

## **Seleucid, Demotic and Mediterranean mathematics versus Chapters VIII and IX of the Nine Chapters: accidental or significant similarities?**

Høyrup, Jens

*Publication date:*  
2016

*Document Version*  
Other version

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Høyrup, J. (2016). *Seleucid, Demotic and Mediterranean mathematics versus Chapters VIII and IX of the Nine Chapters: accidental or significant similarities?* Roskilde Universitet.

### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain.
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact [rucforsk@kb.dk](mailto:rucforsk@kb.dk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**Seleucid, Demotic and Mediterranean mathematics  
versus Chapters VIII and IX of the *Nine Chapters*:  
accidental or significant similarities?**

**Jens Høyrup**  
jensh@ruc.dk  
<http://ruc.dk/~jensh>

Contribution to the workshop  
Mathematical Texts in East Asia Mathematical History  
Tsinghua Sanya International Mathematics Forum  
March 11–15, 2016

*P R E P R I N T*

17 March 2016

## Abstract

Similarities of geometrical diagrams and arithmetical structures of problems have often been taken as evidence of transmission of mathematical knowledge or techniques between China and “the West”. Confronting on one hand some problems from Chapter VIII of the *Nine Chapters* with comparable problems known from Ancient Greek sources, on the other a Seleucid collection of problems about rectangles with a subset of the triangle problems from Chapter IX, it is concluded,

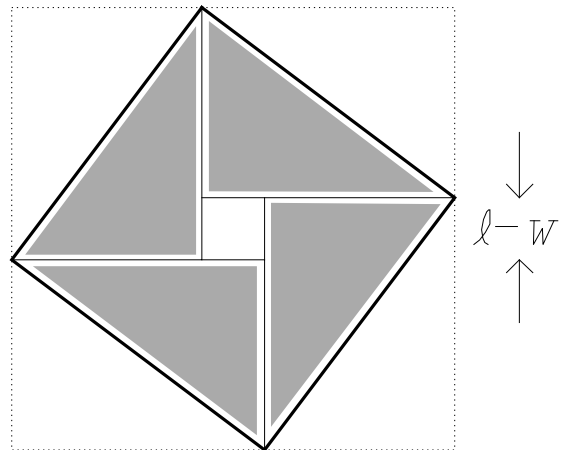
- (1) that transmission of some arithmetical riddles without method – not “from Greece” but from a transnational community of traders – is almost certain, and that these inspired the Chinese creation of the *fangcheng* method, for which Chapter VIII is a coherent presentation;
- (2) that transmission of the geometrical problems is to the contrary unlikely, with one possible exception, and that the coherent presentation in Chapter IX is based on local geometrical practice.

## Contents

Two pictures and a winged transmission . . . . .	- 1 -
Other possible interactions . . . . .	- 2 -
Seleucid and Demotic Geometry . . . . .	- 7 -
Travelling geometry – travelling how far? . . . . .	- 10 -
Bibliography . . . . .	- 13 -

## Two pictures and a winged transmission

First of all, as introduction, two pictures.



To the left, the decoration of the “Mathematics and System Science” tower in the campus of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing, borrowed from Zhao Shuang’s third-century CE commentary to the *Gnomon of the Zhou* – cf. [Cullen 1996: 206; Chemla & Guo 2004: 695–701]; to the right, my own diagram reconstructed from the description of the procedure of the Old Babylonian problem Db<sub>2</sub>-146 (c. 1775 BCE), in which the sides of a rectangle are to be determined from its area and the diagonal [Høyrup 2002a: 257–259]. When I first made it, it should be added, I did not know about the Chinese diagram.

A first reaction may be that the two must be connected; indeed, when Joseph Needham [1959: 96 n.a, 147] finds the same diagram in Bhaskara II (he gives no reference) and believes it to be found nowhere else, he deems it “extremely probable that Bhaskara’s treatment derives from” Zhao Shuan’s commentary.

A connection between a Mesopotamian and a Chinese diagram is certainly not to be excluded *a priori*. There can be no doubt that the shared problem of the “hundred fowls” is really shared, and thus that some kind of mathematics *did* travel. The earliest known occurrence of this problem type is in the fifth-century *Zhang Qiujian Suanjing* [van Hee 1913], but soon it turns up not only with the same mathematical structure but also with shared parameters and dress (100 units of different prices and a total price of 100 – only the prices of the single

species vary) in Carolingian Western Europe, in India and in the Islamic World – see, e.g. [Libbrecht 1974]; this cannot be imagined to be an accident.

