

# A survey of the main fundamental European trigonometric tables printed in the 15th and 16th centuries

Denis Roegel

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# A survey of the main fundamental European trigonometric tables printed in the 15th and 16th centuries

Denis Roegel<sup>\*</sup>

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#### Abstract

This document is a survey of the main European fundamental trigonometric tables printed in the 15th and 16th centuries. After a review of the work done before the 15th century in Greece, India and the Arab world, the starting points in Europe are examined. The seminal work of Regiomontanus is carefully studied and the lineage of all later works is established.

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<sup>\*</sup>LORIA, BP 239, 54506 Vandœuvre-lès-Nancy cedex, roegel@loria.fr.

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## 1 Introduction

The purpose of this survey is to sort out the many fundamental European purely (*i.e.*, non astronomical) trigonometric tables published in the 15th and 16th centuries, and specifically to clarify their relationships.<sup>1</sup> I am concerned here almost exclusively with tables of sines, tangents and secants, and not with more specialized trigonometric tables that might be used as auxiliary tables.

Although a study with a similar scope has been published by Glowatzki and Göttsche in 1990,<sup>2</sup> I feel that it is necessary to review the tables in the light of their ready access, and to see whether their understanding can be improved. I believe that my study brings new information and corrects some earlier mistakes.

This new examination is also made in the context of the LOCOMAT project,<sup>3</sup> where a number of historical tables have been reconstructed (computationally and typographically) and analyzed, enabling a better assessment of their accuracy and lineage. However, it must be stressed that the absolute accuracy of the historical tables under consideration here is less important than their relationships and the process that led to their computation or organization.

In the following sections, I first give a short review of the history of purely trigonometric tables before the 15th century, and follow their development through Greece, India, the Arab world, and finally Western Europe. I am then considering the work of four great innovators, Johannes von Gmunden, Giovanni Bianchini, Georg von Peuerbach and Johannes Regiomontanus. The latter was the one who greatly expanded the world of trigonometric tables, and set the background for almost all future work until the end of the 16th century. I am therefore examining what are Regiomontanus's seminal tables, and then journey through a century of tables, from Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* of 1490 to Rheti-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>There is a vast literature on numerical tables, and I am directing the reader to a number of general surveys, such as [Hutton (1785)], [De Morgan (1842)], [De Morgan (1851)], [Glaisher (1873)], [Davis (1933), pp. 1-40], [Campbell-Kelly et al. (2003)], etc. This document also mentions many people, and I am not always directing to specific biographical information for each of them. Valuable informations can in particular be found in the notices of [Hockey (2014)], in particular on Al-Battāni, Abū al-Wafā<sup>3</sup>, Al-Khwārizmī, Al-Zarqālī, Apian, Bürgi, Clavius, Copernicus, Engel, Fine, Gemma Frisius, Lansberge, Magini, Maurolico, Peucer, Peuerbach, Regiomontanus, Reinhold, Rheticus, and many others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>https://locomat.loria.fr, see [Roegel (2012)].

cus's *Opus palatinum* of 1596, which was itself the start of a new era, but the end of this survey. In this journey, I am in particular examining the genealogy of the tables. In other words, I am trying to find out who copied on whom, and I am also trying to shed a new light on the computations that were made, whenever possible.

Finally, this survey is also a companion document to a number of modern reconstructions, that is, reconstructions usually giving the exact values, but also trying to reproduce the original layout of the tables, so as to make their comparison straightforward. These reconstructions are those of Regiomontanus's table of tangents (1490),<sup>4</sup> Engel's table of sines (1490, but here reproduced from the 1504 edition),<sup>5</sup> Peuerbach's arctangent table (1516),<sup>6</sup> the tables of sines of Fine (1530),<sup>7</sup> Apian (1533),<sup>8</sup> Regiomontanus (1541),<sup>9</sup> Rheticus (1542)<sup>10</sup> and again Fine (1550),<sup>11</sup> and eventually the trigonometric tables of Rheticus (1551),<sup>12</sup> Reinhold (1554),<sup>13</sup> Maurolico (1558),<sup>14</sup> Viète (1579),<sup>15</sup> Fincke (1583),<sup>16</sup> Lansberge (1591),<sup>17</sup> Rheticus & Otho (1596)<sup>18</sup> and Pitiscus (1613).<sup>19</sup>

### 2 Before the 15th century

I give here a quick and rough sketch of the history of trigonometric tables before the 15th century, so as to serve as a background for the development of trigonometry in the 15th and 16th centuries. More detailed (although sometimes incorrect or dated) surveys can be found in the works of Braun-

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<sup>4</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>5</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490), Regiomontanus (1504)]

<sup>6</sup>[von Peuerbach (1516)]

<sup>7</sup>[Fine (1530)]

<sup>8</sup>[Apian (1533)]

<sup>9</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>10</sup>[Copernicus (1542)]

<sup>11</sup>[Fine (1550)]

<sup>12</sup>[Rheticus (1551)]

<sup>13</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

<sup>14</sup>[Maurolico (1558)]

<sup>15</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>16</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>17</sup>[van Lansberge (1591)]

<sup>18</sup>[Rheticus and Otho (1596)]
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<sup>19</sup>[Pitiscus (1613)]
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mühl,<sup>20</sup> Tropfke,<sup>21</sup> Bond,<sup>22</sup> Zeller<sup>23</sup> and more recently of Brummelen.<sup>24</sup> More general works on the history of mathematics may also sometimes be of interest, for instance those of Montucla,<sup>25</sup> Kästner,<sup>26</sup> Zeuthen,<sup>27</sup> Katz<sup>28</sup>, Boyer/Merzbach<sup>29</sup> or Scriba/Schreiber,<sup>30</sup> but they may at times be inaccurate.

#### 2.1 Greek chord tables

Trigonometry started with triangles inscribed in circles of some radius R. This radius was typically taken to be 60, but other values were also used. Within such a circle, some quantities can then be defined. In particular chords are segments subtended by an arc (figure 1) and there is a simple relationship between chords in a circle of radius R (which I denote  $Chd_R$  or often merely Chd) and sines (which I assume to be defined in a unit circle). We have  $Chd_R \alpha = 2R \sin(\alpha/2)$ . In the case of sine tables, R was later called the *sinus totus*. This radius was not made equal to unity before Abū al-Wafā<sup>°</sup> in the 10th century (see § 2.3).<sup>31</sup>

We know that Hipparchus (c.190-c.120 BC) and Menelaus of Alexandria (c.70-c.140) wrote treatises on chords, but these works are unfortunately lost.<sup>32</sup> It is not known if they contained tables of chords. But we know that the use of tables in Greek mathematics apparently takes its roots in Babylonian sources.<sup>33</sup>

In 1974, Toomer suggested that Hipparchus may have had a table of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>[von Braunmühl (1900, 1903)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>[Tropfke (1902-1903), v. 2, pp. 189-221, and 296-306]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>[Bond (1921)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>[Zeller (1944)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>See [van Brummelen (2009)] and [van Brummelen (2021)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>[Montucla (1758)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>[Kästner (1796)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>[Zeuthen (1903)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>[Katz et al. (2007)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>[Merzbach and Boyer (2010)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>[Scriba and Schreiber (2015)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>In the sequel, sines will often be defined in non-unit circles, and I will use Sin for this purpose, often leaving the radius implicit. We have of course  $Sin_R \alpha = R sin \alpha$ . Some authors call this Sin the *R*-sine, but I will always use "sine" alone, as the context should be unambiguous. I will also use other variants such as Tan, Sec, etc., when needed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>[Bond (1921), pp. 297-298]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>[Sidoli (2014), p. 13]

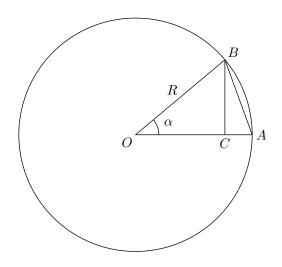


Figure 1: Chords and sines. *AB* is the chord of  $\alpha$  and *BC* is its sine, for a radius *R*. We have  $\operatorname{Chd}_R \alpha = 2R \sin(\alpha/2)$  and  $BC = \operatorname{Sin}_R \alpha$ .

