.com.pl/) Gyre Pagella developed by [gust](https://www.gust.com.pl/), the Polish T_EX Users Group.

Persian Astronomy in Sanskrit: A Comparative Study of Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and its Sanskrit Translation in Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu*

Anuj Misra

University of Copenhagen

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	32
1.1	Translating the astral sciences in Persianate India	33
1.1.1	Before the Mughal court	33
1.1.2	At the Mughal court	34
1.1.3	Away from the Mughal court	38
1.1.4	Why Nityānanda?	41
1.2	Islamicate <i>zīj</i> es in Mughal India	42
1.3	The <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i> (c. 1629/30) of Mullā Farīd	43
1.3.1	Manuscripts of the <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i>	44
1.4	The <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> (c. early 1630) of Nityānanda	45
1.4.1	Manuscript of the <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i>	46
1.4.2	Circulation of the <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i>	50
2	The Sanskrit translation of a Persian <i>zīj</i>	52
2.1	Chronology and influence	52
2.2	The <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II: content and context	54
2.3	The <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II.6: structure and language	57
2.3.1	Structure of the text	57
2.3.2	Language of the text	60
2.4	Grammatical notes on translation	63
3	Editorial Notes	66
3.1	Remarks on Persian orthography	66
3.2	Remarks on Sanskrit orthography	67

3.3	Transcription and transliteration schemes	67
3.4	Typographic conventions	68
3.4.1	Chapter-titles in § 4	68
3.4.2	Chapter VI in §§ 5 & 6	68
3.4.3	Critical footnotes in §§ 4, 5, & 6	69
3.5	Format of appendix B and the glossary	70
4	Chapter-titles from the <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i> Discourse II and the <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II: text and translation	72
5	<i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i> Discourse II.6: text and translation	85
6	<i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II.6: text and translation	91
	References	100
	Appendices	
A	Geometry on the celestial sphere	108
B	Persian and Sanskrit Verbs	111
B.1	Persian verbs in the <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i> Discourse II.6	111
B.2	Sanskrit verbal forms in the <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II.6	112
	List of Grammatical Abbreviations	114
	Glossary	115
	Index of Manuscripts	127

LIST OF TABLES

1	Major Sanskrit translations of Arabic and Persian astronomical texts	40
2	Description of the manuscripts of the <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i>	45
3	Description of the manuscript of the <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i>	46
4	List of topics commonly discussed in the twenty-chapters of the <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i> Discourse II and the <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II	55
5	Description of the passages in <i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī</i> Discourse II.6 (in § 5) and <i>Siddhāntasindhu</i> Part II.6 (in § 6)	58

1 INTRODUCTION

OVER THE COURSE of the history of Sanskrit mathematical astronomy, foreign ideas have evoked a full range of emotions that extend from affinity to apathy, going all the way to antipathy. These reactions are a reflection of the intellectual diversity of Indian astral sciences (*jyotiḥśāstra*). Historical actors may have chosen to accept, reject, or ignore foreign ideas based on their scientific convictions; however, those choices could only be expressed under the aegis of the political and sociocultural institutions of the times.

With the turn of the seventeenth century of the common era, Sanskrit astronomers/astrologers (*jyotiṣas*, *jyotiṣikas*, or more colloquially *jyotiṣīs*) and their Persianate counterparts (*munajjims*) were working under the common patronage of the imperial court of Mughal India.¹ At the court of Emperor Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–58), we find the Gauḍa Brahmin Paṇḍita Nityānanda Mīśra (fl. 1630/50) working alongside Mullā Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm Dihlavī (d. c. 1629/32; henceforth identified as Mullā Farīd) to translate into Sanskrit the latter’s Persian *zīj* (a handbook of astronomical tables) the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* (c. 1629/30). Nityānanda’s Sanskrit translation, the *Siddhāntasindhu* (c. early 1630), was his first attempt at explaining Islamicate computations and astronomical tables to his fellow Sanskrit *jyotiṣīs*.²

By the end of the decade, he included several of these Islamicate ideas in his canonical treatise the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* ‘The King of all Siddhāntas’ (1639). The *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* is composed in the style of a traditional Sanskrit *siddhānta* (a canonical treatise in astronomy) and has a tripartite structure: the *gaṇitādhyāya* ‘chapter on computations’, the *golādhyāya* ‘chapter on spheres’, and the *yantrādhyāya* ‘chapter on instruments’.³ In contrast, the *Siddhāntasindhu* mimics the structure and content of the Persian *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* quite intimately.

¹ The *Gūrkāni Ālam* or the Mughal Empire was an early-modern Muslim empire in South Asia led by monarchs of the Timurid dynasty. From 1526 to 1857 CE, the successors of Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, the first Mughal Emperor, extended their dominion over large swathes of the Indian subcontinent, and in doing so, helped create a highly complex cosmopolitan society extending beyond its imperial borders. I refer to this cultural sphere of influence of the Mughal rule as Mughal India.

² I use the word Islamicate (instead of Islamic) to indicate the cultural outputs (e.g., artistic, literary, or scientific works) of Muslim societies educated in the Arabic and

Persian language traditions but not directly connected to the Islamic faith or any particular geographic region (see recent discussions on Islamicate Secularities in Dressler et al. 2019).

³ Misra (2016: Sections 1.1 and 1.2 on pp. 1–20) offers a fuller discussion on Sanskrit astronomy in early-modern India, in particular, the contribution of Nityānanda and his *Sarvasiddhāntarāja*. Also, contemporary studies like Pingree (2003b), Montelle, Ramasubramanian, et al. (2016), and Montelle and Ramasubramanian (2018) discuss Islamicate influences in the mathematical computations described in the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja*.

In this study, I compare the general structure of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and the *Siddhāntasindhu* in parallel, and subsequently focus on a chapter from each of these works that discusses the same topic, viz. the declination of a celestial object. My aim is to highlight the semantic and communicative aspects in Nityānanda's Sanskrit translation of Mullā Farīd's Persian text. I defer all remarks on the mathematics in Nityānanda's text to Misra ([forthcoming](#)).⁴ Instead, I first begin by discussing the practice of translating Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian astronomical texts during the late-medieval and early-modern periods of Indian history. This overview, built from separate studies on the history, philosophy, and language of astral sciences in India, gives us the context to situate Nityānanda's works in the world of seventeenth-century Mughal India.⁵ His writings can then be seen as an ongoing dialogue between different scientific traditions in a changing society, instead of simply being judged as a 'failure' and an 'elaborate apology for using Muslim astronomy' (Pingree 2003b: 270).

1.1 TRANSLATING THE ASTRAL SCIENCES IN PERSIANATE INDIA⁶

1.1.1 Before the Mughal court

SANSKRIT TEXTS ON ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS (*yantra*) written in the late fourteenth century offer some of the earliest extant evidence of a relationship between Islamicate and Sanskrit mathematical astronomy.⁷ S. R. Sarma (1999) provides an excellent overview of Sanskrit texts on astrolabes, many of which include lengthy discussion on Islamicate mathematical astronomy. Mahendra Sūri's *Yantrarāja* (1370), along with his student Malayendu Sūri's commentary on it (in 1382), is the earliest and most recognised of such works (Plofker 2000).

4 Appendix A includes the mathematical expressions (using modern notations) of the three algorithms to compute the true declination of a celestial object commonly attested in Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 and Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu*, Part II.6.

5 For example, see Pingree (1978), Ansari (1995), Pingree (1996), Ansari (2005), and Ōhashi (2008) for historical accounts of Sanskrit and Persian astronomy in India; Choudhuri (2009) and Minkowski (2014) for surveys of Sanskrit (Hindu and Jain) scholars under Muslim patronage; and Minkowski (2002; 2004), Truschke (2016), and Nair (2020) for linguistic and philosophical reforms affecting Sanskrit *jyotiḥśāstra* in early-modern India.

6 The word Persianate refers to a sociocultural association with the Persian language

(Fārsī) extending beyond the ethnic identity and geographical boundaries of Persia (much like the word Islamicate distinguishes itself from Islamic, see footnote 2). I use the expression 'Persianate India' to refer the geographical regions of late-medieval and early-modern India where Persian culture (expressed in its art, language, literature, and science) directly influenced society (see Eaton 2019).

7 Sanskrit *tājika* texts are Indian adaptations of Islamicate astrology that were composed from the thirteenth century CE. Pingree (1997) provides a historical summary of the *tājika* literature in Sanskrit, while Gansten (2019) studies the transmission of Perso-Arabic *tāzīg*-astrology in the *Karmaprakāśa* (c.1274) of Samarasiṃha, the earliest preserved Sanskrit *tājika* work.

Mahendra Sūri was a Jain monk-astronomer at the court of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughlāq (r. 1351–88), a Turko-Indian ruler of the pre-Mughal Sultanate of Delhi, and is thought to have worked in close association with ‘unnamed Muslim astronomers at Firūz’s court’ (S. R. Sarma 1999: 148). S. R. Sarma qualifies him as a ‘mediator between the Islamic and Sanskrit tradition of learning’ (p. 149). This is perhaps justly so, as three hundred years later, the language and structure of Mahendra Sūri’s *Yantrarāja* continues to echo in the works of several seventeenth-century authors. The *Yantraśiromaṇi* (c. 1612/15) of Viśrāma of Jambūsara, the *Vāsanāvārttika* (1621) of Nṛsiṃha Daivajña of Kāśī, and the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (1639) of Nityānanda are three such examples.⁸

1.1.2 At the Mughal court

During the Mughal rule of India, the practice of translation became an administrative activity under the patronage of the Mughal emperors. Various kinds of literary, historical, religious and scientific texts in Sanskrit were chosen to be translated into Persian. As Alam and Subrahmanyam (2011) and Truschke (2016) have astutely observed, these translations served, more than anything else, to help the Mughal crown conceive and consolidate its self-identity as a ruling establishment harmonious with locally existing notions of kingship.⁹ For a small group of professionals, however, these translation projects offered more immediate opportunities for employment at the Mughal court and with it, a chance for social recognition.

We learn from the sixteenth-century Mughal historian ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Mulūk Shāh Badāʿūnī that Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) established a scriptorium (*maktabkhāna*) where secretaries, scholars, and scribes worked collaboratively to produce Persian editions of Sanskrit texts.¹⁰ According to Badāʿūnī,

⁸ Mahendra Sūri’s *Yantrarāja*, along with Viśrāma’s *Yantraśiromaṇi* is edited by Raikva (1936). Nṛsiṃha Daivajña’s *Vāsanāvārttika*, a commentary on Bhāskara II’s *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* (1150), is edited by Chaturvedi (1981). There are no known editions or translations of Nityānanda’s *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* in its entirety. S. R. Sarma (1999: 149) describes how the structure of the *yantrādhyāya* ‘chapter on instruments’ from the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* mimics that of Mahendra Sūri’s *Yantrarāja* on the basis of MS 264 from the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

⁹ Haider (2011) offers an excellent study on the role of language and translations in the context of intercultural communication and Mughal state-building. Israel (2018)

builds on this to examine the complex ways in which translation processes and political discourses are mobilised to shape cultural and national identities. In talking about the scientific activities at the Mughal court of Emperor Humāyūn (r. 1530–56), Anooshahr (2017) notes that ‘the court’s network of patronage reflected the cosmopolitan (and cosmocratic) ambitions of the emperor, extending to intellectuals from Shiraz, Herat, Istanbul, Gwalior and Samarqand. The changes continued and intensified as the remaining decades of the century unfolded’ (p. 315).

¹⁰ See Badāʿūnī’s *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Lees and Ali (1865: Vol. II, p. 344) for the

Sanskrit interpreters (*mu‘abbirān*) and Persian translators (*mutarjimān*) worked separately at different stages of the translation process.¹¹ Starting with a vernacular paraphrasing of the Sanskrit text by Hindu/Jain scholars (*paṇḍitas* or *śāstrins*), perhaps in a colloquial dialect of Hindavī, Khaṛibolī, or Brajabhāṣā,¹² a preliminary Persian translation was prepared by Muslim clerks/secretaries (*muḥarrirs*). This was then refined by more accomplished Persian scholars (*ustādhs* or *mutamarrises*) into its final form over several revisions (Hodīvālā 1939: 564–566).

It is reasonable to think that this process also occurred in reverse as Persian texts were translated into Sanskrit. In his *Ā’in-i Akbarī*, Akbar’s chronicler Abu ‘l-Faḍl ‘Allāmī mentions at least one instance where a Persian astronomical text was translated into Sanskrit: the *Zīj-i Jadīd-i Mīrzā‘ī* (alias *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*) was translated into Sanskrit (*Jīca Ulugbegī*) under the superintendence of Amīr Faṭḥallāh of Shīrāz with the assistance of Kishan Joshī, Gaṅgādhara, and Mahesh Mahānand (Phillott 1977: 110).¹³

In Shāh Jahān’s reign, beginning in 1628, we find a Persian translation *Tarjuma-yi Bījganit* (c. 1634/35) of Bhāskara II’s *Bījagaṇita*, a celebrated twelfth-century Sanskrit treatise on Algebra, written by the Mughal architect ‘Aṭa’ Allāh Rushdī and dedicated to Emperor Shāh Jahān (Ansari 2019: 384–386). This is also around the same time when Nityānanda translated Mullā Farīd’s Persian *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* into his Sanskrit *Siddhāntasindhu*. Although there are no intermediaries (interpreters/translators) that are explicitly named in either of these works, there are historical precedents from the literary traditions, particularly those patronised by the Muslim nobility of early-modern India, to suppose the presence of bilingual interlocutors.¹⁴

Persian text; its English translation can be found in Lowe (1884: Vol. II, p. 356). Also see Rizvi (1975: Chapter 6, pp. 203–222) for a descriptive list of the Sanskrit works translated at Akbar’s *maktabkhāna*, including Abu ‘l-Fayḍ Fayḍī’s Persian translation *Tarjuma-yi Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara II’s *Līlāvatī* (c. mid-twelfth century CE) from 1587.

¹¹ *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*: Persian text in Lees and Ali (1865: Vol II, pp. 320–321) and its English translation in Lowe (1884: Vol. II, pp. 329–330).

¹² As Alam (1998) observes, ‘[h]indavī was recognized as a semi-official language by the Sūr Sultāns (1540–55) and their chancellery rescripts bore transcriptions in the Devanāgarī script of the Persian contents. The practice is said to have been introduced by the Lodīs (1451–1526)’ (p. 319). see Behl (2012) for a study of the Hindavī literary tra-

ditions in pre-Mughal India; Bangha (2010) for the emergence of Khaṛibolī literature in Northern India; and Busch (2010) for poetry in Brajabhāṣā at the Mughal courts.

¹³ H. Blochmann translated the first two books of the *Ā’in-i Akbarī* into English in 1873 (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal). Phillott edited and revised the second edition in 1927, which was then reprinted in 1977. As S. R. Sarma (2000: footnote 20 on p. 367) points out, Blochmann’s statement on translating the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* by a consortium of Sanskrit scholars is indeed ‘hopelessly garbled’ in his English translation in all three editions.

¹⁴ For instance, based on her study of the vernacular literary culture of early-modern North India, Orsini (2012) remarks that ‘it is better to understand the literary culture

Beyond these literary traditions, we learn from Alam (1998: 327–328) that by the middle of the seventeenth century, most administrative positions in the Mughal chancellery were occupied by Persian-speaking Hindu *munshis*, many of whom made significant contributions to Persian literature.¹⁵ The power and prestige associated with being literate in Persian extended beyond the circles of Hindu imperial administrators—including, of course, Hindu nobility like the Rajput kings—and even reached low-ranking officials in smaller towns and villages. By the time of Shāh Jahān's reign, Persian classics like *Akhlāq-i Nāsirī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī or *Masnavī-yi Ma'navī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī became regular reading material even among the less-prominent Hindus associated with the Mughal state (Alam 1998: 328).

Alam's observations allow us to see how Persian became a tool of socioeconomic mobility for the professional classes in seventeenth-century Mughal India. The Sanskrit *jyotiṣīs* (and perhaps, even the Muslim *munajjims*) served as astrologers for various high-ranking Hindus in the Mughal realm.¹⁶ These Hindus, as Truschke (2016) describes them, 'joined the Mughal administration and became absorbed into Persian-speaking communities' (p. 8). Essentially, they were now a part of the Mughal Persianate elite. As their consultant astrologer, the ability to be reasonably bilingual (fluent in vernacular Hindi and conversant in Persian) would have been a competitive advantage and social distinction for any Hindu *jyotiṣī* schooled in Sanskrit.

From the seventeenth century, the linguistic hegemony of Persian that served the political ambitions of the Mughal crown was met with the rising popularity (and patronage) of vernacular literature among the Persianate elite, (e.g., see Busch 2011: chapters 3–4). The prominence of Hindavī/Brajabhāṣā literature, coupled with a politico-cultural shift towards the vernaculars (in other words,

in fifteenth-century north-India as a multilingual and multilocation literary culture—with a trend towards Persian-Hindavi bilinguality in the domains of politics and literature of the various regional Sultans and in the Sufi religious and literary practices' (pp. 238–239).

¹⁵ Many Hindu *munshis* at the Mughal courts wrote epistolary prose (*inshā*) and composed poetry in Persian. The story of Chandar Bhān Brahman (d. c. 1666–70), a Brahmin *munshi* who lived through the reign of four Mughal emperors, is a fascinating tale of how a Hindu secretary came to be regarded as one of the great Persian prose stylists and poets of his era. Kinra (2015) offers a particularly compelling account of the literary, social, and political worlds of Shāh

Jahān's Mughal India through the life and works of Chandar Bhān Brahman.

¹⁶ For example, Mālajit Vedāṅgarāya (fl. 1643, also known as Śrīmālajī) was a Hindu *jyotiṣī* at Shāh Jahān's court. His admittance to the imperial court was presumably mediated by his immediate patron Rāja Giridhara Dāsa, the Rajput King of Ajmer, to whom, Śrīmālajī dedicated his *Giridharānanda* 'The joy of Giridhara' (Minkowski 2014: 121–122). As Minkowski remarks, 'the presence of a *jyotiṣa* at a particular court appears in some cases to have been rather notional. The Banarsī paṇḍits, in particular, received gifts, honors, or patronage simultaneously from several courts, large and small' (p. 116).

treating vernacular texts as sources of cultural history instead of those written in Sanskrit) led to renewed ways in which Persian writers engaged with the vernacular cultures.¹⁷

Sanskrit poets also learned to adapt to this shift towards the vernaculars. Many scholars maintain that the literary eminence of Sanskrit at the Mughal court began to wane in the reign of Shāh Jahān (e.g., Pollock 2001; Truschke 2016).¹⁸ The accounts of two Hindi-speaking Brahmin poets at Shāh Jahān's court, Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī Vidyānidhāna (fl. c. 1600/75) and Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja (fl. c. 1620/60), describe how two eminent Sanskrit scholars ingratiated themselves with the emperor and his retinue by composing panegyrics in Brajabhāṣā and singing Hindustānī *dhrupad* songs at the Mughal court (Truschke 2016: 50–53).

For lesser-known Sanskrit *jyotiṣīs* like Nityānanda, however, one can imagine that the changing tides of patronage and the competition to find patrons, would have presented very different challenges to those faced by courtly bards singing encomiums. Nityānanda's name appears in the annals of Sanskrit *jyotiṣāstra* as the author of *Siddhāntasindhu*—a Sanskrit translation of a Persian original sponsored by Āṣaf Khān, the prime minister (*vazīr-i āc̣zam*) of Shāh Jahān and a highly influential Mughal elite. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that Nityānanda might have had some basic level of Persian literacy to begin with, or at the very least, developed it through his interactions with Mullā Farīd (in vernacular Hindi) over the course of his commission. The grammatical affinity between Mullā Farīd's Persian passages and their Sanskrit translation in Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* supports this belief to a certain extent (more on this in § 2.3.2).

Sanskrit manuals on learning Persian Between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, several Sanskrit compendiums were authored to teach Persian to Sanskrit-speaking audiences (e.g., see S. R. Sarma 1995; Truschke 2012). Typically, these

¹⁷ For instance, Mīrzā Khān b. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad wrote his encyclopedic Persian digest *Tuḥfat al-Hind* (c. 1674/75) 'Gift from India' on the 'current Indian sciences' (*ʿulūm-i mutadāwila-yi hindiya*) during the reign of Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr (r. 1658–1707). His book includes discussions on various topics of ordinary and academic interests peculiar to the people of who spoke *Braj Bhākhā* (Brajabhāṣā). See Ziauddin (1935) for an English translation of Mīrzā Khān's elaborate exposition of the grammar of *Braj Bhākhā*; and

more generally, see Alam (1998: 342–348) for a historical summary of the relationship between Persian and Hindavī at the Mughal courts.

¹⁸ In contrast, Sanskrit poetry (*kāvya*) composed outside the central Mughal court played a critical role in elaborating the vernacular cultures and identities. As Bronner and Shulman (2006) elaborate in their study, Sanskrit was employed to articulate regional distinctiveness instead of occluding it.

compendiums comprised of two sections composed in metrical Sanskrit verses: namely, the *kośa prakaraṇa*, a bilingual Persian-Sanskrit lexicon, and the *vyākaraṇa prakaraṇa*, a section on the rules of Persian grammar. The *Pārasīprakāśa* (c. 1575) of Bihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra dedicated to Akbar and the *Samskṛtapārasīkapadaprakāśa* (1643) of Mālajit Vedāṅgarāya sponsored by Shāh Jahān are two prominent exemplars (see S. R. Sarma 2009). The former contains a general collection of Persian words, whereas, the latter includes a specialised lexicon on technical terms in Islamicate astrology/astronomy. It is doubtful if either of these manuals were ever sufficient to learn Persian. However, their value in promoting Persian as a language of sociopolitical influence in Mughal India is certainly conceivable.¹⁹

1.1.3 Away from the Mughal court

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the locus of Sanskrit patronage shifted from the Mughal court to the courts of the vassal states under Mughal suzerainty. Among these subimperial sponsors, the royal patronage of Mahārāja Savāi Jayasimha of Jayapura (Jaipur) is particularly pertinent to the history of Sanskrit astronomy. Savāi Jayasimha II (r. 1699–1743) was the Kachvāha Rajput King of Āmera (and later Jayapura) who invested in Sanskrit astronomy both academically and economically. He not only paid for the construction of five astronomical observatories in India but also instituted an ambitious project to translate Islamicate scientific works into Sanskrit; in particular, Arabic and Persian version of Greco-Islamicate mathematics and astronomy—and to a lesser extent, even the European astronomical tables brought to him by the Jesuits (S. R. Sarma 1998; Pingree 1999).²⁰

¹⁹ A statement in support of this idea is found in the words of the Sanskrit scholar Paṇḍita Sūryadāsa Daivajña (b. 1508). Sūryadāsa wrote a versified glossary of Perso-Arabic astrological terms as a section of the fifth chapter in his *Siddhāntasamhitā-sārasamuccaya* (1583). He begins the section by claiming (in v. 56) that the knowledge of the ‘technical terms stated in the science of the foreigners’ (*yavana-śāstra-uktā samjñā*) will be ‘useful in the royal court’ (*narapati-sabhā-upayogya*) and will also be ‘beneficial to astrologers’ (*upakāra-artha daivavidām*); see Minkowski (2004: p. 329–330) for the Sanskrit text of this verse, and also an overview of Sūryadāsa’s contributions in promoting Islamicate astrology in Sanskrit. More generally, see Alam (2003) for an excellent study on the cultural and political

role of Persian in the polity of Mughal India.

²⁰ In her doctoral dissertation, Johnson-Roehr (2011) describes the sociopolitical impact of Savāi Jayasimha’s urban observatories, in particular, the emplacement of ancillary knowledge-systems (like accounting, masonry, etc.) within the local landscape of his newly built city of Jayapura (Jaipur). Her observations locate these subsidiary activities within Jayasimha’s programme of assimilating Islamicate and European astronomy, and in that capacity, offer an interesting parallel to the patronage of professional interpreters, scribes, accountants, and clerks in early-modern society of Mughal India (e.g., see Alam and Subrahmanyam 2011: Chapter 7 ‘The Making of a Munshī’).

V. N. Sharma (1993) provides a descriptive account of the Hindu astronomers, astrologers, observers, and scribes recruited under Savāi Jayasimha's programme. Among these names, Jagannātha Samrāt (fl. c. 1720/40), Nayana-sukhopādhyāya (fl. 1729), and Kevalarāma Jyotiṣarāya (fl. c. 1730/80) are three notable Hindu *jyotiṣīs* who translated the science of the *yavanas* (foreigners) into Sanskrit.²¹ Table 1 lists some of the more prominent Sanskrit translations of Arabic and Persian works, particularly, those that were commissioned by Savāi Jayasimha in the early eighteenth century (Pingree 2003a: 131–151).²²

It is worth noting that Savāi Jayasimha possessed a copy of Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* (c. early 1630s).²³ It is very likely he also possessed a copy of Nityānanda's *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (1639). As Pingree (1999: 79) notes, the earliest version of Jagannātha Samrāt's *Samrāṭṣiddhānta* (i.e., the *Samrāṭṣiddhānta-kaustubha* from 1726; the third entry in Table 1) includes the astronomical parameters of Ulugh Beg derived from Nityānanda's *Sarvasiddhāntarāja*. Pingree continues on to say: 'From Jagannātha's use of [the astronomical parameters] we come to realize what has long been suspected, that Nityānanda's arguments, originally advanced in 1639, finally found a receptive audience, nearly a century later, at Jayasimha's court' (p. 79). In fact, Nityānanda's technical vocabulary also provides some of the terminology with which Kevalarāma (see footnote 21) translates European astronomy into Sanskrit around the mid eighteenth century CE (Pingree 2003b: 283).

The method of translation at Savāi Jayasimha's court becomes evident with one of his astronomers' own statement on the process. Nayanasukhopādhyāya, in his *Ukarā* and his *Śarahatajkirā Virajandī* (the fourth and fifth entries in Table 1), expressly mentions Muḥammad Ābidda dictating the Arabic passages while he composes them into Sanskrit (S. R. Sarma 1998: 73–74). As Kusuba and Pingree

²¹ Kevalarāma authored several works at Jayasimha's court; one of them is believed to be the *Dr̥ṣṭakṣasāraṇī* (c. 1733), a Sanskrit adaptation of Philippe de La Hire's *Tabulae Astronomicae* (1702) based on its 1727 Latin edition (Pingree 1998). There is at least one other Sanskrit text, the *Phiraṅgicandracchedyopayogika* (c. 1732/24), also inspired by La Hire's work but collectively authored by the *jyotiṣīs* at Jayasimha's court (Montelle and Plofker 2018: 248–249; Pingree 2002).

²² These works are translations in an explicit sense; there are other works, mostly *Siddhāntas* composed in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Mughal India, that implicitly engage and discuss Islamicate astronomy.

Nityānanda's *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (1639), Munīśvara's *Siddhāntasārvabhauma* (1646), and Kamalākara's *Siddhāntatattvaviveka* (1658) are three canonical examples of Sanskrit texts that discuss Islamicate mathematical astronomy. More on this in § 2.

²³ MS Museum 23 (444 folia) of the *Siddhāntasindhu* held at the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum at the City Palace of Jaipur attests that it was copied by Gaṅgārāma of Kāśmīra for Mahārāja Jayasimha on Thursday 6 April 1727 CE (stated on f. 443). A second note (in Hindi) appears on f. 444v indicating it copied (from an earlier copy?) by Gaṅgāyaratna on c. 24 May 1726 CE (Pingree 2003a: 142–143).