We may add an observation, elementary but to my knowledge not made before. The early Islamic, Indian and Chinese occurrences speak of fowls, the Carolingian *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* [ed. Folkerts 1978] has various dresses but none with fowls. This supports Jean Christianidis' suggestion [1991: 7] that the problem has developed from an early form represented in a Greek papyrus from the second century CE, where the units are already 100 but the price 2500.<sup>1</sup> Once the more striking version 100/100 was invented, that was the one that spread east and west – but the fowls only eastward, for which reason this latter invention must be presumed to be a secondary accretion.

### Other possible interactions

The hundred fowls is an arithmetical riddle. Another arithmetical riddle that *may* have travelled far is the one known in the cultures connected to the Mediterranean as the “purchase of a horse”. Like the “hundred fowls” it circulated with varied numerical parameters, but a typical example states that three men go to the market in order to buy a horse. The first says that he has enough to pay the price if he can have half of the possession of the other two; the second only needs one third, the last only one fourth of what the other two have. The possession of each and the price of the horse is asked for. Sometimes the price of the horse is given.

The problem seems to be hinted at in book I of Plato's *Republic* (333B–C).<sup>2</sup> In any case there is no doubt that it turns up, undressed as pure-number problems, in Diophantos' *Arithmetica* I:24–25 [ed. Tannery 1893: I, 56–69]; propositions 22–23, moreover, ask a question which, if dealing with a purchase, would make each participant ask for the fractions  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{5}$  respectively  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$  and  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the possession not of all the others but of the one that precedes in a circle.

The latter type has an interesting parallel in Chapter VIII, problem 13 of the *Nine Chapters* (my English from the French of [Chemla & Guo 2004: 643]):

---

<sup>1</sup> Text in [Winter 1936: 39].

<sup>2</sup> Trans. [Shorey 1930: I, 332f]. Socrates asks when one needs an expert; and as usually he answers himself: for example when you go to the market to buy or sell a horse in common. Since horses did not serve in agriculture but only for military purposes, they would never be bought in common in real life. (I owe the discovery of the Platonic passage to the late Benno Artmann).

Let us assume that with five families sharing a well, that what is missing for the two ropes of Jia [in order to reach the bottom of the well], that is as one rope of Yi, that what is missing for the three ropes of Yi, that is as one rope of Bing, that what is missing for the four ropes of Bing, that is as one rope of Wu, that what is missing for the six ropes of Wu, that is as one rope of Jia; and that, if each gets the rope that is missing for him, all will reach the bottom of the well. One asks for the depth of the well and for the length of the ropes.

The mathematical structure of the problem is the nearly the same, including the characteristic attractive sequence of fractions. However, in order to avoid cutting the ropes, one of  $n$  ropes is spoken of instead of the fraction  $\frac{1}{n}$  of the totality of the ropes of each; moreover, the request is made to the following participant, not to the predecessor in the circle.

Problems 3 and 12 (*ibid.* p. 625, 641) are determinate but otherwise similar in structure. No. 3 speaks of 2 bundles of millet of high quality, 3 of medium quality and 4 of low quality, and in similar combinations they are to produce 1 *dou*; no. 12 deals with the hauling capacity of horses of different strength. Problems 14 and 15 (*ibid.* pp. 645, 647) are sophisticated variants – we shall return to them.

The coincidences may seem striking – but are they evidence *of connection* or *of parallel experiences* of fascination? If the far from obvious dress had also been shared, as in the case of the hundred fowls, then connection would seem next to certain. Since it is not, we cannot decide on the basis of these problems alone.

However, problem 10 (*ibid.* p. 639) supports the connection hypothesis. It presents us with something like a two-participant version of the problems we have just examined. Two persons own money; if Jia gets half of what Yi possesses, he will have 50 coins; and if Yi gets  $\frac{2}{3}$  of what Jia possesses, he will have as much.

With only two participants, there is no difference between Diophantos's two types. We notice, firstly, that here fractions and not “one out of  $n$ ” are spoken about; secondly, that the dress is the familiar “give-and-take” type.

This dress is used for a slightly different mathematical structure in problems from late Mediterranean Antiquity (and later). In Book XIV of the *Greek Anthology* [ed. trans. Paton 1916: V, 105], no. 145 runs

A. Give me ten minas, and I become three times as much as you. B. And if I get the same from you I am four times as much a you.

No. 146 uses different numerical parameters (two minas, twice, four times) but is otherwise identical. Prop. XV of Diophantos's *Arithmetica* I [ed. trans. Tannery 1893: I, 36f] is an undressed version of the same problem type.

On the other hand, Fibonacci's first example of a "purchase of a horse" [ed. Boncompagni 1857: 228] has the same mathematical structure as the Chinese give-and-take problem, apart from being indeterminate. In Fibonacci's problem, the first man asks for  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the possession of the second, while the second asks for  $\frac{1}{4}$  of what the first has. In both cases, each will have enough to buy the horse (whence the same amount).