chords with a circle of radius R = 3438 and at intervals of  $7.5^{\circ}$ ,<sup>34</sup> and that this radius was then copied by Indian mathematicians, but this is still debated, by Toomer himself,<sup>35</sup> as well as by Klintberg in 2005 who believes that Hipparchus may have had instead a chord table with R = 3600.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, Duke, also in 2005, and using the analysis of two eclipse trios, concurs with Toomer's original suggestion.<sup>37</sup>

Later, Ptolemy (2nd century AD) gathered the earlier works and covered the computation and use of chords in the first book of the Almagest. His table gives the chords for every 30<sup>'</sup> of the quadrant, using a circle of diameter 120 (figure 2).<sup>38</sup>

The way Ptolemy computed his table of chords was to find first the sides of the inscribed regular triangle, quadrilateral, pentagon, hexagon and decagon in a circle divided in 60 parts, that is, of radius 60.<sup>39</sup> This gave

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>[Toomer (1974), p. 7] See [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 41-45] for a recent discussion on this topic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>[Ptolemaeus (1984), p. 215]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>[Klintberg (2005)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>[Duke (2005)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>See [Ptolemaeus (1813-1816), v. 1, pp. 38-45], [Ptolemaeus (1898-1903), v. 1, pp. 48-63], [Ptolemaeus (1984), pp. 57-60].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Besides Toomer's edition of the Almagest [Ptolemaeus (1984), pp. 57-60], see [Neugebauer (1975), pp. 21-24], [Pedersen (2011), ch. 3], [Bond (1921), pp. 301-303], [Clagett (1957), pp. 200-205], [Kneale (1965)], [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1976)], [Thurston (1996), pp. 235-

him the chords of  $36^{\circ}$ ,  $60^{\circ}$ ,  $72^{\circ}$ ,  $90^{\circ}$ ,  $108^{\circ}$ ,  $120^{\circ}$ , and  $144^{\circ}$ .

Using the theorem known as Ptolemy's theorem (a relation between the four sides and two diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral), Ptolemy was able to compute the chord of the difference of two arcs, when the chords of these arcs are known, and also the chord of their sum. He also was able to compute the chord of the half arc from that of the arc. Eventually, Ptolemy computed the chords of  $0.75^{\circ}$  and of  $1.5^{\circ}$ .

Then Ptolemy used an interpolation to find the chord of 1°:

$$Chd 1^{\circ} = 1^{p} 2' 50''$$

This means that the chord of  $1^{\circ}$  is a bit more than one part, given that the radius is equal to 60 parts. Of course, Chd  $180^{\circ} = 2R = 120$ .

The above value for  $\text{Chd 1}^{\circ}$  is correct, since we actually have  $\text{Chd 1}^{\circ} = 2 \cdot 60 \cdot \sin 0.5^{\circ} = 1.047184... \approx 1 + 2/60 + 50/60^2$ . This value will also be written 1; 2, 50, following a convention used by many authors.<sup>40</sup>

After the computation of  $Chd 1^{\circ}$ , Ptolemy obtained  $Chd 0.5^{\circ}$  and eventually all the other values in his table of chords. Glowatzki and Göttsche recomputed Ptolemy's table using the procedure he described in the Almagest.<sup>41</sup>

The beginning of Ptolemy's table of chords as given by Halma is shown in figure 2.

In the following excerpt of Ptolemy's table

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236], [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 70-77], [Buscherini and Panaino (2010)], [Otero (2020)] and especially [van Brummelen (1993), pp. 46-73] for an extensive analysis of Ptolemy's chord table and its underlying mathematics.

<sup>40</sup>Throughout this document, I will count decimal places beyond this radius, and not including it, so that the value of  $Chd 1^{\circ}$  given here will be considered given to two (sexagesimal) places and not three.

<sup>41</sup>See [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1976)]. Glowatzki and Göttsche give the listings of the PL/I programs they used.

the values of Chd 0°30′, Chd 1° and Chd 1°30′ are given, together with differences. These differences are given in thirtieth of the actual differences, so that 31'25'' becomes  $\frac{31'25''}{20} = \frac{2\times31'25''}{60} = \frac{62'50''}{60} = 62''50''' = 1'2''50'''$ .

So that 31.25 becomes  $\frac{1}{30} = \frac{1}{60} = \frac{1}{60} = 62.50^{\circ} = 12.50^{\circ}$ . In Greek (right hand side), letters are used for numbers, in particular  $\overline{0}$  for 0,  $\alpha$  for 1,  $\beta$  for 2,  $\iota$  for 10,  $\chi$  for 20,  $\lambda$  for 30,  $\nu$  for 50,  $\iota\epsilon$  for 15,  $\chi\epsilon$  for 25,  $\lambda\alpha$  for 31,  $\lambda\delta$  for 34, etc. Note however that Halma uses  $\varsigma''$  for 30', when actually Ptolemy used a symbol for the half degree.<sup>42</sup>

As the chords are twice the sines of the half angles, Ptolemy's table would make it very easy to obtain the sines at intervals of 15'.

#### 2.2 Indian tables

The history of mathematics in India is complex and a lot of details are shady or lost.<sup>43</sup> As far as trigonometry is concerned, some elements of Greek chord tables were probably taken to India, but they were then converted to sines.<sup>44</sup> It seems that it was for practical reasons that Indian astronomers replaced the chords (*jyā*) by the sines, that is by half-chords (*jyā-ardha*, eventually shortened to *jyā*), with various values of the radius *R* of the base circle.<sup>45</sup>

This move from chords to sines may seem to be a detail, but it had in fact far-reaching consequences, connecting trigonometric functions with right triangles and therefore to the Pythagorean theorem.

However, even though a transmission from Greece to India is compelling, there is no certainty about the origins of the calculations, and whether the values were borrowed from Greek sources or computed independently.<sup>46</sup>

In any case, once the sine  $(jy\bar{a})$  had been defined for radius *R*, we had

$$jy\bar{a}(\theta) = R\sin\theta = \sin\theta.$$

Among the oldest sine tables, Neugebauer and Pingree mention the *Paitāmahasiddhānta*, possibly of the 1st century AD, which had a table based

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>[Ptolemaeus (1898-1903), v. 1, p. 48]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>For summaries of the history of mathematics and astronomy in India and extensive discussions on trigonometry or tables, see [Srinivasiengar (1967)], [Pingree (1978)], [Bag (1979)], [Katz et al. (2007)], [Plofker (2009)], [González-Velasco (2011), pp. 25-34], [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 94-134], [Puttaswamy (2012), pp. 108-116], [Divakaran (2018)], [Montelle and Plofker (2018)] (especially page 57) and [Ramasubramanian (2019)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>[van Brummelen (2009), p. 99]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>[van Brummelen (2009), p. 96]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>[van Brummelen (2009), p. 99]

MACHMATIKHE EYNTATEOS BIBAION A.

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Figure 2: The beginning of Ptolemy's table of chords as retranscribed by Halma in 1813 [Ptolemaeus (1813-1816)]. The part on the right shows the numerical values as represented by Greek letters. The left part is the modern translation. One should take note that the layout of the table in the Greek manuscripts differs from that displayed here and half-degrees are marked with a special symbol [Ptolemaeus (1898-1903), v. 1, p. 48].

38

on  $R = 3438.^{47}$ 

As mentioned above, Toomer has suggested that this radius 3438, which is  $60 \cdot 360$  divided by an approximation of  $2\pi$ , was actually borrowed from Hipparchus,<sup>48</sup> but this claim may now be questioned. In any case, the simultaneous choice in India of a radius of 3438 and a measure of the circumference of  $360 \cdot 60'$  means that the radius was actually measured in the same units as the circumference, thus anticipating the concept of radians.<sup>49</sup>

The *Sūrya Siddhānta*, a Sanskrit treatise on Indian astronomy, which in its original version goes back to the 4th century, may also have been one of the earliest texts giving a table of sine. The version now known of this work which had been heavily amended gives a table of sines with the same R = 3438 and for every multiple of  $3^{\circ}45'$ .<sup>50</sup> This interval of  $3^{\circ}45'$  may go back to an interval of  $7^{\circ}30'$  for chords.<sup>51</sup>

Around 499 AD, Āryabhaṭa's Āryabhaṭīya also used R = 3438 and had tables of sines (Sin *x*) and versines (or versed sines, *utkramajyā*,  $R - \cos x$ ) for every *x* multiple of  $3^{\circ}45'$ .<sup>52</sup>

Then in the sixth century AD, Varāhamihira (c505-c587) gave a table of sines with R = 120 again for every multiple of  $3^{\circ}45'$ .<sup>53</sup> Neugebauer and Pingree write that this table uses a terminology derived from that of the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* mentioned above. In any case, Varāhamihira's table may be much older than the 6th century as his work, the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is a summary of five earlier *siddhāntas*. And since, as observed by Bag,<sup>54</sup> we have the chord of  $7^{\circ}30'$  in a circle of radius R = 60 which is equal to the sine of  $3^{\circ}45'$  in a circle of radius R = 120, and that therefore a table of chords can right away become a table of sines in a circle twice as large, it may be that Varāhamihira's table goes back to a table of chords with R = 60.