Date of composition	Sanskrit text
ante 1694	the <i>Hayatagrantha</i> , an anonymously authored Sanskrit translation of ‘Alī Qushjī’s Persian text <i>Risāla dar ‘Ilm al-Hay’a</i> (1458) ‘Treatise on Astronomy (‘ilm al-hay’a)’, edited by V. B. Bhaṭṭācārya (1967)
1726	the <i>Rekhāganita</i> of Jagannātha Samrāt (1652–1744), a Sanskrit translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Arabic text <i>Kitāb Taḥrīr Uṣūl li-Uqlīdus</i> (c. 1248) ‘The recension of Euclid’s <i>Elements</i> ’, edited by Trivedī (1902)
c. 1726–1732	the <i>Samrāṭśiddhānta</i> of Jagannātha Samrāt, a Sanskrit translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Arabic recension <i>Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī</i> (1247) ‘Commentary on [Ptolemy’s] <i>Almagest</i> ’; three versions of this text are attested: the earliest, called <i>Samrāṭśiddhāntakaustubha</i> , is from 1726, while the two later expanded versions are from 1730 and 1732 respectively; the text dated 1732 is edited by R. S. Sharma (1967)
1729	the <i>Ukarā</i> of Nayanasukhopādhyāya (with the assistance of Muḥammad Ābidda), a Sanskrit translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Arabic recension <i>Taḥrīr al-Ukarr</i> (1253) ‘Commentary on [Theodosius’] <i>Sphaerica</i> ’, edited by V. B. Bhaṭṭācārya (1978)
1729	the <i>Śarahatajkirā Virajandī</i> of Nayanasukhopādhyāya (with the assistance of Muḥammad Ābidda), a Sanskrit translation of Chapter 11 from Book II of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s <i>al-Tadhkira fī ‘Ilm al-Hay’a</i> ‘Memoirs on Astronomy’ (1261–1274) with Nizām al-Dīn al-Bīrjandī’s <i>Sharḥ al-Tadhkira</i> (1507) ‘Commentary on the <i>Tadhkira</i> ’, edited by Kusuba and Pingree (2001)
c. 1730	the <i>Yantrarājasya Rasāla</i> aliases <i>Vīsavāva</i> , <i>Yantrarājavicāra-viṃśādhyāyī</i> of Nayanasukhopādhyāya (suspected), a Sanskrit translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Persian text <i>Risāla-yi Bīst Bāb dar Ma‘rifat-i Uṣṭurlāb</i> ‘Treatise in Twenty Chapters on the Knowledge of the Astrolabe’ (c. 1240), edited by V. B. Bhaṭṭācārya (1979)

Table 1: Major Sanskrit translations of Arabic and Persian astronomical texts

(2001) remark, Nayanasukhopādhyāya ‘did not simply render the Arabic commentary together with the original into Sanskrit literally, but expanded those passages that he found particularly difficult’ (p. 7). This suggests that between Muḥammad Ābidda’s dictation of the Arabic passages and Nayanasukhopādhyāya’s translation of those passages into Sanskrit, they communicated directly or through an intermediary in a common link language (perhaps, a colloquial dialect of Hindavī, Brajabhāṣā, or Rājasthānī).

Bidirectional translations of texts between Sanskrit and other languages (e.g., vernaculars like Hindustānī or Bāṅglā, or even European languages like English or German) continued beyond the eighteenth century, with different methods and motivations (e.g., see Dodson 2005; Raina 2010; Gallien 2019). Texts in the exact sciences were included in many translation projects, and undoubtedly, they were repurposed to serve the ambitions of the benefactor and the beneficiary alike.

1.1.4 Why Nityānanda?

It is uncertain why Nityānanda was chosen to translate Mullā Farīd’s Persian *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* into Sanskrit. Based on what we know, Nityānanda was not a decorated astronomer: he did not hold any titles like *Jotik Rāi* or *Vedāṅgarāya*, even though Shāh Jahān conferred such a title on Mālajit Vedāṅgarāya (fl. 1643) (see footnote 16). Nityānanda identifies himself in the colophon of his *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (1639) as a Gauḍa Brahmin of Mudgala *gotra* (patronymic) from Indrapurī (Old Delhi), and provides a genealogy of his Brahmin ancestors beginning with his father: Nityānanda, son of Devadatta, son of Nārāyaṇa, son of Lakṣmaṇa son of Icchā Ḍulīnahatṭa (e.g., see Peterson 1892: 228). Beyond this register of names, we have no reliable information on who these other Brahmins were, where they came from, or what works they wrote (if any).

Until any new evidence suggests otherwise, we believe Nityānanda’s association with the Mughal court begins with Āṣaf Khān employing him in c. post 1628.²⁴ As I describe below (in § 1.3), a royal decree (*farmān*) was issued to bring Muslim and Hindu astronomers together to prepare the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* under Āṣaf Khān’s supervision. This may have been the ticket for Nityānanda’s entry to the Mughal court. His fluency in vernacular Hindi (as a resident of Delhi) and competency in Sanskrit astronomy (presumably, attested through testimony) might have brought him to Shāh Jahān’s court seeking patronage as a Sanskrit *jyotiṣī*.

²⁴ In contrast, Mullā Farīd first joined the service of Mirzā ‘Abd’l-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān—a prominent Mughal nobility during the reigns of the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr, ‘a man of the sword

as well as of the pen’ (Lefèvre 2014: 75)—in 1597 and remained in his service till he joined the court of Shāh Jahān in 1628 (Ghori 1985: 34).

We do not know whether Nityānanda continued to remain at the Mughal court after composing the *Siddhāntasindhu*, or even if his association was ever exclusive to begin with. His second book, the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (1639), is a complex syncretism of Sanskrit siddhāntic astronomy and Islamicate theories. To my knowledge, there are no explicit references to any patrons in this work; however, judging by the scale and scope of the work, it seems very likely that he had continued access to intellectual and financial resources throughout its production (more on this in Misra *forthcoming*).²⁵

1.2 ISLAMICATE ZĪJES IN MUGHAL INDIA

BY THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, Arabic and Persian astronomical texts were regularly studied at Islamic institutions of higher learning (*madrasa*) in Mughal India; particularly, at those institutions that focused on teaching the rational sciences (*‘ulūm al-‘aqlīyah*).²⁶ Ansari (1995: Table 1 on p. 278) lists the names of prominent Islamicate scholars whose works are extant in several copies in Indian libraries. It includes the works of Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī b. ‘Irāq (d. 1036), Kūshyār b. Labbān al-Jīlī (d. 1029), Ḥasan b. al-Haytham (965–1041), Abū’l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (973–1048), Maḥmūd al-Jaghminī (c. early thirteenth century), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201–1274), Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (1236–1311), Jamshīd Mas‘ūd al-Kāshī (d. 1436), Sulṭān Ulugh Beg (1394–1499), and many others; also see Ansari (1995: Section III on pp. 279–281 and Appendix I on pp. 288–294). The large numbers of manuscript witnesses suggest the prevalence of these works in the repertoire of Muslim scholars (*‘ulamā’* or *fuḍalā’*) in early-modern India.

The lists of *zīj*es enumerated in the *Ā’in-i Akbarī* of Abū’l-Faḍl ‘Allāmī (1551–1602), the chronicler of Akbar, and the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* of Mullā Farīd composed during the rule of Shāh Jahān provide further information on the astronomical tables in the imperial library (*kitābkhāna*) of early seventeenth-century Mughal India (Ghori 1985: Appendices A and B on pp. 45–48).²⁷

²⁵ A single extant manuscript of a text called the *Śāhajahāṃgaṇita*, allegedly authored by Nityānanda, is currently held at the Anup Sanskrit Library in Bikaner (MS 5291, Serial No 787, 12 folia, injured, see Pingree 1970–94: CESS A3, p. 174a; Raja and M. K. Sarma 1993: 393). I have not been able to consult this manuscript to verify its professed authorship.

²⁶ Sufi (1941: 1–88) provides an extensive chronological study of the evolution of curriculum in Indian *madrasas* through the dyn-

astic rule of the Ghaznavids, the Ghurids, the Delhi Sultanates, and eventually the Mughals.

²⁷ Seyller (1997) provides a comprehensive description and valuation of the manuscripts in the collections of the Mughal library. The paper begins by observing that ‘[s]hortly after the death of Emperor Akbar in 1605, an inventory of the vast holdings of the imperial Mughal library recorded a total of 24,000 volumes with a value of 6,463,731 rupees.’ (p. 243).

An important *zīj* in these accounts is the *Zīj-i Jadīd-i Sulṭānī* (alias *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* or *Zīj-i Saʿīd-i Jadīd-i Gūrgānī*) of Sulṭān Ulugh Beg composed by a collaborative team of astronomers (al-Rūmī, al-Kāshī, Ulugh Beg, and ʿAlī Qūshjī) at the Observatory of Ulugh Beg in Samarqand in 1438/39.²⁸ As Ansari (2015: p. 581a) notes, the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* was translated into Sanskrit (*Jīca Ulugbegī*²⁹) by a consortium of Muslim and Hindu scholars led by Shāh Faṭḥallāh Shīrāzī (d. 1589) during the reign of Akbar. From the sixteenth century, the preeminence of the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* in Mughal India made its structure the standard with which subsequent *zīj*es were composed. The *Zīj-i Raḥīmī* and the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*, both composed by Mullā Farīd, are two such examples.³⁰

1.3 THE ZĪJ-I SHĀH JAHĀNĪ (C. 1629/30) OF MULLĀ FARĪD

MULLĀ FARĪD'S *KĀRNAMEH-I SHAHIB QIRĀN-I THĀNĪ*, *ZĪJ-I SHĀH JAHĀNĪ*³¹ (*Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* for short) is a set of astronomical tables written at the behest of Abu'l-Ḥasan Aṣaf Khān (d. 1641), the prime minister (*vazīr-i āʿzam*) and father-in-law to Shāh Jahān. It was commissioned to institute a new calendar of Shāh Jahān, the *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī Shāhishānī*, beginning on the first day of Farvardin in his ascensional year 1037 AH (21 March 1628). This was in keeping with previous regnal year calendar like *Jalālī* era (epoch 21 March 1079) of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shāh or the *Tārīkh-i Ilāhī* 'Divine Era' (epoch 20 March 1555/56) of Shāh Jahān's grand father Akbar. Ansari (2015: Section 3.2 on pp. 583–585), Ghorī (1985: 34–36), Rosenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003: 357–358), and Rahman et al. (1982: 307) survey the context, the structure, and manuscripts of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*. For our present purpose, we note the following points from these surveys:

²⁸ see Rosenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003: 277–279), King et al. (2001: 54), and Kennedy (1956: pp. 127b–128a and pp. 166b–167b) for a descriptive survey of the contents and manuscripts of the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*.

²⁹ The *Jīca Ulugbegī* (or *Ulakābegījīca*) is extant in a few fragmentary manuscripts containing only tables and star catalogues. The largest (and most complete) manuscript appears to be MS Museum 45 held at the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum at the City Palace of Jaipur. According to Pingree (2003a: 135) it contains 100 folia measuring 17 × 28½ cm, contains only tables written in Nāgarī numerals, and was acquired from Sūrata by Nandarāma Joṣī for 20½ rupees.

³⁰ Ansari (2015: Section 3.2 on pp. 582–583) reviews the structure and contents of Mullā

Farīd's *Zīj-i Raḥīmī* (c. 1615/17) dedicated to his patron Mirzā ʿAbd'l-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, a prominent Mughal nobility during the reigns of the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr.

³¹ The *Kārnāmeh-i Shahib Qirān-i Thānī*, *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* 'Grand Accomplishment of the Second Lord of the Conjunction, the *Zīj* of Shāh Jahān' uses the royal epithet of Shāh Jahān as the 'Second Lord of the Conjunction' born on the auspicious conjunction (*qirān*) of Jupiter and Venus at his natal hour on 5 January 1592 CE. The use of 'second' in the title is to establish a direct descent from the first Lord of Auspicious Conjunction, Sulṭān Amīr Tīmūr (Chann 2009: 1105–1106).

1. The *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* (like the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*) consist of a detailed prolegomenon (*muqaddima*) consisting of five sections (*qism*, pl. *aqsām*) followed by four discourses (*maqāla*, pl. *maqālāt*) on four different subjects, each containing several chapters (*bāb*, pl. *bībān*) that are further divided into sections (*faṣl*, pl. *fuṣūl*).
2. Mullā Farīd classifies the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* as a *zīj-i ḥiṣābī* or a ‘computational table that revises and updates the parameters’ of the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (and different from a *zīj-i raṣādī* or an ‘observational table based on findings from direct observations’).
3. A lack of time to conduct newer observations, in part due to the advancement of age and the ailing health of Mullā Farīd, meant that large parts of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* were reproductions of corresponding parts of the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*. However, as Ansari (2015: 585) notes, the tables in the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* outnumber those in the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*. Mullā Farīd includes the auxiliary tables for simplification (*tashīl*) so that the true longitudes (*taqvīm*) of celestial objects can be computed directly (without any interpolation).
4. By a royal decree of Shāh Jahān, the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* was to be translated into ‘the language of Hindustan by Indian astronomers in consultation with Persian astronomers, for the sake of public utility’.³² Ghorī (1985: 34) also observes that the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* was prepared by Mullā Farīd in ‘collaboration of his brother Mullā Ṭayyib and other scholars of Muslim and Hindu astronomy under the over-all supervision of the Vazīr Aṣif Khān [sic]’.

1.3.1 Manuscripts of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*

In this study, I outline the twenty-two chapters (*bībān*) in the second discourse (*maqāla-i duvum*) of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*, and among these, I examine the sixth chapter. To this end, I have consulted (parts of) the two manuscripts of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* that were available to me. Table 2 provides a description of these manuscripts and their assigned sigla.

To my knowledge, the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* (or any part of it) has never been edited or translated into any major European or Indian (vernacular) language in modern times. Historically, the only translation of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* is Nityānanda’s *Siddhāntasindhu* described in the next subsection.

³² Excerpted from the *Mulakhkhaṣ-i Shāh-jahān Nāma*, an abridged history of Shāh Jahān written by his seventeenth-century court chronicler Muḥammad Ṭāhīr Khān,

alias ‘Ināyat Khān, see Ansari (2015) for Muḥammad Ṭāhīr Khān’s Persian text (Appendix II. A4 on p. 597) and its English translation (p. 584a).

Siglum Manuscript description

Sj_A MS Ind. Inst. Pers. 12 from the Bodleian Library Oxford, entitled *Kāranāma i ṣāḥibkirān thānī zīj i shāhjahānī*, 380 folia (incomplete) with 25 lines per folio, 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, Persian Nasta‘līq, written with red and black ink, c. seventeenth century CE (Beeston 1954: p. 61b, no. 2735).

Mr Alasdair Watson, the Bahari Curator of Persian Collections at the Bodleian Library, very kindly provided me with photographs of folia that include the sixth chapter of the second discourse. The folio numbers do not appear on the images; Mr Watson identified them as ff. 21b–22a (personal communication). I have not had the opportunity to inspect the other folia of this manuscript. The summary of the Persian chapter-titles in § 4 rely entirely on the reading in MS Sj_B.

Sj_B MS Or. 372 from the British Library London, labelled *Farīd Ibrāhīm Zīj E Shāhjahānī Persian* (on the microfilm cover), entitled *کارنامه صاحبقران ثانی زیج شاه جهانى* *Kārnāmāh-i Ṣaḥīb Qirān-i Thānī, Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*, 419 folia with 31 lines per folio, 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, Persian Nasta‘līq, treble-ruled text frame, c. seventeenth century CE (Rieu 1881: pp. 459b–460b).

Folio numbers are written at the top left corner of *folium rectum* (b-side) in western Arabic numerals, (possibly) by a European owner/cataloguer/librarian.

I am grateful to Dr Benno Van Dalen (from the *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus* project at the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften München) for providing a digitised black-and-white photocopy of this manuscript to me.

Table 2: Description of the manuscripts of the *Zīj/i Shāh Jahānī*

1.4 THE *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* (C. EARLY 1630) OF NITYĀNANDA

PANḌITA NITYĀNANDA MIŚRA completed his translation of Mullā Farīd’s *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* in the early 1630s and named it *Siddhāntasindhu* ‘the Ocean of Siddhāntas’. This enormous work occupied around 440 folia measuring 45 × 33 cm (approximately). At the time, ten copies of this work were made and distributed among the Muslim nobility of northern Mughal India (more on this in § 1.4.2). Today, however, only a handful of near-complete manuscripts of this work survive. And among these, the four manuscripts at the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum at the City Palace of Jaipur (India) are the best preserved copies. One of these manuscripts (Khasmohor 4960, part of the *khās muhr* or

Siglum Manuscript description

Kh MS 4962 from the Khasmohor Collection at the City Palace Library of Jaipur, entitled (in Hindustānī) पोथि सिद्धांतसिंधु की 'Book (*pothī*) of *Siddhāntasindhu*', 436 folia (incomplete: missing ff. 1 and 3; tears and damages on f. 2) with 21–30 lines per folio, 37 × 25 cm, Sanskrit Nāgarī, written with red and black ink parallel to the shorter edge, double-ruled text frame, left-binding with side-sewing stitches, red-and-blue striped cloth-covered boards and book flap, belonging to Jagannātha Jośī and acquired for 100 rupees, c. early eighteenth century CE (Pingree 2003a: 143).

Folio numbers are written at the bottom left corner of *folium versum* in Nāgarī numerals by the same hand as the scribe.

REMARK The metrical verses are often introduced by the word छंदः (*chandaḥ*) 'metre', e.g., f. 4v: 4, 15 Kh. Its abbreviated form छं (*chaṁ*) also appears in several places, e.g., on f. 5v: 7 Kh. Overall, Kh uses the double-*daṇḍa* '||' to indicate half-stanza breaks, and frequently places the verse number, each time beginning with one, between two sets of double-*daṇḍas*, e.g., || १ ||. The prose passages are unnumbered.

I gratefully acknowledge Dr Chandramani Singh, (retired) head curator of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Library, for her assistance in helping me get a digital copy of this rare and private manuscript.

Table 3: Description of the manuscript of the *Siddhāntasindhu*

'special seal' collection) bears the royal insignia of Shāh Jahān himself. Pingree (2003a: 138–143) describes these four manuscripts at the City Palace Museum Library in Jaipur. The catalogue references of the other (fragmentary) manuscripts located elsewhere can be found in Pingree (1970–94: CESS A3, p. 173b, and CESS A5, p. 184a).

1.4.1 Manuscript of the *Siddhāntasindhu*

Parallel to the selection from the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*, I outline the twenty-two chapters (*adhyāyas*) of the second part (*dvitīya-kāṇḍa*) of the *Siddhāntasindhu*, and among these, I focus on the sixth chapter. I have consulted the only copy of the *Siddhāntasindhu* made available to me for this purpose by the City Palace Museum Library in Jaipur. A description of the manuscript, and its assigned siglum, is given in Table 3.

There are no published editions, translations, or studies of Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* to my knowledge.³³ At a very minimum, a comprehensive description of the structure and contents of the entire *Siddhāntasindhu* is certainly needed; however, such a task lies well beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I present below a few salient remarks from the *Siddhāntasindhu* that relate to the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*.

1. *On the content of MS Kh* The *Siddhāntasindhu* also begins with a detailed prolegomenon (*granthārambha*, synonymous with *muqaddima*) consisting of five sections (*prakāra*, synonymous with *qism*) on ff. 3r–11v Kh³⁴ (incomplete). Thereafter, it follows the structure of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* with each part (*kāṇḍa*, identified with *maqāla*) addressing a different subject and containing several chapters (*adhyāya*, synonymous with *bāb*). However, only the first three *maqālāt* of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* appear to have been translated in the *Siddhāntasindhu* (as the three *kāṇḍas*); the fourth *maqāla* on miscellaneous astronomical calculations does not appear in Kh. A brief description of the content of Kh is as follows:
 - The first part (*prathama-kāṇḍa*) with seven chapter describing the different calendrical eras (*śāka*), viz. Arabic or Hijri (*ārbīya*), Shāh Jahān's (*shāhjahānīya*), Roman (*raumīya*), Persian (*phārasīya*), Malakī/Jalālī (*malakīya*), Saṃvat (*Hindukīya*), and Chinese-Uighūr Animal (*khitāyīya-turkīya*) on ff. 12r–16v Kh.
 - The second part (*dvitīya-kāṇḍa*) with twenty-two chapters describing various topics on finding the desired time (*abhimata-samaya*) and the ascendant at that time (*tātkālīka-lagna*), as well as other topics related to it, on ff. 17r–28v Kh. More on this in § 4.
 - Tables (*koṣṭhakas*) from ff. 29r–97v Kh.
 - The third part (*tr̥tīya-kāṇḍa*) with fifteen chapters describing the true (*sphuṭa*) position and motion of celestial objects, and other topics related to it on ff. 98v–111v Kh.

³³ Peterson (1892: 231–232) provides an excerpt containing the first thirty-two verses (from the prolegomenon) and the colophon (from the end of the second part) of Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu*. This is presumably transcribed from MS RORI (Alwar) 2627 = MS 2014 Alwar, 441 folia, copied in 1855 CE (Pingree 1970–94: CESS A5, p. 184a); however, Peterson does not identify the shelf mark of the manuscript. Minkowski (2014: 128–129) makes a few remarks on Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu*

(based on Peterson's extract), while Pingree (2003b: 269–27) summarises (very briefly) his observations on the *Siddhāntasindhu* based on the manuscripts held at the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum at the City Palace of Jaipur.

³⁴ I cite manuscript references in the format ⟨f. folio_# Siglum⟩ or ⟨f. folio_#: line_# Siglum⟩ throughout this paper. For instance, 'f. 22r: 9–11 Kh' indicates lines 9 to 11 on f. 22r in Kh.

- Tables (*koṣṭhakas*) from ff. 112r–436v Kh.
2. *On Shāh Jahān* In the preamble, Nityānanda extols Shāh Jahān with his encomiastic poetry (e.g., see Minkowski 2014: 129) and transliterates his Persian regnal epithet into Nāgarī (on f. 5v: 15–16 Kh) as

अबल-मुजफर-शाहिब्बदीन-
महम्मद-साहिब-किरान-
सानी-शाहजहा-बादिशाह-गाजी

*abala-mujaphara-śāhibbadīna-
mahammada-sāhiba-kirāna-
sānī-śāhajahā-bādīśāha-gājī*

In his *Pādshāhnāma*, the seventeenth-century Mughal chronicler ‘Abd al-Hamīd Lāhūrī states that upon ascending to the throne, Prince Shahāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Khurram (Shāh Jahān) assumed the regnal name ‘Abū’l-Muẓaffar Shahāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib-i Qirān-i Thānī’ (Elliot 2013: 6). Among several other imperial epithets, Shāh Jahān was called صاحب قران ثاني (*ṣāhib-i qirān-i thānī*) ‘Second Lord of the Conjunction’, پادشاه غازی (*pādshāh-i ghāzī*) ‘Conqueror of Emperors’ and شاه جهان (*shāh-i jahān*) ‘King of the World’.

Nityānanda traces the male ancestors of Shāh Jahān from Tīmūr (*taimūra*), Mīrān Shāh (*mīrā-sāhā*), Sulṭān Muḥammad (*sullā-mahamṃma*), Abū Sa‘īd (*abūsayīda*), Umar Shaykh (*umara-śekha*), Bābur (*bābara*), Humāyūn (*humāū*), Akbar Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn (*akabaraḥ śāhajallāladīna*), Jahāngīr (*śrī-jahāṃgīra*), and finally, Shāh Jahān (*śrīmān-sāhajahāṃ*) (Peterson 1892: vv. 5–11 on p. 230).³⁵

3. *On Āṣaf Khān* Abu’l-Ḥasan Āṣaf Khān, the prime minister (*vazīr-i ā‘ẓam*) of Shāh Jahān, is mentioned by name in the *Siddhāntasindhu*. On f. 2v: 10–11 Kh, we find the name मन्त्री वासाफखौ (*mantrī-vāsapha-khām*) ‘Minister Āṣaf Khān’.

Through vv. 21–23 on the same folio (lines 8–18), Nityānanda generously praises him as यो राज्याह्वयमण्डपस्य सुदृढः स्तम्भः (line 15) ‘he who is the steadfast pillar (*sudrḍha-stambha*) of [this] pavilion called the Empire (*rājyāhvaya-maṇḍapa*)’ and वर्णाश्रमपालयत् (lines 17–18) ‘[he who is] protecting the [Hindu social system of] *varṇāśrama*’.

4. *On Mullā Farīd* Nityānanda identifies Mullā Farīd by his name. On f. 6r: 2 Kh, Nityānanda calls him मुल्लाफरीद इबराहिमपुत्र दिल्लीनिवासिन ‘Mullā Farīd (*mullā-pharīda*), the son of Ibrāhīm (*ibarāhīma-putra*) [and] resident of Delhi (*ḍhillī-nivāsīn*)’. This description agrees with *ibn* [Ḥāfiẓ] Ibrāhīm ‘son

³⁵ MS Kh begins on f. 2r in the middle of describing the genealogy of Shāh Jahān. With the first folio missing and heavy damage to

the second, I have relied on Peterson’s transcription (see footnote 33) to fill in the missing parts.

of Ibrāhīm, [a man who has memorised the Qurʾān]’ and *Dehlavī* ‘resident of Delhi’ in Mullā Farīd’s full name.

5. *On the ‘Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī’* Further along, on f. 6v: 19–20 Kh, we find the name of Mullā Farīd’s text, transliterated into Nāgarī from the Persian *Kārnāmāh-i Ṣaḥīb Qirān-i Thānī, Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*, as

कारनामै-साहिब-किरान-सानी
जीच-शाह-जहानी

kāranāmai-sāhiba-kirāna-sānī
jīca-śāha-jahānī

6. *On ‘zīj’ and its types* Nityānanda first distinguishes between the terms *zīj*, *tashīl*, and *taqvīm* on f. 7r: 9–10 Kh. According to him,

जीच इति सिद्धान्तः । तसहील इति सारणी । तकवीम इति ग्रहस्फुटत्वम् ।

‘*zīj* (*jīca*) is Siddhānta (canon); *tashīl* (*tasahīla*) is *sāraṇī* (table); *taqvīm* (*takavīma*) is the true position of a celestial object (*graha-sphuṭatva*) [in other words, an ephemeris].’

On f. 8v: 2–3 Kh, he defines a *zīj* as

यस्मिन्ग्रन्थे स्थूलसूक्ष्मगणितानि भवन्ति तस्य नाम जीच इति ।

‘The book (*grantha*) in which both gross (*sthūla*) and subtle (*sūkṣma*) computations (*gaṇita*) are found, that is called a *zīj* (*jīca*).’

Nityānanda, like Mullā Farīd, also classifies *zīj* into the two categories of *zīj-i raṣadī* and *zīj-i ḥisābī*:

- On f. 7v: 4–5 Kh, he defines *जीच-रसदी* (*jīca-rasadī*) as that work (*tantra*) which is well-established (*dr̥dhī-kṛtya*) by the rules of observations (*rasada-vidhāna*) and state the motion of celestial objects (*graha-bhukti*) with tables (*koṣṭhakas*); and
 - On f. 7v: 27–19 Kh, he defines *जीच-हिसाबी* (*jīca-hisābī*) as the work containing tables (*koṣṭhakas*) that correct (*śodhyate*) previous tables in the table-writing tradition (*koṣṭhaka-lekhaka-paramparā*) or those that bring out the genuine result (*vāstava-phala*) by simple procedures (*sugama-prakāra*) of computations (*gaṇita*).
7. *On Ulugh Beg and other Islamicate astronomers, and their ‘zīj’* Nityānanda identifies Ulugh Beg by name in several places in the preamble. For instance, on f. 7r: 26 Kh, he refers to Ulugh Beg as *मिरजा उलग-बेग* (*mirajā ulaga-bega*), and on the very next line, informs us of Ulugh Beg’s demise with *परमेश्वरस्तस्य स्वर्गवासं करोतु* ‘May God (*paramēśvara*, lit. ‘supreme lord’) grant him residence in heaven (*svargavāsa*)’. The *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* is translated as *जीच-उलग-बेगी* (*jīca-ulaga-begī*) on f. 7v: 5 Kh.

Along with Ulugh Beg, Nityānanda also described the names and works of several Islamicate astronomers (on ff. 7v–8v Kh). For example:

- the जीच-जामे and जीच-बालिग of गोशियार
al-Zīj al-Jāmi^c (jīca-jāme) and *al-Zīj al-Bāligh (jīca-vāliga)* of Kūshyār b. Labbān al-Jīlī (*gośiyāra*), or
- the जीच-खाकानी-तकमील-जीच-यीलखानी of मौलाना जमशेद काशी
Zīj al-Khāqānī fī Takmīl al-Zīj al-Ilkhānī (jīca-khākānī-takamīla-jīca-yīlakhānī) of Jamshīd Mas^cūd al-Kāshī (*maulāna-jamaśeda-kāśī*).

The names of these *zīj*, and the order in which they are listed, appear to be identical in both the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and the *Siddhāntasindhu*.³⁶

Motivation and purpose of composition The twenty-fourth verse from the prolegomenon of Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* is barely legible on the damaged second folio (verso) of MS Kh; however, it is attested in Peterson (1892: 231) from the Alwar manuscript. The verse (in the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre) describes how Āṣaf Khān, having derived this inspiration (*preraṇā*) from Shāh Jahān, ordered Nityānanda to compose a proper treatise (*su-tantra-karaṇe*) for the benefit of people (*loka-upakāra*).³⁷ Therefore, as Nityānanda says, he endeavoured to compose (*kartum samīhe*) to compose the *Siddhāntasindhu*, a pure (*amala*) and clear (*sphuṭa*) Ocean of Siddhāntas (*siddhānta-sindhu*), resembling the illustrious *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* (*śrīmat-sahājahāṇ-prakāśam*).