Again, this coincidence in isolation suggests but does not prove a connection. However, the alternative explanation here cannot be fascination with interesting numbers but only accident. If we take together all the problems we have looked at, independent invention in the two areas becomes unlikely – not least because the case of the "hundred fowls" provides us with firm evidence that transmission could and sometimes did take place.

But what exactly can have been transmitted? All these problems from the *Nine Chapters* come from Chapter VIII, and all are used to train the *fangcheng* method. Diophantos's methods are quite different – and no closer are variants of the "Bloom of Thymarides" [Heath 1921: I. 94–96], which may have been used already around or before Plato's times to solve similar problems.

In connection with the "hundred fowls", Ulrich Libbrecht [1974: 313] points out that

This implies that several mathematical problems were transmitted only as questions, without any method, as we can clearly state in Alcuin's work [the *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*/JH]; in different places methods were developed - wrong or right - to solve these problems. Perhaps they were considered more as games than as serious problems, as we can prove from several Chinese and European works.

The same is clearly the case here. In terms I have used in [Høyrup 1990] (not knowing by then about Libbrecht's observation), the problems have circulated as "subscientific" mathematics, more precisely as professional riddles belonging to an environment of mathematical practitioners; once taken up by groups which in some way can be characterized as scholarly mathematicians,<sup>3</sup> these developed their own ways to deal with them, and in some cases they expanded the range of questions these methods could be applied to. Since the riddles functioned precisely as *riddles* in the community of practitioners (in anthropological parlance as *neck riddles* – who is not able to solve them is "not one of us") it is not even certain that the practitioners always had a *mathematical* method for solving them –

---

<sup>3</sup>That is, people who are engaged in or linked to a school-based (as opposed to an apprenticeship-based) educational system, and who in that connection shape and transmit mathematical knowledge.

a riddle asks for an answer, not for a calculation or a logical derivation, and a guess followed by a verification may have been enough.<sup>4</sup>

That is where problems no. 14 and 15 of Chapter VIII of the *Nine Chapters* come in. No 14 deals with groups of unit fields of millet with different yields – say  $2A$ ,  $3B$ ,  $4C$  and  $5D$ . But this time  $2A+B+C = 3B+C+D = 4C+D+A = 5D+A+B = 1 \text{ dou}$ . This is too complex to present a nice recreational riddle – to keep track of it without material support would be difficult. No 15 deals with three groups of bundles of millet of different weights but speaks of differences instead of sums – in symbols,  $2A-B = 3B-C = 4D-A = 1 \text{ dan}$ .

Such extensions of the range of “recreational” riddles by variation and systematization at the hands of scholarly mathematicians are a common occurrence in history, from Old Babylonian times to Pedro Nuñez and beyond. Diophantos, in *Arithmetica* I, replaces variation by generalization – but his choice of numerical examples betrays the recreational starting point.

At times, however, “scholarly mathematicians” have made a further step, and used the recreational material as the starting point or inspiration for the creation of a whole mathematical discipline. That is the way Old Babylonian second- and third-degree “algebra” was generated.<sup>5</sup> In the whole corpus, there is not a single second- or third-degree problem derived from a genuine practical question that might present itself to a Babylonian scribal calculator. We should not be misled by the fact that the *entities* occurring as “unknowns” in the problems would be familiar to him – dimensions of fields and excavations, prices, manpower, etc. In genuine surveying, one would (for instance) never have to determine the sides of a rectangular field from its area and the sum of the sides; but exactly such recreational riddles served as basis for the new discipline.

If we now consider Chapter VIII of the *Nine Chapters* in its integrity, the parallel becomes obvious. Although the *Nine Chapters* on the whole teach administrators’ mathematics, Chapter VIII does not present us with a single instance of this. True, *the entities* that occur would again (mostly) be of the kind dealt with by calculating bureaucrats (the combined ropes hardly); but *the problems* would never turn up in their offices. Moreover, the book as a whole

---

<sup>4</sup> This is precisely what Abū Kāmil reproaches those who took pleasure in the “hundred fowls” in his times and surroundings – it was “a particular type of calculation, circulating among high-ranking and lowly people, among scholars and among the uneducated, at which they rejoice, and which they find new and beautiful; one asks the other, and he is then given an approximate and only assumed answer, they know neither principle nor rule in the matter” – my translation from [Suter 1910: 100].

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, [Høyrup 2001].



is a theoretical unity. Since the topic is absent from the *Suàn shù shū* [Cullen 2004: 6; *id.* 2007: 29; Dauben 2008: 97, 131], Chapter VIII can be assumed to be the outcome of recent systematic establishment of a well-defined mathematical field – inspired in all likelihood by select recreational problems – since administrative mathematics *per se* would not lend itself adequately to that role.