In his Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta, Brahmagupta (c598-668)<sup>55</sup> computed a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>[Neugebauer and Pingree (1970-1971), part 2, p. 37]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>See [Toomer (1974), p. 6] and [Divakaran (2018), p. 198].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>[Neugebauer (1956)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>[Burgess (1860), pp. 58-60]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>[van Brummelen (2009), p. 97]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>See [Clark (1930), p. 19], [Srinivasiengar (1967), pp. 40-54], [Filliozat (1988)], and [Mazars (1974)].

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>See [Neugebauer and Pingree (1970-1971), part 2, pp. 37-38] and [Plofker (2009), p. 51]
 <sup>54</sup>[Bag (1969), p. 84]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>[Bhattacharyya (2011)]

table of sines but with the radius 3270 for every multiple of  $3^{\circ}45'$ .<sup>56</sup> Gupta suggested that this peculiar value of *R* is rounded from 21600/6.6, where 6.6/2 is an approximation of  $\sqrt{10}$ .<sup>57</sup>

Bag<sup>58</sup> gave a comparative view of the main early Indian tables of sines and examined how Varāhamihira and others may have computed their values.

Brahmagupta has also used the value R = 150 in his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (665).<sup>59</sup> This value was then used again by Al-Khwārizmī.

#### 2.3 Arabic tables

I merely sketch here the main milestones in the development of trigonometric tables between the 8th and 13th centuries, before their wider transmission to Western Europe.<sup>60</sup>

At the end of the 8th century, during the first years of the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258), men of learning were gathered in Baghdad and they translated into Arabic the works of the Hindus and the Greeks.<sup>61</sup> In particular, excerpts of Brahmagupta's *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* were brought to the calif Al-Mansur (714-775) by a scholar named Kaṅka<sup>62</sup> and a translation was made.

The Persian mathematician and astronomer Al-Khwārizmī (c780-850) wrote a revised edition of this translation, the  $Z\bar{i}j$  al-Sindhind.<sup>63</sup> The word  $z\bar{i}j$  is a generic name used for tabular astronomical works in Arabic and Persian, and it is derived from a Persian word meaning "cord" or "string", the tables with their columns and lines bearing some similarity with strings.<sup>64</sup>

The Indian word *jyā* for the chord was translated to *jib* and was later probably incorrectly translated in the Latin *sinus*, based on the similar

<sup>61</sup>[Bond (1921), p. 307]

<sup>62</sup>[Bag (1969), p. 84]

<sup>63</sup>See [Kennedy (1956), pp. 148-154], [Pingree (1996), p. 41] and [van Dalen (1996)].

<sup>64</sup>[Heydari-Malayeri (2007)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>[Plofker (2009), p. 81, 157]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>[Gupta (1978)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>[Bag (1969)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>See [Chatterjee (1970), p. 206], [Gupta (1978)], [Pingree (1996), p. 43], and [Pingree (2003)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>For more extensive descriptions of Arabic mathematics and astronomy, see in particular the surveys of [von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), v. 1, pp. 42-86] and [Rashed and Morelon (1996)]. Heydari-Malayeri's short survey may also be of interest [Heydari-Malayeri (2007)]. On trigonometric tables in the Islamic world, see [Berggren (1986), p. 144] and [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 135-222].

unvocalized Arabic word *jaib* meaning "cavity".<sup>65</sup>

For the  $Z\bar{i}j$  al-Sindhind Al-Khwārizmī computed c820 a table of sines. In fact, according to McCarthy and Byrne, Al-Khwārizmī's treatise contained two sine tables.<sup>66</sup> The main table used the radius R = 60 and a step of 1°,<sup>67</sup> and was likely based on Ptolemy's table of chords,<sup>68</sup> but Al-Khwārizmī also used another simpler table with R = 150,<sup>69</sup> that is Brahmagupta's radius from the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*.<sup>70</sup> This simpler table only contained the sines at intervals of 15° and was especially known from a commentary by Al-Biruni.<sup>71</sup> In particular, McCarthy and Byrne convincingly discard Hogendijk's suggestion<sup>72</sup> of a possible candidate for a full R = 150 sine table that could be attributed to Al-Khwārizmī.<sup>73</sup>

Al-Khwārizmī's main table survives in Adelard of Bath (c1080-1152)'s Latin translation (1126) of Maslama al-Majriti (c950-c1007)'s late 10th century Cordova edition of the original table. It was reproduced by Suter in 1914.<sup>74</sup> The table with R = 150 is not found in Adelard of Bath's translation, but its radius R = 150 made it to the tables of Toledo.

Al-Khwārizmī also had a table of shadows with a gnomon of 12,<sup>75</sup> following the Hindu custom.<sup>76</sup> The shadows seem to have been viewed as apart from the cosines and they were gathered in the same category only by the Europeans in the 15th century.<sup>77</sup>

Al-Khwārizmī's *Zīj al-Sindhind* was brought to Al-Andalus, the Muslimruled area of the Iberian Peninsula, sometime between 821 and 852, that is only a short time after its conception. The Umayyad dynasty, after their replacement by the Abbasid dynasty in 750, had reestablished itself there, first as an emirate, then as a caliphate.

During the 9th century, Ptolemy's Almagest was also translated in

<sup>69</sup>See [Neugebauer (1962), p. 104] and [Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2012), p. 19].

<sup>72</sup>[Hogendijk (1991)]

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup>See [Folkerts (2006), pp. 75-76], [Goldstein (2019), p. 132] and [Filliozat (1988), p. 261]
 <sup>66</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), p. 247]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>[Neugebauer (1962), p. 104]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), pp. 265-266]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup>[Pingree (1996), p. 43]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), p. 246]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), pp. 264-265]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>[Suter (1914), tab. 58 and 58a]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup>[Suter (1914), tab. 60]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>[Bond (1921), p. 307]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>[Bond (1921), p. 308]. See also [Moussa (2010)] who considers the process by which the tangent and cotangent functions became more abstract, especially with Abū al-Wafā<sup>5</sup>.

Arabic, so that his table of chords was then also known in Arabic.<sup>78</sup>

Around the year 860 the Iranian astronomer al-Marwazi (al-Hasib) (766-after 869) borrowed Ptolemy's table of chords and gave the sines for every 15 minutes.<sup>79</sup> He also constructed the first systematic table of tangents/cotangents<sup>80</sup> (from 0°30' to 89° at intervals of 30' and to three places<sup>81</sup>), although the tangent function had been tabulated before without being identified as such.<sup>82</sup> From then on, the tangent could have a place comparable to that of the sine. But in the West, tangents were only rediscovered in the 15th century by Bianchini and Regiomontanus.

It is interesting to note that a table equivalent to a table of tangents has appeared elsewhere before al-Hasib's table, namely in China. Indian mathematics had actually been exported to China and such a table was constructed there in the 8th century in the form of a shadow-list, but this table was a false start for Chinese trigonometry.<sup>83</sup>

In the Sabi Zij,<sup>84</sup> the Syrian astronomer Al-Battāni (Albategnius) (c858-929) put forward the advantages of sines. His table gave the sines for R = 60and for every half-degree and to two sexagesimal places.<sup>85</sup> Al-Battāni also computed a table of cotangents (table of shadows) for every degree.<sup>86</sup>

But the first original arabic constructions of sine tables were the works of Abū al-Wafā<sup>°</sup> and Ibn Yūnus.<sup>87</sup>

The Persian mathematician and astronomer Abū al-Wafā<sup>°</sup> (940-998) gave a better method for the computation of trigonometric tables and his sine table for R = 60 has a step of 15' and the values were computed on four sexagesimal places.<sup>88</sup> It should be observed, however, as already mentioned, that Ptolemy's table itself already gave the means to construct a

<sup>84</sup>See [Al-Battāni (1899-1907)] and [Kennedy (1956), pp. 154-156].