Style of composition Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* is a mixture of prose-sentences (*gadya*) and metrical verses (*padya*). The transition from prose to poetry is ubiquitous throughout the text. It is worth noting that most *explicit* Sanskrit translations of Islamicate astronomical texts (e.g., the texts listed in Table 1) are entirely in prose. I discuss a few aspects of Nityānanda's choice of using prose and poetry in relation to Part II.6 in § 2.3.1.

1.4.2 Circulation of the *Siddhāntasindhu*

According to two of the four manuscripts of Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* held at the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum at the City Palace of Jaipur, there were nine copies of the *Siddhāntasindhu* prepared for distributing among notable seventeenth-century Mughal elites (mostly, Mughal Śūbadār s or Provincial

³⁶ Ghorī (1985: 48) provides the list of *zīj* in Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*, see discussion in § 1.2.

³⁷ Nityānanda eulogises Shāh Jahān as the 'crest jewel of the ornamental crown of kings'

(*nṛpāla-mukūṭa-ālaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi*)—an epithet he repeats in the colophons of every part of the *Siddhāntasindhu*, e.g., see Part II colophon on p. 84.

Governors), and an author's copy for Nityānanda (Pingree 2003a: 142). A note, in vernacular Hindi, on f. 443v of MSS Khasmohor 4960 and Museum 23,³⁸ begins by stating that the original Sanskrit text (*jīcamūlakarī*) remains in the library (*kitābkhāṇnā*) of the emperor (*pātiśāha*, Pādishāh). Individual copies of the text were given to the following recipients:

1. ʿĀzam Khān (*ājama khām*) of Bengal (*ba[m]gāla*), the governor of Bengal from 1632 to 1635;
2. ʿAbdallāh Khān Fīrūz Jung (*avdullaha kham*) of Patna (*paṭanā*), the governor of Bihar from 1632 to 1639;
3. Šāhib Šuba[dār?] of Benaras (*banārasī sahava sūva/mūva*), unidentified;
4. Iʿtiqād Khān (*itakada khām*) of Delhi (*dillī*), also known as Mirzā Shāpūr (d. 1650), the brother of Āṣaf Khān;
5. Khwāja Šābir Khān-i Daurān (*khām nadorā*) of Ujjain (*ujjayana*), also known as Naṣīrī Khān (*navaśeri khām*), governor of Malwa from 1631 to 1638;
6. Mahābat Khān Khān-i Khānān (*mahavata khā[m] khāṇnakhāṇnā*) in Burhanpur (*burahānapura*), c. post 1633;
7. Vazīr Khān (*ujīra khām*), also known as Ḥakīm Shaykh ʿIlm al-Dīn Ansārī, of Lahore (*lāhora*), governor of Lahore from 1628 to 1639;
8. Zafar Khān Aḥsan (*japhara khām*) of Kashmir (*kaśmīra*), the governor of Kashmir from 1632 to 1639 and from 1642 to 1646; and
9. an unnamed recipient in Multan (*mulatāna*).

³⁸ MS Khasmohor 4960 belonged to Pīthīnātha in 1717; the horoscope of his son (dated Thursday 10 October 1717) is written on f. 443. It is said to have been previously purchased from Manasārāma

in 1696 for 250½ rūpas (f. 444). Both these notes appear in vernacular Hindi (Pingree 2003a: 138–142). The provenance of MS Museum 23 is previously described in footnote 23.

2 THE SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF A PERSIAN *Zīj*

2.1 CHRONOLOGY AND INFLUENCE

NITYĀNANDA'S *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* was completed in the early 1630s, making it one of the earliest Sanskrit translations of a Persian *zīj*. The *Jīca Ulugbegī*, a Sanskrit translation of *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* commissioned during Akbar's reign (ante 1605), is perhaps the earliest example. However, the extant fragmentary manuscripts only contain tables and star catalogues (see footnote 29) and not the canon (the text associated with the tables, often describing the theory and use of the tables).³⁹

In contrast, as § 1.4 describes, the *Siddhāntasindhu* includes tables as well as three (out of the four) distinct portions (*kāṇḍa* 'part' in Sanskrit or *maqālāt* 'discourse' in Persian) of the canon of *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*. The full extent of similarity between the content of these two texts can only be determined by an extensive future study; for our present discussion, however, we note that the *Siddhāntasindhu* expressly declares itself to be a Sanskrit version of the Persian original. Other Sanskrit texts in mathematical astronomy, e.g., the three *Siddhāntas* mentioned in footnote 22, discuss or dismiss Islamicate ideas but they are not translations of any particular text.

The only other Sanskrit 'translation' that could predate *Siddhāntasindhu* (early 1630s) is the anonymously authored *Hayatagrantha* written sometime before 1694 (see Table 1). Pingree (1978: 327) correctly identifies the *Hayatagrantha* as a translation of 'Alī Qūshjī's Persian *Risāla dar 'Ilm al-Hay'a* (dedicated to the Ottoman Sulṭān Mehmed II, r. 1451–1481). 'Alī Qūshjī's work was known to the Mughal court of Humāyūn (r. 1530–56) via a commentary on it, the *Sharḥ-i Risāla dar 'Ilm al-Hay'a* written by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Lārī (d. 1572) and dedicated to his patron Humāyūn (Pourjavady 2014: 296).

³⁹ The *Jīca Ulugbegī* was prepared by a consortium of astronomers led by Amīr Faṭḥallāh of Shīrāz, with the assistance of Sanskrit interpreters (see § 1.1.2). As S. R. Sarma (2000: 367) has pointed out, some of these interpreters were Sanskrit *jyotiṣīs*: e.g., Kishan Joshī is identified as Kṛṣṇa Daiva-jña (fl. c.1600/25). If the authors' version of *Jīca Ulugbegī* contained the canon of the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*, the following two reasons make the loss of the Sanskrit canon a notable (and regrettable) event:

a. Mullā Farīd copied large parts of the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (almost) verbatim in his *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*; these parts have been translated by

Nityānanda in his *Siddhāntasindhu*. The Sanskrit canon in the *Jīca Ulugbegī* may have served as Nityānanda's model text to recopy just as easily as the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* served Mullā Farīd.

b. Mullā Farīd was a direct pupil of Amīr Faṭḥallāh of Shīrāz, and is believed to have 'learned the rational sciences (*'Ulūm-i 'Aqlīyah*) including astronomy and astrology' from him (Ansari 2016: 720). This suggests that, at the very least, Mullā Farīd (and by association, Nityānanda) would have been familiar with a version of the *Jīca Ulugbegī* closer to the original than what is currently extant.

Following the *Sharḥ-i Risāla dar ʿIlm al-Hayʾa*, the *Hayatagrantha* also discusses an assortment of topics (*prakaraṇa*) on planetary motion (*graha-gati-nirupaṇa*) and the Earth-sphere (*bhūgola-varṇana*) in two chapters (*adhyāya*). In each topic, it explains Islamicate astronomical terms and provides equivalent Sanskrit expressions for them. V. B. Bhaṭṭācārya (1967: p. 3 of the preface) thinks the *Hayatagrantha* is either a translation (*anuvāda*) of the Arabic text (*arabī-deśasya grantha*) or a paraphrase of its summary (*sāraṃ gṛhitvā likhita*); Pingree (1996) adds to that by suggesting the author was ‘helped by a collaborator who was versed in Persian and Islamic astronomy, at least at a level sufficient for understanding the *Risālah*’ (p. 475).⁴⁰

Beyond these speculations on the nature of the *Hayatagrantha*, its influence on Nityānanda’s *Siddhāntasindhu* is what concerns us here, and this is a difficult thing to ascertain at the present time. At the very outset, the anonymous authorship and vague timeline of the *Hayatagrantha* make it problematic to situate it in relation to the *Siddhāntasindhu*. The Sanskrit words for Islamicate astronomical terms in both these texts are quite similar; however, their presentations often differ. The *Hayatagrantha* includes transliterations of Arabic/Persian technical words along with their equivalent expressions in Sanskrit, whereas the *Siddhāntasindhu* translates Islamicate terms into Sanskrit without (always) transliterating the original Arabic/Persian word.⁴¹

For example, the *Hayatagrantha* glosses the Persian word *बाअदुकोकिब* (*bāad-kokiba*) and the Sanskrit word *स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति* (*spaṣṭa-krānti*) as the ‘true declination’ of a celestial object (V. B. Bhaṭṭācārya 1967: p. 19, lines 2–4). Nityānanda also refers to the ‘true declination’ (of celestial objects) with the Sanskrit word *स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति* (*spaṣṭa-krānti*); however, he does not transliterate the corresponding Persian technical expression used by Mullā Farīd, namely *بعد کواکب از معدل النهار* (*buʿd-i kawākib az muʿaddil al-nahār*) the ‘distance of a celestial object from the celestial equator’. (See the chapter-titles of Discourse II.6 and Part II.6 in § 4, page 75).

Nevertheless, the use of the same Sanskrit words to translate Islamicate astronomy does not establish an interdependence between these texts per se. It could

⁴⁰ According to Pingree (1970–94: CESS A4, p. 57ab), there are seven extant manuscripts of the *Hayatagrantha*, the earliest of which was copied in Oudh (Uttar Pradesh) in 1694. V. B. Bhaṭṭācārya’s edition is based on three manuscripts held at the Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthālaya in Varanasi. In his preface (p. 12), he cites internal evidence from the manuscripts to suggest (erroneously) that the *Hayatagrantha* was composed in Kāśī in the eighteenth century (see Pingree 1978: 326–327).

⁴¹ It is worth noting that Nityānanda’s *Siddhāntasindhu* is not sanitised of all Arabic or Persian words. There are several instances where Islamicate names of authors, works, calendrical elements, etc. are transliterated in Nāgarī (e.g., the excerpts in § 1.4). The text from the second part (*dvitīya kāṇḍa*) indicates that Nityānanda translates Arabic/Persian astronomical terms into equivalent (or original) Sanskrit expressions without referring to the original words.

also indicate a common written source (e.g., a bilingual technical lexicon) or point towards a more institutionalised setup (like at the scriptoria or *maktab-khānas*) where these translations were produced. The emergence of a common technical vocabulary is then another aspect of cross-traditional discourses that occurred in the seventeenth century, making this a topic of exploration for future studies.

2.2 THE *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* PART II: CONTENT AND CONTEXT

THE SECOND PART (*DVITĪYA-KĀṆḌA*) OF NITYĀNANDA'S *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* includes twenty-two chapters on various topics that help determine the time of rising (*udaya-samaya*) and degrees of ascension (*udaya-aṃśa*) of the zodiacal signs at one's local latitude. The arrangement of the chapters in the *Siddhāntasindhu* follows the order of the twenty-two chapters in the second discourse (*maqāla-i duvum*) of the Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* identically. Table 4 provides a chapter-wise list of topics covered in the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II and *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.

The Persian and Sanskrit chapter-titles from these two texts, along with my English translations of the titular text, are presented in parallel in § 4. A full list of Persian and Sanskrit technical expressions in the respective chapter-titles of *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II and *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II is included in the glossary (beginning on page 115) grouped under their common English translations. I offer below a few general remarks on the language and scope of these chapters.

1. Mullā Farīd's Persian text describes the computations without necessarily defining the terms first. In contrast, Nityānanda's discussions often begin with definitions (*lakṣaṇas*) of technical terms before describing the computational methods. The *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* is written in the format of a traditional *zīj*, and accordingly, it assumes its readers are familiar with technical expressions in Arabic/Persian. Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu*, however, describes Islamicate astronomy in Sanskrit to readers largely unfamiliar with the form or the language of the text. The prefatory definitions, along with the use of typical Sanskrit deictic words (like *atha* 'now', *tat* 'its/their', *tatra* 'there', etc.) to introduce them, suggest an emphasis on communicating ideas effectively rather than simply translating the Persian text.
2. A salient aspect of Nityānanda's translation is *localisation*; in other words, adapting the foreign content to suit the local context. The passages in his Sanskrit translation (of the second part) explain technical terms in greater detail, while his Sanskrit vocabulary preserves the meaning of Arabic/Persian words without referring to them expressly. Beyond these communicative and semantic measures, Nityānanda also changes the context in which these foreign computational methods are applied.

Chapter List of topics

- II.1 Sexagesimal place-values of digits
 - II.2 Method of interpolation between successive entries in a table
 - II.3 Calculating Sine and Versed Sine values
 - II.4 Calculating the shadow of a gnomon (i.e., Cotangent values)
 - II.5 Declination of the zodiacal signs
 - II.6 Calculating the true declination of a celestial object
 - II.7 Calculating the maximum elevation and depression of a celestial object
 - II.8 Right ascensions of the zodiacal signs at the terrestrial equator
 - II.9 Calculating the equation and hours of daylights at a terrestrial location
 - II.10 Calculating the oblique ascensions of the zodiacal signs
 - II.11 Inverse calculation of the right ascensions of the zodiacal signs from their oblique ascensions
 - II.12 Calculating the right ascension and ecliptic longitude of a zodiacal sign culminating at the time of rising of a celestial object
 - II.13 Calculating the right ascension of celestial objects at the time of their rising and setting (at the local horizon)
 - II.14 Calculating the azimuth from the altitude of a celestial object
 - II.15 Calculating the altitude from the azimuth of a celestial object
 - II.16 Determining the line of the local meridian
 - II.17 Determining the latitude and longitude of a terrestrial location
 - II.18 Calculating the zenith-distance of the nonagesimal point
 - II.19 Calculating the distance (in degrees) between two celestial objects
 - II.20 Determining the direction of Mecca/Kāśī from a terrestrial location
 - II.21 Determining the ascendant zodiacal sign (at the local horizon) corresponding to the altitude of a celestial object
 - II.22 Determining the altitude of a celestial object corresponding to an ascending zodiacal sign (at the local horizon)
-

Table 4: List of topics commonly discussed in the twenty-chapters of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II and the *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II

For example, the twentieth chapter in the second discourse of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* describes the method to determine the azimuth (and inclination) of *qibla*; in essence, the direction of Mecca. Nityānanda translates this chapter as the method to determine the direction of Kāśī. Having first discussed the mathematics of finding the direction of Kāśī from one's own location, he then goes on to apply the method to find the directions of other cities like Agra (*argalapura*) and Mecca (*makkaapura*) as illustrative examples (*ud-āharaṇa*). His translation not only captures the mathematical essence of the chapter from the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* but also translates the cultural context of locating sacred and imperial cities.

3. The ability to translate Arabic/Persian technical terms into Sanskrit requires a conceptual understanding of both Islamicate and Sanskrit astronomy, as well as a linguistic competence in navigating between these languages. Nityānanda's translations, presumably mediated through vernacular Hindi, reflect his command on the language of Sanskrit astronomy. In some instances, his expressions are literal translations (*śabda-anuvāda*) of Arabic/Persian words; for example, *ascendant* طالع (*tālī*^c) as लग्न (*lagna*), *genus* [of digits] جنس (*jins*) as जाती (*jātī*),⁴² or *line of midday* خط نصف النهار (*khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār*) as मध्याह्न-रेखा (*madhyāhna-rekhā*). In other instances, they appear to be figurative translations (*bhāva-anuvāda*) based on an implied equivalence of technical meaning; for example,
 - distance of a celestial object from the celestial equator بعد کواکب (*bu'd-i kawākib*) as true declination स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति (*spaṣṭa-kṛānti*),
 - equation of daylight النهار تعديل (*ta'dīl al-nahār*) as ascensional difference चर (*cara*), or
 - latitude of the visible climate عرض اقليم (*ard-i iqlīm-i ru'yat*) as zenith distance of the nonagesimal point दृक्क्षेप (*ḍṛkkṣepa*).
4. In the colophon, Nityānanda states that the second part contains discussions 'accompanied by many statements and rationales on the "three questions"' (*tripraśna-pracura-ukti-yukti-sahita*). The *tripraśnādhikāra* is a separate chapter (*adhyāya* or *adhikāra*) in Sanskrit siddhāntas that discuss methods to find the cardinal directions (*diś*), the local latitude (*deśa*), and the times (*kāla*) of various celestial and terrestrial phenomena. By referring to

42 The Persian word جنس (*jins*) derives from the Greek word γένος (*genos*) that indicates a social group of common descent; the Sanskrit words जाती (*jātī*) and गण (*gaṇa*) are semantically equivalent to genus, and

hence applied to identify digits (in a number) that belong to a particular class, see Rosenfeld and Hogendijk (2003: footnote 29 on p. 37).

the *tripraśna*, Nityānanda again bring a familiar context to situate an otherwise curious collection of chapters. In fact, the practice of writing benediction verses (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) at the beginning of every part of the book and a closing colophon at the end of each part is a Sanskrit siddhāntic trait not seen in Islamicate *zīj*es.

2.3 THE *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* PART II.6: STRUCTURE AND LANGUAGE

THE SIXTH CHAPTER (*saṣṭhādhyāya*) from the second part of Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* describes three methods to compute the true declination of a celestial object. A celestial object is variously understood as a planet, a star, or an asterism that moves in the celestial sphere. Typically, this object possesses a non-zero ecliptic latitude and hence its declination is different from the Sun that moves on the ecliptic. Nityānanda's methods to compute the true declination of such an object are identical to those stated by Mullā Farīd in the sixth chapter of the second discourse of his *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*. An edition of the original text from Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 and Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6, along with my English translations of corresponding Persian and Sanskrit passages, are included in §§ 5 and 6 separately. The technical glossary (beginning on page 115) also includes a list of technical expressions found in the Persian and Sanskrit passages of this chapter.

These methods rely on astronomical quantities that are distinctly Islamicate in their origin, e.g., the **second declination** of a celestial object or the **arc of maximum argument of the distance**. However, Nityānanda's exposition of these Islamicate methods is uniquely original in its presentation and style. In the following paragraphs, I present a few remarks on the structure and the language of Nityānanda's Sanskrit text in comparison with Mullā Farīd's Persian. A detailed mathematical analysis of these methods is to appear in Misra (*forthcoming*).

2.3.1 *Structure of the text*

The methods to compute the **distance of a celestial object from the celestial equator** (*buʿd-i kawkab az muʿaddil al-nahār*) in the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 are translated in the *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 as methods to compute the **true declination** (*spaṣṭa-krānti*). In §§ 5 and 6, I have grouped the Persian and Sanskrit text of this chapter into comparable passages (numbered '[1]', '[2]', etc.) to highlight their grammatical and mathematical likeness. (see my editorial conventions in § 3.4.2.) Table 5 provides an outline of the passages in the two texts with a brief description of their content.

As Table 5 shows, Nityānanda's third method includes four additional passages $[\alpha-\delta]$ in metrical verses that are not found in Mullā Farīd's Persian text. The mathematics of the third method requires a knowledge of several astronom-

<i>Passages in II.6</i>		<i>Description</i>
<i>Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī Siddhāntasindhu</i>		
<i>First Method</i>		
[1] prose	[1] verse	Definition of argument of the distance
[2] prose	[2] verse	First method to compute the Sine of the true declination
<i>Second Method</i>		
[3] prose	[3] verse	Second method to compute the Sine of the true declination
[4] prose	[4] prose	Alternative second method to compute the Sine of the true declination (using tables)
[5] prose	[5] prose	Case one: no [ecliptic] latitude
[6] prose	[6] prose	Case two: [ecliptic] latitude with no [first] declination
[7] prose	[7] prose	Case three: [first] declination equals the obliquity of the ecliptic
<i>Third Method</i>		
–	[α] verse	Definitions of the solstitial colure and the circle congruent to the ecliptic
–	[β] verse	Definition of the arc of maximum true declination
–	[γ] verse	Definition of the arc of maximum latitude
–	[δ] verse	Definitions of the congruent arc and the congruent complementary arc
[8] prose	[8] verse	Calculating the Sine of the distance along the ‘ circle congruent to the ecliptic ’ from the solstice
[9] prose	[9] verse	Calculating the arc of maximum latitude
[10] prose	[10] verse	Calculating the arc of maximum argument of the distance
[11] prose	[11] verse	Third method to compute the Sine of the true declination

Table 5: Description of the passages in *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 (in § 5) and *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 (in § 6)

ical concepts that are not very commonly known in Sanskrit astronomy. Nityānanda defines these Sanskrit terms in the four passages before using them in the third method of computation. His style of interspersing the (*mūla*-like) translations with (*bhāṣya*-like) commentarial passages, in metrical Sanskrit, is as unique as the content of these passages themselves. These extra verses reveal his intentions (and ability) to communicate this new astronomy systematically and not slavishly translate the Persian into Sanskrit. Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* is among the earliest texts to Sanskritise Islamicate astronomy; and in doing so, conceive several original (or equivalent) Sanskrit expressions for Islamicate technical terms.

Mixture of prose and poetry Nityānanda's Sanskrit translation of the sixth chapter is a mixture of prose sentences and metrical verses. As Table 5 indicates, Mullā Farīd's Persian passages are written entirely in prose while the Sanskrit text includes eleven passages in metre [1–3, α–δ, and 8–11] and four passages in prose [4–7]. The metrical verses are numbered while the prose passages are not.⁴³ These poetic verses are composed in a range Sanskrit metres:

1. Passages [2, 8]: eight-syllabled *pramāṇikā*
2. Passage [3]: eight-syllabled *anuṣṭubh*
3. Passage [9, 10]: eleven-syllabled *rathoddhatā*
4. Passages [1, 11]: twelve-syllabled *vaṃśasthavila*
5. Passages [β, γ]: twelve-syllabled *drutavilambita*
6. Passage [α]: seventeen-syllabled *prthvī*
7. Passage [δ]: *āryā jāti*-metre

The *Siddhāntasindhu* is the first explicit translation of an Islamicate astronomical text to use metrical Sanskrit (see remark on the style of composition on page 50). Its intention to Sanskritise the content for local *jyotiṣīs* may explain the use of metrical verses; however, it is not entirely clear why Nityānanda chooses to then translate certain Persian passages in prose. I list below my observations on these prose passages.

1. All three methods described in the text are prescriptive: they outline the constituent terms and then suggest a computational formula using these terms. There are no mathematical derivation or explanations given. The prose passages include an interpolative method of computation (in passage [4]) and three special cases (in passages [5–7]), both based on the formula of the second method (in passage [3]). They appear to illustrate the (use of the) formula rather than being ancillary to it.

⁴³ The numbering scheme restarts at one for every metrical part following a prose interlude, see Remark in Table 3.

2. The interpolative method in passage [4], and again in passage [6], refers to the **table of the Cosine of the greatest declination**. MS Kh of the *Siddhāntasindhu* includes the text of these passages but not the table itself. In comparison, MSS S_{J_A} (f. 21b) and S_{J_B} (f. 16a) of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* present the table alongside the Persian text of the chapter.
3. The Sanskrit verses from the *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 are also found in the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja*, *gaṇitādhyāya* 'chapter on computations'. Nityānanda copies these metrical verses verbatim into the *spaṣṭakrāntyādhikāra* 'section on true declination' of his *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* but leaves out the four prose passages from the *Siddhāntasindhu*. A critical edition and technical translation of the *spaṣṭakrāntyādhikāra* is to appear in Misra (**forthcoming**).

2.3.2 Language of the text

Nityānanda's Sanskrit passages of the sixth chapter follow Mullā Farīd's Persian text in more than their mathematical content. In the following remarks, I note some of the linguistic features of Nityānanda's compositions in comparison to Mullā Farīd's Persian sentences. All grammatical terms are abbreviated in these remarks, with an expanded list of abbreviations included on page 114.

1. Grammatical similarity

- (a) *Subject-fronting* The inflected grammar of Sanskrit allows a flexible word-ordering in most prose sentences, and even more so, in metrical verses. Nityānanda utilises this syntactic freedom and composes some of his verses to resemble Mullā Farīd's Persian statements quite closely. For example, the Persian text in passage [1] is a typical conditional sentence where the subjects precede the conditional proposition, viz.

$$\underbrace{[\text{Given}] X \ \& \ Y}_{\text{subject-fronted events}} : \underbrace{\text{if } \mathcal{C}(X, Y)}_{\text{if-clause}} \longrightarrow \underbrace{\text{then } \mathcal{A}_1(X, Y), \text{ else } \mathcal{A}_2(X, Y)}_{\text{then-clause}}$$

where $\mathcal{C}(X, Y)$ is the condition involving events 'X' and 'Y' in the if-clause, $\mathcal{A}_1(X, Y)$ is the first action of the two events in the then-clause, and $\mathcal{A}_2(X, Y)$ is the second alternative action of the two events in the then-clause.

Persian grammar specifies various kinds of conditional sentences, and accordingly, the verbs in the if-clause (protasis) are in different verbal moods, e.g., if the condition is a proposition to be fulfilled, like in passage [1], the verb in the protasis is in the subjunctive mood: باشند (*bāshand*) PRES-SBJV 'should be'. The consequent then-clause (apodosis) can choose between indicative or subjunctive moods of verbs according to the context of the sentence. Nityānanda's

Sanskrit verse in passage [1] mirrors this subject-fronted conditional construction with the verb in the protasis in the optative mood: भवेत् (*bhavet*) **OPT-ACT** 'should be' (conditional possibility). The apodosis that follows states the consequent actions as statements to be understood as implicit instructions, viz. then [we take/do] $\mathcal{A}_1(X, Y)$, otherwise [we take/do] $\mathcal{A}_2(X, Y)$.

- (b) *Implied modality* The realis mood of a present indicative statement in Persian also implies an irrealis future potential. For example, passage [2] includes two statements in the following form:

First (instructive)	implied	Second (declarative)
statement	$\xrightarrow{\text{consequence}}$	statement.

The second (declarative) statement uses the verb بود (*buvad*) **PRES-IND** 'is' to indicate 'the result *is* [something]'; this, in effect, also convey the meaning 'the result *will be* [something]'. Nityānanda's Sanskrit translation of this passage retains the form, and uses the verb भवेत् (*bhavet*) **OPT-ACT** 'will be' (future probability) to indicate a similar meaning: 'the result *will be* [something]'.

2. *Semantic equivalents* Nityānanda translates Islamicate astronomical terms using equivalent Sanskrit expressions, some of which, are literal translations; for example,

- **circle passing through the four poles** دایرهٔ مارہ باقطاب اربعہ (*dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arbaʿi*) as ध्रुव-चतुष्क-यात-वृत्त (*dhruva-catuṣka-yāta-vṛtta*)
- **latitude of a celestial object** عرض کوكب (*ʿard-i kawkab*) as खगस्य बाण (*khagasya bāṇa*), or
- **one direction** يك جهت (*yik jahat*) as एक-दिश (*eka-diś*).

In other instances, his translations use novel (seemingly, didactic) Sanskrit expressions to capture the implied mathematical meaning of Islamicate terms; for example,

- **Cosine of the inverse declination of the degree of a celestial object** جيب تمام ميل منکوس درجه کوكب (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i mankūs-i darajiyi kawkab*)⁴⁴ as day-Sine [of the longitude] increased by three zodiacal signs स-भ-त्रय-द्युजीवा (*sa-bha-traya-dyujīvā*),

⁴⁴ The use of the term 'inverse declination' (*al-māyl al-maʿkūs*) to indicate the [first] declination of the ecliptic longitude of a celestial object increased by ninety first appears in the works of thirteenth-century Marāgha

astronomers, e.g., *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* of al-Ṭūsī (Hamadani-Zadeh 1987: 188) or *Tāj al-Azyāj* of Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Maghribī (Dorce 2002–3: 196).

