

# Calculus without Limits: the Theory

A Critique of the History of Mathematics  
Part 2: The Real History of the Calculus

C. K. Raju

Inmantec, Ghaziabad  
and  
Centre for Studies in Civilizations, New Delhi

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

Recap

The argument

Calculus and infinite series in India

How and why the Calculus developed in India

How and Why the Calculus was Transmitted to Europe

European difficulties in understanding the imported calculus

Conclusions

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Recap

- ▶ Calculus with limits difficult to teach.

# Recap

- ▶ Calculus with limits difficult to teach.
- ▶ Limits taught on account of rigor.

# Recap

- ▶ Calculus with limits difficult to teach.
- ▶ Limits taught on account of rigor.
- ▶ However, no unique or universal way to define derivative or infinite sums: e.g.

$$1 - 1 + 1 - 1 + \dots$$

# Recap

- ▶ Calculus with limits difficult to teach.
- ▶ Limits taught on account of rigor.
- ▶ However, no unique or universal way to define derivative or infinite sums: e.g.

$$1 - 1 + 1 - 1 + \dots$$

- ▶ (same as problem of defining product of distributions)

# Recap

contd

- ▶ Notion of deductive proof is not a universal notion: empirical proofs were invariably used in math prior to the 20th c.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

**Recap**

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Recap

contd

- ▶ Notion of deductive proof is not a universal notion: empirical proofs were invariably used in math prior to the 20th c.
- ▶ No universal notion of logic: mathematical proof offers no certainty.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Recap

contd

- ▶ Notion of deductive proof is not a universal notion: empirical proofs were invariably used in math prior to the 20th c.
- ▶ No universal notion of logic: mathematical proof offers no certainty.
- ▶ Brings in a theological component into math which is unnecessary.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Recap

contd

- ▶ Notion of deductive proof is not a universal notion: empirical proofs were invariably used in math prior to the 20th c.
- ▶ No universal notion of logic: mathematical proof offers no certainty.
- ▶ Brings in a theological component into math which is unnecessary.
- ▶ Supported by distorted history developed during the Crusades: Pythagoras, Euclid etc. **Big stories, nil evidence.**

# The argument

- ▶ Case of calculus is a similar case of wildly distorted history.

# The argument

- ▶ Case of calculus is a similar case of wildly distorted history.
- ▶ Calculus developed in India from the 5th to 15th c. to calculate precise trigonometric values.

# The argument

- ▶ Case of calculus is a similar case of wildly distorted history.
- ▶ Calculus developed in India from the 5th to 15th c. to calculate precise trigonometric values.
- ▶ These trigonometric values were badly required for European navigation.

# The argument

- ▶ Case of calculus is a similar case of wildly distorted history.
- ▶ Calculus developed in India from the 5th to 15th c. to calculate precise trigonometric values.
- ▶ These trigonometric values were badly required for European navigation.
- ▶ Hence Indian calculus texts were translated and sent to Europe by Jesuits based in Cochin in the 16th c.

# The argument

- ▶ Case of calculus is a similar case of wildly distorted history.
- ▶ Calculus developed in India from the 5th to 15th c. to calculate precise trigonometric values.
- ▶ These trigonometric values were badly required for European navigation.
- ▶ Hence Indian calculus texts were translated and sent to Europe by Jesuits based in Cochin in the 16th c.
- ▶ However, during the Inquisition, its non-Christian origin was not acknowledged, and it was attributed to Newton and Leibniz.

# The argument

contd

- ▶ In fact, the Indian way to sum infinite series was not understood by Newton, etc.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

**The argument**

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The argument

contd

- ▶ In fact, the Indian way to sum infinite series was not understood by Newton, etc.
- ▶ This led to the theory of limits which is a more difficult way to do calculus.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

**The argument**

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The argument

contd

- ▶ In fact, the Indian way to sum infinite series was not understood by Newton, etc.
- ▶ This led to the theory of limits which is a more difficult way to do calculus.
- ▶ The Indian way of doing calculus better suited to computer technology, and should be used to teach calculus in place of limits.

# The argument

contd

- ▶ In fact, the Indian way to sum infinite series was not understood by Newton, etc.
- ▶ This led to the theory of limits which is a more difficult way to do calculus.
- ▶ The Indian way of doing calculus better suited to computer technology, and should be used to teach calculus in place of limits.
- ▶ Will present a brief account. Full account in my book.

PEARSON LONGMAN

History of Science, Philosophy and Culture  
in Indian Civilization

*General Editor* D. P. Chattopadhyaya

Volume X Part 4

Cultural Foundations of Mathematics  
The Nature of Mathematical Proof and  
the Transmission of the Calculus  
from India to Europe in the 16th c. CE

C. K. RAJU

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The evidence

- ▶ It has long been known that infinite series were found in India

# The evidence

- ▶ It has long been known that infinite series were found in India
- ▶ in widely distributed palm-leaf manuscripts from Kerala etc.

# The evidence

- ▶ It has long been known that infinite series were found in India
- ▶ in widely distributed palm-leaf manuscripts from Kerala etc.
- ▶ (first reported in a British journal by Whish in 1835).

# The evidence

- ▶ It has long been known that infinite series were found in India
- ▶ in widely distributed palm-leaf manuscripts from Kerala etc.
- ▶ (first reported in a British journal by Whish in 1835).
- ▶ Some of the texts are *Yuktibhāṣā*, *Tantrasangraha*, *Karaṇapaddhati*, or Nīlakanṭha's *Bhaṣya* on *Āryabhaṭīya*

# The sine series

- ▶ The “Taylor” series expansion for the sine stated in two verses, as follows (numbers refer to published *Yuktidīpikā*, critical ed. K. V. Sarma).

निहत्य चापवर्गेण चापं तत्तत्फलानि च ।

हरेत् समूल्युग्वर्गैस्त्रिज्यावर्गहतैः क्रमात् ॥ ४४० ॥

चापं फलानि चाधोऽधो न्यस्योपर्युपरित्यजेत् ।

जीवाप्त्यै, संग्रहोऽस्यैव विद्वान् इत्यदिना क्रितः ॥ ४४१ ॥

# Translation

- ▶ Multiply the arc by the square of the arc, and take the result of repeating that [any number of times].

# Translation

- ▶ Multiply the arc by the square of the arc, and take the result of repeating that [any number of times].
- ▶ Divide [each of the above numerators] by the squares of successive even numbers increased by that number [literally, the root] and multiplied by the square of the radius.

# Translation

- ▶ Multiply the arc by the square of the arc, and take the result of repeating that [any number of times].
- ▶ Divide [each of the above numerators] by the squares of successive even numbers increased by that number [literally, the root] and multiplied by the square of the radius.
- ▶ Place the arc and the successive results so obtained one below the other, and subtract each from the one above.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Translation

- ▶ Multiply the arc by the square of the arc, and take the result of repeating that [any number of times].
- ▶ Divide [each of the above numerators] by the squares of successive even numbers increased by that number [literally, the root] and multiplied by the square of the radius.
- ▶ Place the arc and the successive results so obtained one below the other, and subtract each from the one above.
- ▶ These together give the  $jīvā$ , as collected together in the verse beginning with “*vidvān*” etc.

# Mathematical Translation

- ▶ Let  $r =$  radius of the circle,  $s =$  arc and let  $t_n =$  the  $n$ th expression obtained by applying the above rule.

# Mathematical Translation

- ▶ Let  $r =$  radius of the circle,  $s =$  arc and let  $t_n =$  the  $n$ th expression obtained by applying the above rule.
- ▶ Numerator: multiply the arc  $s$  by its square  $s^2$ , this multiplication being repeated  $n$  times to obtain

$$s \cdot \prod_1^n s^2.$$

# Mathematical Translation

- ▶ Let  $r =$  radius of the circle,  $s =$  arc and let  $t_n =$  the  $n$ th expression obtained by applying the above rule.
- ▶ Numerator: multiply the arc  $s$  by its square  $s^2$ , this multiplication being repeated  $n$  times to obtain

$$s \cdot \prod_1^n s^2.$$

- ▶ Denominator: multiply the square of the radius,  $r^2$ , by  $[(2k)^2 + 2k]$  (“the squares of successive even numbers increased by that number”) for successive values of  $k$ , repeating this product  $n$  times to obtain

$$\prod_{k=1}^n r^2 [(2k)^2 + 2k].$$

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

## Math translation: contd.

- ▶ Thus, the  $n$ th iterate is obtained by

$$t_n = \frac{s^{2n} \cdot s}{(2^2 + 2) \cdot (4^2 + 4) \cdot \cdots \cdot [(2n)^2 + 2n]} \cdot r^{2n}. \quad (1)$$

## Math translation: contd.

- ▶ Thus, the  $n$ th iterate is obtained by

$$t_n = \frac{s^{2n} \cdot s}{(2^2 + 2) \cdot (4^2 + 4) \cdot \dots \cdot [(2n)^2 + 2n]} \cdot r^{2n}. \quad (1)$$

- ▶ The rule further says:

$$\text{jīvā} = s - t_1 + t_2 - t_3 + t_4 - t_5 + \dots \quad (2)$$

$$= s - \frac{s^3}{r^2 \cdot (2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{r^4(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} - \dots \quad (3)$$

► Substituting

(1)  $j\bar{i}v\bar{a} \equiv r \sin \theta$ ,

(2)  $s = r\theta$ , so that  $s^{2n+1} / r^{2n} = r\theta^{2n+1}$ , and

noticing that

(3)  $[(2k)^2 + 2k] = 2k \cdot (2k + 1)$ , so that

(4)  $(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4) \cdots [(2n)^2 + 2n] = (2n + 1)!$ ,

► Substituting

(1)  $j\bar{i}v\bar{a} \equiv r \sin \theta$ ,

(2)  $s = r\theta$ , so that  $s^{2n+1} / r^{2n} = r\theta^{2n+1}$ , and

noticing that

(3)  $[(2k)^2 + 2k] = 2k \cdot (2k + 1)$ , so that

(4)  $(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4) \cdots [(2n)^2 + 2n] = (2n + 1)!$ ,

- and cancelling  $r$  from both sides, we see that this is entirely equivalent to the well-known expression

$$\sin \theta = \theta - \frac{\theta^3}{3!} + \frac{\theta^5}{5!} - \frac{\theta^7}{7!} + \cdots \quad (4)$$

# The series used for numerical calculation

- ▶ For actual numerical calculation, the sine series was rewritten

# The series used for numerical calculation

- ▶ For actual numerical calculation, the sine series was rewritten



$$\begin{aligned} \bar{j}\bar{i}\bar{v}\bar{a} &= s - \frac{s^3}{r^3} \cdot \frac{r}{(2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{r^5} \cdot \frac{r}{(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} + \dots \\ &= s - \frac{s^3}{c^3} \cdot \frac{r \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^3}{(2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{c^5} \cdot \frac{r \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^5}{(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} + \dots \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

# The series used for numerical calculation

- ▶ For actual numerical calculation, the sine series was rewritten



$$\begin{aligned} \bar{j}\bar{i}\bar{v}\bar{a} &= s - \frac{s^3}{r^3} \cdot \frac{r}{(2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{r^5} \cdot \frac{r}{(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} + \dots \\ &= s - \frac{s^3}{c^3} \cdot \frac{r \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^3}{(2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{c^5} \cdot \frac{r \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^5}{(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} + \dots \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

- ▶ where  $c = 5400'$  was a quarter of the circumference of the standard circle (with circumference  $21,600'$ ).