<sup>85</sup>[Al-Battāni (1899-1907), vol 2, pp. 55-56]

<sup>86</sup>[Al-Battāni (1899-1907), vol 2, p. 60]

<sup>87</sup>[Debarnot (1996), p. 524]

<sup>88</sup>This is what Folkerts writes [Folkerts (2006), p. 76], but it may mean four places including the integer part, which would then mean three sexagesimal places with our conventions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>See [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1976), pp. 12-13] and [Folkerts (2006), p. 76].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>[Debarnot (1996), p. 524]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>[Joseph (2011), p. 497]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>[Debarnot (1996), p. 512]. These "three places" probably include the radius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>[Debarnot (1996), p. 509]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup>See [Cullen (1982)], [Gupta (1987), p. 241], [Qu Anjing (2002)] and [Divakaran (2018), p. 209]. A recent summary of Indian and Islamic trigonometry in China is given in [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 185-191].

table of sines at intervals of 15', since the sine of 15' is half the chord of 30'. As an indication of Abū al-Wafā<sup>5</sup>'s work, let us mention that he found<sup>89</sup>

$$\sin 30' = 0; 31, 24, 55, 54, 55.$$

The correct value is

$$\sin 30' = 0; 31, 24, 55, 54, 0, 12, \dots,$$

that is

 $\sin 30' = 0 + 31/60 + 24/60^2 + 55/60^3 + 54/60^4 + 0/60^5 + 12/60^6 + \cdots$ 

Abū al-Wafā<sup>°</sup> was also the first to take the radius as unity. He constructed a table of tangents and cotangents with the radius 1, but it was still subdivided sexagesimally.<sup>90</sup> He seems also to have been the one who introduced the secant and cosecant.<sup>91</sup>

Ibn Yūnus (950-1009), astronomer of Cairo, wrote the Hakemite tables. He also recomputed a table of sines. According to Debarnot, Ibn Yūnus's table of sines is more directly based on the Almagest<sup>92</sup> than that of Abū al-Wafā<sup>5</sup>. Ibn Yūnus gave the sines for every minute, for R = 60 and to four sexagesimal places. An excerpt of that table is shown by Berggren and King.<sup>93</sup>

Ibn Yūnus obtained  $\sin 1^{\circ} = 1; 2, 49, 43, 4^{94}$  while the correct value is

$$\sin 1^{\circ} = 1; 2, 49, 43, 11, 14, 44, \dots$$

As observed by Glowatzki and Göttsche, the values of Ibn Yūnus's table were obtained by interpolation.<sup>95</sup> Ibn Yūnus very likely computed the sines at intervals of 10' and filled the intermediate values by interpolation.<sup>96</sup> For instance, he gives<sup>97</sup> Sin 28°10' = 28; 19, 20, 11, 0 which is a rather good

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>[Debarnot (1996), p. 527]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup>[Bond (1921), p. 311]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>[Joseph (2011), p. 497]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup>[Debarnot (1996), p. 524]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>See [Berggren (1986), p. 150], [Berggren (2016), p. 181] and [King (1975), p. 43].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup>See [Debarnot (1996), p. 525] and [Schoy (1923), pp. 382-383].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 9]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup>Note however that [Debarnot (1996), p. 524] misleadingly states that Ibn Yūnus gave his sines only every 10'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup>[Schoy (1923), p. 394]

approximation (the correct value is  $\sin 28^{\circ}10' = 28; 19, 20, 12, 0$ ), but the values for  $\sin 28^{\circ}1'$ ,  $\sin 28^{\circ}2'$ , etc.,  $\sin 28^{\circ}9'$ , are all less accurate, with the least accurate being that for  $\sin 28^{\circ}5'$ .

A table with such a small interval would not be available in Western Europe before the work of Regiomontanus in 1462 (see § 3.4). Incidentally, Regiomontanus's table was also obtained by interpolation, albeit certainly using a more elaborate scheme.

At about the same time as Ibn Yūnus, the Iranian scholar Al-Biruni (973c1050) had obtained the very accurate value  $\sin 1^{\circ} = 1; 2, 49, 43, 11, 14.$ <sup>98</sup> His table<sup>99</sup> gives the sines at intervals of 15' and uses R = 1.

In 1031, the Córdoban caliphate came to an end, the state was divided in a number of smaller kingdoms, and it is during the period 1031 to 1085 that Andalusian science flourished.<sup>100</sup> In particular, around 1070 or 1080 a group of astronomers in Toledo, including Al-Zarqālī (c1028-1087) and perhaps also Ṣā<sup>c</sup>id al-Andalusī (1029-1070),<sup>101</sup> put together the "Toledan tables."<sup>102</sup> The tables of Toledo were closely based on those of Al-Khwārizmī<sup>103</sup> and Al-Battāni<sup>104</sup> which had been available in Al-Andalus since the 10th century.<sup>105</sup> Al-Zarqālī is often credited as the author of these tables, but this is not sure and he may also not be the author of their canons.<sup>106</sup>

The original Arabic Toledan tables are no longer extant, but they are known through many Latin editions from the 12th century onward and they had an important influence on Western European astronomy.<sup>107</sup> The tables may have been organized (rather than translated) in Latin by Gerard of Cremona who died in 1187.<sup>108</sup>

The Toledan tables contained a sine table with R = 150 (from 1° to 180° for every degree and with two sexagesimal places)<sup>109</sup> (see figures 3 and 4

<sup>105</sup>[van Brummelen (2018), p. 547]

<sup>106</sup>See [Busard (1971a), p. 74]. The canons of the tables were published by Curtze in 1900 [Curtze (1900), p. 337].

<sup>107</sup>[Zinner (1936), Toomer (1968), Pedersen (2002)]

<sup>108</sup>[Zinner (1936), p. 747]

<sup>109</sup>See [Zinner (1936), table 25, p. 749], [Toomer (1968), table 12, pp. 27-28], [Pedersen (2002), pp. 946-952], [Millás Vallicrosa (1950), pp. 62-63] and [Kennedy (1956), p. 128].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup>[Schoy (1923), p. 386]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup>[Schoy (1923), p. 396]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup>[Samsó Moya (2020)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup>[Richter-Bernburg (1987)]

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup>See [Pingree (1996), p. 46], [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 47-75], and [Samsó Moya (2020)].
 <sup>103</sup>[Suter (1914)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>[Toomer (1968)]

for Latin editions) and another sine table with R = 60 (for every half degree of the quadrant and with two sexagesimal places)<sup>110</sup> (see figures 5 and 6 for Latin editions).

As mentioned above, the radius 150 of this table<sup>111</sup> (but not the values) possibly goes back to Al-Khwārizmī's table, and consequently to Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. However, as observed by van Dalen,<sup>112</sup> the idiosyncrasies of the table indicate that it was likely derived from a table with R = 60 (probably by Al-Battāni<sup>113</sup>) by multiplying the values by 2.5 and McCarthy and Byrne<sup>114</sup> believe that Al-Zarqālī was the one who made this transformation, perhaps in the hope of restoring a table which he thought to be that of Al-Khwārizmī.<sup>115</sup>

The second sine table in the Toledan tables, with R = 60, originates neither in Al-Khwārizmī's treatise (because Al-Khwārizmī's table only gives the sines at intervals of one degree), nor in Al-Battāni's treatise (because of distinctive discrepancies).<sup>116</sup> It may possibly be based on Ptolemy's table of chords.

The table of shadows of the Toledan tables (see figures 7 and 8) is the same as that in Al-Khwārizmī and Al-Battāni's tables.<sup>117</sup>

In the 12th century, the Christians, assisted by Jewish scholars, translated many Arabic works. In particular, Gerard of Cremona (c1114-1187) translated in Latin the canons of the tables of Toledo and, as mentioned above, Adelard of Bath made Al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables accessible to the Latins.