- distance of a celestial object from the ‘circle passing through the four poles’ *دایره مارہ باقطاب اربعہ* (*bu^d-i kawkab az «dāyiri-yi mārrī bi aqṭāb-i arbaⁱ»*) as congruent complementary arc *सदृश-कोटि* (*sadrś-koṭi*),
 - first arc *اول قوس* (*qaws-i avval*) as maximum latitude *पर-इषु* (*para-iṣu*), or
 - second arc *دوم قوس* (*qaws-i duvum*) as maximum true declination *पर-स्फुट-अपम* (*para-sphuṭa-apama*).
3. *Hybrid translations* Certain Sanskrit words appear to be a mix of literal and figurative translations, e.g., the ‘argument of the distance’, understood as the arc of the great circle passing through the two ecliptic poles and a celestial object, and lying between a celestial object and the celestial equator, is called *حصه بعد* (*hiṣṣi-yi bu^d*) ‘share of the distance’ in Persian. Nityānanda translates this Persian expression as *स्फुट-अपम-अंश* (*sphuṭa-apama-aṁśa*) ‘share of true declination’ in passage [1], but then goes on to translate it as *स्फुट-अपम-अङ्क* (*sphuṭa-apama-aṅka*) ‘curve of the true declination’ in subsequent passages [2–4].⁴⁵ The change from the semantic equivalent (*aṁśa* ‘share’) to the pragmatic (*aṅka* ‘curve’) can either be a simple (and serendipitous) artefact of the single manuscript witness, or it may be a more volitional change meant to emphasise the didactic meaning in using the word.
4. *Original expressions* As noted earlier, Nityānanda composes four passages [α–δ] in his Sanskrit text to explain the terms involved in the third computational method. These terms are not directly expressed in the Persian text, and hence, Nityānanda’s expressions are original in their language and their substance. For example, passage [α] defines the *circle congruent to the ecliptic* *भवक्र-सदृश-वृत्त* (*bhacakra-sadrśa-vṛtta*), a great circle passing through the two equinoctial points and a celestial object, and resembling the ecliptic. For planetary objects, this is the orbit of the planet with the longitude of its node being zero; or as Nityānanda later indicates in passage [γ], when the *conjunction of the equinoctial point and the node of the orbit of a celestial object* *विषुव-पात-युग* (*viṣuva-pāta-yuga*) is being assumed.
5. *Synonymy and ambiguity* In rendering Mullā Farīd’s Persian sentences into Sanskrit, Nityānanda employs a variety of Sanskrit synonyms (or near-synonyms) to translate Persian technical terms. For example, a celestial

⁴⁵ Typically, the word *अङ्क* (*aṅka*) refers to a ‘digit/number’, or more literally, a ‘mark/sign’. Nityānanda uses the word to signify a geometrical ‘arc’ or ‘curve’ of a great circle. There are several geometrical explanations

in the *Siddhāntasindhu* as well as the *Sarva-siddhāntarāja* that validate the interpretation of the word *aṅka* as ‘arc/curve’ (e.g., see Misra 2016: 279).

object is called *کوکب* (*kawkab*) in Persian, whereas Nityānanda variously uses the words *खग* (*khaga*), *ग्रह* (*graha*), *द्युचर* (*dyucara*), *नक्षत्र* (*nakṣatra*), *नभोग* (*nabhoga*), and *भ* (*bha*) to describe such an object. The abundance of Sanskrit synonyms allows him to choose words that suits the metre of his verse; however, the metrical constraints also makes his translations a little vague in some instances. For example, the Persian text in passage [1] refers to the *جهت حصّة بعد* (*jahat-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) ‘direction of the share of the distance’ as being in the *جهت مجموع* (*jahat-i majmūʿ*) ‘direction of the sum’ or the *جهت فضل* (*jahat-i faḍla*) ‘direction of the difference/residue’; in other words, dependant on the directions of the two quantities that make up the ‘share of the distance’. In his Sanskrit translation in passage [1], Nityānanda simply states that the ‘share of the true declination’ is in its *स्व-दिश* (*sva-diś*) ‘own direction’.

6. *Lowering a sexagesimal number* Of particular note is an Islamicate arithmetic operation that, to my knowledge, does appear in any Sanskrit astronomical or mathematical text till the *Siddhāntasindhu*. Islamicate texts often include the operation *منحط* *munḥaṭṭ* ‘lowering’ a sexagesimal number before multiplying (**low-multiplication**) or before dividing (**low-division**). In effect, shifting the fractional point leftwards to *lower* the value of the sexagesimal number before operating on it; or in other words, dividing a number by the Radius (*sinus totus*) of 60.⁴⁶ Nityānanda uses the verb *अधरी-कृ* (*√adharī-kṛ*) ‘to make [something] low’ or ‘lower’ to indicate a division by 60.⁴⁷ His translation of the term is more literal compared to later authors like Nayanasukhopādhyāya who, in his *Śarahatajkirā Virajandī* (1729), translates *munḥaṭṭ* from Nizām al-Dīn al-Bīrjandī’s *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* (1507) as *ṣaṣṭyāpta/ṣaṣṭibhakta* ‘divided by sixty’ (Kusuba and Pingree 2001: 265).

2.4 GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON TRANSLATION

IN TRANSLATING THE PERSIAN TEXT from Mullā Farīd’s *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 and Nityānanda’s *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 into English, I have interpreted the verbs (and verbal derivatives) based on their implied modality in

⁴⁶ For instance, al-Kāshī uses the word *munḥaṭṭ* ‘to depress’ a sexagesimal number, i.e., divide it by the Radius of 60, in relation to his Sine computations in his *Zīj al-Khāqānī* (c.1413/1414) (Hamadani-Zadeh 1980: 40).

⁴⁷ MS Benares (1963) 37079 of the *Sarva-siddhāntarāja* from the Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthālaya (Varanasi) parses the word

अधर *adhara* in relation to the divisor (in the last pāda of verse 6) as अधर-सषष्टि-भक्त-भाजक-भजनं अत्र-अधर-भजन-संज्ञं उच्यते । (f. 63r: 11) ‘*adhara* is the sixtieth part [lit. with sixty divided] of the divisor of the division; here it is referred to as the *adhara*-division by name.’

the sentence. Hence, a particular form of a verb (e.g., an optative active in Sanskrit) is sometimes translated differently in different sentences. I list below some of the main aspects of my translations.

Persian to English

1. The Persian subjunctive mood expresses a variety of meanings based on the context of the sentence. Mullā Farīd's Persian text of the sixth chapter uses the present subjunctive form of verbs quite commonly. Translating these verbs using English indicative forms does not fully capture the subjunctive mood of the original sentences. Hence, I translate the Persian subjunctive verbs in my English translations with the modal verb 'should', e.g., باشد (*bāshad*) PRES-SBJV-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] should be' instead of '[he/she/it] is' or '[he/she/it] is to be'. This helps distinguish between the Persian indicatives (realis) and subjunctives (irrealis) in the passages, particularly, in the case of conditional clauses.
2. An impersonal passive sentence may be constructed in Persian with a third-person plural conjugation of the verb and a dismissive (or vague) subject. For example, the Persian text in passage [4] uses the verbs درآرند (*dar ārand*) PRES-IND-PL·3rd '[they] extract', along with a direct object (identified by the را (*rā*) marker) and no specific subject. The only indication of the subject is found in the enclitic conjugation of the verb. A syntax-preserving translation of this sentence reads 'they extract [the object]'; however, it can also be understood as the impersonal passive sentence '[the object] is extracted'. As grammatical opinions on passive constructions in Persian vary (e.g., see Nemati 2013: 261–264), I choose to retain the syntax-preserving form in my English translation in passage [4].

Sanskrit to English

1. The subjunctive mood is obsolete in classical Sanskrit and is replaced by the use of the optative. Like the subjunctive, the optative mood also indicates various meanings depending on the context of the verb. Nityānanda's Sanskrit passages from the sixth chapter use several verbs in their optative active form. I translate these forms according to their syntactic location (i.e., whether they occur in principal realis sentences or subordinating irrealis clauses) and their modal intention. For example, as I previously alluded in remarks 1a and 1b in § 2.3.2, the verb भवेत् (*bhavet*) OPT-ACT-SING·3rd implies both '[he/she/it] should be' (in conditional clauses) and '[he/she/it] will be' (in potential statements) depending on the context.

2. More generally, I use the the English modal verb 'should' to translate most Sanskrit optative forms to distinguish them from the indicative forms in English e.g., स्यात् (*syāt*) OPT-ACT-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] should be/exist' instead of '[he/she/it] is/exists'. In such translations, the English modal verb 'should' is more epistemic than deontic in conveying the irrealis mood (in other words, *should* conveys the sentiment of possibility or inference and not a directive or exhortation). Also, the use 'should' to mark the Persian subjunctive and the Sanskrit optative in the English translations reveal a syntactic similarity in the Persian and Sanskrit passages of the sixth chapter.

A complete list of the Persian verbs in the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 and the Sanskrit verbs (and verbal derivatives) in *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 can be found in Appendices B.1 and B.2 respectively.

3 EDITORIAL NOTES

I DISCUSS BELOW the orthographic standards and transcription/transliteration schemes I have adopted in editing the Persian text (from S_{J_A} & S_{J_B}) and the Sanskrit text (from Kh) in §§ 3.1–3.3. A description of the typographic conventions in §§ 4, 5, and 6 of this study follows that in § 3.4. Therein, I explain with examples the various symbols and abbreviations used in the critical footnotes of these sections. Lastly, § 3.5 describes the format of the Glossary (on page 115) and the Appendix B (on page 111).

3.1 REMARKS ON PERSIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

The Persian text presented in this study follows the orthography of Classical Persian in which the manuscripts were written. It does, however, use modern punctuation marks for added clarity.

Arabic loanwords are transcribed with their original spelling when they are attested as such, e.g., the Arabic letter *ي* (*yā^c*) is retained in the spelling of the word *ثاني* (*thānī*) following S_{J_A} (f. 21b: 21). In other instances, Persian spellings are used, e.g., *درجه* (*darajī*) instead of the Arabic *درجة* with the Arabic letter *ة* (*tā²-marbūṭah*). Persian words are presented in their unligated forms: e.g., *آنرا* on f. 21b: 23 S_{J_A} is transcribed as *آن را*.

A few minor orthographic irregularities are seen in the Persian text of S_{J_A} and S_{J_B}. I note these below and emend them silently. However, when the reading of the text is affected by a grammatical ambiguity, I discuss my interpretation in corresponding footnotes. Scribal alterations, cancellations, copying errors, and marginalia are also noted in the footnotes.

1. Vocalisation marks are often omitted, in particular, on the syllable-initial *ā* (*alif madda*). For example, *آن* (*ān*) is simply written as *ان* on f. 22a: 2 S_{J_A} and f. 16b: 1 S_{J_B}.
2. Arabic loan words are generally written without any diacritics. For example, the words *معدل* (*mu^caddil*) (on f. 21b: 21 S_{J_A}) and *اول* (*avval*) (on f. 14a: 1 S_{J_B}) are written without the over-letter diacritic *◌̣* (*shadda/tashdīd*). S_{J_A} sometimes uses supplementary diacritics (*tashkīl*) to differentiate homographic words, e.g., on f. 22a: 8, the word *دور*, understood as ‘distant/remote’, is explicitly written as *دُور* (*dūr*, IPA /duːr/) with the over-letter diacritic *◌̣* (*ḍamma/pish*) to differentiate it from *دَوَر* (*dawr*, IPA /dawr/) ‘cycle/revolution’.
3. S_{J_A} also has occasional diacritic points that are misplaced, for instance, the word *جهت* (*jahat*) is spelt as *جَهت* on f. 21b: 23. The overdot over the word-initial letter *ج* (*jim*) is meaningless.

4. Sj_B sometimes lacks diacritic points to indicate the phonetic distinction of consonants (*iʔjām*). For example, the word-initial letter ٻ (*be*) in ٻر (*bar*) appears without the underdot (on f. 16a: 30 Sj_B).

3.2 REMARKS ON SANSKRIT ORTHOGRAPHY

The Sanskrit text of Kh is fairly regular with occasional orthographic irregularities. Most of these are common scribal oversights seen in Nāgarī palaeography, and hence, I emend these silently. They include

1. using the over-letter diacritic ◌̣ (*anusvāra*) for all conjoined nasal consonants;
2. omitting the diacritical marks ◌̣: (*visarga*) for the terminal aspirate, ◌̣̣ (*virāma*) for inherent-vowel suppression, and ॐ (*avagraha*) for prodelision of *a/ā*;
3. using/omitting punctuation marks like the ॥ (*double-daṇḍa*) irregularly;
4. using irregular (vernacular?) Nāgarī letters (e.g., ॐ for य) for Sanskrit, and retaining ill-formed vocalic signs (e.g., ॐ);
5. using doubled consonant irregularly, e.g., ॐ in अॐ (after a vowel-suppressed *r*-consonant) or across line (*pāda*) breaks in a stanza;
6. reversing conjunct-consonant pairs (e.g., ॐ for अ or ॐ for ह); and
7. confusing consonants like ब and व, प and य, म and स, ष and ख, etc., and certain ligatures like ॐ for ॐ, ॐ for ॐ, etc.

However, I discuss in footnotes the structure of those orthographic irregularities (mainly, morphosyntactic errors) that affect the reading of the text even as I emend the words accordingly. Other scribal errors like haplography (inadvertent omission) and dittography (inadvertent repetition) are also described in footnotes.

3.3 TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLITERATION SCHEMES

I adopt the following transcription/transliteration schemes to render Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and Hindi characters into the Roman (Latin) script.

- Arabic and Persian texts are transcribed with the EI3 standard of phonetic transcription in Brill's *Encyclopedia of Islam*, third edition (Fleet et al. 2007–20).
- Sanskrit and Hindi texts are transliterated following the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) scheme. For vernacular Hindi words, as well as Devanāgarī-spellings of transliterated Persian words, I

use the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO) 15919 extension to transliterate certain characters, e.g., *ḫī* is rendered as *rī*, *khā* as *khām*, etc. Commonly attested words of Indian origin (e.g., Hindu, Brahmin, Mughal, Varanasi, etc.) are presented without diacritics.

3.4 TYPOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

3.4.1 Chapter-titles in § 4

1. *Layout* The chapter-titles from Discourse II (*maqāla-i duvum*) of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and Part II (*dvitīya-kāṇḍa*) of the *Siddhāntasindhu* are placed in parallel columns in § 4. The Persian title-text (to the left) and the Sanskrit title-text (to the right) can be identified by their corresponding chapter numbers in the left and right margins respectively, e.g., ‘Disc II.2’ (in the left margin; ‘Discourse’ abbreviated to ‘Disc.’) and ‘Part II.2’ (in the right margin) corresponding to the second chapter at the top of page 74. I include the folia and line numbers of the manuscripts at the end of the text in parentheses.
2. *Format of the translations* My English translations of the chapter-titles are placed right below the corresponding Persian and Sanskrit text, parallel to each other. The technical terms in the translations are typeset in bold, and are accompanied by a Roman transcription/transliteration (in parentheses) of corresponding Persian and Sanskrit expressions. I indicate any additional words/expressions supplied for grammatical clarity by enclosing them in square brackets ‘[]’ in my translations.

3.4.2 Chapter VI in §§ 5 & 6

1. *Layout* The Persian and Sanskrit text of the sixth chapter from Discourse II of the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and from Part II of the *Siddhāntasindhu* are presented in § 5 and § 6 respectively. In both these sections, I place corresponding passages from the original text and their English translations on successive pages; see § 2.3.1 for my division of the text into comparable passages.
2. *Ordering of the passages* The passage-markers are enclosed in square brackets, e.g., ‘[2]’ or ‘[α]’, and placed at the beginning of the passages. They appear in the right margin for the Persian text, and in the left margin for the Sanskrit text and English translations.
3. *Roman transcription/transliteration* The technical expressions in the English translations are typeset in bold, and are accompanied by a Roman transcription/transliteration (in parentheses) of corresponding Persian and Sanskrit expressions. The Roman transcriptions of Persian compound verbs that indicate arithmetic operations are indicated in their infinitive form and are prefixed with an asterisk. For example, **sum** (**jam^c kardan*)

- ‘to sum’ in passage [1] on page 86. See footnote 3 in the Appendix B (on page 111).
4. *Verse numbering in § 6* The numbering of the metrical Sanskrit verses is different from the ordering of the passages. I follow the Sanskrit text in placing the verse numbers at the end of the stanzas in my translations. For instance, the verse-number ‘॥ १ ॥’ at the end of a stanza in passage [α] (on page 93) also appears as ‘1’ at the end of my English translation (on page 94).
 5. *Poetic meters in § 6* The Sanskrit names of the poetic meters are indicated (in Roman transliteration) in the right margin alongside the Sanskrit verses, e.g., verse number ‘॥ २ ॥’ (in passage [2]) is in the *pramāṇikā*-meter indicated in the right margin margin (in-line with the verse) on page 91.
 6. *Folio breaks*
 - For the Persian text in § 5, I indicate a folio break with ‘|’ (in-line with the text) and state the manuscript reference in the left margin. For instance, passage [2] on page 85 has ‘...جیب [بعد]’ on its second line and corresponding to it, ‘f. 22a: 1 Sj_A |’ is written in the left margin. This indicates the words ‘...بعد’ begin on line 1 of f. 22a in Sj_A.
 - For the Sanskrit text in § 6, folio breaks are shown with ‘|’ (in-line with the text) and manuscript references are in the right margin. For instance, the first line of passage [β] on page 95 has ‘...विवर[गं धनु...’, and correspondingly, ‘| f. 20v: 1 Kh’ is in the right margin. This implies the words ‘गं धनु...’ begin on line 1 of f.20v in Kh.

3.4.3 Critical footnotes in §§ 4, 5, & 6

1. Footnotes in § 4 are numbered 1, 2, 3 etc., whereas, those in §§ 5 & 6 are numbered [i], [ii], [iii] etc. The numbers are reset at the beginning of each section.
2. I use repeated footnote marks for longer footnotes in the Persian text (in § 5), e.g., footnote ‘[vi]—[vi]’ on page 87 where ‘[vi]–’ and ‘–[vi]’ enclose the commented text in passage [9].
3. An edited reading is separated from a variant (attested) reading by a right square bracket] like, for instance, नाम मध्याह्नरेखेति] नाम ध्याह्नरेखेति Kh (footnote 6 on page 80) or در] یا در Sj_B (footnote [iii] on page 87).
4. I use abbreviated forms of grammatical terms in the critical footnotes. For example, the MOD (modifier) प्रथम in the nominal compound प्रथमाध्याये is indicated as प्रथम_{MOD} in footnote 1 on page 73. An expanded list of all grammatical abbreviations used in this study can be found on page 114.

5. The truncation (of letters) in long Sanskrit words is indicated by the Nāgarī abbreviation symbol '◦' (*lāghava-cihna*), comparable in its use to an ellipsis. For example, गणित◦ for गणितसौकर्यार्थ or ◦मांशाख्य for स्फुटापमांशाख्य.
6. I emphasise the letters in Persian and Sanskrit words by underlying them, e.g., قسمت or उन्नत. The emphasis is used in the critical footnotes to signify an orthographic feature or a scribal error that is overt.

3.5 FORMAT OF APPENDIX B AND THE GLOSSARY

All Persian and Sanskrit words in Appendix B and the glossary are written with Perso-Arabic and Nāgarī letters respectively, and are accompanied by corresponding Roman transcriptions/transliterations enclosed in parentheses. The grammatical terms are abbreviated in Appendix B and the glossary; their expanded forms are listed on page 114.

Appendix

Appendix B includes a list of the Persian and Sanskrit verbs seen in the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 and the *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 respectively.

- The Persian verbs are listed on page 111 in their infinitive form along with their corresponding present stems. I group together the attested (inflected) forms of these verbs and provide *passage-markers* (in square brackets at the end) to locate them in the text in § 5. For example,

باشد (*bāshad*) PRES-SBJV-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] should be' [1, 3–8, 10, 11].

- The Sanskrit verbs are indicated in their root-form beginning on page 112. The verbal roots (of different verb-class numbers) are grouped together based on their common meaning. The attested (inflected forms) are listed under their respective verbal root, and are accompanied by *passage-markers* (in square brackets at the end) to locate them in the text in § 6. For example,

स्यात् (*syāt*) OPT-ACT-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] should be/exist' [3–7].

Glossary

Persian and Sanskrit technical expressions are listed in the glossary (beginning on page 114). They are derived from §§ 4, 5, and 6 where they appear as highlighted entries in corresponding English translations.

- Equivalent Persian and Sanskrit terms are grouped together under their common technical translation in English, separated from each other by a semicolon. Synonyms are separated by commas. For example,

latitude عرض (*ʿarḍ*) [5, 6, 10]; शर (*śara*) [6], बाण (*bāṇa*) [10].

- At the end of each entry, I provide the *chapter-numbers* and/or the *passage-markers* in square brackets to identify its location in the text. The identifiers refer to apposite passages or chapter-titles corresponding to the language of the entry. For instance, in the example above, عرض (*ʿarḍ*) appears in passage [6] of § 5 (page 88); whereas, शर (*śara*) can be found in passage [6] of § 6 (page 94).

- References to multiple chapter-numbers are separated by commas (without repeating ‘II’). For example,

ascendant طالع (*ṭāliʿ*), pl. طوابع (*ṭawaliʿ*) II.11, 21, 22; लग्न (*lagna*)
II.21

indicates that طوابع (*ṭawaliʿ*) appears in the chapter-titles of the Persian chapters II.11, II.21, and II.22 in § 4.

- Successive chapter-numbers or passage-markers are sometimes shown as a range to save space, e.g.,

definition लक्षण (*lakṣaṇa*) II.2, 8–13, 17–19, 22.

- Mutually related technical translations in English are grouped together based on their linguistic or mathematical similarity. For instance, the heading *distance from the celestial equator or true declination*— (on page 119) includes the expressions \hookrightarrow distance, \hookrightarrow distance of a celestial object from the celestial equator, and \hookrightarrow true declination.
- The glossary entries are arranged following the English alphabetical order.

4 CHAPTER-TITLES FROM THE *ZĪJ-I SHĀH JAHĀNĪ*
DISCOURSE II AND THE *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* PART II:
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Disc. II
incipit

مقاله دوم
در معرفت اوقات و طالع هر وقت و آنچه
تعلق بدان دارد مشتمل بر بیست و دو باب.
(f. 14a: 1 Sj_B)

नित्यानन्दस्वरूपाय सच्चिद्वयमूर्तये ॥
अद्वितीयाय विभवेऽनन्ताय ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥
अथ द्वितीयाकाण्डे द्वाविंशत्यध्यायैरभिमत-
समयस्तात्कालिकलग्नं च तदुपयोगीन्यपि
ज्ञायन्ते ॥ (f. 17r: 1–3 Kh)

Part II
incipit

Second Discourse

On the **knowledge** (*ma^crifat*) of [find-
ing] the **times** (*avqāt*) and the **ascend-**
ant at each time (*ṭālī^c har vaqt*), and
whatever belongs to it [i.e., all things
related to this topic], including twenty-
two chapters.

Obeisance to Brahman (*brahman*) who
is the embodiment of eternal bliss
(*nitya-ānanda-svarūpa*), who is the form
of both existence and thought (*sat-cit-*
dvaya-mūrti), who is [the One] without
a second (*advitīya*), who is omni-
present (*vibhū*), [and] who is infinite
(*ananta*).

Now, in the second part, [finding] the
desired time (*abhimata-samaya*) and the
ascendant at that time (*tātkālīka-lagna*),
as well as [things] using that, are un-
derstood with twenty-two chapters.

Disc.

- II.1 Part II.1
 باب اول تत्र प्रथमाध्याये¹ गुणनभजनफले मूलं च
 در بیان معرفت جنس هر یک از حاصل परिवर्तादिस्थानैः कलादि स्थानैर्वा किं जातीयं
 ضرب و خارج قسمت و جذر، یعنی دانستن स्यादिति ज्ञायते ॥ तत्र गणितसौकर्यार्थं² यवन-
 آنکه حاصل ضرب یا خارج قسمت یا جذر प्रसिद्धप्रकारेणाङ्कस्थानानां संस्कृतशब्दैः संज्ञा
 از کدام مرتبه است از مراتب مرفوعات و कल्प्यते ॥ (f. 17r: 3–5 Kh)
 درج و اجزاء درج مثل دقایق و ثواني و غیر
 آن. (f. 14a: 3–1 Sj_B)

First Chapter

On the expression of the knowledge (*maʿrifat*) of each genus (*jins*) [of digits] from the result of multiplication (*ḥāṣil-i ʿarb*), and the quotient of division (*khārij-i qismat*), and the square root (*jaḍr*). In other words, to know what is the position (*martaba*) of [the digits in] the result of multiplication (*ḥāṣil-i ʿarb*), or the quotient of division (*khārij-i qismat*), or the square root (*jaḍr*), from the positions (*marātib*) of elevated [ranks] (*marfūʿāt*) [sc. integer number of revolutions], and the degree (*daraj*), and the fractional parts of a degree (*ajzāʾ-i daraj*) like minutes (*daqāʾiq*) and seconds (*thawānī*) and so on.

There, in the first chapter, with [digits in] the positions (*sthāna*) of revolution (*parivarta*) etc. or with [digits in] the positions (*sthāna*) of minute (*kalā*) etc. in the result of multiplication and division (*guṇana-bhajana-phala*), and the square root (*mūla*), what [digits] should belong to a particular genus (*jātīya*): this is understood. Therein, for the purpose of facilitating ease in computations (*gaṇita-saukarya-artha*) with the method famous amongst the foreigner (*yavana-prasiddha*), the name of the positions (*sthāna*) of digits (*anika*) is considered with Sanskrit words.

¹ प्रथमाध्याये] प्रथमध्याये Kh. A regular sandhi of the words प्रथम_{MOD} + अध्याये_{LOC-SING} generates the compound प्रथमाध्याये. The omission of the long vowel (*ā*-diacritic in मा) looks like a scribal oversight.

² गणितः] गणीतः Kh. There are no morphological divisions of गणीत that are syn-

tactically admissible in the larger compound गणीतसौकर्यार्थं, whereas the word गणित is both grammatically well-formed and contextually apposite. I suspect the use of the long vowel (the *ī*-diacritic in गणी) is either a scribal hypercorrection or an inadvertent misspelling.

Disc. II.2	باب دوم در عمل تعدیل ما بین السطرين. (f. 14b 6 Sj _B)	अथ द्वितीयाध्याये द्विकोष्ठान्तरोत्थफलसाधनम् ॥ तस्य मूलं त्रैराशिकम् ॥ अत्र यवनाः परस्परसम्बन्धिचतूराशीन्गणयन्ति ॥ तल्लक्षणं च ॥ (f. 18r: 2–4 Kh)	Part II.2
---------------	--	--	--------------

Second chapter

On the **method of interpolation** (*ʿamal-i taʿdīl*) **between two lines** (*mā bayn al-saṭrayn*) [of a table].

Now, in the second chapter, the **demonstration** (*sādhana*) of the **result** (*phala*) derived from the **difference between two cells** (*dvi-koṣṭha-antara*). The basis of this is the **rule of three** (*trairāśika*). Here, the foreigner (*yavana*) take into account four **correlated numbers** (*paraspara-sambandhi-rāśi*). And their **definitions** (*lakṣaṇa*) [are first stated].

Disc. II.3	باب سیوم در معرفت جیب و سهم. (f. 15a: 8 Sj _B)	अथ तृतीयाध्याये ज्याशरज्ञानम् ॥ (f. 18r: 23–24 Kh)	Part II.3
---------------	---	---	--------------

Third chapter

On the **knowledge** (*maʿrifat*) of the **Sine** (*jayb*) and the **Sagitta** (*sahm*) [i.e., the **Versed Sine**].

Now, in the third chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of the **Sine** (*jyā*) and the **Versed Sine** (*śara*).

Disc. II.4	باب چهارم در معرفت ظلّ. (f. 15b: 1 Sj _B)	अथ चतुर्थाध्याये छायाज्ञानम् ॥ (f. 19r: 13 Kh)	Part II.4
---------------	--	---	--------------

Fourth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*maʿrifat*) of the **shadow** (*ẓill*) [of a **gnomon**].

Now, in the fourth chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of the **shadow** (*chāyā*) [of a **gnomon**].

- Disc. II.5 باب پنجم در معرفت میل اجزاء فلک البروج از معدل النهار. (f. 16a: 4 Sj_B) अथ पञ्चमाध्याये क्रान्तिज्ञानम् ॥ तत्र तावत्क्रान्ति-सूत्रादिसंज्ञोच्यते ॥ (f. 19v: 18–19 Kh) Part II.5

Fifth chapter

On the knowledge (*maʿrifat*) of the declination of parts of the ecliptic (*mayl-i ajzāʾ-i falak al-burūj*) from the celestial equator (*muʿaddil al-nahār*).

Now, in the fifth chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the declination (*krānti*). There, firstly, a [technical] term beginning with circle of declination (*krānti-sūtra*) is stated.

- Disc. II.6 باب ششم در معرفت بعد کواکب از معدل النهار. (f. 16a: 26–25 Sj_B) अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्पष्टक्रान्तिज्ञानम् ॥ (f. 20r: 16 Kh) Part II.6

On the knowledge (*maʿrifat*) of the distance of a celestial object from the celestial equator (*buʿd-i kawākib az muʿaddil al-nahār*).

Sixth chapter

Now, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the true declination (*spaṣṭa-krānti*) in the sixth chapter.

- Disc. II.7 باب هفتم در معرفت غایت ارتفاع و انخفاض کواکب. (f. 16b: 11–10 Sj_B) अथ सप्तमाध्याये ग्रहस्य परमोन्नतांशानामधःस्थ-परमभागानां च ज्ञानम् ॥ (f. 20v: 12–13 Kh) Part II.7

Seventh chapter

On the knowledge (*maʿrifat*) of the maximum elevation and depression of a celestial object (*ghāyat-i ʿirtifāʿ va inkhifāḍ-i kawākib*).

Now, in the seventh chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the degrees of the maximum elevation (*parama-unnata-aṃśa*) and the degrees of the maximum depression (*adhaḥstha-parama-bhāga*) of a celestial object (*graha*).