All in all, Chapter VIII and its Mediterranean kin thus appears to present us with all the facets involved in questions about transmission:

1. transmission of *problems* as riddles from an unidentified *somewhere* to both the classical Mediterranean area and Han China (and other locations).<sup>6</sup>
2. Local creation of adequate *methods*.
3. A creation of a mathematical *discipline* on this foundation in China, in a process that is parallel to what can be seen in Old Babylonian mathematics. This parallel was based on shared sociological conditions and certainly did not involve any kind of transmission of metamathematical ideals.<sup>7</sup>

Problems about “combined works” present themselves easily in all cultures of scribal mathematical administration, and there are basically only two reasonable ways to solve them (obviously they are algebraically equivalent); neither the occurrence of such problems in different places nor a shared way to proceed can thus be taken as evidence of transmission. An unlikely dress can, however (as in the case of the “hundred fowls”).

Such a case is present in Chapter VI, problem 6 of the *Nine Chapters* [ed. trans. Chemla & Guo 2004: 541]. Here, a pool is filled from five streams. As it is, filling is a preferred dress for such problems in the *Greek Anthology* XIV – thus no. 7, 130–133, 135 [ed. trans. Paton 1916: V, 31, 97, 99]. Shared transmission from somewhere is thus likely – but since this is no *favourite* dress of the problem type in the *Nine Chapters* (other instances – no. 22, 23 and 25 – really concern working rates), an isolated borrowed recreational problem may simply have been inserted

---

<sup>6</sup> The *somewhere* must be emphasized. In questions of this kind it is misleading to take for granted that the ultimate source must be one of the literate, “nationally” defined high cultures we know about – “the Chinese”, “the Greeks”, “the Indians”, etc. “Proletarians have no fatherland”, it was claimed – until the experience of the First World War proved the opposite in France and Germany. Merchants and technicians (even highly qualified technicians à la Werner von Braun) still have none.

<sup>7</sup> Those of the Old Babylonian school had died with the school itself around 1600 BCE, more or less at the time of the earliest oracle bones. Even if that had not been the case, however, transmission could be safely excluded – institutional ideals can only be exported *with understanding* (whence with efficiency) if the institution itself is exported.

in an adequate place of the *Nine Chapters*, the writer having recognized an already familiar type.<sup>8</sup>

All of these cases of credible transmission, from the “hundred fowl” onward, are number problems; they are of the kind that would allow an accountant or a travelling merchant to show his mathematical proficiency. Since accountants are likely to stay more or less in their place, travelling merchants constitute the plausible carrying community for these riddles; at an earlier occasion [Høyrup 1990: 74] I have spoken of them as the “Silk Route group”.

### Seleucid and Demotic Geometry

We started with a suggestive geometric diagram, and then shifted focus to the possible transmission of arithmetical riddles. Let us return to geometry.

Our initial diagram is too isolated to be worth pursuing. More intriguing is the geometry of Chapter IX of the *Nine Chapters* in relation to certain geometric problems from Seleucid Mesopotamia (third to second century BCE) and Hellenistic-Demotic Egypt.

The Seleucid problems in question (mainly) deal with rectangles with a diagonal. They have a family relationship with the Old Babylonian so-called “algebra” – apparently not by direct descent but via shared borrowing from the riddles of practical surveyors.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the problems in question are known from the tablet BM 34568,<sup>10</sup> undated but probably from the later third or earlier second century BCE. Its problems can be described as follows:<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> No. 21 and 22 are in the dress of travel times, which also shows up elsewhere in later times. No. 27 and 28, of structure “box problems”, are in the dress of repeated taxation, also familiar from India and elsewhere in the later first and early second millennium. Chapter VI thus serves, it seems, as a receptacle for several widely circulating recreational problems for which it presents the earliest written evidence (much as Diophantos’s *Arithmetica* I).

<sup>9</sup> The evidence for this is in part linguistic, in part it has to do with strong reduction (followed by expansion) at the level of mathematical substance. See [Høyrup 2002a: 389–399].

The kinship does not imply that the Seleucid problems represent an “algebra”. Whether the Old Babylonian technique does so is a matter of how we define algebra, but no reasonable definition will cover the Seleucid rectangle problems.

<sup>10</sup> [Ed. trans. Neugebauer 1935: III, 14–19], partial edition, “conformal” translation and commentary in [Høyrup 2002a: 392–399].

<sup>11</sup>  $l$  stands for the length,  $w$  for the width,  $d$  for the diagonal and  $A$  for the area of a rectangle. The sexagesimal place value numbers are transcribed into Arabic numerals.