# The series used for numerical calculation

- ▶ For actual numerical calculation, the sine series was rewritten



$$\begin{aligned} \bar{j}\bar{i}\bar{v}\bar{a} &= s - \frac{s^3}{r^3} \cdot \frac{r}{(2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{r^5} \cdot \frac{r}{(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} + \dots \\ &= s - \frac{s^3}{c^3} \cdot \frac{r \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^3}{(2^2 + 2)} + \frac{s^5}{c^5} \cdot \frac{r \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^5}{(2^2 + 2)(4^2 + 4)} + \dots \end{aligned}$$

- ▶ where  $c = 5400'$  was a quarter of the circumference of the standard circle (with circumference  $21,600'$ ).
- ▶ That is  $c = \frac{\pi}{2}r$  for this circle.

# Series for numerical calculation

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- The coefficients of this series were calculated and stored in the verse beginning *vidvān* etc.

विद्वांस् तुन्बलः कवीशनिचयः सर्वार्थशीलस्थिरो  
निर्विद्धाङ्गनरेन्द्ररुड् निगदितेष्वेषु क्रमात् पञ्चसु ।  
आधस्त्याद् गुणितादभीष्टधनुषः क्रित्या विहृत्यान्तिम-  
स्याप्तं शोध्यमुपर्युपर्यथ घनेनैवं धनुष्यन्ततः ॥ ४३७ ॥

# Series for numerical calculation

- ▶ The coefficients of this series were calculated and stored in the verse beginning *vidvān* etc.

विद्वांस् तुन्बलः कवीशनिचयः सर्वार्थशीलस्थिरो  
निर्विद्धाङ्गनरेन्द्ररुड् निगदितेष्वेषु क्रमात् पञ्चसु ।  
आधस्त्याद् गुणितादभीष्टधनुषः क्रित्या विहृत्यान्तिम-  
स्याप्तं शोध्यमुपर्युपर्यथ घनेनैवं धनुष्यन्ततः ॥ ४३७ ॥

- ▶ Here *vidvān* etc. are reverse sexagesimal *kaṭapayādi* expressions for five numbers

# Translation

- ▶ *vidvān, tūnnabala...*

# Translation

- ▶ *vidvān, tūnnabala...*
- ▶ Successively multiply these five numbers in order by the square of the arc divided by the quarter of the circumference [i.e., 5400],

# Translation

- ▶ *vidvān, tūnnabala...*
- ▶ Successively multiply these five numbers in order by the square of the arc divided by the quarter of the circumference [i.e., 5400],
- ▶ and subtract from the next number. [Continue this process with the result so obtained and the next number.]

# Translation

- ▶ *vidvān, tunnabala. . . .*
- ▶ Successively multiply these five numbers in order by the square of the arc divided by the quarter of the circumference [i.e., 5400],
- ▶ and subtract from the next number. [Continue this process with the result so obtained and the next number.]
- ▶ Multiply [the final result] by the cube of the arc divided by quarter of the circumference, and subtract from the arc.

# Mathematical translation

- ▶ Let  $vidvān = a_{11}$ ,  $tunnabala = a_9 \dots a_7, a_5, a_3$ ,

# Mathematical translation

- ▶ Let  $vidvān = a_{11}$ ,  $tunnabala = a_9 \dots a_7, a_5, a_3$ ,
- ▶ Starting with  $vidvān (a_{11})$ , multiply it by  $(s/c)^2$  and subtract it from the next number:  $tunnabala (a_9)$ .

# Mathematical translation

- ▶ Let  $vidvān = a_{11}$ ,  $tunnabala = a_9 \dots a_7, a_5, a_3$ ,
- ▶ Starting with  $vidvān (a_{11})$ , multiply it by  $(s/c)^2$  and subtract it from the next number:  $tunnabala (a_9)$ .
- ▶ Again multiply the result by  $(s/c)^2$  and subtract from the next number.

# Mathematical translation

- ▶ Let  $vidvān = a_{11}$ ,  $tunnabala = a_9 \dots a_7, a_5, a_3$ ,
- ▶ Starting with  $vidvān (a_{11})$ , multiply it by  $(s/c)^2$  and subtract it from the next number:  $tunnabala (a_9)$ .
- ▶ Again multiply the result by  $(s/c)^2$  and subtract from the next number.
- ▶ Multiply the final result by  $(s/c)^3$  and subtract from the arc  $s$ , to obtain the  $ivyā$ . Thus, the result may be expressed by the formula (same as (??))

$$r \sin \theta = s - \left(\frac{s}{c}\right)^3 \left[ a_3 - \left(\frac{s}{c}\right)^2 \left[ a_5 - \left(\frac{s}{c}\right)^2 \left[ a_7 - \left(\frac{s}{c}\right)^2 \left[ a_9 - \left(\frac{s}{c}\right)^2 a_{11} \right] \right] \right] \right]. \quad (6)$$

# Kaṭapayādi system

- ▶ Each consonant corresponds to a number according to Sanskrit alphabet. (For conjoint consonants only the last matters.)

1	क	ट	प	य
2	ख	ठ	फ	र
3	ग	ड	ब	ल
4	घ	ढ	भ	व
5	ङ	ण	म	श
6	च	त		ष
7	छ	थ		स
8	ज	द		ह
9	झ	ध		ळ
0	ञ	न		

- ▶ The five numbers are clearly

$$a_k = \frac{r}{k!} \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^k, \quad (7)$$

- ▶ The five numbers are clearly

$$a_k = \frac{r}{k!} \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^k, \quad (7)$$

- ▶ (The even values of  $k$  are used for the cosine series.)

- ▶ The five numbers are clearly

$$a_k = \frac{r}{k!} \left(\frac{\pi}{2}\right)^k, \quad (7)$$

- ▶ (The even values of  $k$  are used for the cosine series.)
- ▶ In sexagesimal notation, a number is interpreted using first (*kalā*), second (*vikalā*), and third (*tatparā*) sexagesimal minutes. Thus,

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
IndiaHow and why the  
Calculus developed  
in IndiaHow and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
EuropeEuropean  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶  $vidvān = vi\ dvā\ n = 4\ 4\ 0 = 0''44'''$  (for  $dvā$  use the conjoint consonant rule),

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
IndiaHow and why the  
Calculus developed  
in IndiaHow and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
EuropeEuropean  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶  $vidvān = vi\ dvā\ n = 4\ 4\ 0 = 0''44'''$  (for  $dvā$  use the conjoint consonant rule),
- ▶  $tunnabala = tu\ nna\ ba\ la = 6\ 0\ 3\ 3 = 33''06'''$ ,  
 $kavīśanicaya = ka\ vī\ śa\ ni\ ca\ ya = 1\ 4\ 5\ 0\ 6\ 1 =$   
 $16'05''41'''$ ,  $sarvārthaśilasthira = sa\ rva\ rth\ śī\ la\ sthi\ ra$   
 $= 7\ 4\ 7\ 5\ 3\ 7\ 2 = 273'57''47'''$ ,  $nirviddhaṅganarendraru$   
 $= ni\ rvi\ ddha\ ṅga\ na\ re\ ndra\ ru = 0\ 4\ 9\ 3\ 0\ 2\ 2\ 2 =$   
 $2220'39''40'''$ .

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Thus, the above process gives a **numerically efficient** way to calculate trigonometric values.

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Thus, the above process gives a **numerically efficient** way to calculate trigonometric values.
- ▶ using the 11th/12th order "Taylor" polynomial, to get accuracy to **the third sexagesimal minute**.

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Thus, the above process gives a **numerically efficient** way to calculate trigonometric values.
- ▶ using the 11th/12th order "Taylor" polynomial, to get accuracy to **the third sexagesimal minute**.
- ▶ It requires only a value of  $\pi$  stated as *Devo viśvasthālī bhṛguḥ*, corresponding (in reverse order) to 34374448 or 3437' 44" 48''' ,

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Thus, the above process gives a **numerically efficient** way to calculate trigonometric values.
- ▶ using the 11th/12th order "Taylor" polynomial, to get accuracy to **the third sexagesimal minute**.
- ▶ It requires only a value of  $\pi$  stated as *Devo viśvasthālī bhṛguḥ*, corresponding (in reverse order) to 34374448 or 3437' 44" 48''' ,
- ▶ More accurate than 7th c. Bhāskara I's figure of 3438' ,

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Thus, the above process gives a **numerically efficient** way to calculate trigonometric values.
- ▶ using the 11th/12th order "Taylor" polynomial, to get accuracy to **the third sexagesimal minute**.
- ▶ It requires only a value of  $\pi$  stated as *Devo viśvasthālī bhṛguḥ*, corresponding (in reverse order) to 34374448 or 3437' 44'' 48''' ,
- ▶ More accurate than 7th c. Bhāskara I's figure of 3438',
- ▶ or 9th c. Vaṭeśvara's figure of 3437' 44'' .)