Disc. II.8	باب هشتم در معرفت مطالع خطّ استوا و آنرا مطالع فلك مستقيم نیز گویند. (f. 16b: 17 Sj _B)	अथ अष्टमाध्याये व्यक्षोयांशज्ञानम् ॥ तेषां लङ्को- दयांशसंज्ञाप्युच्यते ॥ तल्लक्षणमाह ॥ (f. 20v: 24–25 Kh)	Part II.8
---------------	--	---	--------------

Eighth chapter

On the knowledge (*ma^crifat*) of ascensions [of the ecliptic] at the line of the terrestrial equator (*maṭāli^c khaṭṭ-i istiva*) [i.e., the right ascensions of the zodiacal signs]. And that is also called the ascensions [of the ecliptic] in the right sphere (*maṭāli^c falak-i mustaqīm*).

Now, in the eighth chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the rising [of the zodiacal signs] at the terrestrial equator in degrees (*vyakṣa-udaya-aṃśa*) [i.e., the right ascensions of the degrees of the ecliptic]. All of them are also called the rising [of the zodiacal signs] at Laṅkā in degrees (*laṅkā-udaya-aṃśa*) by name. Their definitions (*lakṣaṇa*) state [as follows].

Disc. II.9	باب نهم در معرفت تعدیل النهار و قوس النهار و قوس الليل و ساعات النهار و ساعات الليل. (f. 16b: 25 Sj _B)	अथ नवमाध्याये चरदिनरात्रिवामानां दिनरात्रिहो- रादीनां च ज्ञानम् ॥ तत्र तावत्तेषां लक्षणम् ॥ (f. 21r: 5–6 Kh)	Part II.9
---------------	---	--	--------------

Ninth chapter

On the knowledge (*ma^crifat*) of the equation of daylight (*ta^cdīl al-nahār*); and the arc of daylight (*qaws al-nahār*) and the arc of night (*qaws al-layl*); and the hours of daylight (*sā^cāt al-nahār*) and hours of night (*sā^cāt al-layl*).

Now, in the ninth chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the ascensional difference (*cara*) of the oblique diurnal circle (*dina-rātri-vāma[-vṛtta]*) and of the hours of day and night (*dina-rātri-horā*) etc. There, firstly, the definitions (*lakṣaṇa*) of those [are stated].

Disc. II.10	باب دهم در معرفت مطالع بلد. (f. 17a 26 Sj _B)	अथ दशमाध्याये निजोदयांशज्ञानम् ॥ तल्लक्षणं च ॥ (f. 21v: 23 Kh)	Part II.10
----------------	---	---	---------------

Tenth chapter

On the knowledge (*ma^crifat*) of the ascensions [of the ecliptic] of a locality (*maṭāli^c-i balad*) [i.e., the oblique ascensions of the zodiacal signs].

Now, in the tenth chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the rising [of the zodiacal signs] in one's own location in degrees (*nija-udaya-aṃśa*) [i.e., the oblique ascensions of the degrees of the ecliptic]. And their definitions (*lakṣaṇa*) [are first stated].

Disc.	باب یازدهم	अथैकादशाध्याये	स्वोदयांशेभ्यो	विनैव	Part
II.11	در عمل عکس مطالع یعنی معرفت طوالع از مطالع ³ بعمل. (f. 17b: 5 Sj _B)	कोष्ठकैर्विलोमक्रियातो विलोमक्रियालक्षणम् ॥ (f. 22r: 9–11 Kh)	विलग्नांशकज्ञानम् ॥		II.11

Eleventh chapter

On the *inverse method* (*ʿamal-i ʿaks*) [of] *ascensions* (*maṭāli^c*); in other words, the knowledge of the [ecliptic degrees of the] *ascendants* (*ṭawali^c*) from the [local] *ascensions* (*maṭāli^c*) [i.e., from the oblique ascensions of the ascendants] by direct calculation.

Now, in the eleventh chapter, the *knowledge* (*jñāna*) of the [ecliptic] *degrees of the ascendants* (*vilagna-aṁśaka*) from the *rising* [of the zodiacal signs] in one's own location in *degrees* (*sva-udaya-aṁśa*) [i.e., from the oblique ascensions of the ascendants] without [using] the *tables* (*koṣṭhaka*) [and] by using the *inverse procedure* (*viloma-kriyā*). The *definition* (*lakṣaṇa*) of the *inverse procedure* (*viloma-kriyā*) [is first stated].

³ The words از مطالع are a marginal addition. They appear in the exterior (left) margin of f. 17a Sj_B alongside line 5 of the text. The main text has an interlinear insertion mark 'v' at the end of the preceding طوالع. The marginal text ends with a

terminal *number-like* mark ¶ which, according to Gacek (2009: 117), is an abbreviation for تمام شد *tamām shud* 'ended/finished' often seen in manuscripts of Indian/Iranian origins.

Disc.	باب دوازدهم	अथ द्वादशाध्याये नक्षत्रस्य लङ्कायामुदये जाते	Part
II.12	در معرفت مطالع ممر و درجه ممر کوكب. (f. 17b: 30–29 Sj _B)	सति भोदयलग्नव्यक्षोदयांशभोदयलग्नांशयो- ज्ञानम् ॥ तल्लक्षणम् ॥ (f. 22v: 15–17 Kh)	II.12

Twelfth chapter

On the knowledge (*ma^crifat*) of the ascensions of [the degrees] of [meridian] transit (*maṭāli^c-i mamarr*) [i.e., the right ascension of the zodiacal sign culminating with a celestial object] and the [ecliptic] degree of the [meridian] transit [at the time of rising] of a celestial object (*daraji-yi mamarr-i kawkab*) [i.e., the ecliptic longitude of the zodiacal sign culminating with a celestial object].

Now, in the twelfth chapter, when a celestial object (*nakṣatra*) rises (*udaya*) at Laṅkā (the terrestrial equator), the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the degrees of equatorial ascension of the [meridian] ecliptic point at the [time of] rising of a celestial object (*bha-udaya-lagna-vyakṣa-udaya-aṁśa*) [i.e., the right ascension of the zodiacal sign culminating with the celestial object] and the degrees of the [meridian] ecliptic point at the [time of] rising of a celestial object (*bha-udaya-lagna-aṁśa*) [i.e., the ecliptic longitude of the zodiacal sign culminating with the celestial object]. Their definitions (*lakṣaṇa*) [are first stated].

Disc. II.13	باب سیزدهم در مطالع طالع و غروب کواکب. (f. 18a: 12–11 Sj _B)	अथ त्रयोदशाध्याये नक्षत्रस्योदयसमये ऽस्तसमये च निजोदयांशकज्ञानम् ॥ तल्लक्षणं पूर्वार्धमध्ये ⁴ प्रोक्तमेव ॥ (f. 23r: 6–7 Kh)	Part II.13
----------------	---	--	---------------

Thirteenth chapter

On the [right] **ascensions** (*maṭāli*^c) of the **rising** (*ṭāli*^c) and **setting** (*ghurūb*) of celestial objects (*kawākib*).

Now, in the thirteenth chapter, at the time of rising (*udaya-samaya*) and time of setting (*asta-samaya*) of a celestial object (*nakṣatra*), the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the rising [of the zodiacal signs] in one's own location in degrees (*nija-udaya-aṁśaka*) [i.e., the oblique ascensions of the degrees of the ecliptic]. The **definition** (*lakṣaṇa*) of that has already been declared in the first half [of Part II].

Disc. II.14	باب چهاردهم در معرفت سمت از ارتفاع یا انخفاض. (f. 18a: 20 Sj _B)	अथ चतुर्दशाध्याये ऽभीप्सितोन्नतांशाधरांशेभ्यः ⁵ स्वदिगंशज्ञानम् ॥ (f. 23r: 24 Kh)	Part II.14
----------------	---	---	---------------

Fourteenth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*maʿrifat*) of the **azimuth** (*samt*) from the **elevation** (*ʿirtifāʿ*) or the **depression** (*inkhifāḍ*) [of a celestial object].

Now, in the fourteenth chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the **degrees of azimuth** in one's own location (*sva-diś-aṁśa*) from the **desired degrees of elevation** (*abhīpsita-unnata-aṁśa*) and the **degrees of depression** (*adharā-aṁśa*) [of a celestial object].

⁴ पूर्वार्धमध्ये] पूर्वार्धमये Kh. The compound पूर्वार्धमये in Kh can be segmented as पूर्व^{MOD} + अध^{MOD} + मये^{LOC-SING}; however, this reading is neither syntactically nor contextually coherent with the rest of the sentence. The omission of over-letter *r*-diacritic (*repha*) in र्ध and confusing the glyph ये for the ligature ध्ये are fairly common scribal mistakes.

⁵ ऽभीप्सितोन्नतांशाधरांशेभ्यः] ऽभीप्सितोन्नतंशाधारांशेभ्य Kh. A regular sandhi of the words ऽभीप्सित^{MOD} + उन्नत^{MOD} + अंश^{MOD} +

अधर^{MOD} + अंशेभ्यः^{DAT/ABL-PL} generates the contextually apposite compound ऽभीप्सितोन्नतांशाधरांशेभ्यः. Kh attests आधार^{MOD} 'support/base' instead of अधर^{MOD} 'lower' in the chapter-title, but then uses अधर^{MOD} in several other places in this chapter. I suspect the irregular vowel-marks (the *a*-diacritic in तं and *ā*-diacritic in धा) in ऽभीप्सितोन्नतंशाधारांशेभ्य are scribal mistakes (just like the missing *anusvāra* over रा or the missing *visarga* in भ्य).

Disc. II.15	باب پانزدهم در معرفت ارتفاع از سمت. (f. 18b: 8–7 Sj _B)	अथ पञ्चदशाध्याये दिगंशेभ्यो ऽभीष्टोन्नतांशाधरांश- ज्ञानम् ॥ तत्रानन्यत्वप्रकारोपपत्तिः ॥ (f. 23v: 21–22 Kh)	Part II.15
----------------	--	---	---------------

Fifteenth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*ma^crifat*) of the **elevation** (*ʿirtifā^c*) [of a celestial object] from [its] **azimuth** (*samt*).

Now, in the fifteenth chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of the **desired degrees of elevation** (*abhiṣṭa-unnata-aṁśa*) and the **degrees of depression** (*adharā-aṁśa*) [of a celestial object] from the **degrees of azimuth in one's own location** (*sva-diś-aṁśa*). There, a **demonstration** (*upapatti*) by **method of identity** (*ananyatva-prakāra*) [is stated].

Disc. II.16	باب شانزدهم در معرفت خط نصف النهار. (f. 18b: 16–15 Sj _B)	अथ षोडशाध्याये याम्योत्तररेखाज्ञानम् ॥ तस्य एव नाम मध्याह्नरेखेति ⁶ ॥ (f. 24r: 14–15 Kh)	Part II.16
----------------	--	--	---------------

Sixteenth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*ma^crifat*) of the **line of midday** (*khaṭṭ niṣṭ al-nahār*) [i.e., the local meridian line].

Now, in the sixteenth chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of the **line of the meridian** (*yāmya-uttara-rekhā*). It is even called the **line of midday** (*madhyāhna-rekhā*).

Disc. II.17	باب هفدهم در معرفت طول و عرض بلد. (f. 18b: 29 Sj _B)	अथ सप्तदशाध्याये देशान्तराक्षांशज्ञानम् ॥ तल्लक्षणं च ॥ (f. 24v: 4 Kh)	Part II.17
----------------	---	---	---------------

Seventeenth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*ma^crifat*) of the [terrestrial] **longitude and latitude of a locality** (*ṭūl va ʿarḍ-i balad*).

Now, in the seventeenth chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of **degrees of [terrestrial] longitude and latitude** (*deśāntara-akṣa-aṁśa*) [in one's own location]. And their **definitions** (*lakṣaṇa*) [are first stated].

6 नाम मध्याह्नरेखेति] नाम ध्याह्नरेखेति Kh. The technical word मध्याह्नरेखा is grammatically well-formed and contextually apposite to the discussions in this chapter. The words

नाम and ध्याह्नरेखेति occurs across a line break (lines 14 and 15) in Kh. This appears to be a haplography: the scribe inadvertently left out the second म while copying.

Disc. II.18	باب هژدهم در معرفت عرض اقلیم رؤیت. (f. 19a: 20–19 SjB)	अथाष्टादशाध्याये दृक्क्षेपदृग्गतिज्ञानम् ॥ तल्लक्षणं च ॥ (f. 25r: 12–13 Kh)	Part II.18
----------------	--	---	---------------

Eighteenth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*maʿrifat*) of the **latitude of the visible climate** (*ʿard-i iqlīm-i ruʿyat*) [i.e., the zenith distance of the nonagesimal point].

Now, in the eighteenth chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of **zenith distance** of the nonagesimal point (*dr̥kkṣepa*) and the **zenith distance** of the ecliptic pole (*dr̥ggati*). And their **definitions** (*lakṣaṇa*) [are first stated].

Disc. II.19	باب نوزدهم در استخراج بعد میان دو کوکب. (f. 19a: 28 SjB)	अथैकोनविंशाध्याये ⁷ द्विनक्षत्रान्तरांशकज्ञानम् ॥ तल्लक्षणम् ॥ (f. 25v: 6–7 Kh)	Part II.19
----------------	--	--	---------------

Nineteenth chapter

On the **determination** (*istikhrāj*) of the **distance between two celestial objects** (*buʿd-i miyān-i duvum-i kawkab*).

Now, in the nineteenth chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of **degrees** [of separation] between two celestial objects (*dvi-nakṣatra-antara-aṃśaka*). The **definition** (*lakṣaṇa*) of that [is first stated].

⁷ अथैकोनविंशाध्याये] अथैकोनविंशोध्याये Kh. The locative adverbial phrase अथैकोनविंशोध्याये in Kh can be segmented as अथ_{INDECL} + एकोनविंशः_{NOM-SING} + अध्याये_{LOC-SING}. However, the word एकोनविंशः ‘nineteen’ is a cardinal number, and if used as an ordinal adjective, it should be in concord with the sub-

stantive अध्याये. The meaning of the phrase ‘in the nineteenth chapter’ is preserved in the compound एकोनविंशाध्याये as well as the words एकोनविंशे ऽध्याये (with a locative concord). I select the compounded form as it is consistent with the previous chapter-titles in Part II.

Disc. II.20	باب بیستم در معرفت سمت قبله و انحراف او. (f. 19b: 22–21 SjB)	अथ विंशतिमे ऽध्याये ⁸ स्वपुरे सौम्ययाम्यदिग्भ्यां दिगंशैः काशी कास्तीति ⁹ ज्ञायते ॥ (f. 26v: 17–18 Kh)	Part II.20
----------------	--	--	---------------

Twentieth chapter

On the **knowledge** (*ma^crifat*) of the **azimuth of qibla** (*samt-i qibla*) and its **inclination** (*inḥirāf*[-i *samt-i qibla*]).

Now, in the twentieth chapter, [the direction of] Kāśī is understood with **degree of azimuth** (*diś-aṃśa*) [measured] from both the **northern and southern directions** (*saumya-yāmya-diś*) in one's own city.

Disc. II.21	باب بیست و یکم در معرفت طالع از ارتفاع. (f. 20a: 31 SjB)	अथ एकविंशतिमे ऽध्याये ऽभीष्टोन्नतांशेभ्यो ¹⁰ लग्नज्ञानम् ॥ (f. 27r: 26–27 Kh)	Part II.21
----------------	--	---	---------------

Twenty-first chapter

On the **knowledge** (*ma^crifat*) of the **ascendant** (*ṭāli^c*) from the **elevation** (*ʿirti-fā^c*).

Now, in the twenty-first chapter, the **knowledge** (*jñāna*) of the **ascendant** (*lagna*) from the **desired degrees of elevation** (*abhiṣṭa-unṇata-aṃśa*).

8 विंशतिमे ऽध्याये] विंशतिध्याये Kh. The attested form is morphologically defective. A regular sandhi of the words विंशति_{MOD} + अध्याये_{LOC-SING} generates विंशत्यध्याये, a locative adverbial phrase meaning 'in twenty chapters'. I correct this to विंशतिमे ऽध्याये 'in the twentieth chapter' (using the ordinal form विंशतिम 'twentieth' instead of the cardinal number विंशति 'twenty') as it is consistent with the next two chapter-titles in Part II.

9 काशी कास्तीति] काशीका[?]मी/सी[?]ति Kh, (*conjecture*). There are no visible signs of scribal corrections or lacunae, but the writing (in red ink) is partially faded making it difficult to identify the letters with certainty. Nevertheless, there are no combinations of these letters that provide a grammatically valid and contextually apposite reading. I emend the words to काशी कास्तीति, lit. the

question "Where is Kāśī?", that serves as the subject of the main sentence. (In other words: "Where is Kāśī?", *this* is [understood with ...]). I suspect the scribe unwittingly copied the glyph मी/सी for the ligature स्ती as they often appear very similar in Nāgarī palaeography.

10 ऽभीष्टोन्नतांशेभ्यो] ऽभीष्टोन्नवांशेभ्यो Kh. The compound ऽभीष्टोन्नतांशेभ्यो in Kh can be segmented as ऽभीष्ट_{MOD} + उन्नव_? + अंशेभ्यो_{DAT/ABL-PL}; however, उन्नव is neither a valid morphophonemic compound nor a standard lexical entry. The word उन्नत is contextually relevant and also variously attested in this chapter, e.g., उन्नतज्यायाः (f. 27r: 27 Kh) or समुन्नतज्या (f. 27v: 14 Kh). I suspect the scribe inattentively copied the glyph वां for तां in the chapter-title.

Disc.	باب بیست و دوم	अथ द्वाविंशतिमे ऽध्याये खगस्य स्वोदयांशेभ्यो ¹¹	Part
II.22	در معرفت ارتفاع یا انخفاض کواکب از طالع. (f. 20b: 25–24 SjB)	ऽभीष्टोन्नतांशानामधरांशकानां च ज्ञानम् ॥ एतल्लक्षणं पूर्वमेषोक्तम् ॥ (f. 28r: 16–17 Kh)	II.22

Twenty-second chapter

On the knowledge (*maʿrifat*) of the elevation (*ʿirtifāʿ*) or depression (*inkhifāḍ*) of celestial objects (*kawākib*) from the ascendant (*tālīʿ*).

Now, in the twenty-second chapter, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the desired degrees of elevation (*abhīṣṭa-unnata-aṁśa*) and of the degrees of depression (*adhara-aṁśaka*) from the rising [of the zodiacal signs] in one's own location in degrees (*sva-udaya-aṁśa*) of a celestial object (*khaga*). The definition (*lakṣaṇa*) of this has already been declared in the first half [of Part II].

¹¹ स्वोदयांशेभ्यो] स्वोदयंशेभ्यो Kh. A regular sandhi of the words स्व_{MOD} + उदय_{MOD} + अंशेभ्यो_{DAT/ABL-PL} generates स्वोदयांशेभ्यो where the terminal consonant -श (of अंश)

changes to -शे (and not -शे) before the dative/ablative case ending -भ्यः. The *o*-diacritic in शे appears to be a scribal hypercorrection.

The *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī*: Discourse II does not have a colophon. F 21r: 21 Sj_B ends with the last line of chapter twenty-two: ...بهين موامره همين مطلوب حاصل آيد.

यः श्रीशाहजहाँ¹² नृपालमुकुटालङ्कारचूडामणि-
स्तस्याज्ञामवलम्ब्य दुस्तरममुं सिद्धान्तसिन्धुं
तरन् ॥ नित्यानन्द इति द्विजोत्तमकृपः¹³
श्रीदेवदत्तात्मजस्त्रिप्रश्नचुरोक्तियुक्तिसहितं काण्डं
द्वितीयं ह्यगात् ॥ (f. 28v: 15–18 Kh)

Part II
colophon

Nityānanda, who crosses over this unconquerable ‘Ocean of the Siddhāntas [sc. composes the *Siddhāntasindhu*] [by] holding onto the command of Śrī Shāh Jahān who is the crest jewel of the ornamental crown of kings, [the man who is worthy of] the mercy of the best Brāhmaṇas, the son of Śrī Devadatta, has just finished the second part accompanied by many statements and rationales on the *tripraśna*.¹⁴

¹² श्रीशाहजहाँ] श्रीशाहहाँ Kh. I suspect the scribe unwittingly left out the letter ज while copying; most other occurrences of Shāh Jahān’s name in the text read श्रीशाहजहाँ (sometimes without the terminal nasal diacritic *candrabindu*), e.g., folia 3v: 1, 5r: 15, or 6v: 22 of Kh. Also, this verse is in the nineteen-syllabled *śārdūlavikrīḍita* meter which would require a five-syllabled word like श्रीशाहजहाँ० for metrical completion (*pada-pūrti*).

¹³ The appositive nominal compound द्विजोत्तमकृपः is grammatically irregular. The terminal word कृपः NOM-SING is attested as

the sage Kṛpācārya (from the *Mahābhārata*) in Sanskrit lexicons. In this case, however, I suspect द्विजोत्तमकृपः is a metrical contraction (*pada-anatireka-karaṇa*) that can be parsed as द्विजोत्तमाणां कृपापात्रः ‘[the one] worthy of the mercy (*kṛpā*) of the best Brāhmaṇas’. In the colophon of Nityānanda’s *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (1639), we find a related phrase द्विजानामाज्ञाकारी ‘one who executes the commands of the Brāhmaṇas’ (i.e., obedient of the authority of Brāhmaṇas) as an epithet of Nityānanda (see Peterson 1892: 228; Dvivedi 1933: 102).

¹⁴ See § 2.2, remark 4 on page 56.

5 ZĪJ-I SHĀH JAHĀNĪ DISCOURSE II.6:
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[باب ششم

در معرفت بعد کواکب از معدّل النهار.

[1] عرض کوکب و میل ثانی درجه او، اگر هر دو در یک جهت باشند جمع کنیم والا تفاضل بگیریم و آن را حصّه بعد خوانیم و جهت حصّه بعد جهت مجموع یا جهت فضل باشد.

[2] پس جیب حصّه بعد را در جیب تمام میل منکوس درجه کوکب منحطّ ضرب کنیم حاصل جیب [بعد بود].

[3] بوجهی^[i] دیگر جیب حصّه بعد را در جیب تمام میل کلّی ضرب کنیم و حاصل را بر جیب تمام میل^[ii] ثانی درجه آن کوکب قسمت کنیم خارج [قسمت جیب بعد باشد و جهت آن جهت حصّه بعد باشد].

[4] و چون جیب حصّه بعد را در جدول جیب تمام میل کلّی درآرند و حاصل را بر جیب تمام میل ثانی درجه آن کوکب قسمت کنند خارج قسمت جیب بعد باشد.

[5] و اگر کوکب را عرض نباشد، میل درجه او بعد باشد.

[i] فمـ Sj_A. The overline 'فمـ' over the word بوجهی is used to indicate a notable pause in the reading. As Gacek (2009: 173) explains, it is most likely a logograph (word-symbol) of the Arabic word فف (*qif*) 'stop' to indicate a pause in reading;

or alternatively, the abbreviation فتـ (*fata-*) of the phrase فتأملها (*fata'mmalhā*) 'reflect on it'.

[ii] میل کلّی Sj_A, cancellation *intra lineam*.

Sixth chapter

On the knowledge (*maʿrifat*) of the distance of celestial objects from the celestial equator (*buʿd-i kawākib az muʿaddil al-nahār*).

- [1] [Given] the latitude of a celestial object (*ʿarḍ-i kawkab*) and the second declination of its degree (*mayl-i thānī-yi darajī-yi u*), if both should be in one direction (*yik jahat*), we sum (**jamʿ kardan*) [them]; otherwise, we should take the difference (*tafāḍul*). And we call that [result] the share of the distance (*ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*). And the direction of the share of the distance (*jahat-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) should be the direction of the sum (*jahat-i majmūʿ*) or the direction of the residue (*jahat-i faḍla*).
- [2] Then, we low-multiply (**munḥaṭṭ-i ḍarb kardan*) the Sine of the share of the distance (*jayb-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) in the Cosine of the inverse declination of the degree of a celestial object (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i mankūs-i darajī-yi kawkab*). The result (*ḥāṣil*) is the Sine of the distance (*jayb-i buʿd*).
- [3] In another way, we multiply (**ḍarb kardan*) the Sine of the share of the distance (*jayb-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) in the Cosine of the greatest declination (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i kullī*) [i.e., in the Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity] and we divide (**qismat kardan*) the result (*ḥāṣil*) over the Cosine of the second declination of the degree (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i thānī-yi darajī*) of that celestial object (*kawkab*). The quotient of the division (*khārij-i qismat*) should be the Sine of the distance (*jayb-i buʿd*), and its direction (*jahat*) should be the direction of the share of the distance (*jahat-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*).
- [4] And since they extract (**dar ārdan*) [the product of the multiplication with] the Sine of the share of the distance (*jayb-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) from the table of the Cosine of the greatest declination (*jadval-i jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i kullī*) [i.e., in the table of the Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity] and they divide (**qismat kardan*) the result (*ḥāṣil*) over the Cosine of the second declination of the degree (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i thānī-yi darajī*) of that celestial object (*kawkab*), the quotient of the division (*khārij-i qismat*) should be the Sine of the distance (*jayb-i buʿd*).
- [5] And if a celestial object (*kawkab*) should have no latitude (*ʿarḍ*), the declination of its degree (*mayl-i darajī-yi u*) should be the distance (*buʿd*).

[6] و اگر عرض باشد اما درجه او را میل نباشد، جیب عرض او را در جیب تمام میل کلّی منحنّ ضرب کنیم یا در [iii] جدول سابق درآریم حاصل جیب بعد باشد و جهت او جهت عرض باشد.

[7] و اگر میل درجه او میل کلّی باشد، حصّة البعد بعینه بعد باشد.

[8] و بوجهی [iv] دیگر جیب بعد درجه کوکب از انقلاب اقرب در جیب تمام عرض کوکب منحنّ ضرب کنیم حاصل جیب بعد کوکب از دایره ماره باقطاب اربعه [v]-باشد.

[9] پس جیب عرض کوکب را بر جیب تمام بعد از دایره ماره باقطاب اربعه-[v] منحنّ قسمت کنیم [vi]-و به خارج قسمت [vi] از جدول جیب قوس بگیریم و آن را قوس اوّل خوانیم و جهت آن جهت عرض کوکب بود.

[iii] در [یا در Sj_B, dittography of the first d.

[iv] و بوجهی [و بوجهی Sj_A, with emphasis. See footnote [i].

[v]-[v] باشد. پس... باقطاب اربعه [v]-[v]

a. Sj_A, inserted in the exterior margin by the same hand. The penultimate word of passage [8] on f. 22a: 6 has an insertion mark '^^' (*signe-de-renvoi*) placed above it, sc. ... اربعه منحنّ.... The first word of the marginal text also bears the same mark, *supra verbum*, sc. ... باشد پس. The marginal text ends with 'ه': this could be a calligraphic variant of the abbreviation هی (*hā'*) of the Arabic word إنتهى (*intihā'*) meaning 'it is finished', see Gacek (2009: 117);

b. omitted Sj_B, per homeoteleuton. The penultimate word اربعه of passage [8], before the missing text, is identical to the last word of the missing text ... اربعه منحنّ... in passage [9].

REMARK: MS Or. 566 of the *Zij-i Ulugh Beg* from University Library (Cambridge) is also missing the same amount of text. The missing words اربعه ... باشد span the length of a line between the end of line 18 (at اربعه) and the beginning of line 19 (at منحنّ) on folio 16r of this manuscript.