Around 1272, the *Alfonsine tables* were constructed in Toledo under the guidance of King Alfonso X of Castile (1221-1284).<sup>118</sup> They were the last major astronomical work by Spanish astronomers before the Renaissance.<sup>119</sup>

The canons of these Castilian Alfonsine tables are still extant in a unique

<sup>115</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), p. 264]

<sup>116</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), p. 265] Pedersen, however, attributes this table to Al-Battāni [Pedersen (2002), p. 954].

<sup>117</sup>[Toomer (1968), table 15, p. 32]

<sup>118</sup>See [Dreyer (1920)], [Poulle (1988)], [Chabás Bergón (2002)], [Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2003)], [Swerdlow (2004)] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 125-132].

<sup>119</sup>[Heydari-Malayeri (2007), p. 10]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>See [Zinner (1936), table 135, p. 757], [Toomer (1968), table 13, p. 29] and [Pedersen (2002), pp. 954-959].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>[Toomer (1968), table 12, pp. 27-28]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup>[van Dalen (1996), p. 206]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), p. 266]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>[McCarthy and Byrne (2003), pp. 252-253]

manuscript, but the original tables are not. These Alfonsine tables arrived in Paris in the early 14th century and they spread in a modified form in Latin,<sup>120</sup> becoming the Parisian Alfonsine tables. These tables were only superseded in the 16th century by the Prutenic tables based on Copernicus's theory.

More accurate trigonometric tables were constructed in the Arabic world after those of Al-Khwārizmī and Al-Battāni. Chabás and Goldstein mention for instance a 14th century manuscript giving a table of sines for 2700 arguments, at 1' intervals,<sup>121</sup> so presumably up to 45° and giving sines and cosines.

And during the next century in Samarkand (now in Uzbekistan), Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) also computed a table of sines for intervals of one minute.<sup>122</sup>

And finally, let's mention that at the beginning of the 15th century, the Persian mathematician Al-Kāshī (c1380-1429) was able to obtain

 $\sin 1^{\circ} = 1; 2, 49, 43, 11, 14, 44, 16, 19, 16$ 

(correct value:  $\sin 1^{\circ} = 1; 2, 49, 43, 11, 14, 44, 16, 26, 18, ...)$  by solving numerically the equation  $\sin 3x = 3 \sin x - 4 \sin^3 x$  for  $x = 1^{\circ}$ .<sup>123</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup>See [Goldstein and Chabás Bergón (2004), p. 455] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 237-276].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup>[Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2012), p. 20]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup>See [Bond (1921), p. 304], [Schoy (1923), pp. 398-399], [Archibald (1949), p. 31], and [Gloden (1950), p. 10]. For the development of table literature in Indian and Arabic mathematics, especially after Ulugh Beg's tables, see for instance the surveys of [Ghori (1985)] and [Plofker (2009)]. Gloden's text just cited, as well as a number of others, should be taken cautiously, as they contain many approximations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup>[Aaboe (1954)]

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Figure 3: The beginning of the table of sines to R = 150 in a Latin edition of the tables of Toledo (BNF Ms. Latin 16211, f°26v).

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Figure 4: The beginning of the table of sines to R = 150 in a Latin edition of the tables of Toledo (BNF Ms. Latin 16655, f°24v).

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3 0 111 0	3 8 24	18 0 162 0	18 32 28
3 30 116 30	3 39 84	1830 101 30	10 2 18
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8 30 101 30	8424	2330 45 30	28 41 30
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10 0 100 0	10 24 8	24 0 144 0	24 21 24
1030 100 20	10463	24 30 148 30	26 89 40
11 0 100 0	11 24 48	200 48 0	20 18 8
11 30 103 30	11 41 43	2030 143 30	20 86 10
12 0 108 0	12 28 29	20 0 143 0	2/1 18 22
12 30 164 30	13 49 11	2130 142 30	28 82 18
13 0 161 0	13 29 80	28 0 142 0	28 18 6
13 30 100 30	R 0 20	29 30 141 40	29 34 86
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Figure 5: The beginning of the table of sines to R = 60 in a Latin edition of the tables of Toledo (BNF Ms. Latin 16211, f°28r).

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3	30	116	70	3	50	84	18	30	161	30	10	3	18
8	0	115	0	8	11	1	19	9	101	9	10	37	2
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4	30	1Ag	30	4	89	Z	120	30	149	30	131	0	84
6	0	148	0	6	16	20	17	0	149	0	21	30	1
G	30	143	30	G	81	32	121	30	148	70	21	40	79
A	0	143	0	A	18	28	12	0	148	0	17	-8	74
۸	70	143	30	1	80	43	122	30	141	30	37	YA	30
8	0	112	0	8	=1	1	=1	0	191	0	73	25	38
8	30	141	30	8	42	1	1=1	30	145	30	23	44	30
9	9	141	0	0	23	10	178	9	445	0	28	22	14
9	30	110	20	9	48	10	29	30		30	28	4=	48
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11	30	100	30	11	41	43	x	39	143	30	26	85	19
12	0	14	0	12	28	29	21	0	143	0	=4	18	
12	30	107	30	12	40	11	21	30	142	30	=A	87	ıg
17	0	101	0	13	3	80	79	0	142	0	24	10	6
13	30	KG	30	18	0	28	F	70	141	30	=8	74	80
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14	9	109	0	14	32	88	30	0	MC	0	30	0	0

Figure 6: The beginning of the table of sines to R = 60 in a Latin edition of the tables of Toledo (BNF Ms. Latin 16655, f°27v).

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Figure 7: The table of shadows in a Latin edition of the tables of Toledo (BNF Ms. Latin 16211,  $f^{\circ}24v$ ).

tabul			rombi	r		alani	omio		
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2	383	39	32	10	12	62	6	30	
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2	141	9=	38	14	81	of	4	41	
4	131	10	34	14	8	oq	4	30	
6	1192	10	36	10	30	65	4	21	
۸	24	89	31	ıq	44	GA	4	G	
8	84	28	38	14	21	63	9	41	
9	19	95	39	12	89	69	8	30	
10	58	3	90	18	18	10	*	72	
u	6T	98	81	13	9.8	41	2	8	
12	46	24	92	13	20	AZ	3	49	
13	41	49	83	13	42	43	3	90	
18	88	8	89	12	76	18	3	21	
uq 🛛	88	95	84	12	0	14	3	13	
5	81	41	25	11	34	16	3	o	
14	30	14	81	11	z	11	ź	95	
ıg	30	48	28	10	98	Ag	2	33	
19	392	41	29	10	20	10	2	70	
20	32	49	40	10	8	90	2	٨	
21	31	16	41	9	=3	81	1	42	
2	20	87	42	9	72	82	t	81	
3	28	16	43	9	3	83	1	28	
28	25	41	48	9	83	88	1	10	
24	24	8.4	44	8	28	84	1	3	
25	28	36	45	8	5	40	0	40	
21	23	33	44	4	98	84	0	38	
26	72	38	48	۸	31	88	ø	24	
29	21	20	49	A	13	89	0	13	
30	20	2n	60	5	40	90	0	0	

Figure 8: The table of shadows in a Latin edition of the tables of Toledo (BNF Ms. Latin 16655,  $f^{\circ}24v$ ).

## 3 The starting point in Western Europe: from von Gmunden to Regiomontanus

In the 13th and 14th centuries, many writings appeared based on the canons of the Toledan tables, in particular the canons of John of Lignères (1322). These canons borrowed the details of the computation of the sines from the canons of the Toledan tables, but they also gave a sine table for R = 60 and for every half degree, as well as a table of shadows.<sup>124</sup>

Moreover, in 1175 Gerard of Cremona (c1114-87) translated Ptolemy's Almagest from the Arabic in Latin.<sup>125</sup> Hence, tables of sines and of chords were available to those willing to pick them up.