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Value of  $\pi$  also stated in older *bhūta saṁkhyā* system, which uses word numerals (from Nīlakaṇṭha's *ĀryabhaṭīyaBhaṣya*)

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Value of  $\pi$  also stated in older *bhūta saṁkhyā* system, which uses word numerals (from Nīlakaṇṭha's *ĀryabhaṭīyaBhaṣya*



सङ्गमग्रामजो माधवः पुनरत्यासन्नां परिधिसंख्यामुक्तवान् -  
विबुधनेत्रगजाहिहृताशनत्रिगुणावेदभवारणबाहवः ।  
नवनिखर्वमिते वृतिविस्तरे परिधिमानमिदं जगदुर्बुधाः ॥

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Value of $\pi$

- ▶ Value of  $\pi$  also stated in older *bhūta saṁkhyā* system, which uses word numerals (from Nīlakaṇṭha's *ĀryabhaṭīyaBhaṣya*



सङ्गमग्रामजो माधवः पुनरत्यासन्नां परिधिसंख्यामुक्तवान् -  
विबुधनेत्रगजाहिहुताशनत्रिगुणावेदभवारणबाहवः ।  
नवनिखर्वमिते वृतिविस्तरे परिधिमानमिदं जगदुर्बुधाः ॥

- ▶ Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma spoke the approximate [āsanna] number of the circumference of a circle: *vibudha* [33] *netra* [2] *gaja* [8] *ahi* [8] *hutāśana* [3] *tri* [3] *guṇa* [3] *veda* [4] *bhavāraṇa* [27] *bāhavaḥ* [28], i.e., [2,827,433,388,233] is the measure of a circle of diameter *nava* [9] *nikharva* [100,000,000,000].

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Value of $\pi$ contd.

- ▶ Corresponds to value of  $\pi = 3.141, 592, 653, 5922 \dots$ ,

# Value of $\pi$ contd.

- ▶ Corresponds to value of  $\pi = 3.141, 592, 653, 5922 \dots$ ,
- ▶ accurate to 11 decimal places

# Value of $\pi$ contd.

- ▶ Corresponds to value of  $\pi = 3.141, 592, 653, 5922 \dots$ ,
- ▶ accurate to 11 decimal places
- ▶ with the 12th and 13th places (92 respectively) differing slightly from their accurate value (89).

# Madhava's sine table

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

श्रेष्ठं नाम वरिष्ठानां हिमाद्रिर्वेदभावनः ।  
तपनो भानुसूक्तज्ञो मध्यमं विद्धि दोहनम् ॥  
धिगाज्यो नाशनं कष्टं छन्नभोगाशयाम्बिका ।  
म्रिगाहारो नरेशोऽयं वीरो रणजयोत्सुकः ॥

...

छायालयो गजो नीलो निर्मलो नास्ति सत्कुले ।  
रात्रौ दर्पणमभ्राङ्गं नागस्तुङ्गनखो बली ॥  
धीरो युवा कथालोलः पूज्यो नारीजनैर्भगः ।  
कन्यागारे नागवल्ली देवो विश्वस्थली भृगुः ॥  
तत्परादिकलान्तास्तु महाज्या माधवोदिताः ।  
स्वस्वपूर्वविशुद्धे तु शिष्टास्तत्स्वरडमौर्विकाः ॥ २.९.५ ॥

# Madhava's sine table

Table: Mādhava's sine values

No.	Kaṭapayādi	kalā (')	vikalā('')	tatparā('''')
1	श्रेष्ठं नाम वरिष्ठानां	224	50	22
2	हिमाद्रिर्वेदभावनः	448	42	58
3	तपनो भानुसूक्तज्ञो	670	40	16
4	मध्यमं विद्धि दोहनम्	889	45	15
...	...	...	...	...
21	धीरो युवा कथालोलः	3371	41	29
22	पूज्यो नारीजनैर्भगः	3408	20	11
23	कन्यागारे नागवल्ली	3430	23	11
24	देवो विश्वस्थली भृगुः	3437	44	48

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Accuracy of Madhava's sine values

Table: Accuracy of Mādhava's sine table.

No.	Mādhava's sine value	Difference
1	0.0654031452	0.0000000160
2	0.1305262297	0.0000000375
3	0.1950903240	0.0000000020
4	0.2588190035	-0.0000000416
...	...	...
...	...	...
21	0.9807852980	0.0000000176
22	0.9914448967	0.0000000353
23	0.9978589819	0.0000000587
24	1.0000000000	0.0000000000

# Āryabhaṭa's sine table

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

**Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India**

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions



मखि भखि फखि धखि राखि जखि  
डखि हस्मि स्ककि किष्वा श्चकि किध्व ।  
ध्लकि किग्र हक्य धकि किच  
सा श्म इव क्ल प्त फ छ कलार्धज्या ॥ १२ ॥

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation

- ▶ Explained in *Gītikā* 2.

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation

- ▶ Explained in *Gītikā* 2.
- ▶ *varga* (classified) letters in the *varga* (odd) places.  
(Thus, they have the values 1–25 in alphabetical order.)

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation

- ▶ Explained in *Gītikā* 2.
- ▶ *varga* (classified) letters in the *varga* (odd) places.  
(Thus, they have the values 1–25 in alphabetical order.)
- ▶ *avarga* (unclassified) letters in the *avarga* (even) places.  
(They have values 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, respectively.)

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation

- ▶ Explained in *Gītikā* 2.
- ▶ *varga* (classified) letters in the *varga* (odd) places.  
(Thus, they have the values 1–25 in alphabetical order.)
- ▶ *avarga* (unclassified) letters in the *avarga* (even) places.  
(They have values 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, respectively.)
- ▶ The nine vowels अ, इ, उ, ऋ, लृ, ए, ओ, ऐ, औ denote the two nines of zeros (corresponding to the 18 places from  $10^0$  to  $10^{17}$ ): each vowel takes one *varga* and one *avarga* place.

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation

- ▶ Explained in *Gītikā* 2.
- ▶ *varga* (classified) letters in the *varga* (odd) places.  
(Thus, they have the values 1–25 in alphabetical order.)
- ▶ *avarga* (unclassified) letters in the *avarga* (even) places.  
(They have values 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, respectively.)
- ▶ The nine vowels अ, इ, उ, ऋ, लृ, ए, ओ, ऐ, औ denote the two nines of zeros (corresponding to the 18 places from  $10^0$  to  $10^{17}$ ): each vowel takes one *varga* and one *avarga* place.
- ▶ Thus अ denotes the place of 1 as well as 10, इ denotes the place of 100 as well as 1000, etc.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation (contd.)

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

**Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India**

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ A consonant combined with a vowel denotes a number.

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation (contd.)

- ▶ A consonant combined with a vowel denotes a number.
- ▶ When the vowel is combined with an *avarga* letter, it has a value 10 times what it has when combined with a *varga* letter.

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation (contd.)

- ▶ A consonant combined with a vowel denotes a number.
- ▶ When the vowel is combined with an *avarga* letter, it has a value 10 times what it has when combined with a *varga* letter.
- ▶ System is very compact and order-independent.

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation (contd.)

- ▶ A consonant combined with a vowel denotes a number.
- ▶ When the vowel is combined with an *avarga* letter, it has a value 10 times what it has when combined with a *varga* letter.
- ▶ System is very compact and order-independent.
- ▶ E.g., ख्युघृ = 4,320,000, since ख् = 2, य् = 30, so that ख्यु = 320,000, while घ् = 4, so that घृ = 4,000,000.

# Āryabhaṭa's numerical notation (contd.)

- ▶ A consonant combined with a vowel denotes a number.
- ▶ When the vowel is combined with an *avarga* letter, it has a value 10 times what it has when combined with a *varga* letter.
- ▶ System is very compact and order-independent.
- ▶ E.g., ख्युघृ = 4,320,000, since ख् = 2, य् = 30, so that ख्यु = 320,000, while घ् = 4, so that घृ = 4,000,000.
- ▶ It is also order-independent: could write above as घृखु.

# Translation

- ▶ 225, 224, 222, 219, 215, 210, 205, 199, 191, 183, 174, 164, 154, 143, 131, 119, 106, 93, 79, 65, 51, 37, 22, 7—[these are the] Rsine [differences] [for the quadrant divided into as many equal parts, each part hence being 225'] [in] minutes.

# Translation

- ▶ 225, 224, 222, 219, 215, 210, 205, 199, 191, 183, 174, 164, 154, 143, 131, 119, 106, 93, 79, 65, 51, 37, 22, 7—[these are the] Rsine [differences] [for the quadrant divided into as many equal parts, each part hence being 225'] [in] minutes.
- ▶ (Circumference of the circle in minutes is  $360 \times 60 = 21,600$ .)

# Differences, *not* sine values

- ▶ Note that  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{ryabha}\bar{\text{t}}\text{a}$  records only differences, and not sine values proper.

# Differences, *not* sine values

- ▶ Note that Āryabhaṭa records only differences, and not sine values proper.
- ▶ Values can be **trivially** recovered by summing the differences ("fundamental theorem of calculus")

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \Delta \sin(x_i) = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\Delta \sin(x_i)}{\Delta x_i} \Delta x_i \longrightarrow \int \frac{d \sin(x)}{dx} dx).$$

# Differences, *not* sine values

- ▶ Note that Āryabhaṭa records only differences, and not sine values proper.
- ▶ Values can be **trivially** recovered by summing the differences ("fundamental theorem of calculus")

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \Delta \sin(x_i) = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\Delta \sin(x_i)}{\Delta x_i} \Delta x_i \longrightarrow \int \frac{d \sin(x)}{dx} dx).$$

- ▶ Differences needed for linear interpolation ("rule of three").

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

# Differences, *not* sine values

- ▶ Note that Āryabhaṭa records only differences, and not sine values proper.
- ▶ Values can be **trivially** recovered by summing the differences ("fundamental theorem of calculus")

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \Delta \sin(x_i) = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\Delta \sin(x_i)}{\Delta x_i} \Delta x_i \longrightarrow \int \frac{d \sin(x)}{dx} dx).$$

- ▶ Differences needed for linear interpolation ("rule of three").
- ▶ Clumsy geometric method has been abandoned in favour of elegant numerical method.

# Differences, *not* sine values

- ▶ Note that Āryabhaṭa records only differences, and not sine values proper.
- ▶ Values can be **trivially** recovered by summing the differences ("fundamental theorem of calculus")

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \Delta \sin(x_i) = \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{\Delta \sin(x_i)}{\Delta x_i} \Delta x_i \longrightarrow \int \frac{d \sin(x)}{dx} dx).$$

- ▶ Differences needed for linear interpolation ("rule of three").
- ▶ Clumsy geometric method has been abandoned in favour of elegant numerical method.
- ▶ (Brahmagupta tried to go back to older 6 sine values 15° apart using quadratic interpolation, with second differences.)