و به خارج [و به خارج قسمت [vi]-[vi] Sj_B, dittography of the second خارج قسمت کنیم و به خارج قسمت [vi]-[vi]. I suspect a parableptic error as the word قسمت appears twice on the line in close proximity: ... قسمت... از قسمت کنیم... از

- [6] And if the **latitude** (*ʿarḍ*) [of a celestial object] should exist but its **degree** (*darajī-yi u*) should have no **declination** (*mayl*), we **low-multiply** (**munḥaṭṭ-i ḍarb kardan*) the **Sine of its latitude** (*jayb-i ʿarḍ-i u*) in the **Cosine of the greatest declination** (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i kullī*) [i.e., in the Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity], or we **extract** (**dar ārdan*) [the product of this multiplication] from the preceding **table** (*jadval*) [i.e., in the table of the Cosine of the greatest declination]. The **result** (*ḥāṣil*) should be the **Sine of the distance** (*jayb-i buʿd*), and its **direction** (*jahat*) should be the **direction of the latitude** (*jahat-i ʿarḍ*).
- [7] And if the **declination of its degree** (*mayl-i darajī-yi u*) should be the **total declination** (*mayl-i kullī*) [i.e., the obliquity of the ecliptic], the **share of the distance** (*ḥiṣṣat al-buʿd*) itself should be the **distance** (*buʿd*).
- [8] And in another way, we **low-multiply** (**munḥaṭṭ-i ḍarb kardan*) the **Sine of the distance of the degree of a celestial object from the nearest solstice** (*jayb-i buʿd-i darajī-yi kawkab az inqilāb-i aqrab*) in the **Cosine of the latitude of the celestial object** (*jayb-i tamām-i ʿarḍ-i kawkab*). The **result** (*ḥāṣil*) should be the **Sine of the distance of the celestial object from the ‘circle passing through the four poles’** [i.e., from the ‘solstitial colure’] (*jayb-i buʿd-i kawkab az «dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arbaʿi»*).
- [9] Then, we **low-divide** (**munḥaṭṭ-i qismat kardan*) the **Sine of the latitude of a celestial object** (*jayb-i ʿarḍ-i kawkab*) over the **Cosine of the distance [of the celestial object] from the ‘circle passing through the four poles’** (*jayb-i tamām-i buʿd[-i kawkab] az «dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arbaʿi»*). And for the **quotient of the division** (*khārij-i qismat*), we should take the **arc** (*qaws*) from the table of Sine (*jadval-i jayb*). And we call it the **first arc** (*qaws-i avval*) and its **direction** (*jahat*) is the **direction of the latitude of a celestial object** (*jahat-i ʿarḍ-i kawkab*).

[10] پس اگر عرض و میل درجه کوکب هر دو در یک جهت باشند، قوس اوّل و میل کلّی را جمع کنیم. و اگر از ربع [vii] دور زیاده شود، تمام مجموع تا نصف دور بگیریم. و اگر در جهت مختلف باشند، تفاضل میان هر دو بگیریم حاصل قوس دوم باشد و جهتش جهت مجموع یا جهت فضل باشد.

[11] پس جیب قوس دوم را در جیب تمام بعد از دایره ماره باقطاب اربعه منحنّ ضرب کنیم حاصل جیب بعد کوکب باشد و جهتش جهت قوس دوم باشد.

[vii] ربع

a. ربع S_A, erasure *intra lineam*;
b. ربع S_B. The Arabic words ربع (*rub*^c) and رابع (*rābi*^c) are the fractional ('one-fourth') and ordinal ('fourth') forms of the num-

ber four أربعة (*arba*^c) respectively. The mathematical context of the passage supports the fractional meaning 'one-fourth' or a 'quarter'. The reading in S_B could be a semantic mistake by the scribe in copying Arabic loanwords (*mu*^c*arrab*).

- [10] Then, if the **latitude** (*‘arḍ*) and the **declination** of the degree of a celestial object (*mayl-i daraji-yi kawkab*) both should be in **one direction** (*yik jahat*), we **sum** (**jam^c kardan*) the **first arc** (*qaws-i avval*) and the **total declination** (*mayl-i kullī*) [i.e., the obliquity of the ecliptic]. And if [the sum] **exceeds** (**ziyādi shudan*) **one-quarter** (*rābi^c*) [i.e., is greater than 90°], we should take the **whole sum** (*tamām-i majmū^c*) up to **one-half** (*niṣf*) [i.e., up to 180°]. And if they should be in **different directions** (*jahat-i mukhtalif*), we should take the **difference** (*tafāḍul*) between the two; the **result** (*ḥāṣil*) [in both cases] should be [called] the **second arc** (*qaws-i duvum*) and its **direction** (*jahat*) should be the **direction of the sum** (*jahat-i majmū^c*) or the **direction of the residue** (*jahat-i faḍla*).
- [11] Then, we **low-multiply** (**munḥaṭṭ-i ḍarb kardan*) the **Sine** of the second arc (*jayb-i qaws-i duvum*) in the **Cosine** of the distance [of a celestial object] from the ‘circle passing through the four poles’ (*jayb-i tamām-i bu^cd az «dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arba^ci»*). The result should be the **Sine** of the distance of the celestial object (*jayb-i bu^cd-i kawkab*) and its **direction** (*jahat*) should be the **direction of the second arc** (*jahat-i qaws-i duvum*).

6 SIDDHĀNTASINDHU PART II.6: TEXT AND TRANSLATION

॥ अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्पष्टक्रान्तिज्ञानम्^[i] ॥

[f. 20r: 16 Kh

- [1] खगस्य बाणो ऽन्यतरापमः^[ii] पुन-
र्यदा द्वयं वैकदिशि स्थितं भवेत् ॥
तदा तयोः संयुतिरन्यथान्तरं
स्फुटापमांशाख्य^[iii] इहोच्यते स्वदिक् ॥ १ ॥

vaṁśasthāvila

- [2] स्फुटापमाङ्कसिञ्जिनी सभत्रयद्युजीवया ॥
निहन्यते ऽधरीकृता स्फुटापमज्यका भवेत् ॥ २ ॥

pramāṇikā

- [3] परमक्रान्तिकोटिज्या स्फुटक्रान्त्यङ्कजीवया ॥
हतान्यक्रान्तिकोटिज्याप्ता स्यात्स्पष्टापमज्यका ॥ ३ ॥

anuṣṭubh

- [4] किंवा परमक्रान्तिकोटिकेभ्यः^[iv] स्फुटक्रान्त्यङ्कज्यया गुणितफलमुत्थाय
द्वितीयक्रान्तिकोटिज्यया भजेल्लब्धं स्पष्टक्रान्तिकोटिज्या स्यात् ॥

- [5] अथ च यदि खगस्य बाणो न स्यात्तदा तस्य क्रान्तिरेव स्पष्टक्रान्तिर्भवेत् ॥

[i] Looking at the orthography of the other chapter-titles (in Part II of Kh, see § 4), षष्ठाध्ये स्पष्टक्रान्तिज्ञानम् would be more consistent than षष्ठाध्यायस्पष्टक्रान्तिज्ञानम्. Nevertheless, I maintain the reading attested in Kh in the absence of a second manuscript witness. Besides, the locative sense (*adhikaraṇa*) of the modifier षष्ठ-[S]ध्याय in the *tatpuruṣa* compound षष्ठ-[S]ध्याय-स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति-ज्ञानम्_{NOM-SING} is identical to the use of the prepositional phrase षष्ठ-[S]ध्याये_{LOC-SING} in the sentence षष्ठ-[S]ध्ये स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति-ज्ञानम्_{NOM-SING}.

[ii] बाणोऽन्यतरापमः] बाणेन्यतरापमः Kh. The conjoined word बाणेन्यतरापमः in Kh can be mean-
ingfully segmented as बाणे_{LOC-SING} + अन्यतर-
अपमः_{NOM-SING}. However, this reading (the
second noun in the first) is contextually
and semantically incoherent. The syntactic
structure of the Sanskrit text mimics the syn-

tax of the Persian text in passage [1], see
§ 2.3.2, remark 1a on page 60. This sug-
gests that the emendation बाणो_{NOM-SING} is
better suited than बाणे_{LOC-SING} as it agrees
with अपमः_{NOM-SING} in the subject-fronted
noun phrase खगस्य-बाणः-ऽन्यतर-अपमः पुनः.
[iii] °मांशाख्य] °मांशाख्यख्य Kh, dittography
of the second ख्य.

[iv] An apposite reading of the compound
परम-क्रान्ति-ज्या-कोटिकेभ्यः should be परम-क्रान्ति-
<कोटि>ज्या-कोटिकेभ्यः. This would agree with
an identical construction in passage [6]
construed in the same mathematical con-
text. There is, however, no visible evi-
dence (e.g., interlinear lacunae or scribal
corrections) on f20r: 20 Kh to suggest an
omission. Therefore, I leave the attested
reading unaltered in Sanskrit but include
an emendation in my English translation.

Now, the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the true declination (*spaṣṭa-krānti*) in the sixth chapter.

- [1] [Given] the latitude of a celestial object (*khagasya bāṇa*), [and] again, the other declination (*anyatara-apama*) [i.e., the second declination]: if indeed both should be situated in one direction (*eka-diś*), then [we take] the sum (*saṃyuti*) of both of them; otherwise, [we take their] difference (*antara*). [The result] is known as the share of the true declination (*sphuṭa-apama-aṃśa*). Here, [it is] said to be [in] its own direction (*sva-diś*). 1
- [2] The Sine of the curve of true declination (*sphuṭa-apama-aṅka-siñjinī*), having been lowered (*adharī-kṛtā*), is multiplied (*ni-hanyate*) by the day-Sine [of the longitude] increased by three zodiacal signs (*sa-bha-traya-dyujīvā*) [i.e., Cosine of the first declination of the longitude increased by 90°]. [The result] will be the Sine of the true declination (*sphuṭa-apama-jyakā*). 2
- [3] The Cosine of the greatest declination (*parama-krānti-koṭijyā*) [i.e., Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity], having been multiplied (*hatā*) by the Sine of the curve of true declination (*sphuṭa-krānti-aṅka-jīvā*) [and] having been divided (*āptā*) by the Cosine of the other declination (*anya-krānti-koṭijyā*) [i.e., Cosine of the second declination], should be the Sine of the true declination (*spaṣṭa-apama-jyakā*). 3
- [4] Or, having extracted (*utthāya*) the product of the multiplication (*guṇita-phala*) with the Sine of the curve of true declination (*sphuṭa-krānti-aṅka-jyā*) from the tables of the <Co>sine of the greatest declination (*parama-krānti-<koṭi>jyā-koṣṭhikas*) [i.e., from the tables of the Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity], [one] should divide (*bhajeṭ*) [that product] by the Cosine of the second declination (*dvitīya-krānti-koṭijyā*). The [result] obtained (*labdha*) [i.e., the quotient of the division] should be the Sine of the true declination (*spaṣṭa-krānti-jyā*). 4
- [5] And now, if the latitude of a celestial object (*khagasya bāṇa*) should not exist, then its [first] declination (*krānti*) alone should be the true declination (*spaṣṭa-krānti*). 5

- [6] अथ क्रान्तिर्यदि न स्यात्पुनः शरो भवेत्तदा बाणज्या परमक्रान्तिकोटिज्यया संगुण्याधः कुर्यात् ॥ किंवा परमक्रान्तिकोटिज्याकोष्ठकेभ्यो बाणज्यया गुणितफलमुत्थापयेत्स्पष्टक्रान्तिज्या बाणदिग्भवेत् ॥
- [7] यदि खगस्य क्रान्तिः परमक्रान्तितुल्या स्यात्तदा स्पष्टक्रान्त्यङ्क एव स्फुटक्रान्तिर्भवति ॥

॥ अथ प्रकारान्तरेण ॥

- [α] कदम्बविषवध्रुवद्वयमुपैति^{[v],[vi]} वृत्तं च यत् तदायनमुदीरितं^[vii] ध्रुवचतुष्कयातं तथा ॥ नभोगविषवद्वयोपरि^[viii] पतत्सुवृत्तं^[ix] च यद् भचक्रसदृशाह्वयं तदिति कल्पयेद्गोलवित् ॥ १ ॥

prthvī

[v] The word विषव (as a part of a compound) appears several times in Kh. I suspect this is an irregular (vernacular?) variant of the word विषुव/विषुवत् that denotes the 'equinox/equinocial point' in Sanskrit astronomical literature. See T. T. Bhaṭṭācārya (1962: p. 4934a) for the etymology of the word विषुव (*upapada tatpuruṣa*) or विषुवत् (*matvarthīya taddhitaṣṭi* or secondary nominal derivative from विषु_{INDECL} 'in both directions'). In a larger *tatpuruṣa* compound, विषुव/विषुवत् refers to the equatorial reference frame, e.g., in the genitive-compounds विषुव-वृत्त 'circle of the equinox' (i.e., the celestial equator) and विषुवत्-ध्रुव 'pole of the equinox' (i.e., the celestial pole). The word विषव is not an attested form in any Sanskrit lexicon; however, it is consistently and frequently used throughout Kh. Therefore, I maintain विषव_{IRREG} (as attested in Kh) in the Nāgarī text but transliterate it using विषुव_{REG} in my English translations. Both विषुव and विषव have the same metrical signature (˘ ˘ ˘). [vi] ०द्वयमुपैति ॥ ०द्वयमुपैति Kh. In the (emended) conjoined word ०द्वयम्-उपैति, the terminal verb उपैति_{PRES-IND-SING-3rd} is derived from उपे_{COMP-VB}. A regular sandhi of the words उप_{PVERB} (indeclinable *upasarga*) + एति_{PRES-IND-SING-3rd} produces उपैति and not उपेति (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: 6.1.89). The con-

jugated form एति derives from either √इ_{CL₂} or its intensified version √ए_{CL₂} (आ_{PVERB} + √इ_{CL₂}). Any interpretation of उपैति (in Kh), e.g., उपैति_{NOUN}, is morphosyntactically inadmissible here. The choice of using the *guṇa* vowel (e-diacritic in पे) instead of the *vrddhi* vowel (ai-diacritic in पै) is either a grammatical error or a scribal mistake. [vii] ०यनमुदीरितं ॥ ०यनमुदीरितं Kh. In the (emended) conjoined word ०[SS]यनम्-उदीरितम्, the terminal compound verb उद्-√इ_{CL₂} takes the affix -इत् to form ०उदीरितं_{CAUS-PAST-PASS-PTCP} (used as an adjective). The word उदीरितम् (in Kh) is grammatically ill-formed; I suspect the ī-diacritic in री is a scribal hypercorrection. [viii] ०विषव ॥ ०विषव_{IRREG} is identical to ०विषुव_{REG} or ०विषुवत्_{REG}, see footnote [v]. [ix] पतत्सुवृत्तं ॥ तत्सुवृत्तं Kh. The third quarter नभोग...०च यद् of the verse in passage [α] is metrically short by one syllable (hypometric): the verse otherwise follows a regular *atyāṣṭi samavṛtta* metre called *prthvī* with seventeen-syllables per quarter. The context of the verse, and its repetition in Nityānanda's *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (*spaṣṭa-krāntyādhikāra*: verse 4, Misra (forthcoming)), suggest तत्सुवृत्तं should be पतत्सुवृत्तं.

- [6] Now, if the [first] declination (*krānti*) should not exist but the latitude (*śara*) should, then the Sine of the latitude (*bāṇa-jyā*) that must be multiplied (*saṃ-guṇyā*) by the Cosine of the greatest declination (*parama-krānti-koṭijyā*) [i.e., by the Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity], should [be made] lower (*adhaḥ kuryāt*). Or, [one] may [again] extract (*utthāpayet*) the product of the multiplication (*guṇita-phala*) with the Sine of the latitude (*bāṇa-jyā*) from the tables of the Cosine of the greatest declination (*parama-krānti-koṭijyā-koṣṭhaka*) [i.e., from the tables of Cosine of the ecliptic obliquity]. [The result] should be the Sine of the true declination (*spaṣṭa-krānti-jyā*) in the direction of the latitude (*bāṇa-dīś*).
- [7] If the declination of a celestial object (*khagasya krānti*) should be equal to the greatest declination (*parama-krānti*) [i.e., the obliquity of the ecliptic], then the very curve of true declination (*spaṣṭa-krānti-aṅka*) becomes the true declination (*sphuṭa-krānti*).

Now, in another way.

- [α] And what circle (*vṛtta*) reaches both the pair of ecliptic pole (*kadamba*) and the celestial pole (*viṣuvat_{REG}-dhruva*), that has been stated to be the solstitial [colure] (*āyana[-vṛtta]*), and also, the [circle] passing through the four poles (*dhruva-catuṣka-yāta[-vṛtta]*). And passing over a celestial object (*nabhoga*) and the pair of equinoctial points (*visuvat_{REG}-dvaya*), what [circle] is well rounded (*su-vṛtta*), that the knower of spheres (*gola-vid*) should consider as the [circle] congruent to the ecliptic (*bhacakra-saḍṛśa[-vṛtta]*) by name. 1

- [β] विषववृत्तभवृत्तसदृशयोर्विवरगं^[x] धनुरायनवृत्तजम् ॥
भवति यत्कथितः स परस्फुटापम इति द्युचरस्य च सम्प्रति ॥ २ ॥
- [γ] भवनचक्रभचक्रसदृक्षयोर्विवरगं धनुरायनवृत्तजम् ॥
भवति यत्स परेषुरिहोदितो विषवपातयुगे^[xi] सति कल्पिते ॥ ३ ॥
- [δ] विषवन्नभोगमध्ये^[xii] यत्कोदण्डं भवृत्तसदृशस्य ॥
ज्ञेयः सदृग्भुजो ऽसौ भायनविवरे सदृक्कोटिः ॥ ४ ॥
- [8] खगस्य कोटिसिञ्जिनी स्वबाणकोटिजीवया ॥
हता ऽधरीकृता^[xiii] भवेत्सदृक्षकोटिसिञ्जिनी ॥ ५ ॥
- [9] तद्धनुर्वतितश्च्युतं यदा जायते सदृशबाहुसंज्ञकम् ॥
या नभोगविशिखस्य सिञ्जिनी भाजिता ऽधरसदृक्षदोर्ज्यया ॥ ६ ॥
तद्धनुः परशराह्वयो भवेद्वा—

[f. 20v: 1 Kh
drutavilambita

drutavilambita

āryā

pramāṇikā

rathoddhatā

[x] विषववृत्त^{IRREG} is identical to विषुववृत्त^{REG}, see footnote [v].
[xi] विषव^{IRREG} is identical to विषुव^{REG}, see footnote [v].
[xii] The word विषवत् is an attested secondary nominal derivative (from विष^{NOUN} ‘poison’) meaning ‘poisonous’. However, in the *tatpuruṣa* compound विषवत्-नभोग-मध्ये, I believe विषवत्^{IRREG}, like विषव^{IRREG}, is identical to विषुवत्^{REG}, see footnote [v].
[xiii] हता ऽधरीकृता] हताधरीन्वता Kh. The conjoined words हताधरीन्वता in Kh can be segmented as हता^{PAST-PASS-PTCP} (from √हन्^{CL₂}) + ऽधरीन्वता; however, the compound ऽधरीन्वता is etymologically defective by the rules of Pāṇinian grammar. The adverbial

CvI-suffixation to अधर^{NOUN-STEM} (making it अधरी^{PVERB}) can only occur with terminal verbs √कृ^{CL₈}, √भू^{CL₁}, and √अस्^{CL₂} when forming factitive compound verbs like √अधरी-कृ (Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: 5.4.50), see Whitney (1879:1094, p. 357).

A regular sandhi of the words हता^{PAST-PASS-PTCP} + ऽधरीकृता^{PAST-PASS-PTCP} (from √अधरी-कृ^{CL₈}) generates हताधरीकृता that is morphologically correct and contextually apposite. Also, ऽधरीकृ^{CL₈} is variously attested in this chapter, as well as in Nityānanda’s *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* (Misra forthcoming), in the same mathematical context. See glossary entry: lowering.

- [β] What arc (*dhanus*) produced on the solstitial colure (*āyana-vṛtta*) becomes situated in the difference (*vivara*) between the celestial equator (*viṣuva_{REG}-vṛtta*) and the [circle] congruent to the ecliptic (*bhavṛtta-saḍṛśa[-vṛtta]*), that is the stated [arc of] maximum true declination (*para-sphuṭa-apama*) of the celestial object (*dyucara*) just at that present moment. 2
- [γ] What arc (*dhanus*) produced on the solstitial colure (*āyana-vṛtta*) becomes situated in the difference (*vivara*) between the ecliptic (*bhavana-cakra*) and the [circle] congruent to the ecliptic (*bhacakra-saḍṛkṣa[-vṛtta]*), in this case, that is the declared [arc of] maximum latitude (*para-iṣu*) when the conjunction of the equinoctial point and the node of the orbit [of the celestial object] (*viṣuva_{REG}-pāta-yuga*) has been supposed. 3
- [δ] What arc (*kodaṇḍa*) of the [circle] congruent to the ecliptic (*bhavṛtta-saḍṛśa[-vṛtta]*) is between the equinoctial point (*viṣuvat_{REG}*) and the celestial object (*nabhoga*), that [arc] should be known as the congruent arc (*saḍṛś-bhuja*); [and what is] between the celestial object (*bha*) and the solstitial colure (*āyana[-vṛtta]*), [that should be known as] the congruent complementary arc (*saḍṛś-koṭi*) [i.e., complement of *saḍṛś-bhuja*]. 4
- [8] The Sine of the complement of the arc of ecliptic longitude of a celestial object (*khagasya koṭi-siñjinī*), having been multiplied (*hatā*) by the Cosine of its latitude (*sva-bāṇa-koṭijīvā*) [and] having been lowered (*adharī-kṛtā*), should be the Sine of the congruent complementary arc (*saḍṛkṣa-koṭi-siñjinī*) [i.e., Sine of the complement of the *saḍṛś-bhuja*]. 5
- [9] When [the measure of] its arc (*dhanus*), having been reduced from ninety [degrees] (*navatitaś-cyuta*), is determined, [it] has the name congruent arc (*saḍṛśa-bāhu*). Or, what is the Sine of the latitude of a celestial object (*nabhoga-viśikhasya siñjinī*), having been divided (*bhājitā*) by the lowered Sine of the congruent arc (*adhara-saḍṛkṣa-dor-jyā*), 6...
...its arc (*dhanus*) should be [called] the maximum latitude (*para-śara*) by name.—

[10] —परेषुपरमापमाख्ययोः ॥

संयुतिर्वियुतिरस्ति च क्रमाद्गोलबाणसमभिन्नदिक्तया ॥ ७ ॥

rathoddhatā

स ग्रहस्य परमस्फुटापमो जायते युतिवियोगदिक्स्थितः ॥

एवमभ्रनवतो ऽधिको यदा खाष्टभू १८० परिमितेर्विशोधितः ॥ ८ ॥

rathoddhatā

[11] परस्फुटक्रान्तिभवज्यका हता सदृक्षबाहुज्यकया ऽधरीकृता ॥

तदीयचापं भवति स्फुटापमो दिगस्य संयोगवियोगदिक्समा ॥ ९ ॥

vaṁśasthāvila

- [10] —There is the **sum** (*saṃyuti*) or the **difference** (*viyuti*) of the two [quantities] known as the **maximum latitude** (*para-iṣu*) and the **greatest declination** (*parama-apama*) [i.e., the obliquity of the ecliptic] with the **latitude** (*bāṇa*) and the **celestial hemisphere** (*gola*) [i.e., the declination of the celestial object] in the **same or different directions** (*sama-bhinna-diś*) respectively. 7
That [result], being situated in the **direction of the conjunction or the disjunction** (*yuti-viyoga-diś*), becomes the **maximum true declination** of a celestial object (*grahasya parama-sphuṭa-apama*). Thus, when [its measure is] **greater** (*adhika*) than **ninety** [degrees] (*abhra-nava*), [it is] **made to be subtracted** (*viśodhita*) from a measure of **one hundred and eighty** [degrees] (*kha-aṣṭa-bhū*). 8
- [11] The **Sine of the maximum true declination** (*para-sphuṭa-krānti-bhava-jyakā*), having been multiplied (*hatā*) by the **Sine of the congruent arc** (*sadrkṣa-bāhu-jyakā*) [and] having been lowered (*adharī-kṛtā*), its **arc** (*cāpa*) becomes the **true declination** (*sphuṭa-apama*). Its **direction** (*diś*) is the **same** (*sama*) as the **direction of the conjunction or the disjunction** (*saṃyoga-viyoga-diś*). 9

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Berlin Center for the History of Knowledge hosted at the Max-Planck-Institut Für Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Berlin, the School of Mathematics & Statistics at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, and the Institut for Tværkulturelle og Regionale Studier at Københavns Universitet for their generous support in hosting me at different stages of this work.

I thank Prof. Kenneth Zysk (University of Copenhagen) for his insightful comments and detailed suggestions in preparing this work. Dr Hassan Amini (University of Tehran) and Dr David Buchta (Brown University) have been immensely helpful in analysing complex (and corrupted) Persian and Sanskrit grammatical forms in the text, and I thank them for their patience and perceptiveness. I also thank Prof. Clemency Montelle, Prof. Kim Plofker, Prof. Benno van Dallen, Prof. Erik Reenberg Sand, Dr Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, Dr Robert Middeke-Conlin, Dr Mònica Colominas Aparicio, Dr Flavio D'Abramo, Dr Toke Knudsen, and Razieh-Sadat Mousavi for sharing their time and expertise on several occasions in course of this study. Lastly, I thank the anonymous reviewers for their invaluable suggestions in shaping the final version of this paper, and for their keen eye in preventing inadvertent typographic mistakes. This document was built and typeset in X_YTeX for which I acknowledge the developers and maintainers of the Comprehensive T_EX Archive Network.

This study is a part of the research project on 'Early Modern Exchanges in Sanskrit Astral Sciences' (EMESAS). This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 836055.



REFERENCES

- Alam, M. (1998), 'The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32/2: 317–49. doi: [10.1017/S0026749X98002947](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X98002947).
- (2003), 'The Culture and Politics of Persian in Precolonial Hindustan', in S. Pollock (ed.), *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press), chap. 2, 131–98, ISBN: 9780520228214.
- Alam, M. and Subrahmanyam, S. (2011), *Writing the Mughal World: Studies on Culture and Politics* (South Asia Across the Disciplines; New York: Columbia University Press), ISBN: 9780231158114.
- Anooshahr, A. (2017), 'Science at the Court of the Cosmocrat: Mughal India, 1531–56', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 54/3: 295–316. doi: [10.1177/0019464617710742](https://doi.org/10.1177/0019464617710742).
- Ansari, S. M. R. (1995), 'On the Transmission of Arabic-Islamic Astronomy to Medieval India', *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 45/135: 273–97.
- (2005), 'Hindu's Scientific Contributions in Indo-Persian', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 40/2: 205–21.
- (2015), 'Survey of Zījēs Written in the Subcontinent', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 50/4: 573–601.
- (2016), 'Astronomy in Medieval India', in H. Selin (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in NonWestern Cultures* (Dordrech: Springer Netherlands), 717–26. doi: [10.1007/978-94-007-7747-7_10114](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7747-7_10114).
- (2019), 'Persian Translations of Bhāskara's Sanskrit Texts and Their Impact in the Following Centuries', in K. Ramasubramanian, T. Hayashi, and C. Montelle (eds.), *Bhāskara-Prabhā* (Sources and Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences; New Delhi: Hindustan Book Agency), 377–91. doi: [10.1007/978-981-13-6034-3_18](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-6034-3_18).
- Bangha, I. (2010), 'Rekhta: Poetry in Mixed Languages: The Emergence of Khari Boli Literature in North India', in F. Orsini (ed.), *Before the Divide: Hindi and Urdu Literary Culture* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan), chap. 2, 21–83, ISBN: 9788125038290.
- Beeston, A. F. L. (1954), *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Part III Additional Persian Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), ARK: [ark:/13960/t4hm55x2s](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:uk:2019-06-13-13960-t4hm55x2s).
- Behl, A. (2012), *Love's Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379–1545*, ed. W. Donigar (New York: Oxford University Press). doi: [10.1080/19472498.2014.905321](https://doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2014.905321).

- Bhaṭṭācārya, T. T. (1962), *Vācaspatyam* (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 94; Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).
- Bhaṭṭācārya, V. B. (1967) (ed.), *Hayata* (Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā, 96; Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya).
- (1978) (ed.), *Ukarā by Sāvajūsayūsa* (Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā, 104; Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya).
- (1979) (ed.), *Yantrarājavicāravimśādhyāyī* (Sarasvatī Bhavana Granthamālā, 108; Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya).
- Bronner, Y. and Shulman, D. (2006), ‘A Cloud Turned Goose’: Sanskrit in the Vernacular Millennium’, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 43/1: 1–30.
- Busch, A. (2010), ‘Hidden in Plain View: Brajbhasha Poets at the Mughal Court’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 44/2: 267–309. DOI: 10.1017/S0026749X09990205.
- (2011), *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (South Asia Research; Oxford University Press). DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199765928.001.0001.
- Chann, N. S. (2009), ‘Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction: Origins of the Ṣāhib-Qirān’, *Iran & the Caucasus*, 13/1: 93–110. DOI: 10.1163/160984909X12476379007927.
- Chaturvedi, M. D. (1981) (ed.), *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskarācārya with his Auto-commentary Vāsanābhāṣya and Vārttika of Nṛsiṃha Daivajña* (Library Rare Text Publication Series, 5; Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University).
- Choudhuri, J. B. (2009) (ed.), *Muslim Patronage of Sanskrit Learning* (IAD Oriental (Reprint) Series, 51; New Delhi: Idarah-I Adabiyat-I Delli).
- Dodson, M. S. (2005), ‘Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 47/4: 809–35. DOI: 10.1017/S0010417505000368.
- Dorce, C. (2002–3), ‘The *Tāj al-Azyāj* of Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Maghribī (d. 1283): Methods of Computation’, *Suhayl: International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation*, 3: 193–212, ISSN: 1576-9372.
- Dressler, M., Salvatore, A., and WohlrabSahr, M. (2019), ‘Islamicate Secularities: New Perspectives on a Contested Concept’, *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 44/3(169): 7–34. DOI: 10.12759/hsr.44.2019.3.7-34.
- Dvivedi, S. (1933), *Ganaka Tarangini or the Lives of Hindu Astronomers* (Benaras: B. K. Shastri (Jyotish Prakash Press)).
- Eaton, R. M. (2019), *India in the Persianate Age, 1000–1765* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press), ISBN: 9780520325128.