- (1)  $l = 4, w = 3$ ;  $d$  is found as  $\frac{1}{2}l+w$  – first formulated as a general rule, next done on the actual example.
- (2)  $l = 4, d = 5$ ;  $w$  is found as  $\sqrt{d^2-l^2}$ .
- (3)  $d+l = 9, w = 3$ ;  $l$  is found as  $\frac{\frac{1}{2} \cdot ([d+l]^2 - w^2)}{d+l}$ ,  $d$  as  $(d+l)-l$ .
- (4)  $d+w = 8, l = 4$ ; solution corresponding to (3).
- (5)  $l = 60, w = 32$ ;  $d$  is found as  $\sqrt{l^2 + w^2} = 68$ .
- (6)  $l = 60, w = 32$ ;  $A$  is found as  $l \cdot w$ .
- (7)  $l = 60, w = 25$ ;  $d$  is found as  $\sqrt{l^2 + w^2} = 65$ .
- (8)  $l = 60, w = 25$ ;  $A$  is found as  $l \cdot w$ .
- (9)  $l+w = 14, A = 48$ ;  $\langle l-w \rangle$  is found as  $\sqrt{(l+w)^2 - 4A} = 2$ ,  $w$  as  $\frac{1}{2} \cdot ([l+w] - \langle l-w \rangle)$  and  $l$  finally as  $w + \langle l-w \rangle$ .
- (10)  $l+w = 23, d = 17$ ;  $\langle 2A \rangle$  is found as  $([l+w]^2 - d^2) = 240$ ,  $\langle l-w \rangle$  next as  $\sqrt{(l+w)^2 - 4A} = 7$  – whence  $l$  and  $w$  follow as in (9).
- (11)  $d+l = 50, w = 20$ ; solved as (3),  $l = 21, d = 29$ .
- (12) deals with a reed leaned against a wall, cf. imminently; a corresponding rectangle problem would be  $d-l = 3, w = 9$ ;  $d$  is found as  $\frac{\frac{1}{2} \cdot (w^2 + [d-l]^2)}{d-l} = 15$ ,  $l$  as  $\sqrt{d^2 - w^2} = 12$ .
- (13)  $d+l = 9, d+w = 8$ ;  $\langle l+w+d \rangle$  is found as  $\sqrt{(d+l)^2 + (d+w)^2 - 1} = 12$ , where 1 obviously stands for  $(l-w)^2 = ([d+l] - [d+w])^2$ ; next,  $w$  is found as  $\langle l+w+d \rangle - (d+l) = 3$ ,  $d$  as  $(d+w) - w$ , and  $l$  as  $(d+l) - d$ .
- (14)  $l+w+d = 70, A = 420$ ;  $d$  is found as  $\frac{\frac{1}{2} \cdot ([l+w+d]^2 - 2A)}{l+w+d} = 29$ .
- (15)  $l-w = 7, A = 120$ ;  $\langle l+w \rangle$  is found as  $\sqrt{(l-w)^2 + 4A} = 23$ ,  $w$  as  $\frac{1}{2} \cdot (\langle l+w \rangle - [l-w]) = 8$ ,  $l$  as  $w + (l-w)$ .

---

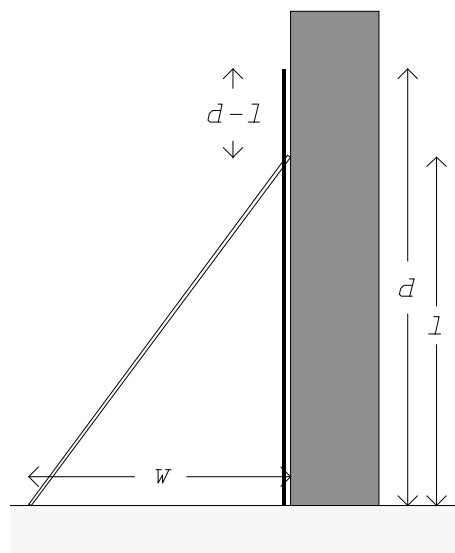
Entities that are found but not named in the text are identified in  $\langle \rangle$ .

With minor changes, I draw the list from [Høyrup 2002b: 13f].

- (16) A cup weighing 1 mina is composed of gold and copper in ratio 1:9.<sup>12</sup>  
 (17)  $l+w+d = 12$ ,  $A = 12$ ; solved as (14),  $d = 5$ .  
 (18)  $l+w+d = 60$ ,  $A = 300$ ; not followed by a solution but by a rule formulated in general terms and corresponding to (14) and (17).  
 (19)  $l+d = 45$ ,  $w+d = 40$ ; again, a general rule is given which follows (13).

No. 2 is obviously an application of what I prefer to call the “Pythagorean rule”, no theorem being involved; it corresponds to knowledge that was amply around in Old Babylonian times. No. 10 is not identical with the Old Babylonian problem which I referred to initially (Db<sub>2</sub>-146); but it is closely related and solved by means of the same diagram.