# Calculating sine differences

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

**Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India**

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{ryabha}\bar{\text{t}}\text{a}$ 's rule for calculating sine differences is

# Calculating sine differences

- ▶  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{ryabha}\bar{\text{t}}\text{a}$ 's rule for calculating sine differences is



प्रथमाच्चापज्यार्धाद्वैरूनं खण्डितं द्वितियार्धम् ।  
तत्प्रथमज्यार्धांशैस्तैस्तरूनानि शेषाणि ॥ १२ ॥

# Calculating sine differences

- ▶ Āryabhaṭa's rule for calculating sine differences is



प्रथमाच्चापज्यार्धाद्वैरूनं खण्डितं द्वितियार्धम् ।  
तत्प्रथमज्यार्धांशैस्तैस्तरूनानि शेषाणि ॥ १२ ॥

- ▶ Translation: (12) The Rsine of the first arc divided by itself and negated gives the second Rsine difference. That same first Rsine, when it divides successive Rsines gives the remaining [Rsine differences].

# Mathematical translation

- $R_i =$  sine values,  $\delta_i = R_i - R_{i-1}$  sine differences.  
Then Āryabhaṭa's rule consists of two parts

$$\delta_2 - \delta_1 = -\frac{R_1}{R_1}, \quad (8)$$

$$\delta_{n+1} - \delta_n = -\frac{R_n}{R_1}. \quad (9)$$

# Mathematical translation

- ▶  $R_i =$  sine values,  $\delta_i = R_i - R_{i-1}$  sine differences.  
Then Āryabhaṭa's rule consists of two parts

$$\delta_2 - \delta_1 = -\frac{R_1}{R_1}, \quad (8)$$

$$\delta_{n+1} - \delta_n = -\frac{R_n}{R_1}. \quad (9)$$

- ▶ Note 1: Second differences have been brought in.

# Mathematical translation

- ▶  $R_i =$  sine values,  $\delta_i = R_i - R_{i-1}$  sine differences.  
Then Āryabhaṭa's rule consists of two parts

$$\delta_2 - \delta_1 = -\frac{R_1}{R_1}, \quad (8)$$

$$\delta_{n+1} - \delta_n = -\frac{R_n}{R_1}. \quad (9)$$

- ▶ Note 1: Second differences have been brought in.
- ▶ Note 2: Brahmagupta also uses 2nd differences for quadratic interpolation.

# Nīlakanṭha's correction

- ▶ Nīlakanṭha gives the corrected formula precise to the thirds

$$\delta_n^{(2)} = - \left( \frac{R_n}{R_1} \right) (\delta_1 - \delta_2). \quad (10)$$

- ▶ Nīlakanṭha gives the corrected formula precise to the thirds

$$\delta_n^{(2)} = - \left( \frac{R_n}{R_1} \right) (\delta_1 - \delta_2). \quad (10)$$

- ▶ since he uses the earlier stated values  $R_1 = [224; 50; 22]$  and  $R_2 = [448; 42; 58]$ , so that  $\delta_2 = [223; 52; 36]$ , and  $\delta_1 - \delta_2 = [0; 57; 46]$ .

- ▶ Nīlakanṭha gives the corrected formula precise to the thirds

$$\delta_n^{(2)} = - \left( \frac{R_n}{R_1} \right) (\delta_1 - \delta_2). \quad (10)$$

- ▶ since he uses the earlier stated values  $R_1 = [224; 50; 22]$  and  $R_2 = [448; 42; 58]$ , so that  $\delta_2 = [223; 52; 36]$ , and  $\delta_1 - \delta_2 = [0; 57; 46]$ .
- ▶ while Āryabhaṭa is precise to the minute (so that  $\delta_1 - \delta_2 = 225 - 224 = 1$ ).

# Āryabhaṭa's method not an algebraic equation

- ▶ Equations  $??$ ,  $??$  cannot be used as algebraic equations for the purpose of calculating sine values.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Āryabhaṭa's method not an algebraic equation

- ▶ Equations  $??$ ,  $??$  cannot be used as algebraic equations for the purpose of calculating sine values.
- ▶  $\delta_n - \delta_{n+1}$  can be calculated from  $R_n$  using  $??$ ;

# Āryabhaṭa's method not an algebraic equation

- ▶ Equations  $??$ ,  $??$  cannot be used as algebraic equations for the purpose of calculating sine values.
- ▶  $\delta_n - \delta_{n+1}$  can be calculated from  $R_n$  using  $??$ ;
- ▶ however, if we try to calculate  $R_n$  by multiplying  $??$  by  $R_1$  to obtain  $R_1 \times (\delta_n - \delta_{n+1})$ , that would result in incorrect values, at least so far as Āryabhaṭa is concerned.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Āryabhaṭa's method not an algebraic equation

- ▶ Equations  $??$ ,  $??$  cannot be used as algebraic equations for the purpose of calculating sine values.
- ▶  $\delta_n - \delta_{n+1}$  can be calculated from  $R_n$  using  $??$ ;
- ▶ however, if we try to calculate  $R_n$  by multiplying  $??$  by  $R_1$  to obtain  $R_1 \times (\delta_n - \delta_{n+1})$ , that would result in incorrect values, at least so far as Āryabhaṭa is concerned.
- ▶ E.g. for  $n = 23$ ,  $\delta_{23} = 22$ ,  $\delta_{24} = 7$ , while  $R_1 = 225$ , so that we should have  
$$R_{23} = (\delta_{23} - \delta_{24}) \times R_1 = 15 \times 225 = 3375 \neq 3431$$
 the 23rd sine value in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (or *Āryabhaṭīya*).

# Āryabhaṭa's method not an algebraic equation

- ▶ Equations  $??$ ,  $??$  cannot be used as algebraic equations for the purpose of calculating sine values.
- ▶  $\delta_n - \delta_{n+1}$  can be calculated from  $R_n$  using  $??$ ;
- ▶ however, if we try to calculate  $R_n$  by multiplying  $??$  by  $R_1$  to obtain  $R_1 \times (\delta_n - \delta_{n+1})$ , that would result in incorrect values, at least so far as Āryabhaṭa is concerned.
- ▶ E.g. for  $n = 23$ ,  $\delta_{23} = 22$ ,  $\delta_{24} = 7$ , while  $R_1 = 225$ , so that we should have  
$$R_{23} = (\delta_{23} - \delta_{24}) \times R_1 = 15 \times 225 = 3375 \neq 3431$$
 the 23rd sine value in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (or *Āryabhaṭīya*).
- ▶ Difference in each case, since no value is a multiple of 225.

- ▶ Thus, Āryabhaṭa's rule for calculating sine values is a recursive process ( $n \geq 2$ ):

$$R_n = R_{n-1} + \delta_n \quad (11)$$

$$\delta_n = \delta_{n-1} - \frac{R_{n-1}}{R_1} \quad (12)$$

# Āryabhaṭa and Euler

- ▶ Thus, Āryabhaṭa's rule for calculating sine values is a recursive process ( $n \geq 2$ ):

$$R_n = R_{n-1} + \delta_n \quad (11)$$

$$\delta_n = \delta_{n-1} - \frac{R_{n-1}}{R_1} \quad (12)$$

- ▶ with  $R_0 = \delta_0 = 0$  and  $R_1 = \delta_1 = \text{arc} = 225'$ , when 24 values are desired.

- ▶ Thus, Āryabhaṭa's rule for calculating sine values is a recursive process ( $n \geq 2$ ):

$$R_n = R_{n-1} + \delta_n \quad (11)$$

$$\delta_n = \delta_{n-1} - \frac{R_{n-1}}{R_1} \quad (12)$$

- ▶ with  $R_0 = \delta_0 = 0$  and  $R_1 = \delta_1 = \text{arc} = 225'$ , when 24 values are desired.
- ▶ Strikingly similar to "Euler's method" of solving an ordinary differential equation.

- ▶ Thus, Āryabhaṭa's rule for calculating sine values is a recursive process ( $n \geq 2$ ):

$$R_n = R_{n-1} + \delta_n \quad (11)$$

$$\delta_n = \delta_{n-1} - \frac{R_{n-1}}{R_1} \quad (12)$$

- ▶ with  $R_0 = \delta_0 = 0$  and  $R_1 = \delta_1 = \text{arc} = 225'$ , when 24 values are desired.
- ▶ Strikingly similar to “Euler's method” of solving an ordinary differential equation.
- ▶ which corresponds (for  $y'' = -y$ ) exactly to Nīlakanṭha's formula.

# Other details

- ▶ thus, calculus developed in India with  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{ryabha}\bar{\text{t}}\text{a}$ 's calculation of sine values by a numerical solution to a difference equation for the sine.

# Other details

- ▶ thus, calculus developed in India with Āryabhaṭa's calculation of sine values by a numerical solution to a difference equation for the sine.
- ▶ It developed over a thousand-year period. Many other new details in my book *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics* e.g. use of fraction-series expansion (stated by Brahmagupta) to obtain power series.

# Other details

- ▶ thus, calculus developed in India with Āryabhaṭa's calculation of sine values by a numerical solution to a difference equation for the sine.
- ▶ It developed over a thousand-year period. Many other new details in my book *Cultural Foundations of Mathematics* e.g. use of fraction-series expansion (stated by Brahmagupta) to obtain power series.
- ▶ E.g. Bhaskara II used infinitesimal techniques to calculate (a) the volume of a sphere, and (b) for instantaneous velocity of a planet.

# Calculus **NOT** the work of Kerala school alone

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

**Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India**

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Āryabhaṭa was a low-caste person from Patna.

# Calculus **NOT** the work of Kerala school alone

- ▶  $\bar{\text{A}}\text{ryabha\c{t}a}$  was a low-caste person from Patna.
- ▶ His followers were the highest caste Namputhiri Brahmins from Kerala who called themselves " $\bar{\text{A}}\text{ryabha\c{t}a}$  school" **not** "Kerala school".

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Calculus **NOT** the work of Kerala school alone

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Āryabhaṭa was a low-caste person from Patna.
- ▶ His followers were the highest caste Namputhiri Brahmins from Kerala who called themselves “Āryabhaṭa school” **not** “Kerala school”.
- ▶ Need for greater accuracy was felt continuously.

# Calculus **NOT** the work of Kerala school alone

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Āryabhaṭa was a low-caste person from Patna.
- ▶ His followers were the highest caste Namputhiri Brahmins from Kerala who called themselves “Āryabhaṭa school” **not** “Kerala school”.
- ▶ Need for greater accuracy was felt continuously.
- ▶ Vaṭeśvara (9th c.) stated values accurate to the seconds.