- Elliot, H. M. (2013), in J. Dowson (ed.), *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, vii (Cambridge Library Collection; Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), ISBN: 9781108055857.
- Fleet, K., Krämer, G., Matringe, D., Nawas, J., and Rowson, E. (2007–20) (eds.), 'Encyclopaedia of Islam Three', <https://brill.com/view/serial/EI3P>; Brill Online reference.
- Gacek, A. (2009), *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East; Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 9789004170360.
- Gallien, C. (2019), 'From One Empire to the Next: The Reconfigurations of "Indian" Literatures from Persian to English Translations', *Translation Studies*: 1–17. DOI: [10.1080/14781700.2019.1678069](https://doi.org/10.1080/14781700.2019.1678069).
- Gansten, M. (2019), 'Samarasiṃha and the Early Transmission of Tājika Astrology', *Journal of South Asian Intellectual History*, 1/1: 79–132. DOI: [10.1163/25425552-12340005](https://doi.org/10.1163/25425552-12340005).
- Ghori, S. A. K. (1985), 'Development of zīj Literature in India', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 20: 21–48.
- Haider, N. (2011), 'Translating Texts and Straddling Worlds: Intercultural Communication in Mughal India', in I. Alam and S. E. Hussain (eds.), *The Varied Facets of History: Essays in Honour of Aniruddha Ray* (New Delhi: Primus Books), 115–24, ISBN: 9789380607160.
- Hamadani-Zadeh, J. (1980), 'The Trigonometric Tables of al-Kāshī in his Zīj-i Khāqānī', *Historia Mathematica*, 7: 38–45. DOI: [10.1016/0315-0860\(80\)90062-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0315-0860(80)90062-2).
- (1987), 'Nāṣir Ad-Dīn on Determination of the Declination Function', in G. Swarup et al. (eds.), *History of Oriental Astronomy*, xci (Access International Astronomical Union Colloquium; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 185–9, ISBN: 9780521346597.
- Hodīvālā, S. H. (1939), *Studies In Indo-Muslim History. A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians* (Bombay: Popular Book Depot).
- Israel, H. (2018), 'History, Language and Translation: Claiming the Indian Nation', in J. Evans and F. Fernandez (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics* (London: Routledge), 386–400, ISBN: 9781138657564.
- Johnson-Roehr, S. N. (2011), 'The Spatialization of Knowledge and Power at the Astronomical Observatories of Sawai Jai Singh II, c. 1721–1743 CE', PhD thesis (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois at UrbanaChampaign), <http://hdl.handle.net/2142/24469>.

- Kennedy, E. S. (1956), 'A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 46/2: 123–77. DOI: 10.2307/1005726.
- King, D., Samsó, J., and Goldstein, B. R. (2001), 'Astronomical Handbooks and Tables from the Islamic World (750–1900): an Interim Report', *Suhayl: International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation*, 2: 9–105, ISSN: 1576-9372.
- Kinra, R. (2015), *Writing Self, Writing Empire: Chandar Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary* (South Asia Across the Disciplines; Oakland, California: University of California Press), ISBN: 9780520286467.
- Kusuba, T. and Pingree, D. (2001), *Arabic Astronomy in Sanskrit: Al-Birjandī on Tadhkira II, Chapter 11 and its Sanskrit Translation* (Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 9789004124752.
- Lees, W. N. and Ali, M. A. (1865) (eds.), *The Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh of Abd al-Qādir Bin-I Malūk Shāh Al-Badā'ōnī* (Bibliotheca Indica Series; Calcutta: College Press).
- Lefèvre, C. (2014), 'The Court of 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān as a Bridge Between Iranian and Indian Cultural Traditions', in T. de Bruijn and A. Busch (eds.), *Culture and Circulation: Literature in Motion in Early Modern India* (Brill's Indological Library; Leiden: Brill), 75–106. DOI: 10.1163/9789004264489_005.
- Lenepveu-Hotz, A. (2012), *L'évolution du système verbal persan (Xe–XVIe siècle)* (Collection linguistique de la Société de linguistique de Paris, 100; Leuven: Peeters Publishers), ISBN: 9789042932258.
- Lowe, W. H. (1884), *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh by Abd-ul-Qādir bin Malūk Shāh Known as Al-Badā'ōnī. Translated from the Original Persian and Edited* (Bibliotheca Indica Series; Calcutta: J. W. Baptist Mission Press).
- Minkowski, C. (2002), 'Astronomers and Their Reasons: Working Paper on Jyotiḥśāstra', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 30: 495–514. DOI: 10.1023/A:1022870103341.
- (2004), 'On Sūryadāsa and the Invention of Bidirectional Poetry (*vilomakāvya*)', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 124/2: 325–33. DOI: 10.2307/4132220.
- (2014), 'Learned Brahmins and the Mughal Court: The *Jyotiḥśāstra*', in V. Dalmia and M. D. Faruqui (eds.), *Religious Interactions in Mughal India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press), 102–34. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198081678.001.0001.

- Misra, A. (2016), 'The *Golādhyāya* of Nityānanda's *Sarvasiddhāntarāja*: An Examination of 'the Chapter on Spheres' in a Seventeenth Century Text on Mathematical Astronomy', PhD thesis (Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury). DOI: 10.26021/8602.
- (forthcoming), *Sanskrit Recension of Persian Astronomy. The Computation of True Declination in Nityānanda's Sarvasiddhāntarāja*.
- Montelle, C. and Plofker, K. (2018), *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables* (Sources and Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences; Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG). DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-97037-0.
- Montelle, C. and Ramasubramanian, K. (2018), 'Determining the Sine of One Degree in the *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* of Nityānanda', *SCIAMVS*, 19: 1–52, ISSN: 1345-4617.
- Montelle, C., Ramasubramanian, K., and Dhammaloka, J. (2016), 'Computation of Sines in Nityānanda's *Sarvasiddhāntarāja*', *SCIAMVS*, 17: 1–53, ISSN: 1345-4617.
- Nair, S. (2020), *Translating Wisdom: Hindu-Muslim Intellectual Interactions in Early Modern South Asia* (Oakland, California: University of California Press), ISBN: 9780520345683.
- Nemati, F. (2013), 'On the Syntax-semantics of Passives in Persian', in A. Alexiadou and F. Schäfer (eds.), *Non-Canonical Passives* (Linguistics Today 205; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing), 261–80. DOI: 10.1075/la.205.12nem.
- Ōhashi, Y. (2008), 'Introduction of Persian Astronomy into India', *Tārīkh-e 'Elm: Iranian Journal for the History of Science*, 6: 49–74.
- Orsini, F. (2012), 'How to do multilingual literary history? Lessons from fifteenth and sixteenth-century north India', *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 49/2: 225–46. DOI: 10.1177/001946461204900203.
- Peterson, P. (1892), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of His Highness The Maharaja of Ulwar* (Bombay: Maharaja of Ulwar).
- Phillott, D. C. (1977) (ed.), *The Ā'in-i Akbarī by Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī. Translated from the Original Persian by H. Blochmann* (3rd edn., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation).
- Pingree, D. (1970–94), *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit* (Series A; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society).
- (1978), 'Islamic Astronomy in Sanskrit', *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 2: 315–30.
- (1991), *Jyotiḥśāstra. Astral and Mathematical Literature* (A History of Indian Literature; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz), ISBN: 9783447021654.

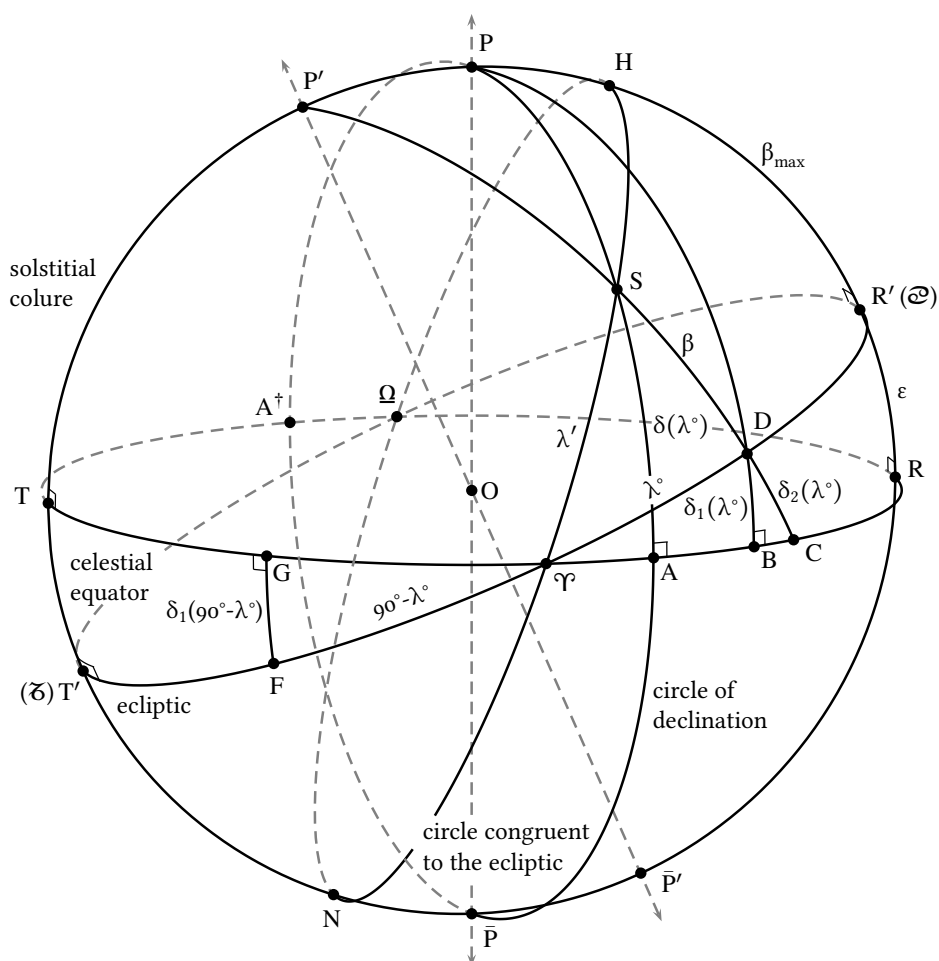
- (1996), 'Indian Reception of Muslim Versions of Ptolemaic Astronomy', in F. J. Ragep, S. P. Ragep, and S. Livesey (eds.), *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Proceedings of Two Conferences on Premodern Science Held at the University of Oklahoma* (Leiden: Brill), 471–85, ISBN: 9789004101197.
- (1997), 'Tājika: Persian Astrology in Sanskrit', in *From Astral Omens to Astrology: From Babylon to Bikāner* (Serie Orientale; Roma: Istituti Italiano per l'Africa E l'Oriente), chap. 7, 79–90, ARK: [ark:/13960/t6wx4hp8c](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-39660-p0078-8).
- (1998), 'The *Ḍṛpkakṣasāraṇī*: A Sanskrit Version of De La Hire's *Tabulae Astronomicae*', in J. Anderson (ed.), *Highlights of Astronomy Volume 11B: As Presented at the XXIIIrd General Assembly of the IAU, 1997* (International Astronomical Union; Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media), 729. DOI: [10.1007/978-94-011-4778-1_38](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-4778-1_38).
- (1999), 'An Astronomer's Progress', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 143/1: 73–85.
- (2002), 'Philippe de La Hire at the Court of Jayasimha', in S. M. R. Ansari (ed.), *History of Oriental Astronomy: Proceedings of the Joint Discussion 17 at the 23rd General Assembly of the International Astronomical Union, Organised by the Commission 41 (History of Astronomy), Held in Kyoto, August 25–26, 1997* (Astrophysics and Space Science Library Volume 274; Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media), 123–31. DOI: [10.1007/978-94-015-9862-0_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-9862-0_10).
- (2003a), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Astronomical Manuscripts Preserved at the Maharaja Man Singh II Museum in Jaipur, India* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), ISBN: 9780871692504.
- (2003b), 'The *Sarvasiddhāntarāja* of Nityānanda', in J. P. Hogendijk and A. I. Sabrah (eds.), *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives* (Dibner Institute Studies in the History of Science and Technology; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 269–84, ISBN: 0262194821.
- Plofker, K. (2000), 'The Astrolabe and Spherical Trigonometry in Medieval India', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, xxxi: 37–54. DOI: [10.1177/002182860003100103](https://doi.org/10.1177/002182860003100103).
- Pollock, S. (2001), 'The Death of Sanskrit', *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, 43/2: 392–426. DOI: [10.1017/S001041750100353X](https://doi.org/10.1017/S001041750100353X).
- Pourjavady, R. (2014), 'Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and His Samples of the Sciences', *Oriens*, 42: 292–322. DOI: [10.1163/18778372-04203002](https://doi.org/10.1163/18778372-04203002).
- Rahman, A., Alvi, M. A., Ghorī, S. A., and Murthy, K. V. S. (1982), *Science and Technology in Medieval India: A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian* (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy).

- Raikva, K. K. (1936) (ed.), *The Yantrarāja of Mahendra Sūri, together with the commentary of Malayendu Sūri and the Yantraśiromaṇi of Viśrāma* (Bombay: Nirnay Sagar Press).
- Raina, D. (2010), 'The French Jesuit Manuscripts on Indian Astronomy: The Narratology and Mystery Surrounding a Late Seventeenth–Early Eighteenth Century Project', in F. BretelleEstablet (ed.), *Looking at it from Asia: the Processes that Shaped the Sources of History of Science* (Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science Volume 265; Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands), 115–40. doi: 10.1007/978-90-481-3676-6_4.
- Raja, C. K. and Sarma, M. K. (1993), *Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library* (Bikaner: Maharaja Ganga Singh Ji Trust).
- Rieu, C. (1881), *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, Printed by Longmans & Company).
- Rizvi, S. A. A. (1975) (ed.), *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign, with special reference to Abu' Fazl (1556–1605)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers).
- Rosenfeld, B. A. and Ihsanoğlu, E. (2003), *Mathematicians, Astronomers and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and their Works (7th–19th c.)* (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture), ISBN: 9789290631279.
- Rosenfeld, B. A. and Hogendijk, J. P. (2003), 'A Mathematical Treatise Written in the Samarqand Observatory of Ulugh Beg', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 15: 25–65. doi: 10.4000/abstractairanica.2357.
- Sarma, S. R. (1995), 'Teach Yourself Persian the Sanskrit Way. A Survey of Sanskrit Manuals for Learning Persian, AD 1364–1764', http://www.srsarma.in/pdf/articles/1995_Teach_Yourself_Persian.pdf; 11 pages.
- (1998), 'Translation of Scientific Texts into Sanskrit under Sawai Jai Singh', *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, 41: 67–87.
- (1999), 'Yantrarāja: The Astrolabe in Sanskrit', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 34/2: 145–58.
- (2000), 'Jyotiṣarāja at the Mughal Court', in N. Gangadharan, S. A. S. Sarma, and S. S. R. Sarma (eds.), *Studies on Indian Culture, Science, and Literature: Being Prof. K. V. Sarma Felicitation Volume Presented to Him on His 81st Birthday* (Chennai: Sree Sarada Education Society Research Centre), 363–72.

- (2009), 'Persian-Sanskrit Lexica and the Dissemination of Islamic Astronomy and Astrology in India', in G. Gnoli and A. Panaino (eds.), *KAYD. Studies in History of Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology in Memory of David Pingree* (Serie Orientale Roma CII; Rome: Istituti Italiano Per l'Africa E l'Oriente), 129–59, ISBN: 9788863232721.
- Seyller, J. (1997), 'The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library', *Artibus Asiae*, 57/3/4: 243–349. doi: 10.2307/3249930.
- Sharma, R. S. (1967) (ed.), *Samrād Jagannātha viracita Samrāt Siddhānta (Siddhānta-Sāra-Kaustubha)*. With Various Readings on the Basis of Different Mss (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Astronomical and Sanskrit Research).
- Sharma, V. N. (1993), 'Sawai Jai Singh's Hindu Astronomers', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 28/2: 131–55.
- Sufi, G. M. D. (1941), *Al-Minhāj: Being The Evolution Of Curriculum In The Muslim Educational Institutions Of India* (Lahore (Punjab), India: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Printed by Mirza Muhammad Sadiq).
- Trivedi, K. P. (1902) (ed.), *The Rekhāṅgāṇita or Geometry in Sanskrit composed by Samrād Jagannātha* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, LXII; Bombay: Government Central Book Depot).
- Truschke, A. (2012), 'Defining the Other: An Intellectual History of Sanskrit Lexicons and Grammars of Persian', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 40: 635–68. doi: 10.1007/s10781-012-9163-2.
- (2016), *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court*, ed. M. Alam, R. Goldman, and G. Viswanathan (South Asia Across The Disciplines; New York: Columbia University Press), ISBN: 9780231173629.
- Whitney, W. D. (1879), *A Sanskrit Grammar, Including Both the Classical Language, and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana* (Bibliothek Indogermanische Grammatiken, 2; Leipzig: Breitkhof and Härtel).
- Ziauddin, M. (1935), *A Grammar of the Braj Bhākhā by Mīrzā Khān (1676 A.D.) The Persian Text Critically Edited from Original MSS., with an Introduction, Translation and Notes, Together with the Contents of the Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* (Visva-Bharati Series, 3; Calcutta: Kishorimohan Santra (VisvaBharati Bookshop)).

APPENDICES

A GEOMETRY ON THE CELESTIAL SPHERE



The celestial sphere with the various spherical triangles inscribed by the celestial equator, the ecliptic, a great circle congruent to the ecliptic and passing through the celestial object, and their different secondary circles.

<i>Object</i>	<i>Description</i>
O	centre of the celestial sphere
S	celestial object
P & \bar{P}	celestial poles
P' & \bar{P}'	ecliptic poles
Υ & Ω	equinoctial points
R' (ϱ) & T' (ς)	solstitial points
$\odot \Upsilon R \Omega T$	celestial equator
$\odot \Upsilon R' \Omega T'$	ecliptic
$\odot \Upsilon SH \Omega N$	circle congruent to the ecliptic
$\odot P\bar{P}' \bar{P}P'$	solstitial colure
$\odot PSA\bar{P}A^+$	circle of declination
$\cup PR\Upsilon T\Omega$	north celestial hemisphere
$\cup \bar{P}T\Omega R\Upsilon$	south celestial hemisphere
\widehat{DS}	latitude of a celestial object
\widehat{BD}	first declination of the ecliptic degree of a celestial object
$\widehat{RR'}$	obliquity of the ecliptic
\widehat{CD}	second declination of the ecliptic degree of a celestial object
\widehat{AS}	true declination of a celestial object
\widehat{CS}	curve of true declination of a celestial object
$\widehat{\Upsilon D}$	ecliptic longitude of a celestial object
$\widehat{DR'}$	complement of the ecliptic longitude of a celestial object
$\widehat{\Upsilon S}$	distance of a celestial object from the equinox
\widehat{SH}	distance of a celestial object from the solstice
$\widehat{R'H}$	maximum latitude of a celestial object
\widehat{RH}	maximum true declination of a celestial object
\widehat{GF}	inverse declination of the ecliptic degree of a celestial object

The three methods to compute the true declination of a celestial object, described in Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* (ZSJ) Discourse II.6 and Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu* (SS) Part II.6 (see Table 5), can be mathematically expressed as follows:¹

FIRST METHOD, described in ZSJ:[2]_{prose} and SS:[2]_{verse}

$$\sin \widehat{AS} = \frac{\sin \widehat{CS} \times \cos \widehat{GF}}{\sin 90^\circ} \quad \text{or} \quad \sin \delta = \frac{\sin [\delta_2(\lambda) + \beta] \times \cos \delta_1(90^\circ + \lambda)}{\mathcal{R}}$$

where $\widehat{CS} = \widehat{CD} + \widehat{DS} = \delta_2(\lambda) + \beta$ and $\widehat{GF} = \delta_1(90^\circ - \lambda) = \delta_1(90^\circ + \lambda)$.

SECOND METHOD, described in ZSJ:[3]_{prose} and SS:[3]_{verse}

$$\sin \widehat{AS} = \frac{\cos \widehat{RR'} \times \sin \widehat{CS}}{\cos \widehat{CD}} \quad \text{or} \quad \sin \delta = \frac{\cos \varepsilon \times \sin [\delta_2(\lambda) + \beta]}{\cos \delta_2(\lambda)}$$

THIRD METHOD, described in ZSJ:[11]_{prose} and SS:[11]_{verse}

$$\sin \widehat{AS} = \frac{\sin \widehat{RH} \times \sin \widehat{\Upsilon S}}{\sin 90^\circ} \quad \text{or} \quad \sin \delta = \frac{\sin (\varepsilon + \beta_{\max}) \times \sin \lambda'}{\mathcal{R}}$$

where $\widehat{RH} = \widehat{RR'} + \widehat{R'H} = \varepsilon + \beta_{\max}$.

¹ I capitalise trigonometric functions to indicate a non-unitary radius, i.e., $\sin = \mathcal{R} \sin$ and $\cos = \mathcal{R} \cos$ where the radius \mathcal{R} is the

sinus totus or sine of 90° , taken as 60 in Mullā Farīd's *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* and Nityānanda's *Siddhāntasindhu*.

B PERSIAN AND SANSKRIT VERBS

The attested forms of Persian verbs from the *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 (§ 5) and of Sanskrit verbs from the *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 (§ 6) are listed below separately. At the end of each entry, *passage-markers* in square brackets point to its location in § 5 or § 6 accordingly.

B.1 PERSIAN VERBS IN THE ZĪJ-I SHĀH JAHĀNĪ DISCOURSE II.6

1. بودن (*budan*) 'to be' باش (*bāsh*); بود [PRES-STEM] (*buvad*)²
 - باشند (*bāshand*) PRES- SBJV-PL.3rd '[they] should be' [1, 10]
 - باشد (*bāshad*) PRES- SBJV-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] should be' [1, 3–8, 10, 11]
 - نباشد (*nabāshad*) PRES- SBJV-SING.3rd (NEG) '[he/she/it] should not be' [5, 6]
 - بود (*buvad*) PRES-IND- SING.3rd '[he/she/it] is' [2, 9]
2. خواندن (*khāndan*) 'to recite' خوان (*khān*) [PRES-STEM]
 - خوانیم (*khānīm*) PRES- IND-PL.1st '[we] call' [1, 9]
3. درآوردن (*dar āvardan*) 'to remove/produce/ extract' در آور (*dar āvar*) [VARIANT: در آر (*dar ār*)] [PRES-STEM]
 - درآورند (*dar āvarand*) [VARIANT: درآرند (*dar ārand*)] PRES-IND-PL.3rd '[they] remove/produce/extract' [4]
 - درآوریم (*dar āvarīm*) [VARIANT: درآریم (*dar ārīm*)] PRES-IND-PL.1st '[we] remove/produce/extract' [6]
4. کردن (*kardan*) 'to do/make'³ کن (*kun*) [PRES-STEM]
 - کنیم (*kunīm*) PRES-IND- PL.1st '[we] do/make' [1– 3, 6, 8–11]
 - کنند (*kunand*) PRES-IND- PL.3rd '[they] do/make' [4]
5. گرفتن (*giriftan*) 'to take/grab' گیر (*gīr*) [PRES-STEM]
 - بگیریم (*bigīrīm*) PRES- SBJV-PL.1st '[we] should take' [1, 9, 10]

² See Chapter XI in Lenepveu-Hotz (2012: 251–268) for a diachronic study of the third singular present form of the verb 'to be' from the indicative بود (*buvad*) to

the subjunctive باشد (*bāshad*) in the Persian verbal system (10th–16th CE).

³ The action verb کردن (*kardan*) is often used to construct compound verbs, e.g., جمع کردن (*jama' kardan*) 'to sum/add' or ضرب کنیم (*ḍarb kardan*) 'to multiply'.

B.2 SANSKRIT VERBAL FORMS IN THE *SIDDHĀNTASINDHU* PART II.6

1. (a) $\sqrt{\text{अस्}} (\sqrt{\text{as}})$ CL₂ 'to be/exist'
 - अस्ति (*asti*) PRES-IND-ACT-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] is' [10]
 - सत् (*sat*) PRES-ACT-PTCP 'being' [γ]
 - स्यात् (*syāt*) OPT-ACT-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] should be/exist' [3-7]
 - न स्यात् (*na syāt*) OPT-ACT-SING.3rd (NEG) '[he/she/it] should not be/exist' [5, 6]
- (b) $\sqrt{\text{जन्}} (\sqrt{\text{jan}})$ CL₄ 'to be born/determined'
 - जायते (*jāyate*) PRES-IND-MID-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] comes to be'/'[he/she/it] is determined' [9, 10]
- (c) $\sqrt{\text{भू}} (\sqrt{\text{bhū}})$ CL₁ 'to be/become'
 - भवेत् (*bhavet*) OPT-ACT-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] should/will be' [1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9]
 - भवति (*bhavati*) PRES-IND-ACT-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] becomes' [7, β , γ , 11]
- (d) $\sqrt{\text{स्था}} (\sqrt{\text{sthā}})$ CL₁ 'to stand/situate'
 - स्थित (*sthita*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'being stationed/situated' (ACT-sense) [1, 10]
2. (a) $\sqrt{\text{उदीर्}} (\sqrt{\text{udīr}})$ CL₂ 'to state/utter'
 - उदीरित (*udīrita*) CAUS-PAST-PASS-PTCP 'has been stated to be' [α]
- (b) $\sqrt{\text{कथ}} (\sqrt{\text{kath}})$ CL₁₀ 'to declare/tell'
 - कथित (*kathita*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'declared/told' (ADJ-use) [β]
- (c) $\sqrt{\text{वच्}} (\sqrt{\text{vac}})$ CL₂ 'to say'
 - उच्यते (*ucyate*) PRES-PASS-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] is said [to be]' [1]
- (d) $\sqrt{\text{वद्}} (\sqrt{\text{vad}})$ CL₁ 'to declare/state'
 - उदित (*udita*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'declared/stated' (ADJ-use) [γ]
3. (a) $\sqrt{\text{आप्}} (\sqrt{\text{āp}})$ CL₅ 'to reach' (in arithmetic, 'to divide')
 - आप्त (*āpta*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'having been reached/divided' [3]
- (b) $\sqrt{\text{भज्}} (\sqrt{\text{bhaj}})$ CL₁ 'to divide'
 - भजेत् (*bhajet*) OPT-ACT-SING.3rd '[he/she/it] should divide' [4]
 - भाजित (*bhājita*) CAUS-PAST-PASS-PTCP 'having been divided' (in a causal sense) [9]
4. (a) $\sqrt{\text{नि-हन्}} (\sqrt{\text{ni-han}})$ CL₂ 'to strike in' (in arithmetic, 'to multiply')

- नि-हन्यते (*ni-hanyate*) PRES-PASS-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] is struck/multiplied' [2]
- हत (*hata*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'having been struck/multiplied' [3, 8, 11]
- (b) √सं-गुण् (*√sam-guṇ*) CL₁₀ 'to multiply'
 - सं-गुण्य (*saṁ-guṇya*) GDV 'to/must be multiplied' [6]
- 5. (a) √च्यु (*√cyu*) CL₁ 'to deviate'/'be deprived of' (with ABL-use)
 - च्युत (*cyuta*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'having deviated from'/'having been deprived of' [9]
- (b) √वि-शुद् (*√vi-śudh*) CL₁ 'to purify/subtract'
 - वि-शोधित (*vi-śodhita*) CAUS-PAST-PASS-PTCP 'made to be purified/subtracted' [10]
- 6. √उपे (*√upe*) CL₂ 'to reach'
 - उपैति (*upaiti*) PRES-IND-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] reaches' [α]
- 7. √उत्था (*√utthā*) CL₁ 'to rise/extract'
 - उत्थापयेत् (*uthayet*) CAUS-OPT-ACT-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] may raise/extract' [6]
 - उत्थाय (*utthāya*) GER 'having risen/extracted' [4]
- 8. √कृ (*√kr*) CL₈ 'to do/make'⁴
 - कुर्यात् (*kuryāt*) OPT-ACT-SING·3rd '[he/she/it] should do/make' [6]
 - कृत (*kṛta*) PAST-PASS-PTCP 'having been done/made' [2, 8, 11]
- 9. √कृष् (*√kṛp*) CL₁ 'to consider/suppose'
 - कल्पयेत् (*kalpayet*) CAUS-OPT-ACT-SING·3rd '[he/she/it]' should consider/suppose' [α]
 - कल्पित (*kalpita*) CAUS-PAST-PASS-PTCP 'has been considered/supposed' [γ]
- 10. √पत् (*√pat*) CL₁ 'to fall/pass'
 - पतत् (*patat*) PRES- ACT-PTCP 'falling/passing' [α]
- 11. √ज्ञा (*√jñā*) CL₉ 'to know/understand'
 - ज्ञेय (*jñeya*) GDV 'to be known'/'to be understood' [δ]

4 The action verb √कृ (*√kr*) is often compounded with an inflected nominal word to form a denominative verb (CAUS, *nāmad-*

hātu), e.g., √अधरी-कृ (*√adharī-kṛ*) 'to make [something] low', i.e., 'to lower'.