All the others (disregarding here and in what follows the intruders no. 1 and no. 16) represent innovations within the surveyor’s riddle tradition – when not in question then in method. No. 12 deserves particular discussion. It deals with a reed of length  $d$  first standing vertically against a wall, next in a slanted position, in which the top descends to height  $l$  (descending thus  $d-l$ ); at the same time, the foot moves a distance  $w$  away from the wall.



The reed leaned against the wall.

In the Old Babylonian text BM 85196 we find a similar dress, but there  $d$  and  $w$  are given. To find  $l$  thus requires nothing but direct application of the Pythagorean rule (similarly to no. 2 here). In the present case, instead, as stated, the descent  $d-l$  is given together with  $w$ .

It is possible to find plausible geometric explanations of the procedures used to solve all the “new” problems – see [Høyrup 2002b: 13–18]; that, however, is of no interest in the present connection.

BM 34568 is not our only source for this kind of rectangle problems. Firstly, the Seleucid text AO 6484 (ed. [Neugebauer 1935: I, 96–99]; early second century BCE) contains a rectangle problem of the same type as nos. 14, 17 and 18 of

<sup>12</sup> Obviously an intruder, which however shows that at least some problems from the “Silk Road group” were already known in Mesopotamia at the time. In the present context there is no reason to discuss this connection in depth.

Similar connections *may* be in play in the seemingly aberrant problem 1 (extensively discussed, but with a different aim, in [Gonçalves 2008]).

BM 34568. Secondly, the Demotic papyrus P. Cairo J.E. 89127–30, 89137–43 from the third century BCE<sup>13</sup> contains eight problems about the reed leaned against the wall – three of the easy Old Babylonian type where  $d$  and  $w$  are given, three of the equally simple type where  $d$  and  $d-l$  are given; and two, finally, where  $d-l$  and  $w$  are given, as in BM 34568 no. 12. Though with different numerical parameters, moreover, two of its problems coincide with that of the Old Babylonian text Db<sub>2</sub>-146; they are thus closely related to BM 34568 no. 10.

There can be no doubt that the ultimate source for this whole cluster of geometric problems is Mesopotamia – Pharaonic mathematics contains nothing similar. It is also easy to pinpoint a professional community that could transmit it: For half a millennium, Assyrian, Persian and Macedonian military surveyors and tax collectors (even those of the Macedonians no doubt trained in the Near Eastern tradition) had walked up and down Egypt.<sup>14</sup>

### Travelling geometry – travelling how far?

It is less easy to identify the channels through which these problems came to be adopted into Jaina mathematics, as they certainly were [Høyrup 2004]. Our evidence is constituted by Mahāvīra's *Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha* from the ninth century CE, but it is obvious that by then these problems were considered old, native and venerable by the Jainas. It is also highly plausible that what reached them had already been digested and somewhat transformed by a broader Mediterranean community.

If they reached India, could they also have inspired China's mathematical bureaucrats, or at least the author of Chapter IX of the *Nine Chapters* (which has no more to do with real bureaucratic tasks than Chapter VIII)?

At a first glance, problems 6 to 12 and 24 might suggest so. In that case, however, the inspiration has certainly been digested – the topic of Chapter IX is the right *triangle*, and with exception of the reed problem the Seleucid-Demotic problems deal with rectangles. Moreover, the Chinese variant of the reed against the wall (no. 8 – the only one where the dress is suggestive) compares the slanted and the *horizontal* position of a pole.

If we express the Chinese problems in the same symbolic form as used for BM 34568, we get the following:<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> [Ed. trans. Parker 1972: 13–53], with summary *ibid.* pp. 3f.

<sup>14</sup> Macedonians excepted, this explains why Greek authors, from Herodotos onward, could believe the Egyptians to have invented geometric techniques which we now recognize as Mesopotamian.

<sup>15</sup> Once more I borrow (this time more freely) from [Høyrup 2002b].

- (6)  $d-l = 1$ ,  $w = 5$  (mathematically an analogue of the Seleucid reed problem BM 34568 no. 12, but dealing with a reed in a pond, in vertical and slanted position).  $l$  is found as  $\frac{w^2 - [d-l]^2}{2 \cdot (d-l)}$ , whence  $d$ , where BM 34568

finds  $d$  as  $\frac{\frac{1}{2} \cdot (w^2 + [d-l]^2)}{d-l}$  and next  $l$ . We observe that the Chinese

procedure does not halve before dividing by  $(d-l)$ , which suggests that a geometric justification, *if* once present, had been forgotten.