# NOT Kerala school alone

- ▶ Already, Govindasvāmin (ca. 800 CE), from Kerala, tried to carry out Āryabhaṭa's calculation accurate to the thirds.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# NOT Kerala school alone

- ▶ Already, Govindasvāmin (ca. 800 CE), from Kerala, tried to carry out Āryabhaṭa's calculation accurate to the thirds.
- ▶ In his *Bhāṣya on the Mahā Bhaṣkarīya* (iv.22) he gave radius =  $3437' 44'' 19'''$  (so his value of  $\pi$  more accurate than Vaṭeśvara's, but less accurate than of Mādhava's).

# NOT Kerala school alone

- ▶ Already, Govindasvāmin (ca. 800 CE), from Kerala, tried to carry out Āryabhaṭa's calculation accurate to the thirds.
- ▶ In his *Bhāṣya on the Mahā Bhaṣkarīya* (iv.22) he gave radius =  $3437' 44'' 19'''$  (so his value of  $\pi$  more accurate than Vaṭeśvara's, but less accurate than of Mādhava's).
- ▶ The same written as 12375859''' by Udayadivākara, in his *Sundarī on the Laghu Bhāskarīya* (ii.3–6).

# NOT Kerala school alone

- ▶ Already, Govindasvāmin (ca. 800 CE), from Kerala, tried to carry out Āryabhaṭa's calculation accurate to the thirds.
- ▶ In his *Bhāṣya on the Mahā Bhaṣkarīya* (iv.22) he gave radius =  $3437' 44'' 19'''$  (so his value of  $\pi$  more accurate than Vaṭeśvara's, but less accurate than of Mādhava's).
- ▶ The same written as  $12375859'''$  by Udayadivākara, in his *Sundarī on the Laghu Bhāskarīya* (ii.3–6).
- ▶ Difficulty was missing formula for  $\sum_{n=1}^p n^k$  for any  $p$  and any  $k$ , supplied by *vārasamkalitā* of Narayana Pandit of Benaras (not Kerala), in his *Gaṇita Kaumudī*.

# NOT Kerala school alone

- ▶ Already, Govindasvāmin (ca. 800 CE), from Kerala, tried to carry out Āryabhaṭa's calculation accurate to the thirds.
- ▶ In his *Bhāṣya on the Mahā Bhaṣkarīya* (iv.22) he gave radius =  $3437' 44'' 19'''$  (so his value of  $\pi$  more accurate than Vaṭeśvara's, but less accurate than of Mādhava's).
- ▶ The same written as  $12375859'''$  by Udayadivākara, in his *Sundarī on the Laghu Bhāskarīya* (ii.3–6).
- ▶ Difficulty was missing formula for  $\sum_{n=1}^p n^k$  for any  $p$  and any  $k$ , supplied by *vārasamkalitā* of Narayana Pandit of Benaras (not Kerala), in his *Gaṇita Kaumudī*.
- ▶ Further details in my book.

# Convergence and order counting

- ▶ Actually what was needed was only the leading order term or order of growth of a rational function. This was grasped by the time of Madhava.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Convergence and order counting

- ▶ Actually what was needed was only the leading order term or order of growth of a rational function. This was grasped by the time of Madhava.
- ▶ Sum of infinite geometric series stated by Nīlakanṭha.

# Convergence and order counting

- ▶ Actually what was needed was only the leading order term or order of growth of a rational function. This was grasped by the time of Madhava.
- ▶ Sum of infinite geometric series stated by Nīlakanṭha.
- ▶ Novel notation for rational functions in *Yuktidīpikā*, extends place value system to polynomials. Variable called *rāśi*.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Convergence and order counting

- ▶ Actually what was needed was only the leading order term or order of growth of a rational function. This was grasped by the time of Madhava.
- ▶ Sum of infinite geometric series stated by Nīlakanṭha.
- ▶ Novel notation for rational functions in *Yuktidīpikā*, extends place value system to polynomials. Variable called *rāśi*.
- ▶ No limits: but order counting (which is adequate).

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Convergence and order counting

- ▶ Actually what was needed was only the leading order term or order of growth of a rational function. This was grasped by the time of Madhava.
- ▶ Sum of infinite geometric series stated by Nīlakanṭha.
- ▶ Novel notation for rational functions in *Yuktidīpikā*, extends place value system to polynomials. Variable called *rāśi*.
- ▶ No limits: but order counting (which is adequate).
- ▶ **Principle:** In comparison with a constant (*rūpa*), for large  $n$ , we may neglect any quantity which is  $O\left(\frac{1}{n}\right)$ .

# Why trigonometric values were needed

- ▶ Two key sources of wealth in India: agriculture, and overseas trade.

# Why trigonometric values were needed

- ▶ Two key sources of wealth in India: agriculture, and overseas trade.
- ▶ Monsoon driven agriculture required an accurate calendar

# Why trigonometric values were needed

- ▶ Two key sources of wealth in India: agriculture, and overseas trade.
- ▶ Monsoon driven agriculture required an accurate calendar
- ▶ which required accurate planetary models.

# Why trigonometric values were needed

- ▶ Two key sources of wealth in India: agriculture, and overseas trade.
- ▶ Monsoon driven agriculture required an accurate calendar
- ▶ which required accurate planetary models.
- ▶ Note: Greek and Roman calendars inaccurate and slipshod. (Inaccurate length of the tropical year until 1582; months of varying length, unrelated with the motion of the moon).

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The “delayed” monsoon of 2004

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

**How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India**

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Dire anticipation of drought

# THE TIMES OF INDIA

New Delhi, Friday, July 30, 2010 www.timesofindia.com Late City 18 pages Invitation Price Rs. 1.50

## International

All set to break into movies, Naomi is taking acting classes

Page 10



## India

Court order on Bhandarkar's bail plea today

Page 8

## Sport

Harbhajan plots Jayasuriya's downfall for final

Page 17



# Drought grips half the country

## 276 of 524 Met Districts Get Deficient Or Scanty Rainfall

By Samiran Chakravarti

New Delhi: Weather watching just got grimmer. The shadow of drought has spread over half the country in Monsoon Bhavayantaryas. 276 out of 524 districts — or 53% of all meteorological districts — have had deficient or scanty rainfall for the period from June 1 to July 21, while 18% had excess rainfall. Neither is good for crops. Only 8% of the country has had normal rain.

Experts say that if things stay this way, the country could face a reversion of the drought situation of 2002, when 387 dis-

### WITHER REPORT

54% of the country's districts recorded below-normal rainfall till July 21

Met Dist States	No. of Districts	Deficient	Scanty
MP	24	10	
Rajasthan	21	11	
Gujarat	21	3	
Maharashtra	27	7	
Uttar Pradesh	19	3	
Kerala	11	0	
Andhra	14	0	
Tamil Nadu	10	0	13
Haryana	6	0	4
Punjab	6	0	0

tricts were affected by meteorological drought. A host of crops are withering

among them paddy, pulses, groundnut, soya, sugarcane, cotton and

coarse cereals. The states that are worst hit are Haryana, Punjab,

### Plan ahead, say experts

New Delhi: Faced with erratic monsoon this year, agricultural experts have recommended creation of a buffer stock of seed, feed and fodder reserves. They have also urged the government to decide whether the crop pattern needs to be changed for the rabi season. PB

Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Things are pretty alarming in these states, as many as 100 districts out of a total of 301 have had deficient or scanty rainfall. The driest among these states are Rajasthan and Gujarat. In Rajasthan, all 22 districts have had scanty rain, while in Gujarat it's 24 out of 25. Rainfall is classified as excess (+20%), normal (+10 to 19%), deficient (0 to -9%) or scanty (below 0%), depending on the variation in rainfall from the seasonal average. The states that are worst hit are Haryana, Punjab,

# India Inc has no place for sunset clause

## BOYS' CLUB: DAUGHTERS YET TO GET DUE



# Drought or floods

- ▶ Followed by floods across the country.

# Drought or floods

- ▶ Followed by floods across the country.
- ▶ The monsoon was delayed only on the Gregorian calendar.

# Drought or floods

- ▶ Followed by floods across the country.
- ▶ The monsoon was delayed only on the Gregorian calendar.
- ▶ It was in time according to the traditional calendar.

# Drought or floods

- ▶ Followed by floods across the country.
- ▶ The monsoon was delayed only on the Gregorian calendar.
- ▶ It was in time according to the traditional calendar.
- ▶ Was the monsoon delayed or was the calendar wrong?

# Drought or floods

- ▶ Followed by floods across the country.
- ▶ The monsoon was delayed only on the Gregorian calendar.
- ▶ It was in time according to the traditional calendar.
- ▶ Was the monsoon delayed or was the calendar wrong?
- ▶ Wind regime depends upon sidereal motion and lunar position.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

**How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India**

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Same phenomenon repeated in 2005 and in 2006.

# 2009

- ▶ Same phenomenon repeated in 2005 and in 2006.
- ▶ And again in 2009.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

**How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India**

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# THE TIMES OF INDIA

M F HUSAIN GETS NOSTALGIC ABOUT AUG 15, 1947; RULES OUT RETURN TO INDIA 13

RELIANCE Mobile. Incoming Roaming FREE with "100-9910000430" portload plan. www.rcm.co.in

SAIN AT V QU

## Govt scrambles to save kharif, prays for rabi

### Deficient Rain In 31 Out Of 36 Met Zones This Month

Rajeev Deshpande & Nitin Sethi | TNN

New Delhi: An unexpectedly dry first fortnight of August has starkly set out the big task before a drought-battered government — to salvage whatever remains of the kharif crop. At the same time, it's praying for rain even now so that moisture in the soil would help successful sowing of the rabi (winter) crop.

As things stood on Friday, the country has had deficient rainfall in all parts, barring Orissa, Karnataka and southern Gujarat (see map). The latest farm and rain statistics in the week August 6-12 show as many as 31 out of 36 Met sub-divisions were in either "deficient" (6 sub-divisions) or "scanty" (23) rainfall category.

Cabinet secretary K M Chandrashekar, whose office is overseeing drought mitigation, told TOI, "The effort is to try and save the crop in the field at all costs with additional power and diesel subsidy while tackling urban problems like drinking water. The government is working on a war footing."

An emergency subsidy of Rs 1,000 crore is being given for diesel for farm pumps. Additional power will be

- Monsoon worsens in August, raising doubts about IMD's recently revised forecast

- In week gone by, rain deficit is 85% in east Rajasthan, 81% in AP's Rayalseema, 88% in Marathwada and 86% in west UP.