Several relatively independent works appeared in the following centuries, of which a few can be mentioned. For instance, in 1220, Leonardo of Pisa (c1170-c1250), known as Fibonacci, published his *Practica Geometriæ* where he gave a table of chords with a radius of 21 *perticæ* and a circumference of 132 *perticæ* (figure 9).<sup>126</sup> The *pertica* is a Roman length unit equal to 10 Roman feet or about 2.96 m. The ratio 132/21 corresponds to the approximation 22/7 for  $\pi$ . In Leonardo of Pisa's table, the arcs are measured with the circumference (first column), so that 90 degrees correspond to 33 *perticae*. In that case, the chord should have been  $21\sqrt{2} = 29.69...$  but it is given as 29. For 180 degrees (66 *perticae*), the chord is 42, corresponding to twice the radius.

In that same century, Campanus of Novara (c1220-1296) also supposedly constructed a table of tangents for each degree.<sup>127</sup>

In the 14th century, we should also note the work of Levi Ben Gershon (Gersonides) (1288-1344) who in 1342 independently constructed a table of sines for intervals of 15' with a radius R = 60 and two sexagesimal places.<sup>128</sup>

And in the fist quarter of the 15th century, Jean Fusoris (c1365-1436) has independently recomputed tables of sines and chords, also at intervals of 15', with a radius R = 60 and with three to six sexagesimal places.<sup>129</sup>

But the real starting point of new trigonometric computations in Europe were the investigations of Johannes von Gmunden and Giovanni Bianchini,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup>See [Curtze (1900), pp. 411-412] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 73-79].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup>See [Haskins (1924)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1976), p. 15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup>See [Boncompagni (1862), p. 96] and [Hughes (2008), p. 355].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup>[Bond (1921)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup>See [Goldstein (1974), pp. 153-155], [Goldstein (1985), pp. 134-140], and [Goldstein (2019), p. 133].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup>See [Gassendi (1654), pp. 340-342] and [Poulle (1963), pp. 75-80].

1													
	Arcus pertice		Corde pertice	Ar pedes	Cuu vncie	M puneta	Arcus pertice	Arcus pertice	Corde : pertice	Ar pedes	C V vncie	VM puncta	i.
	1	131	0	5	17	17	34	98	30	2	6	17	
	2	130	1	5	17	13	35	97	31	0	8	5	
ľ	3	129	2	5	17	4+	36	96	31	4	8	7	
	4	128	3	5	17	2	37	95	32	2	5	15	
	5	127	4	4	12	10	38	94	33	0	1	9	
	6	126	5	5	10	7+	39	93	34	3	13	0	1
	7	125	6	5	14	5	40	92	35	1	4	15	
	8	124	7	5	12	9	41	91	35	4	12	10	
	9	123	8	5	8	16	42	90	36	2	0	0	
	10	122	9	5	7	8	43	89	36	5	3	5	
	11	121	10	5	4	2	44	. 88	37	2	4	6	
	12	120	11	4	17	18	45	87	37	5	3	2	
	13	119	12	4	13	6	46	86	38	1	17	15	
	14	118	13	4	7	16	47	85	38	4	12	13	
	15	117	14	4	1	0	48	84	38	1	4	0	
	16	116	15	3	11	18	49	83	39	3		15	
	17	115	16	3	3	12	50	82	39	5	17	2	
	18	114	17	2	12	8	51	81	40	2	2	1	l
	19	113	18	. 2	0	15	52	80	40	4	2	10	
	20	112	19	1	8	12	53	79	40	0	0	11	
	21	111 110 -	20	0	13	18	54	78	40	1	14	5	
	22		21	0	0	0	55	77	41	3	7	8	
	23 24	109	21 22	5	2	16	56	76	41	4	16	2	
				<u> </u>	4	5	57	75	41	0	4	12	
	25 26	107	23 24	) 2	4	8	58 59	74 73	41 41	1 2	8	1	
			<u> </u>			<u></u> i					9	0	
	27 28	105 104	25 25	1 5	0	6 2	60 <sup>.</sup> 61	72	41 41	34	7 9+	14 2	
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>					<u> </u>	====		=		
	29 30	103	26 27	4	8	0 3	62 63	70 69	41 41	4	15	10 9	
	31	101	<u> </u>	====					====				
	31	100	28 28	1 5	9 16	7	64 65	68 67	41	5	12 6	17 14	
	33		29	4		9		=					
1			20	4	 	<u> </u>	66	66	42	0	0	0	Į

Figure 9: Leonardo of Pisa's table of chords (1220) [Boncompagni (1862), p. 96].

which seem to have taken place independently at about the same time.

#### 3.1 Johannes von Gmunden (c1384-1442)

Johannes von Gmunden (c1384-1442) founded the study of astronomy and trigonometry in Vienna in the early 1400s.<sup>130</sup> He had obtained his Master degree at the University in 1406. Johannes von Gmunden gave lectures on the construction of astronomical instruments and computed astronomical tables.<sup>131</sup> A few years before his death, he bequeathed his books to the University and thereby founded its first library.<sup>132</sup> Because very few of Johannes von Gmunden's works have been printed, he has been overshadowed by Georg Peuerbach and Regiomontanus.<sup>133</sup>

In 1437, he wrote a treatise *De sinibus, chordis et arcubus*.<sup>134</sup> He described the computation of sines using the Arabic (in fact Indian) methods with the sines of multiples of 15 degrees, as well as the computation of chords using the methods given by Ptolemy in the Almagest. In particular, he described the computation of the sine of the half-angle  $\alpha/2$ , as well as of the complementary angle  $90^{\circ} - \alpha$ , from the sine of  $\alpha$ . The formulas are given without proof, like in the canons of the Toledan tables and in John of Lignères's canons.<sup>135</sup> This enabled von Gmunden to compute the sines for every multiple of  $3^{\circ}45'$  for R = 150 and R = 60.

Johannes von Gmunden's treatise is accompanied by several tables which, according to Glowatzki and Göttsche, were only computed in 1437 or later.<sup>136</sup>

In the first part, a table of sines with R = 150 is given for each degree, and for minutes and seconds of the unit of the *sinus totus*. It is attributed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup>For summaries of Johannes von Gmunden's life and works, see [von Khauz (1755), pp. 27-32], [Aschbach (1865), pp. 455-467], [Klug (1943)], [Vogel (1973a)], [Grössing (1983), pp. 73-78], [Firneis (1988)], [Kaiser (1988)], [Shank (1997)], [Grössing (2002)], [Folkerts (2006)], [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 248-249], and [Simek and Klein (2012)]. For a survey of his tables, see [Porres de Mateo (2003)] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 321-336]. See also [Durand (1952), pp. 54-56], and [Duhem (1959), pp. 349-367], especially for the scientific context in Vienna. Gessner mentions von Gmunden very briefly [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 375].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup>[Schmeidler (1977), p. 315]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup>[von Khauz (1755), p. 29]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup>[Sperl (1971a)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup>This treatise was published in [Busard (1971a)]. See also [Kaiser (1988), pp. 91-96] and [Folkerts (2006), p. 71].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup>See [Busard (1971a), p. 78] and [Folkerts (2006), p. 81].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 79-92]

to Al-Zarqālī and must come from the Toledan tables. I assume it does not originate in John of Lignères's canons as these canons only give the sines every 15 degrees for that *sinus totus*.<sup>137</sup>

Another table of sines, attributed to Ptolemy, with a *sinus totus* of 60, is also given for each degree. This table may be the Toledan table restricted to degrees, or it may be the table borrowed from Ptolemy's Almagest, but restricted to degrees. The two original tables are reproduced by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>138</sup>

In the second part, Johannes von Gmunden gives tables of chords and sines for every half-degree from 0° to 180°, with a radius (*sinus totus*) of 60. The two original tables are also reproduced by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>139</sup> Incidentally, Klug writes incorrectly<sup>140</sup> that Johannes von Gmunden was the first to compute a table of sines at intervals of 30'.

The first of the tables in the second part is the table given by Ptolemy.<sup>141</sup> The second table may be the result of Johannes von Gmunden's computation, as it goes slightly beyond the table found in the Toledan tables. As a matter of fact, the sines are given to three sexagesimal places,<sup>142</sup> but the last place is always 0 (actually not shown at all) or 30. It may be derived from another table.