- (7)  $d-l = 3$ ,  $w = 8$ . The mathematical structure of the problem is the same, but the concrete dress wholly other. The solution proceeds differently than everything Seleucid-Demotic:  $\langle d+l \rangle$  is found as  $\frac{w^2}{d-l} = \frac{(d+l) \cdot (d-l)}{d-l}$ , and

$d$  as  $\frac{1}{2} \cdot (\langle d+l \rangle + [d-l])$ .

- (8)  $d-l = 1$ ,  $w = 10$ . Same mathematical structure and same procedure as no. 7 – but the dress is now a pole first leaning against a wall and then sliding down to horizontal position.

- (9) Another variation of no. 7.

- (10) Yet another variation of no. 7.

- (11)  $d = 100$ ,  $l-w = 68$ .  $\langle \frac{l+w}{2} \rangle$  is found as  $\sqrt{\frac{d^2 - 2 \cdot (\frac{l-w}{2})^2}{2}}$ , and  $w$  then as

$\frac{1}{2} \cdot (\langle \frac{l+w}{2} \rangle + \langle \frac{l-w}{2} \rangle)$ . Not Seleucid-Demotic in style with its use of average

and deviation – nor however similar in detail to anything from the older Mesopotamian tradition, where these quantities were fundamental.

- (12)  $d+l = 10$ ,  $w = 3$ .  $\langle d-l \rangle$  is found as  $w^2 / (d+l)$ , and  $l$  as  $\frac{1}{2} \cdot ([d+l] + [d-l])$ , once more different from the Seleucid calculation.

- (24)  $d-l = 2$ ,  $d-w = 4$ . The solution builds on the observation that  $\square(d - [d-l] - [d-w]) = 2(d-l) \cdot (d-w)$ . The problem type is not found in BM 34568, but the solutions can be argued from a diagram that can also be used to solve problem 13 of that text,  $d+l = \alpha$ ,  $d+w = \beta$ . In the present case, the full square  $\square(d)$  must equal the sum of the squares  $\square(l)$  and  $\square(w)$ ; therefore, the overlap  $S = \square(d - [d-l] - [d-w])$  must equal the area which they do not cover, that is,  $2R = 2 \square(d-l, d-w)$ .

All in all, the similarities boil down to the mathematical structures of the questions. The dresses are generally quite different, and the procedures used to obtain the solutions are also others, often as different in character as the subject allows. In summary, no decisive internal evidence speaks in favour of transmission – only problem 7 *could* be an accidental intruder that has been inserted in the adequate place, as the filling problem 6 in Chapter VI.

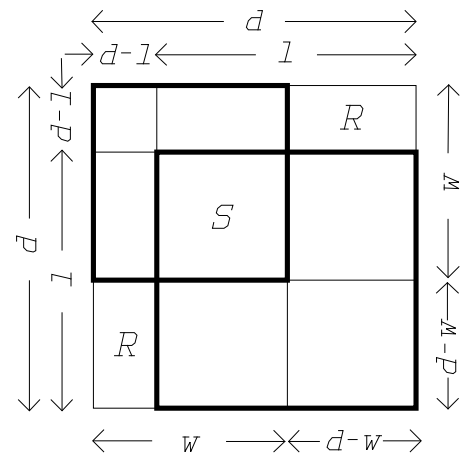
External evidence also seems unfavourable to the transmission thesis: arithmetical riddles might be carried along the Silk Road network by travelling merchants and exchanged as camp fire fun or challenges. But where can we find likely carriers of geometrical questions?

On the other hand, *some* geometrical knowledge – albeit fairly useful area measurement and no riddle – appears to have travelled; when and from where we do not know, nor carried by whom. Problems 35–36 of Chapter I of the *Nine Chapters* [ed. trans. Chemla & Guo 2004: 190f] determine the area of a circular

segment with chord  $c$  and arrow  $h$  as  $\frac{hc + h^2}{2}$ , whereas problem 36 of the Demotic

papyrus Cairo J. E. 89127–30, 89137–43 [ed. trans. Parker 1972: 45] takes it to be  $\frac{h+c}{2} \cdot h$ . It is not exactly the same formula, but on the other hand the rule is far from intuitively self-evident; certainly, it is true for the semi-circle if we take the perimeter to be thrice the diameter (as both sources do), but in that case  $c = 2h$ , and the formula reduces to  $\frac{3}{2}h^2$ , and it is not obvious how this should be generalized as done in the Chinese as well as the Demotic text. Independent invention therefore seems unlikely. (Should we think of surveyors or military experts being taken prisoners or shifting their loyalties as carriers?)

All in all, however, Chapter IX of the *Nine Chapters* (of which problems 6–13 + 24 only form a subset) is likely to be just as much an original Han creation as Chapter VIII – but with the difference that the underlying inspiration must be sought in local geometric practice, and not in the practice or riddles of any transnational professional community.