- Except for Saurashtra and south Karnataka, all other Met sub-divisions got below normal rain in Aug 6-12. As many as 177 districts declared drought-hit

- Paddy sowing down by 25%, worst in UP (-28%) and Bihar (-14%). Total foodgrain sowing down by 11%, coarse cereals by 14%. Sugar-cane sowing near-normal, but hit by poor rain in UP, Maharashtra

### Wages of DROUGHT

Rainfall from June 1 to Aug 12 (% deviation from long term average)



### OPERATION SALVAGE

- Govt provides Rs 1,000cr to subsidize diesel for pumpsets. Plans extra power for rain-deficit states and hundreds of new tubewells
- Food stocks to be released in market. Sugar, pulses to be imported. Move to



Calculus without Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and infinite series in India

How and why the Calculus developed in India

How and Why the Calculus was Transmitted to Europe

European difficulties in understanding the imported calculus

Conclusions



# Drought almost certain now, admits IMD

## GoM To Ready Contingency Plan

Prasad Kulkarni | TWS

Pune/New Delhi: There is every possibility of 2009 being a "drought year" with weather officials saying that only rainfall 30% in excess of normal for the remainder of the monsoon from mid-August to September — a near impossibility — can now stave off the spectre of drought.

PM Manmohan Singh on Thursday set up a group of ministers to chalk out a contingency plan to deal with the situation while a committee of secretaries may be asked to look into import of sugar. Agriculture minister Sharad Pawar said the government would decide next week on whether to release food stocks into the open market to stabilise prices.

With the cumulative shortfall in rainfall touching 29%, the monsoon has defied predictions that it could revive to the extent that it significantly lowers the deficit in regions like north-west, central and north-east India.

A senior IMD official at Pune said the country was more than likely to end up with a drought unless the remaining 45 days of monsoon saw much more than average rainfall — something that would be contrary to the Met's own predictions.

Explaining the scenario, IMD's deputy director general for weather forecasting A B Mazumdar said, "The rainfall should be at least 30% in excess of normal rains for the remaining 45 days of the monsoon season."

The average rainfall of the June-to-September monsoon season in the country is 890mm and normal rain for the mid-August to end-of-September period is 324mm.



### Running Dry

- ▶ Monsoon cannot revive enough to lower the deficit in large parts of India
- ▶ Only 30% above average rain in remaining 45 days of season can prevent drought
- ▶ Drought year is declared when 20% to 40% of the country's total area is rainfall deficient and June-Sept shortfall is 10% or more

## 'N India's groundwater vanishing'

Mumbai: Using Nasa satellite data, scientists have found that groundwater levels in northern India have been declining by as much as 33cm (one foot) per year over the past decade.

Attributing the loss almost entirely to human activity, Nasa's Jet Propulsion Laboratory said more than 108 cubic km of groundwater disappeared from aquifers in Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Delhi between 2002 and 2008 — far more water than

Calculus without Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and infinite series in India

How and why the Calculus developed in India

How and Why the Calculus was Transmitted to Europe

European difficulties in understanding the imported calculus

Conclusions



# THE TIMES OF INDIA

INCLUSIVE OF DELHI TIMES AND TIMES PROPERTY | TIMESOFINDIA.COM | EXPRESS.TIMESOFINDIA.COM

**ANIL AMBANT WRITES ON THE IMPORTANCE OF TRUST IN SPEAKING TREE 16**

**RELIANCE Mobile**  
9899 Service

**Local SMS @ 7p**  
500 SMS with Local SMS Pack Rs.32  
Call 1333 or 3003 3033.  
Valid for SMS to any network

**BROAD'S FIVE-WICKET HAUL PUTS ENGLAND IN STRONG POSITION 23**

## As heavens open up, it's hell on city roads

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Vijesh Kumar

**New Delhi:** For the second time this season, the heavens opened up over the capital and brought on hell for commuters and residents within a space of a few hours on Friday evening. As it turned dark and rain came down in sheets accompanied by strong winds, thrilled Delhiites soon witnessed the horror of familiar traffic chaos across the city. Several areas were completely flooded in the 74mm rain and

**STALLED BY STORM**  
PAGES 3 & 4

many people spent hours on the road, stuck in traffic jams.

The IGI Airport proved to be the biggest embarrassment as part of the roof of the new departure terminal got blown off and a large part of the terminal got waterlogged. Many flights were delayed and diverted as visibility fell to between 100 and 300m. Several passengers also missed even delayed flights because they were stuck on the road.

The city lost several trees (NDMC said 100 trees were fully or partially damaged, while MCD said 14 trees were uprooted in its area) which blocked roads, aggravating traffic. Traffic lights also



**NOWHERE TO GO:** A driver takes a break during a massive jam

Yet again, underpasses and flyovers were a sore point as acute waterlogging in and around them led to traffic disruptions. Traffic lights also

roads and overflowing sewers and drains also saw water entering many houses. The maximum temperature early Friday afternoon —

### RAIN PAIN &

**What Came Down**

- 74mm of rain in an afternoon storm with windspeeds up to 91 kmph (Palam)
- Temperature by 16°C (from 36°C to 20°C)
- Power demand by 1,500MW (from 4,000MW to 2,500MW)

**What Went Up**

- Stress levels and chaos. Just one car helpline got 600 breakdown calls by 9pm

**5 Slowest Trips\***

- Gurgaon-SP Marg. Time: 5 hrs
- New Friends-South Ex: 3 hrs
- IP Extn-India Gate. 2.15hrs
- Delhi Gate-Mandi House. 2 hrs
- IGI-Domestic Terminal. 1.30 hrs

\*Based on commuter feedback

**Airport Down Under**

- Part of new ID terminal roof blown away. Operations stalled

**Forecast**

- Isolated showers over northwest India in next 48 hrs

two hours because of the rain. Meteorologists said a cyclonic circulation over northwest India led to the thundersquall.

Calculus without Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and infinite series in India

How and why the Calculus developed in India

How and Why the Calculus was Transmitted to Europe

European difficulties in understanding the imported calculus

Conclusions





# Celestial navigation

- ▶ The other key source of wealth was overseas trade

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

**How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India**

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Celestial navigation

- ▶ The other key source of wealth was overseas trade
- ▶ which required a reliable technique of celestial navigation.

# Celestial navigation

- ▶ The other key source of wealth was overseas trade
- ▶ which required a reliable technique of celestial navigation.
- ▶ Many passages from *Laghu Bhaāskarīya* onwards for determination of latitude and longitude (can also be used at sea; for quotes see chp. 4 of my book.).

# Celestial navigation

- ▶ The other key source of wealth was overseas trade
- ▶ which required a reliable technique of celestial navigation.
- ▶ Many passages from *Laghu Bhaāskarīya* onwards for determination of latitude and longitude (can also be used at sea; for quotes see chp. 4 of my book.).
- ▶ These techniques used (a) ephemeris time or (b) distance from a known meridian or (c) the size of the globe as a parameter.

# Celestial navigation

- ▶ The other key source of wealth was overseas trade
- ▶ which required a reliable technique of celestial navigation.
- ▶ Many passages from *Laghu Bhaāskarīya* onwards for determination of latitude and longitude (can also be used at sea; for quotes see chp. 4 of my book.).
- ▶ These techniques used (a) ephemeris time or (b) distance from a known meridian or (c) the size of the globe as a parameter.
- ▶ Europeans had no reliable ephemeris calculations then, and (c) could not be used, since Columbus had the wrong size of the globe,

# Celestial navigation

- ▶ The other key source of wealth was overseas trade
- ▶ which required a reliable technique of celestial navigation.
- ▶ Many passages from *Laghu Bhaāskarīya* onwards for determination of latitude and longitude (can also be used at sea; for quotes see chp. 4 of my book.).
- ▶ These techniques used (a) ephemeris time or (b) distance from a known meridian or (c) the size of the globe as a parameter.
- ▶ Europeans had no reliable ephemeris calculations then, and (c) could not be used, since Columbus had the wrong size of the globe,
- ▶ hence Europeans lacked a good estimate of the size of the globe until Picard in 1671.

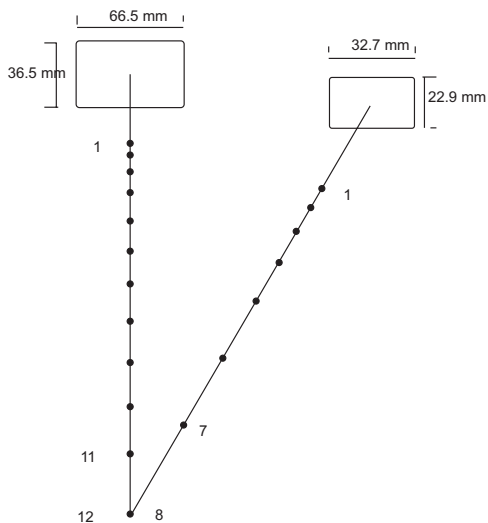
- ▶ The technique (b) of converting distance to longitude was copied in Europe.

- ▶ The technique (b) of converting distance to longitude was copied in Europe.
- ▶ But estimating distances at sea using the log and log book was very error-prone.

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

- ▶ The technique (b) of converting distance to longitude was copied in Europe.
- ▶ But estimating distances at sea using the log and log book was very error-prone.
- ▶ Hence led to the longitude problem of European navigation.



Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The *kamāl* or *rāpalagai*

- ▶ I certainly imagined that nothing could be more primitive than my Maldivian friend's *kamāl*. . . , when lo! here is something even less advanced in ingenuity!  
(James Prinsep)

# The *kamāl* or *rāpalagai*

- ▶ I certainly imagined that nothing could be more primitive than my Maldivian friend's *kamāl*. . . , when lo! here is something even less advanced in ingenuity! (James Prinsep)
- ▶ I hunted down the instrument in the Lakshadweep islands.

# The *kamāl* or *rāpalagai*

- ▶ I certainly imagined that nothing could be more primitive than my Maldivian friend's *kamāl*. . . , when lo! here is something even less advanced in ingenuity! (James Prinsep)
- ▶ I hunted down the instrument in the Lakshadweep islands.
- ▶ The instrument uses **two** pieces.

# The *kamāl* or *rāpalagai*

- ▶ I certainly imagined that nothing could be more primitive than my Maldivian friend's *kamāl*. . . , when lo! here is something even less advanced in ingenuity! (James Prinsep)
- ▶ I hunted down the instrument in the Lakshadweep islands.
- ▶ The instrument uses **two** pieces.
- ▶ Applies “Vernier” principle to harmonic scales.

# The *kamāl* or *rāpalagai*

- ▶ I certainly imagined that nothing could be more primitive than my Maldive friend's *kamāl*. . . , when lo! here is something even less advanced in ingenuity! (James Prinsep)
- ▶ I hunted down the instrument in the Lakshadweep islands.
- ▶ The instrument uses **two** pieces.
- ▶ Applies “Vernier” principle to harmonic scales.
- ▶ Not understood by earlier historians including Prinsep who lacked the ingenuity to understand it.