Glowatzki and Göttsche<sup>143</sup> drew the attention of a number of incorrect statements on Johannes von Gmunden's tables, in particular by von Braunmühl.<sup>144</sup> The latter, and later Bond<sup>145</sup> and Zeller<sup>146</sup> for instance incorrectly stated that Gmunden had a table with radius 600000.<sup>147</sup> Cantor and Eneström also made the mistake.<sup>148</sup> Some typos of Busard's transcription<sup>149</sup> are also corrected by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup>See [Bond (1920), p. 319] and [Curtze (1900)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 81]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 85 and 89]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup>[Klug (1943), p.57]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup>[Ptolemaeus (1984), pp. 57-60]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup>In figure 13, the number of places of sexagesimal tables is shown as  $60; 60^n$ , the first 60 being the value of *R*, and *n* being the number of additional sexagesimal places.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 92]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup>[von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), v. 1, pp. 110-111]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup>[Bond (1921), p. 320]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup>[Zeller (1944), p. 16]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 72]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup>[Eneström (1913-1914)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup>[Busard (1971a)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 92]

Johannes von Gmunden's treatise was heavily used and Peuerbach borrowed much from it. Eventually, Peuerbach's own treatise made its way into Regiomontanus's works and was printed in 1541.<sup>151</sup>

Although Johannes von Gmunden's treatise did not contain any significant novelty, it brought the impetus for a new computation of sine tables,<sup>152</sup> which would find its completion in Pitiscus' *Thesaurus mathematicus* in 1613.<sup>153</sup>

#### 3.2 Giovanni Bianchini (c1410-c1469)

Giovanni Bianchini was a merchant and businessman, probably born in Bologna or Florence around 1410. He later went to Ferrara, but also visited other cities. He became interested in astronomical calculations at an early age.<sup>154</sup> His scientific works were written between 1440 and 1460 and he is in particular the author of one of the few treatises of algebra written in the fifteenth century in Latin.<sup>155</sup> He corresponded with Regiomontanus during the latter's stay in Italy.<sup>156</sup>

Rosińska was the first to describe Bianchini's purely trigonometric tables, which consist in two decimal and two sexagesimal tables.<sup>157</sup> Earlier writers such as Boffito<sup>158</sup> and Birkenmajer<sup>159</sup> mentioned some of Bianchini's trigonometric tables, but did not describe them in detail.

Bianchini's table of sines for  $R = 60 \cdot 10^3$  appears in his *Tabulae primi mobilis* and was reproduced and transcribed by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>155</sup>[Rosińska (1994a), Rosińska (1997-1998)]

<sup>156</sup>See [von Murr (1786), vol. 1, p. 74-205], [Curtze (1902)] and [Gerl (1989)].

<sup>157</sup>See [Rosińska (1981a)], [Rosińska (1981b)], [Rosińska (1987)], and [Rosińska (2006)]. A more complete summary of Bianchini's trigonometric tables was recently given by Chabás [Chabás Bergón (2016)].

<sup>158</sup>[Boffito (1908)]

<sup>159</sup>[Birkenmajer (1911), p. 273]

<sup>160</sup>See [Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2012), p. 20] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), p. 361].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup>[Folkerts (2006), p. 87]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup>[Busard (1971a), p. 76]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup>[Pitiscus (1613)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup>See [Barotti (1792), vol. 1, p. 119-132], [Birkenmajer (1911)], [Federici Vescovini (1968)], [Goldstein and Chabás Bergón (2004)] and [Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2009), p. 13]. For a survey of Bianchini's tables, see [van Brummelen (2018)] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 337-364]. See also [Gruyer (1897), v. 2, pp. 428-430] for some background on his astronomical tables. Gessner mentions Bianchini very briefly [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 346].

They also reproduced his table of cotangents.<sup>161</sup> For both tables, Bianchini appears to have been the first to use a step of 10' and also the first to use a partly decimal radius  $R = 60 \cdot 10^3$ .<sup>162</sup> However, as mentioned earlier, in Cairo and in the 10th century, Ibn Yūnus had computed a table of sines at intervals of 1'.

Bianchini's table of cotangents uses  $R = 12000^{163}$  and this table may have been adapted from, or inspired by, a *tabula umbræ* found in the tables of Toledo, but with  $R = 12 \cdot 60$ .<sup>164</sup> The table of shadows of the Toledan tables is itself the same as that in Al-Khwārizmī and Al-Battāni.<sup>165</sup>

Bianchini must have computed his tables of sines *ab novo*, at least in part, perhaps interpolating from the Toledan tables. Glowatzki and Göttsche<sup>166</sup> observed that Bianchini computed a number of values in his table of shadows by interpolation, and not from his table of sines, thereby resulting in some inaccuracies.

Bianchini also computed decimal tables, that is tables not involving 60 and only based on powers of 10. These tables are found in the set of eight trigonometric tables named *Tabulae magistrales*.<sup>167</sup> Some of these tables give the values of trigonometric functions multiplied by certain astronomical factors (for instance the cosine of the obliquity of the ecliptic), but two of the tables are decimal tables (R = 10000) for the tangent and cosecant.<sup>168</sup>

Among this set of tables, the *Tabula magistralis quarta*<sup>169</sup> gives the tangents at 10' intervals and with  $R = 10^4$ .

This table may have been the incentive for Regiomontanus to construct his own table of tangents in his *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*,<sup>170</sup> for every degree and with  $R = 10^5$  (figure 15). He did not, however, use Bianchini's values, but computed his tangents using his large sexagesimal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 95-114]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 94]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup>[Chabás Bergón (2019), p. 361]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup>See for instance BNF, Manuscrit Latin 16655, f°31r, here reproduced in figure 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup>[Toomer (1968), table 15, p. 32]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 105]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup>See [Rosińska (1984), pp. 476-477] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), p. 349].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup>In 1981, [Rosińska (1981a)] wrote mistakenly that the tangents are given with  $R = 10^3$ . This error was repeated by Rosińska in 1987 [Rosińska (1987)] and 2002 [Rosińska (2002), p. 12], by Chabás and Goldstein [Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2009), p. 20] and Brummelen in 2009 [van Brummelen (2009), p. 262], but it was corrected by Chabás in 2016 [Chabás Bergón (2016)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup>[Chabás Bergón (2019), p. 351]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

table of sines.

Another of Bianchini's tables, the *Tabula magistralis quinta*<sup>171</sup> gives the cosecants at 10' intervals and with  $R = 10^4$ .

Rosińska assumed that Bianchini's extant decimal tables were derived from a decimal table of sines for  $R = 10^4$ , and this would make sense. Unfortunately, such a table is no longer extant.<sup>172</sup> This table for  $R = 10^4$ may itself have been computed from Bianchini's sine table found in his *Tabulae primi mobilis*.

Bianchini's work did not stay confined in Italy but circulated until Krakow, as described by Walsh.<sup>173</sup>

#### **3.3 Georg von Peuerbach (1423-1461)**

Georg Aunpekh, known as Georg von Peuerbach (1423-1461), was an Austrian mathematician and astronomer.<sup>174</sup> He was born in Peuerbach, Austria. In 1446 he registered at the University of Vienna and between 1448 and 1451, he travelled to Italy. There he met Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) who had been papal legate in Germany since 1446 and cardinal since 1448. In Ferrara, Peuerbach may also have met Giovanni Bianchini.<sup>175</sup> The latter wanted to obtain positions for Peuerbach in Bologna or Padua, but Peuerbach did not accept them.<sup>176</sup> He then returned to Vienna.