The possible geometric basis for problem IX.24 of the *Nine Chapters*.

## Bibliography

- Boncompagni, Baldassare (ed.), 1857. *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano matematico del secolo decimoterzo. I. Il Liber abbaci di Leonardo Pisano*. Roma: Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche.
- Chemla, Karine, & Guo Shuchun (eds), 2004. *Les neuf chapitres. Le Classique mathématique de la Chine ancienne et ses commentaires*. Paris: Dunod.
- Christianidis, Jean, 1991. “La logistique grecque et sa place dans l’historiographie des mathématiques grecques”. *Manuscript*. Contribution to the Conference »Contemporary Trends in the Historiography of Science«, Corfu, May 27 – June 1, 1991.
- Cullen, Christopher, 1996. *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: The Zhou bi suan jing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Cullen, Christopher, 2004. The *Suàn shù shū*, “Writings on Reckoning”: A Translation of a Chinese Mathematical Collection of the Second Century BC, with Explanatory Commentary. (Needham Research Institute Working Papers, 1). Cambridge: Needham Research Institute. Web Edition <http://www.nri.org.uk/suanshushu.html>.
- Cullen, Christopher, 2007. “The *Suàn shù shū*, ‘Writings on Reckoning’: Rewriting the History of Early Chinese Mathematics in the Light of an Excavated manuscript”. *Historia Mathematica* 34, 10–44.
- Dauben, Joseph W., 2008. “*Suan Shu Shu. A Book on Numbers and Computations*. English Translation with Commentary”. *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 62, 91–178, erratum p. 347.
- Folkerts, Menso, 1978. “Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung in lateinischer Sprache: Die Alkuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*. Überlieferung, Inhalt, Kritische Edition”. *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Klasse. Denkschriften*, 116. Band, 6. Abhandlung.
- Høyrup, Jens, 1990. “Sub-Scientific Mathematics. Observations on a Pre-Modern Phenomenon”. *History of Science* 28, 63–86.
- Høyrup, Jens, 2001. “On a Collection of Geometrical Riddles and Their Role in the Shaping of Four to Six ‘Algebras’”. *Science in Context* 14 (2001), 85–131.
- Høyrup, Jens, 2002a. *Lengths, Widths, Surfaces: A Portrait of Old Babylonian Algebra and Its Kin*. New York: Springer.
- Høyrup, Jens, 2002b. “Seleucid Innovations in the Babylonian ‘Algebraic’ Tradition and Their Kin Abroad”, pp. 9–29 in Yvonne Dold-Samplonius et al (eds), *From China to Paris: 2000 Years Transmission of Mathematical Ideas*. (Boethius, 46). Stuttgart: Steiner.



- Høyrup, Jens, 2004. "Mahāvīra's Geometrical Problems: Traces of Unknown Links between Jaina and Mediterranean Mathematics in the Classical Ages", pp. 83–95 in Ivor Grattan-Guinness & B. S. Yadav (eds), *History of the Mathematical Sciences*. New Delhi: Hindustan Book Agency.
- Libbrecht, Ulrich, 1974. "Indeterminate Analysis: Historical Relations between China, India, Islam and Europe", pp. 311–314 in *XIVth International Congress of the History of Science, Proceedings No. 3*. Tokyo & Kyoto: Science Council of Japan.
- Needham, Joseph, 1959. *Science and Civilisation in China*. III. *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heaven and the Earth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neugebauer, Otto, 1935. *Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte*. I-III. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik. Abteilung A: Quellen. 3. Band, erster-dritter Teil). Berlin: Julius Springer, 1935, 1935, 1937.
- Parker, Richard A., 1972. *Demotic Mathematical Papyri*. Providence & London: Brown University Press.
- Paton, W. R. (ed., trans.), 1916. *The Greek Anthology*. 5 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam / London: Heinemann, 1916–1918.
- Shorey, Paul (ed., trans.), 1930. Plato, *The Republic*. 2 vols. (Loeb Classical Library). London: Heinemann / New York: Putnam, 1930, 1935.
- Suter, Heinrich, 1910. "Das Buch der Seltenheiten der Rechenkunst von Abū Kāmil al-Misrī". *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 3. Folge **11** (1910–1911), 100–120.
- Tannery, Paul (ed., trans.), 1893. *Diophanti Alexandrini Opera omnia cum graecis commentariis*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893–1895.
- van Hée, Louis, 1913. "Les cent volailles ou l'analyse indéterminée en Chine". *T'oung Pao* **14**, 203–210, 435–450.
- Winter, John Garrett (ed.), 1936. *Michigan Papyri*. Vol. III. *Miscellaneous Papyri*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.