# The *kamāl* or *rāpalagai*

- ▶ I certainly imagined that nothing could be more primitive than my Maldivian friend's *kamāl*. . . , when lo! here is something even less advanced in ingenuity! (James Prinsep)
- ▶ I hunted down the instrument in the Lakshadweep islands.
- ▶ The instrument uses **two** pieces.
- ▶ Applies “Vernier” principle to harmonic scales.
- ▶ Not understood by earlier historians including Prinsep who lacked the ingenuity to understand it.
- ▶ Instrument has accuracy of 11 miles and a range of 670 miles.

# Illustration of epistemological difficulties

- ▶ Was used by navigator (Malemo Kanha) who brought Vasco da Gama from Melinde (Africa) to Calicut (India).

# Illustration of epistemological difficulties

- ▶ Was used by navigator (Malemo Kanha) who brought Vasco da Gama from Melinde (Africa) to Calicut (India).
- ▶ Vasco did not understand the construction of the instrument and thought the pilot was telling the distance by his teeth.

# Illustration of epistemological difficulties

- ▶ Was used by navigator (Malemo Kanha) who brought Vasco da Gama from Melinde (Africa) to Calicut (India).
- ▶ Vasco did not understand the construction of the instrument and thought the pilot was telling the distance by his teeth.
- ▶ Since the instrument is held by the teeth, and the Malayalam word *kau* for pole star is the same as the word for teeth!

# Illustration of epistemological difficulties

- ▶ Was used by navigator (Malemo Kanha) who brought Vasco da Gama from Melinde (Africa) to Calicut (India).
- ▶ Vasco did not understand the construction of the instrument and thought the pilot was telling the distance by his teeth.
- ▶ Since the instrument is held by the teeth, and the Malayalam word *kau* for pole star is the same as the word for teeth!
- ▶ Vasco wrote that he was taking a copy back to have it graduated in inches! (The instrument uses a harmonic scale, so this is impossible.)

# Illustration of epistemological difficulties

- ▶ Was used by navigator (Malemo Kanha) who brought Vasco da Gama from Melinde (Africa) to Calicut (India).
- ▶ Vasco did not understand the construction of the instrument and thought the pilot was telling the distance by his teeth.
- ▶ Since the instrument is held by the teeth, and the Malayalam word *kau* for pole star is the same as the word for teeth!
- ▶ Vasco wrote that he was taking a copy back to have it graduated in inches! (The instrument uses a harmonic scale, so this is impossible.)
- ▶ The instrument was copied in Europe, in crude ways like the cross-staff, showing that it was never earlier understood (even by historians of science like Prinsep).

# The European navigational problem

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Problem was specific to European techniques of navigation, which relied on charts. It had three aspects

# The European navigational problem

- ▶ Problem was specific to European techniques of navigation, which relied on charts. It had three aspects
- ▶ Loxodromes

# The European navigational problem

- ▶ Problem was specific to European techniques of navigation, which relied on charts. It had three aspects
- ▶ Loxodromes
- ▶ Latitude

# The European navigational problem

- ▶ Problem was specific to European techniques of navigation, which relied on charts. It had three aspects
- ▶ Loxodromes
- ▶ Latitude
- ▶ Longitude

# The European navigational problem

- ▶ Problem was specific to European techniques of navigation, which relied on charts. It had three aspects
- ▶ Loxodromes
- ▶ Latitude
- ▶ Longitude
- ▶ Various governments encouraged solution of this problem from 1530 to 1760.

# Loxodromes and tables of secants

- ▶ European navigators accustomed to the Mediterranean found that following a fixed course in the open sea leads to a curved path hence called a loxodrome.

# Loxodromes and tables of secants

- ▶ European navigators accustomed to the Mediterranean found that following a fixed course in the open sea leads to a curved path hence called a loxodrome.
- ▶ Nunes incorrectly thought loxodromes were great circles.

# Loxodromes and tables of secants

- ▶ European navigators accustomed to the Mediterranean found that following a fixed course in the open sea leads to a curved path hence called a loxodrome.
- ▶ Nunes incorrectly thought loxodromes were great circles.
- ▶ European navigators wanted to set a straight line course using a ruler, and hence wanted a means to convert loxodromes to straight lines.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Loxodromes and tables of secants

- ▶ European navigators accustomed to the Mediterranean found that following a fixed course in the open sea leads to a curved path hence called a loxodrome.
- ▶ Nunes incorrectly thought loxodromes were great circles.
- ▶ European navigators wanted to set a straight line course using a ruler, and hence wanted a means to convert loxodromes to straight lines.
- ▶ This was done by Mercator, but it required a table of secants. Hence, 16th c. navigational texts are full of such tables.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Loxodromes and tables of secants

- ▶ European navigators accustomed to the Mediterranean found that following a fixed course in the open sea leads to a curved path hence called a loxodrome.
- ▶ Nunes incorrectly thought loxodromes were great circles.
- ▶ European navigators wanted to set a straight line course using a ruler, and hence wanted a means to convert loxodromes to straight lines.
- ▶ This was done by Mercator, but it required a table of secants. Hence, 16th c. navigational texts are full of such tables.
- ▶ Mercator's sources of accurate trigonometric values unknown; he was arrested by the Inquisition, and had enough motive to hide his sources.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The Gregorian calendar reform of 1582

- ▶ Before the well-known longitude problem, there also was a latitude problem.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The Gregorian calendar reform of 1582

- ▶ Before the well-known longitude problem, there also was a latitude problem.
- ▶ Columbus could not determine the latitude of Cuba using observations, and thought he was near China.

# The Gregorian calendar reform of 1582

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Before the well-known longitude problem, there also was a latitude problem.
- ▶ Columbus could not determine the latitude of Cuba using observations, and thought he was near China.
- ▶ Vasco da Gama carried an astrolabe which could only be used on land.

# The Gregorian calendar reform of 1582

- ▶ Before the well-known longitude problem, there also was a latitude problem.
- ▶ Columbus could not determine the latitude of Cuba using observations, and thought he was near China.
- ▶ Vasco da Gama carried an astrolabe which could only be used on land.
- ▶ Solar altitude at noon could be used to determine latitude, **provided** one had an accurate date for the equinox.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# The Gregorian calendar reform of 1582

- ▶ Before the well-known longitude problem, there also was a latitude problem.
- ▶ Columbus could not determine the latitude of Cuba using observations, and thought he was near China.
- ▶ Vasco da Gama carried an astrolabe which could only be used on land.
- ▶ Solar altitude at noon could be used to determine latitude, **provided** one had an accurate date for the equinox.
- ▶ This required calendar reform of 1582 (practical compulsion to correct the date of Easter).

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Only one Indian technique (converting departures to longitudes) could be used, by solving a plane triangle.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Only one Indian technique (converting departures to longitudes) could be used, by solving a plane triangle.
- ▶ This involved “heaving the log”, and was very inaccurate.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Only one Indian technique (converting departures to longitudes) could be used, by solving a plane triangle.
- ▶ This involved “heaving the log”, and was very inaccurate.
- ▶ By the time the size of the globe was accurately determined, globes had been banned aboard ships for nearly 2 centuries by Portugal. Hence this was not used.
- ▶ Eventually led to the development of the chronometer.

# Roman Catholic church in India in the 16th c.

- ▶ First mission formed in Cochin in 1500

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Roman Catholic church in India in the 16th c.

- ▶ First mission formed in Cochin in 1500
- ▶ Set up school for local Syrian Christians based on "Prester John" strategy for winning the Crusades.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Roman Catholic church in India in the 16th c.

- ▶ First mission formed in Cochin in 1500
- ▶ Set up school for local Syrian Christians based on "Prester John" strategy for winning the Crusades.
- ▶ Taken over by Jesuits around 1550 and converted into a college.

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Roman Catholic church in India in the 16th c.

- ▶ First mission formed in Cochin in 1500
- ▶ Set up school for local Syrian Christians based on "Prester John" strategy for winning the Crusades.
- ▶ Taken over by Jesuits around 1550 and converted into a college.
- ▶ Church in India replicated its earlier perceived winning strategies:
  - ▶ (a) destroyed all Hindu temples in Goa by 1543 (as in Alexandria, 4th c.),
  - ▶ (b) imposed Inquisition,
  - ▶ (c) tried to convert the Moghul king Akbar ca. 1580 a la Constantine
  - ▶ (d) burnt all local Bibles (older Aramaic bibles) at 'Synod of Diamper' 1599 and...

# Cochin and Toledo

- ▶ initiated mass translations (on the Toledo model) using Syrian Christians (and even Brahmins) as a substitute for the Mozharabs of Toledo.

# Cochin and Toledo

- ▶ initiated mass translations (on the Toledo model) using Syrian Christians (and even Brahmins) as a substitute for the Mozharabs of Toledo.
- ▶ Using the Cochin college as a base, and transferring translations to Rome.

# Cochin and Toledo

- ▶ initiated mass translations (on the Toledo model) using Syrian Christians (and even Brahmins) as a substitute for the Mozharabs of Toledo.
- ▶ Using the Cochin college as a base, and transferring translations to Rome.
- ▶ Jesuit syllabus at Collegio Romano was changed by Clavius to introduce practical mathematics.

# Cochin and Toledo

- ▶ initiated mass translations (on the Toledo model) using Syrian Christians (and even Brahmins) as a substitute for the Mozharabs of Toledo.
- ▶ Using the Cochin college as a base, and transferring translations to Rome.
- ▶ Jesuit syllabus at Collegio Romano was changed by Clavius to introduce practical mathematics.
- ▶ His student Matteo Ricci was further trained in navigation in Coimbra before being despatched to India.

# Cochin and Toledo

- ▶ initiated mass translations (on the Toledo model) using Syrian Christians (and even Brahmins) as a substitute for the Mozharabs of Toledo.
- ▶ Using the Cochin college as a base, and transferring translations to Rome.
- ▶ Jesuit syllabus at Collegio Romano was changed by Clavius to introduce practical mathematics.
- ▶ His student Matteo Ricci was further trained in navigation in Coimbra before being despatched to India.
- ▶ He visited Cochin and wrote back that he was looking for an “honest Moor or an intelligent Brahmin” to explain Indian calendrical texts to him.

- ▶ Key aspects of Jesuit archives are still secret, so we need an alternative standard of evidence (to prevent manipulation of history by manipulating sources).