LIST OF GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

1 st first person	MOD modifier
3 rd third person	NEG negative form (negation)
ABL ablative case	NOM nominative case
ACT active voice	NOUN noun
ADJ adjective	OPT optative mood
CAUS causative verb	PASS passive voice
CL class	PAST past tense
COMP compound	PL plural
DAT dative case	PRES present tense
GDV gerundive	PTCP participle
GER gerund	PVERB preverb
IND indicative mood	REG regular form
INDECL indeclinable	SBJV subjunctive mood
IRREG irregular form	SING singular
LOC locative case	STEM stem
MID middle voice	VB verb

GLOSSARY

This glossary lists Persian and Sanskrit technical expressions from (i) the chapter-titles of *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II and *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II in § 4, (ii) the Persian text of *Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī* Discourse II.6 in § 5, and (iii) the Sanskrit text of *Siddhāntasindhu* Part II.6 in § 6. Individual entries are grouped together under their common English translation. At the end of each entry, appropriate *chapter-numbers* and/or *passage-markers* in square brackets indicate its location in §§ 4, 5, or 6. See § 3.5 for a more detailed description of the format of the glossary.

altitude of the ecliptic pole or nonagesimal point—

↪ latitude of the visible climate عرض اقليم رؤیت (*ʿarḍ-i iqlīm-i ruʾyat*) II.18

↪ zenith distance of the ecliptic pole दृग्गति (*dr̥ggati*) II.18

↪ zenith distance of the nonagesimal point दृक्क्षेप (*dr̥kkṣepa*) II.18

arc قوس (*qaws*) [9]; धनुस् (*dhanus*) [β, γ, 9], कोदण्ड (*kodaṇḍa*) [δ], चाप (*cāpa*) [11]

arc of daylight قوس النهار (*qaws al-nahār*) II.9

arc of maximum argument of the distance—

↪ maximum true declination पर-स्फुट-अपम (*para-sphuṭa-apama*) [β]

↪ maximum true declination of a celestial object
ग्रहस्य पर-स्फुट-अपम (*grahasya para-sphuṭa-apama*) [10]

↪ second arc قوس دوم (*qaws-i duvum*) [10]

arc of maximum latitude—

↪ first arc قوس اوّل (*qaws-i avval*) [9, 10]

↪ maximum latitude पर-इषु (*para-iṣu*) [γ, 10], पर-शर (*para-śara*) [9]

arc of night قوس الليل (*qaws al-layl*) II.9

argument of the distance—

↪ curve of true declination स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति-अङ्क (*spaṣṭa-krānti-aṅka*) [7]

↪ share of the distance حصّة بعد (*hiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) [1], حصّة البعد (*hiṣṣat al-buʿd*) [7]

↪ share of the true declination स्फुट-अपम-अंश (*sphuṭa-apama-aṁśa*) [1]

ascendant or rising zodiacal sign—

↪ ascendant طالع (*ṭālīʿ*), pl. طوالع (*ṭawālīʿ*) II.11, 21, 22; लग्न (*lagna*) II.21

- ↪ ascendant at each time طالع هر وقت (*ṭāli^c har vaqt*) II *incipit*
 ↪ ascendant at that time तात्कालिक-लग्न (*tātkālika-lagna*) II *incipit*
 ↪ ecliptic degrees of the ascendants विलग्न-अंशक (*vilagna-aṁśaka*) II.11

ascension or rising —

- ↪ [measure of] ascension مطلع (*maṭla^c*), pl. مطالع (*maṭāli^c*) II.11, 13
 ↪ rising طالع (*ṭāli^c*), pl. طوالع (*ṭawali^c*) II.13; उदय (*udaya*) II.12
 ↪ time of rising उदय-समय (*udaya-samaya*) II.13

azimuth—

- ↪ azimuth سمت (*samt*) II.14, 15
 ↪ degree of azimuth दिश-अंश (*diś-aṁśa*) II.20
 ↪ degrees of azimuth in one's own location स्व-दिश-अंश (*sva-diś-aṁśa*) II.14, 15

azimuth of *qibla* سمت قبله (*samt-i qibla*) II.20

celestial equator معدّل النها (*mu^caddil al-nahār*) II.5; विषुव-वृत्त (*viṣuva-vṛtta*)⁵ [β]

celestial hemisphere गोल (*gola*) [10]

celestial object كوكب (*kawkab*), pl. كواكب (*kawākib*) II.13, 22, [3, 4, 5]; ग्रह (*graha*) II.7, नक्षत्र (*nakṣatra*) II.12, 13, खग (*khaga*) II.22, [1, 5, 7, 8] नभोग (*nabhoga*) [α, δ, 9], द्युचर (*dyucara*) [β], भ (*bha*) [δ]

celestial pole विषुवत्-ध्रुव (*viṣuvat-dhruva*)⁶ [α]

circle वृत्त (*vṛtta*) [α]

circle of declination क्रान्ति-सूत्र (*krānti-sūtra*) II.5

circle passing through the equinoctial points and the celestial object—

- ↪ circle congruent to the ecliptic भचक्र-सदृश-वृत्त (*bhacakra-sadrśa-vṛtta*) [α, δ], भवृत्त-सदृश-वृत्त (*bhavṛtta-sadrśa-vṛtta*) [β], भचक्र-सदृक्ष-वृत्त (*bhacakra-sadrkṣa-vṛtta*) [γ]

conjunction of the equinoctial point and the node of the orbit of a celestial object
 विषुव-पात-युग (*viṣuva-pāta-yuga*)⁷ [γ]

5 Kh attests विषव-वृत्त (*viṣava-vṛtta*), an irregular form of विषुव-वृत्त (*viṣuva-vṛtta*), see § 6: footnote [x].

6 Kh attests विषव-ध्रुव (*viṣava-dhruva*), an irregular form of विषुवत्-ध्रुव (*viṣuvat-dhruva*),

see § 6: footnote [v]. Another REG-form is विषुव-ध्रुव (*viṣuva-dhruva*).

7 Kh attests विषव-पात-युग (*viṣava-pāta-yuga*), an irregular of विषुव-पात-युग (*viṣuva-pāta-yuga*), see § 6: footnote [xi].

correlated numbers परस्पर-सम्बन्धि-राशि (*paraspara-sambandhi-rāśi*) II.2

Cosine of the distance of a celestial object from the 'circle passing through the four poles' جيب تمام بعد از دایرهٔ ماره باقطاب اربعه (*jayb-i tamām-i bu^{ad} az «dāyirī-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arbaⁱ»*) [9, 11]

Cosine of the first declination of the longitude increased by ninety degrees—

↪ Cosine of the inverse declination of the degree of a celestial object جيب تمام ميل منكوس درجه كوكب (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i mankūs-i darajī-yi kawkab*) [2]

↪ day-Sine [of the longitude] increased by three zodiacal signs स-भ-त्रय-द्युजीवा (*sa-bha-traya-dyujīvā*) [2]

Cosine of the greatest declination جيب تمام ميل كلى (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i kullī*) [3, 6], परम-क्रान्ति-कोटिज्या (*parama-krānti-koṭijyā*) [3, 6]

Cosine of the latitude—

↪ Cosine of its latitude स्व-बाण-कोटिजीवा (*sva-bāṇa-koṭijīvā*) [8]

↪ Cosine of the latitude of a celestial object جيب تمام عرض كوكب (*jayb-i tamām-i ʿarḍ-i kawkab*) [8]

Cosine of the second declination—

↪ Cosine of the other declination अन्य-क्रान्ति-कोटिज्या (*anya-krānti-koṭijyā*) [3]

↪ Cosine of the second declination द्वितीय-क्रान्ति-कोटिज्या (*dvitīya-krānti-koṭijyā*) [4]

↪ Cosine of the second declination of the degree جيب تمام ميل ثاني درجه (*jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i thānī-yi darajī*) [3, 4]

declination—

↪ declination ميل (*mayl*) [6]; क्रान्ति (*krānti*) II.5, [5, 6]

↪ declination of a celestial object खगस्य क्रान्ति (*khagasya krānti*) [7]

↪ declination of its degree ميل درجه او (*mayl-i darajī-yi u*) [5, 7]

↪ declination of the degree of a celestial object ميل درجه كوكب (*mayl-i darajī-yi kawkab*) [10]

declination of parts of the ecliptic ميل اجزاء فلك البروج (*mayl-i ajzā²-i falak al-burūj*) II.5

definition लक्षण (*lakṣaṇa*) II.2, 8–13, 17–19, 22

degree—

↪ degree درج (*daraj*) II.1

↪ fractional parts of a degree اجزاء درج (*ajzā²-i daraj*) II.1

degrees of the maximum depression अधःस्थ-परम-भाग (*adhaḥstha-parama-bhāga*) II.7

degrees of the maximum elevation परम-उन्नत-अंश (*parama-unnata-aṁśa*) II.7

demonstration साधन (*sādhana*) II.2, उपपत्ति (*upapatti*) II.15

depression—

↪ degrees of depression अधर-अंश (*adhara-aṁśa*) II.14, 15, अधर-अंशक (*adhara-aṁśaka*) II.22

↪ depression انخفاض (*inkhifāḍ*) II.14, 22

descension or setting—

↪ setting غروب (*ghurūb*) II.13

↪ time of setting अस्त-समय (*asta-samaya*) II.13

determination استخراج (*istikhrāj*), lit. bringing out or extraction II.19

difference—

↪ difference تفاضل (*tafāḍul*) [1, 10]; अन्तर (*antara*) [1], विवर (*vivara*) [β, γ], वियुति (*viyuti*) [10]

↪ made to be subtracted विशोधित (*viśodhita*) [10]

difference between successive rows—

↪ between two lines ما بين السطرين (*mā bayn al-saṭrayn*) II.2

↪ difference between two cells द्वि-कोष्ठ-अन्तर (*dvi-koṣṭha-antara*) II.2

digit अङ्क (*anka*) II.1

direction جهت (*jahat*) [3, 6, 9–11]; दिश (*diś*) [11]

direction of the difference—

↪ different directions جهت مختلف (*jahat-i mukhtalif*) [10]

↪ direction of the residue جهت فضل (*jahat-i faḍla*) [1, 10]

direction of the latitude—

↪ direction of the latitude جهت عرض (*jahat-i ʿarḍ*) [6]; बाण-दिश (*bāṇa-diś*) [6]

↪ direction of the latitude of a celestial object جهت عرض كوكب (*jahat-i ʿarḍ-i kawkab*) [9]

direction of the second arc جهت قوس دوم (*jahat-i qaws-i duvum*) [11]

direction of the share of the distance جهت حصّة بعد (*jahat-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) [1, 3]

direction of the sum—

↪ direction of the sum جهت مجموع (*jahat-i majmūʿ*) [1, 10]

↪ one direction يك جهت (*yik jahat*) [1, 10]; एक-दिश (*eka-diś*) [1]

direction of the sum or the difference—

↪ direction of the conjunction or the disjunction युति-वियोग-दिश (*yuti-viyoga-diś*) [10], संयोग-वियोग-दिश (*saṃyoga-viyoga-diś*) [11]

↪ own direction स्व-दिश (*sva-diś*) [1]

↪ same or different directions सम-भिन्न-दिश (*sama-bhinna-diś*) [10]

distance along the ‘circle congruent to the ecliptic’ from the equinox—

↪ congruent arc सदृश-भुज (*sadrś-bhuja*) [8], सदृश-बाहु (*sadrśa-bāhu*) [9]

distance along the ‘circle congruent to the ecliptic’ from the solstice—

↪ congruent complementary arc सदृश-कोटि (*sadrś-koṭi*) [8]

↪ distance of a celestial object from the ‘circle passing through the four poles’
بعد كوكب از دایره ماره باقطاب اربعه (*buʿd-i kawkab az «dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arbaʿi»*) [8, 9, 11]

distance between celestial objects—

↪ degrees [of separation] between two celestial objects द्वि-नक्षत्र-अन्तर-अंशक (*dvi-nakṣatra-antara-aṃśaka*) II.19

↪ distance between two celestial objects بعد میان دو کوكب (*buʿd-i miyān-i duvum-i kawkab*) II.19

distance from the celestial equator or true declination—

↪ distance بعد (*buʿd*) [5, 7]

↪ distance of a celestial object from the celestial equator بعد كوكب از معدل النها (*buʿd-i kawkab az muʿaddil al-nahār*) II.6

↪ true declination स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति (*spaṣṭa-krānti*) II.6, [5], स्फुट-क्रान्ति (*sphuṭa-krānti*) [7], स्फुट-अपम (*sphuṭa-apama*) [11]

division

to divide قسمت کردن (*qismat kardan*) [3, 4]

having been divided आप्त (*āpta*) [3]
 [one] should divide भजेत् (*bhajet*) [4]
 having been divided भाजित (*bhājita*) [9]

ecliptic भवन-चक्र (*bhavana-cakra*) [γ]

ecliptic longitude—

↪ its degree درجه او (*daraji-yi u*) [6]
 in other words, درجه کوکب (*daraji-yi kawkab*) ‘degree of a celestial object’

ecliptic longitude of the meridian ecliptic point—

↪ degrees of the [meridian] ecliptic point at the [time of] rising of a celestial object भ-उदय-लग्न-अंश (*bha-udaya-lagna-aṁśa*) II.12

↪ [ecliptic] degree of the [meridian] transit [at the time of rising] of a celestial object درجهٔ ممر کوکب (*daraji-yi mamarr-i kawkab*) II.12

ecliptic pole कदम्ब (*kadamba*) [α]

elevation—

↪ desired degrees of elevation अभीप्सित-उन्नत-अंश (*abhīpsita-unnata-aṁśa*) II.14, अभीष्ट-उन्नत-अंश (*abhīṣṭa-unnata-aṁśa*) II.15, 21, 22

↪ elevation ارتفاع (*ʿirtifāʿ*) II.14, 15, 21, 22

equation of daylight—

↪ ascensional difference चर (*cara*) II.9

↪ equation of daylight تعديل النهار (*taʿdīl al-nahār*) II.9

equinoctial point विषुवत् (*viṣuvat*)⁸ [δ]

exceeds—

↪ exceeds to exceed زيادی شدن (*ziyādi shudan*) [10]

↪ greater अधिक (*adhika*) [10]

extract

to extract/bring out درآردن (*dar ārdan*) [4, 6]

having extracted उत्थाय (*utthāya*) [4]

may extract उत्थापयेत् (*utthāpayet*) [6]

having been reduced from ninety नवतितश्च्युत (*navatitaś-cyuta*) [9]

8 Kh attests विषवत् (*viṣavat*), an irregular form of विषुवत् (*viṣuvat*), see § 6: footnote [xii].

hours of day and night दिन-रात्रि-होरा (*dina-rātri-horā*) II.9

hours of daylight ساعات النهار (*sā'āt al-nahār*) II.9

hours of night ساعات الليل (*sā'āt al-layl*) II.9

inclination of the azimuth of qibla انحراف سمت قبله (*inḥirāf-i samt-i qibla*) II.20

integer-numbers of revolution—

↪ elevated [rank] مرفوع (*marfū'*), pl. مرفوعات (*marfū'āt*), lit. raised up II.1

↪ revolution परिवर्त (*parivarta*) II.1

inverse method عمل عكس (*amal-i 'aks*) II.11

inverse procedure विलोम-क्रिया (*viloma-kriyā*) II.11

knower of spheres गोल-विद् (*gola-vid*) [α]

knowledge معرفت (*ma'rifat*); ज्ञान (*jñāna*)

passim, seen in almost all chapter-titles of Discourse II and Part II

latitude—

↪ latitude عرض (*'arḍ*) [5, 6, 10]; शर (*śara*) [6], बाण (*bāṇa*) [10]

↪ latitude of a celestial object عرض كوكب (*'arḍ-i kawkab*) [1]; खगस्य बाण (*khagasya bāṇa*) [1, 5]

local meridian—

↪ line of midday خط نصف النهار (*khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār*) II.16; मध्याह्न-रेखा (*madhyāhna-rekhā*) II.16

↪ line of the meridian याम्य-उत्तर-रेखा (*yāmya-uttara-rekhā*) II.16

local terrestrial coordinates—

↪ degrees of [terrestrial] longitude and latitude देशान्तर-अक्ष-अंश (*deśāntara-akṣa-aṁśa*) II.17

↪ longitude and latitude of a locality طول و عرض بلد (*tūl va 'arḍ-i balad*) II.17

low-division to low-divide منخط قسمت کردن (*munḥaṭṭ-i qismat kardan*) [9]

lowering—

↪ having been lowered अधरी-कृत (*adharī-kṛta*) [2, 8, 11]

↪ should [be made] lower अधः कुर्यात् (*adhaḥ kuryāt*) [6]

low-multiplication

to low-multiply منحت ضرب کردن (*munḥaṭṭ-i ḍarb kardan*) [2, 6, 8, 11]

maximum elevation and depression of a celestial object

غایت ارتفاع و انخفاض کوكب (*ghāyat-i ʔirtifāʔ va inkhiḥāḍ-i kawkab*) II.7

method of identity अनन्यत्व-प्रकार (*ananyatva-prakāra*) II.15

tacitly, an argument following a method identical to one previously stated.

method of interpolation عمل تعديل (*ʕamal-i taʕdīl*), lit. operation of adjustment II.2

minute دقيقة (*daqīqa*), pl. دقائق (*daqāʔiq*) II.1; कला (*kalā*) II.1

multiplication

to multiply ضرب کردن (*ḍarb kardan*) [3]

is multiplied नि-हन्यते (*ni-hanyate*) [2]

having been multiplied हत (*hata*) [3, 8, 11]

to/must be multiplied संगुण्य (*saṁguṇya*) [6]

ninety degrees—

↪ ninety अन्न-नव (*abhra-nava*)⁹ [10]

↪ one-quarter ربع (*rubʕ*) [10]

north-south direction सौम्य-याम्य-दिश (*saumya-yāmya-dīś*) II.20

oblique ascension zodiacal signs in degrees—

↪ ascensions [of the ecliptic] of a locality مطالع بلد (*maṭāliʕ-i balad*) II.10

↪ rising [of the zodiacal signs] in one's own location in degrees निज-उदय-अंश (*nija-udaya-aṁśa*) II.10, स्व-उदय-अंश (*sva-udaya-aṁśa*) II.11, 22, निज-उदय-अंशक (*nija-udaya-aṁśaka*) II.13

oblique diurnal circle दिन-रात्रि-वाम-वृत्त (*dina-rātri-vāma-vṛtta*) II.9

obliquity of the ecliptic—

↪ greatest declination परम-क्रान्ति (*parama-krānti*) [7], परम-अपम (*parama-apama*) [10]

↪ total declination میل کلی (*mayl-i kullī*) [7, 10]

one hundred and eighty degrees—

⁹ *bhūtasamkhyā* word-numerals: *abhra* 'o' and *nava* '9' forming '90'.

↪ one hundred and eighty ख-अष्ट-भू (*akha-aṣṭa-bhū*)¹⁰ [10]

↪ one-half نصف (*nisf*) [10]

pair of equinoctial points विषुवत-द्वय (*viṣuvat-dvaya*)¹¹ [α]

place-value of sexagesimal digits—

↪ belong to a particular genus जातीय (*jātīya*) II.1

↪ genus جنس (*jins*) II.1

position مرتبه (*martaba*), pl. مراتب (*marātib*) II.1; स्थान (*sthāna*) II.1

quotient—

↪ obtained लब्ध (*labdha*) [4]

↪ quotient of division خارج قسمت (*khārij-i qismat*) II.1, [3, 4, 9]

result حاصل (*hāṣil*) [2–4, 6, 8, 10]; फल (*phala*) II.2

result of multiplication and division गुणन-भजन-फल (*guṇana-bhajana-phala*) II.1

result/product of multiplication—

↪ product of multiplication गुणित-फल (*guṇita-phala*) [4, 6]

↪ result of multiplication حاصل ضرب (*hāṣil-i ḍarb*) II.1

right ascension of the meridian ecliptic point—

↪ ascensions of [the degrees] of [meridian] transit مطالع ممر (*maṭāli^c-i mamarr*) II.12

↪ degrees of equatorial ascension of the [meridian] ecliptic point at the [time of] rising of a celestial object भ-उदय-लग्न-व्यक्ष-उदय-अंश (*bha-udaya-lagna-vyakṣa-udaya-aṁśa*) II.12

right ascension of zodiacal signs in degrees—

↪ ascensions [of the ecliptic] at the line of the terrestrial equator

مطالع خط استوا (*maṭāli^c khatt-i istiva*) II.8

↪ ascensions [of the ecliptic] in the right sphere مطالع فلك مستقيم (*maṭāli^c falak-i mustaqīm*) II.8

¹⁰ *bhūtasamkhyā* word-numerals: *kha* '0', *aṣṭa* '8', and *bhū* '1' forming '180'.

¹¹ Kh attests विषव-द्वय (*viṣava-dvaya*), an irregular form of विषुवत-द्वय (*viṣuvat-dvaya*), see § 6: footnote [viii].

↪ rising [of the zodiacal signs] at Laṅkā in degrees लङ्का-उदय-अंश (*laṅkā-udaya-aṁśa*) II.8

↪ rising [of the zodiacal signs] at the terrestrial equator in degrees व्यक्ष-उदय-अंश (*vyakṣa-udaya-aṁśa*) II.8

rule of three त्रै-राशिक (*trai-rāśika*) II.2

same सम (*sama*) [11]

second ثانیہ (*thāniya*), pl. ثوانی (*thawānī*) II.1

second declination—

↪ other declination अन्यतर-अपम (*anyatara-apama*) [1]
synonymous with अन्य-क्रान्ति (*anya-krānti*) and identified with the द्वितीय-क्रान्ति (*dvitīya-krānti*) ‘second declination’

↪ second declination of its degree میل ثانی درجہ او (*mayl-i thānī-yi darajī-yi u*) [1]

shadow of a gnomon ظل (*zill*) II.4; छाया (*chāyā*) II.4

Sine جیب (*jayb*) II.3; ज्या (*jyā*) II.3

Sine of the argument of the distance—

↪ Sine of the curve of true declination स्फुट-अपम-अङ्क-सिञ्जिनी (*sphuṭa-apama-aṅka-siñjini*) [2], स्फुट-क्रान्ति-अङ्क-जिवा (*sphuṭa-krānti-aṅka-jīvā*) [3], स्फुट-क्रान्ति-अङ्क-ज्या (*sphuṭa-krānti-aṅka-jyā*) [4]

↪ Sine of the share of the distance جیب حصہ بعد (*jayb-i ḥiṣṣi-yi buʿd*) [2, 3, 4]

Sine of the complement of the ecliptic longitude—

↪ Sine of the complement of the arc of ecliptic longitude of a celestial object खगस्य कोटि-सिञ्जिनी (*khagasya koṭi-siñjini*) [8]

↪ Sine of the distance of the degree of a celestial object from the nearest solstice جیب بعد درجہ کوکب از انقلاب اقرب (*jayb-i buʿd-i darajī-yi kawkab az inqilāb-i aqrab*) [8]

Sine of the distance along the ‘circle congruent to the ecliptic’ from the equinox—

↪ lowered Sine of the congruent arc अधर-सहस्र-दोर्-ज्या (*adhara-sadrkṣa-dor-jyā*) [9]

↪ Sine of the congruent arc सहस्र-बाहु-ज्यका (*sadrkṣa-bāhu-jyakā*) [11]

Sine of the distance along the ‘circle congruent to the ecliptic’ from the solstice—

↪ Sine of the congruent complementary arc सदृक्ष-कोटि-सिञ्जिनी (*sadr̥kṣa-koti-siñjinī*) [8]

↪ Sine of the distance of a celestial object from the 'circle passing through the four poles' جیب بعد کوکب از دایرهٔ مارہ باقطاب اربعہ (*jayb-i bu^cd-i kawkab az «dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arba^ci»*) [8]

Sine of the latitude—

↪ Sine of its latitude جیب عرض او (*jayb-i ʿarḍ-i u*) [6]

↪ Sine of the latitude बाण-ज्या (*bāṇa-jyā*) [6]

↪ Sine of the latitude of a celestial object جیب عرض کوکب (*jayb-i ʿarḍ-i kawkab*) [9]; नभोग-विशिखस्य सिञ्जिनी (*nabhoga-viśikhasya siñjinii*) [9]

Sine of the maximum argument of the distance—

↪ Sine of the maximum true declination पर-स्फुट-क्रान्ति-भव-ज्यका (*para-sphuṭa-krānti-bhava-jyakā*) [11]

↪ Sine of the second arc جیب قوس دوم (*jayb-i qaws-i duvum*) [11]

Sine of the true declination—

↪ Sine of the distance جیب بعد (*jayb-i bu^cd*) [2, 3, 4, 6],

↪ Sine of the distance of the celestial object جیب بعد کوکب (*jayb-i bu^cd-i kawkab*) [11],

↪ Sine of the true declination स्फुट-अपम-ज्यका (*sphuṭa-apama-jyakā*) [2], स्पष्ट-अपम-ज्यका (*spaṣṭa-apama-jyakā*) [3], स्पष्ट-क्रान्ति-ज्या (*spaṣṭa-krānti-jyā*) [4, 6]

solstitial colure—

↪ circle passing through the four poles ध्रुव-चतुष्क-यात-वृत्त (*dhruva-catuṣka-yāta-vṛtta*) [α]

identified with the دایرهٔ مارہ باقطاب اربعہ (*dāyiri-yi mārri bi aqṭāb-i arba^ci*) 'circle passing through the four poles'

↪ solstitial colure आयन-वृत्त (*āyana-vṛtta*) [α, β, γ, δ]

square root جذر (*jadṛ*) II.1; मूल (*mūla*) II.1

sum

to sum جمع کردن (*jam^c kardan*) [1, 10]

sum संयुति (*saṃyuti*) [1, 10]

table جدول (*jadval*) [6]; कोष्ठक (*koṣṭhaka*) [*varia lectio*: कोष्ठिक (*koṣṭhika*)] II.11

table of Sine جدول جیب (*jadval-i jayb*) [9]

table of the Cosine of the greatest declination جدول جیب تمام میل کُلّی (*jadval-i jayb-i tamām-i mayl-i kullī*) [4]; परम-क्रान्ति-कोटिज्या-कोष्ठिक (*parama-krānti-koṭijyā-koṣṭhika*) [4], परम-क्रान्ति-कोटिज्या-कोष्ठक (*parama-krānti-koṭijyā-koṣṭhaka*) [6]

time—

↪ desired time अभिमत-समय (*abhimata-samaya*) II *incipit*

↪ time وقت (*vaqt*), pl. اوقات (*avqāt*) II *incipit*

Versed Sine—

↪ Sagitta سهم (*sahm*) II.3

↪ Versed Sine शर (*śara*) II.3

well rounded सु-वृत्त (*su-vṛtta*) [α]

whole sum تمام مجموع (*tamām-i majmūʿ*) [10]

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

- Alwar, Rajasthan Oriental Research
Institute 2014: 47
- Alwar, Rajasthan Oriental Research
Institute 2627: 47
- Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Library 5291:
42
- Jaipur, City Palace Library, Khasmo-
hor 4960: 51
- Jaipur, City Palace Library, Khasmo-
hor 4962: 46
- Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II
Museum 23: 39, 51
- Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II
Museum 45: 43
- London, British Library Or. 372: 45
- Mumbai, Asiatic Society 264: 34
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ind. Inst.
Pers. 12: 45
- Varanasi, Sarasvatī Bhavana Granth-
ālaya (1963) 37079: 63

Please write to wujastyk@ualberta.ca to file bugs/problem reports, feature requests and to get involved.

The History of Science in South Asia • Department of History and Classics, 2–81 HM Tory Building, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4, Canada.