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Key aspects of Jesuit archives are still secret, so we need an alternative standard of evidence (to prevent manipulation of history by manipulating sources).
- ▶ Because of extreme religious intolerance during this period, there is general refusal to acknowledge non-Christian sources. Plethora of claims of “independent re-discovery” starting from Copernicus.

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

- ▶ Key aspects of Jesuit archives are still secret, so we need an alternative standard of evidence (to prevent manipulation of history by manipulating sources).
- ▶ Because of extreme religious intolerance during this period, there is general refusal to acknowledge non-Christian sources. Plethora of claims of “independent re-discovery” starting from Copernicus.
- ▶ As compared to balance of probabilities (appropriate to history) I proposed a standard of evidence used in criminal law for proof beyond doubt.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
IndiaHow and why the  
Calculus developed  
in IndiaHow and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
EuropeEuropean  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Key aspects of Jesuit archives are still secret, so we need an alternative standard of evidence (to prevent manipulation of history by manipulating sources).
- ▶ Because of extreme religious intolerance during this period, there is general refusal to acknowledge non-Christian sources. Plethora of claims of “independent re-discovery” starting from Copernicus.
- ▶ As compared to balance of probabilities (appropriate to history) I proposed a standard of evidence used in criminal law for proof beyond doubt.
- ▶ Involved consideration of (a) opportunity, (b) motivation, (c) circumstantial, (d) documentary, and (e) epistemic evidence.

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

# Circumstantial trail

- ▶ Clavius' 1608 trigonometric tables (NOT 1586 tables) probably taken from the *Kriyākramkari*. Clavius did not know enough trigonometry to determine size of the earth.

# Circumstantial trail

- ▶ Clavius' 1608 trigonometric tables (NOT 1586 tables) probably taken from the *Kriyākramkari*. Clavius did not know enough trigonometry to determine size of the earth.
- ▶ Tycho Brahe's planetary model coincides with Nīlakanṭha's. Tycho Brahe's masonry instruments were too inaccurate for him to make observations.

# Circumstantial trail

- ▶ Clavius' 1608 trigonometric tables (NOT 1586 tables) probably taken from the *Kriyākramkari*. Clavius did not know enough trigonometry to determine size of the earth.
- ▶ Tycho Brahe's planetary model coincides with Nīlakanṭha's. Tycho Brahe's masonry instruments were too inaccurate for him to make observations.
- ▶ Kepler's fantastic accuracy of orbit of Mars explained away as a miracle. (He was nearly blind, and could not have made the observations. He decamped with Tycho's secret papers after Tycho's death.) Kepler's explanation not credible (he was a professional astrologer). Parameswar had made observations over 50 years to attain this accuracy.

- ▶ Galileo has problems with calculus similar to Descartes'. Leaves disreputable calculus to his student Cavalieri after 5 years of vacillation.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

**How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe**

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Galileo has problems with calculus similar to Descartes'. Leaves disreputable calculus to his student Cavalieri after 5 years of vacillation.
- ▶ Fermat and Pascal adopt it enthusiastically. Fermat's challenge problem ("Pell's equation") is a solved exercise in Bhaskara II.

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

- ▶ Galileo has problems with calculus similar to Descartes'. Leaves disreputable calculus to his student Cavalieri after 5 years of vacillation.
- ▶ Fermat and Pascal adopt it enthusiastically. Fermat's challenge problem ("Pell's equation") is a solved exercise in Bhaskara II.
- ▶ Descartes' difficulty.

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and infinite series in India](#)[How and why the Calculus developed in India](#)[How and Why the Calculus was Transmitted to Europe](#)[European difficulties in understanding the imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

- ▶ Galileo has problems with calculus similar to Descartes'. Leaves disreputable calculus to his student Cavalieri after 5 years of vacillation.
- ▶ Fermat and Pascal adopt it enthusiastically. Fermat's challenge problem ("Pell's equation") is a solved exercise in Bhaskara II.
- ▶ Descartes' difficulty.
- ▶ Newton feels he has found a rigorous resolution through fluxions.

[Outline](#)[Recap](#)[The argument](#)[Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India](#)[How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India](#)[How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe](#)[European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus](#)[Conclusions](#)

- ▶ British changed educational system in Lakshadweep.

- ▶ British changed educational system in Lakshadweep.
- ▶ Introducing the study of navigation in schools in 1938.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

**European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus**

Conclusions

- ▶ British changed educational system in Lakshadweep.
- ▶ Introducing the study of navigation in schools in 1938.
- ▶ Induced islanders to become dependent on a British sextant which was less accurate than their indigenous instrument, and could not be made locally. Nobody bothered to compare the two.

- ▶ In the 10th c. when Arabic numerals went to Europe

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

**European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus**

Conclusions

# Algorismus

- ▶ In the 10th c. when Arabic numerals went to Europe
- ▶ Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester) did not understand their function.

# Algorismus

- ▶ In the 10th c. when Arabic numerals went to Europe
- ▶ Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester) did not understand their function.
- ▶ and made hilarious blunders (he made an abacus with Arabic numerals).

# Algorismus

- ▶ In the 10th c. when Arabic numerals went to Europe
- ▶ Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester) did not understand their function.
- ▶ and made hilarious blunders (he made an abacus with Arabic numerals).
- ▶ Europeans remained poor at arithmetic until 16th c.

# The attack on calculus in Europe

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

**European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus**

Conclusions

- ▶ Newton's fluxions and Leibniz's differences

# The attack on calculus in Europe

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

**European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus**

Conclusions

- ▶ Newton's fluxions and Leibniz's differences
- ▶ were attacked by Berkeley as illogical,

# The attack on calculus in Europe

- ▶ Newton's fluxions and Leibniz's differences
- ▶ were attacked by Berkeley as illogical,
- ▶ and had to be abandoned.

# The attack on calculus in Europe

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Newton's fluxions and Leibniz's differences
- ▶ were attacked by Berkeley as illogical,
- ▶ and had to be abandoned.
- ▶ Because of difficulties in understanding the calculus, Newton made a mistake in his physics.

# The attack on calculus in Europe

Calculus without  
Limits

C. K. Raju

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

- ▶ Newton's fluxions and Leibniz's differences
- ▶ were attacked by Berkeley as illogical,
- ▶ and had to be abandoned.
- ▶ Because of difficulties in understanding the calculus, Newton made a mistake in his physics.
- ▶ But that is another story.

# Straight and curved lines

- ▶ We have seen the problem of loxodromes, and its resolution by Mercator's chart (which solved a problem equivalent to the fundamental theorem of calculus).

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

**European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus**

Conclusions

# Straight and curved lines

- ▶ We have seen the problem of loxodromes, and its resolution by Mercator's chart (which solved a problem equivalent to the fundamental theorem of calculus).
- ▶ But a similar problem arose in pure mathematics.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

**European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus**

Conclusions

# Straight and curved lines

- ▶ We have seen the problem of loxodromes, and its resolution by Mercator's chart (which solved a problem equivalent to the fundamental theorem of calculus).
- ▶ But a similar problem arose in pure mathematics.
- ▶ Descartes declared in his *Geometry* that measuring the ratios of curved and straight lines was beyond the capacity of the human mind.

Outline

Recap

The argument

Calculus and  
infinite series in  
India

How and why the  
Calculus developed  
in India

How and Why the  
Calculus was  
Transmitted to  
Europe

European  
difficulties in  
understanding the  
imported calculus

Conclusions

# Straight and curved lines

- ▶ We have seen the problem of loxodromes, and its resolution by Mercator's chart (which solved a problem equivalent to the fundamental theorem of calculus).
- ▶ But a similar problem arose in pure mathematics.
- ▶ Descartes declared in his *Geometry* that measuring the ratios of curved and straight lines was beyond the capacity of the human mind.
- ▶ Indian mathematics accepted measurement of curved lines since *śulba sūtra*-s.

# Deprecation of the empirical

- ▶ Plato deprecated the empirical.

# Deprecation of the empirical

- ▶ Plato deprecated the empirical.
- ▶ **BUT** use of the empirical found in proofs in the *Elements* until the late 19th c. changes proposed by Hilbert and Russell.

# Deprecation of the empirical

- ▶ Plato deprecated the empirical.
- ▶ **BUT** use of the empirical found in proofs in the *Elements* until the late 19th c. changes proposed by Hilbert and Russell.
- ▶ Deduction regarded as more certain than induction in European thought.

# Deprecation of the empirical

- ▶ Plato deprecated the empirical.
- ▶ **BUT** use of the empirical found in proofs in the *Elements* until the late 19th c. changes proposed by Hilbert and Russell.
- ▶ Deduction regarded as more certain than induction in European thought.
- ▶ No agreement on metaphysics in Indian tradition—not even logic. (Buddhist and Jain logics are not 2-valued nor truth-functional.)

# Deprecation of the empirical

- ▶ Plato deprecated the empirical.
- ▶ **BUT** use of the empirical found in proofs in the *Elements* until the late 19th c. changes proposed by Hilbert and Russell.
- ▶ Deduction regarded as more certain than induction in European thought.
- ▶ No agreement on metaphysics in Indian tradition—not even logic. (Buddhist and Jain logics are not 2-valued nor truth-functional.)
- ▶ Thus, present-day mathematical proofs are worthless from a Buddhist viewpoint.

# Other issues

- ▶ Non-perfection of mathematics: āsanna, saviśeṣa, etc.

# Other issues

- ▶ Non-perfection of mathematics: āsanna, saviśeṣa, etc.
- ▶ Numerical solution of ODE's vs Fundamental Theorem of Calculus

# Other issues

- ▶ Non-perfection of mathematics: āsanna, saviśeṣa, etc.
- ▶ Numerical solution of ODE's vs Fundamental Theorem of Calculus
- ▶ Zeroism vs limits

# Conclusions

- ▶ The infinite series which developed in India amounted to the calculus.

# Conclusions

- ▶ The infinite series which developed in India amounted to the calculus.
- ▶ When transmitted to Europe, this was not properly understood by Europeans due to a variety of cultural factors

# Conclusions

- ▶ The infinite series which developed in India amounted to the calculus.
- ▶ When transmitted to Europe, this was not properly understood by Europeans due to a variety of cultural factors
- ▶ The European difficulties with the calculus were globalised during colonialism.

# Conclusions

- ▶ The infinite series which developed in India amounted to the calculus.
- ▶ When transmitted to Europe, this was not properly understood by Europeans due to a variety of cultural factors
- ▶ The European difficulties with the calculus were globalised during colonialism.
- ▶ And are maintained today through uncritical imitation.