Peuerbach was first influenced by Johannes von Gmunden who had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup>[Chabás Bergón (2019), p. 351]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup>As mentioned above, Rosińska actually wrote that the decimal table of tangents used  $R = 10^3$  and therefore also posited a sine table with that radius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup>[Walsh (1996), pp. 289-291]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup>For summaries of Peuerbach's life and works, see in particular [Gassendi (1654), pp. 335-373], [von Khauz (1755), pp. 33-57], [Montucla (1758), v. 1, pp. 443-445], [Martin (1764), pp. 157-158], [Aschbach (1865), pp. 479-493], [Gallois (1890a), pp. 1-11], [Thorndike (1929), ch. 8], [Sperl (1971b)], [Vogel (1973b)], [Rose (1975)], [Hellman and Swerdlow (1978)], [Grössing (1983), pp. 79-116], [Shank (1997)], [Samhaber (2000)], [Grössing (2002)], [Kaunzner (2006)], [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 249-252], [Malpangotto (2020), pp. 19-34], and [Horst (2019)]. Several other references not cited here are given in the *Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters* (https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/autor/749). One of the first biographical notices on Peuerbach was that of Tannstetter, when he published Peuerbach's table of eclipses [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1514)]. Gessner, on the other hand, only briefly mentions Peuerbach [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 231]. For the scientific context in Vienna, see [Durand (1952)] and [Duhem (1959), pp. 349-367].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup>See [Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 473], [Grössing (1983), p. 80] and [Malpangotto (2020), p. 24].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup>See [von Khauz (1755), p. 38] and [Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 473].

died in 1442. He can thus be considered as Gmunden's spiritual student. It seems unlikely that he knew him, but he certainly studied his works.<sup>177</sup>

In 1454, after his return from Italy, Peuerbach completed a *Theoricae No-vae Planetarum* which actually started as lectures on the theory of planetary motion. This work was published in 1473<sup>178</sup> by Regiomontanus (1436-1476), Peuerbach's student and successor, who had certainly attended these lectures.<sup>179</sup> The *Theoricae Novae Planetarum* became a standard textbook of planetary theory for the next century.<sup>180</sup> It contains solid sphere representations of Ptolemaic planetary models, and this work was of great importance until the solid sphere hypothesis was disproved by Tycho Brahe at the end of the 16th century.<sup>181</sup>

Peuerbach was acquainted with Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) who was then papal legate in Germany. In 1460, Bessarion spent more than one year in Vienna<sup>182</sup> in order to gain imperial support for the war against the Turks and during this stay he became friends with Peuerbach. Bessarion, a Greek, wanted to produce a new translation of the Almagest, because he considered Trebizond's work to be flawed. George of Trebizond (c1395-c1472) was of Greek origin and has translated many works from Antiquity in Latin. In particular in 1451 he composed a Commentary on the Almagest, which has never been printed.<sup>183</sup> Bessarion had himself considered translating the Almagest from the Greek, but his duties didn't let him the time to.<sup>184</sup>

Bessarion asked Peuerbach (who did not know Greek) to write an *Epitome* (summary) of Ptolemy's Almagest.<sup>185</sup> He also wanted him to accompany him to Italy for further investigations on the Almagest. Peuerbach certainly wanted to take Regiomontanus with him to Italy, but Peuerbach died in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup>[Vogel (1973a), p. 120]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup>See [Malpangotto (2020), pp. 116-119 & 678-679]. Many sources give the date of publication as 1472, but I follow Malpangotto here. Note that Khauß wrote that the *Theoricae* were published in 1460 [von Khauz (1755), p. 46].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup>[Shank (1996), p. 124]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup>[Schmeidler (1977), p. 315]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup>[Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 475]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup>[Malpangotto (2020), p. 33]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1976), p. 16]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup>Meskens writes that Bessarion had started the translation, but doesn't give any substantial proof of this statement [Meskens (2010), p. 136]. Meskens's statement may rest on [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1976), p. 17].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup>See [Malpangotto (2020), p. 20] and [Shank (2002), p. 183].

1461 before the journey began.<sup>186</sup> By that time, Peuerbach had written six chapters of his *Epitome*, and not based on the Greek text.<sup>187</sup> Regiomontanus, who learned Greek, added the seven missing chapters to Peuerbach's work after Peuerbach's death. This *Epitome* was only printed in 1496 and was very influential, in particular on Copernicus.<sup>188</sup>

Together with Johannes von Gmunden, Peuerbach and Regiomontanus were in fact the most important members of the first Viennese mathematical school of the 15th century.<sup>189</sup> Peuerbach's work on the *Epitome* led him to work on reforming Ptolemy's astronomy. Gassendi later wrote that Peuerbach resurrected an almost dying astronomy and that without him, we would have neither Copernicus nor Brahe.<sup>190</sup> Or, as others have put it, Peuerbach and his pupil Regiomontanus<sup>191</sup> woke up the study of astronomy and built the necessary tables.<sup>192</sup> And Hellman and Swerdlow wrote that the "*Epitome* is the true discovery of ancient mathematical astronomy in the Renaissance because it gave astronomers an understanding of Ptolemy that they had not previously been able to achieve."<sup>193</sup>

But as Thorndike notes, "it very likely never occurred to Peurbach that his name would go down to posterity as the reviver of the mathematics of classical antiquity or as the reformer of the mathematics of his own time."<sup>194</sup>

For his work in trigonometry, Peuerbach was both influenced by Johannes von Gmunden and by Giovanni Bianchini. In particular, Peuerbach's treatise on sines and chords,<sup>195</sup> printed in 1541, contains literal excerpts of Johannes von Gmunden's treatise.<sup>196</sup> And Peuerbach copied Bianchini's sine table with R = 60000 and a step of 10'.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup>[von Khauz (1755), p. 42]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup>Peuerbach actually followed closely the *Almagestum minor*, a textbook from the late thirteenth century [Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 477]. Bendefy incorrectly stated that Peuerbach's *Epitome* was translated from the Greek [Bendefy (1980), p. 244].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup>[Rosen (1975a), p. 349]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup>[Grössing (1983), p. 146]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup>[Gassendi (1658), p. 518]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup>[Folkerts (1977), Kaunzner (1980), Zinner (1968)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup>[Gerhardt (1877), p. 87]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup>[Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 477]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup>[Thorndike (1929), p. 143]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup>[Busard (1971a), p. 75]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup>This table is reproduced by Glowatzki and Göttsche [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 116-123]. They draw the attention to incorrect statements by [Cantor (1900), p. 182]

0	100	200	300 0	400	500
G.M.2.	G.M.2.	G.M.2.	G.M.2.	G.M.1.	G.M.1.
0 0000	45 45 49	9 27 44	14 2 10	18 26 7	122 37 12
1  0 2 521	4 48 40	9 30 32	114 4 52	18 28 42	22 39 38
2 0 5 44	14 151 30	19 33 19	14 7 34	18 31 17	22 42 4
3 0 8 36	4 54 21	9 36 6	14 10 16	18 33 51	22 44 30
4 0 11 28	4 57 12	9 38 53	1412 58	18,36 25	22 46 56
5 0 14 20	501	9 41 40	141539	118 38 59	22 49 22
6 0 17 12	5   2   53	9 44 27	1418 20	118 41 33	22/51/47
7 0 20 3	5 8 34	9 47 14	14 23 42	18 44 7	22 54 15
spectra ( grange and the grant of the spectrum)	15/11/24	9 50 0	14 26 23	18 46 41	22 56 39
9   0   25 47  10   0   28 39	15 14 15	9 155134	1429 4	18 51 49	22 59 4
11 0 31 31	5 17 5	9 58 21	143145	18 54 23	23 3 50
12 0 34 23	15 19 551	10 1 7	14 34 26	18 56 57	23 6 21
13 10 37 15	5 22 46	10 3 54	114137 7	18 59 31	25 8 47
14 10 40 7	5 25 36	10 6 41	11439 48	119 2 5	23 11 12
15 10 42 59	5 28 26	10 9 28	14 42 29	119 4 59	23 13 38
16 10 45 50	15 31 17	1011214	114 45 10	119 7 121	23 16 4
17 10 48 42	5 34 7	101501	14 47 51	12 9 45	23 18 29
181 10 51134	15 36 57	10 17 47	14/50/32	19 12 18	123 20 53
19 0 5426	5 39 48	10 20 33	14 53 13	119 14 51	23 23 18
20 10 57 181	15 42 581	10 23 19	14 55 54	19 17 24	22/25/42
21 1 0 10	5 45 28	1026 5	14 58 34	19 19 571	23 28 7
221 11 5 5	5 48 18	102852	15 1 14	192230	23 30 32
23 1 5 53	5 55 58	10 31 38	15 6 34	1925 3	23 32 56
24 1 8 45	15 56 48	1013710	45 9 14	19 27 36	23/35/20
26 1 1429	15 159 381	10 39 57	115/11/54	193242	23 37 49
27 11 17/20	6 2 28	10 42 43	115/14/34	193515	23/42/34
18 1 20 12	- 6 5 18	10 45 29	115/17/14	19 37 48	23 44 58
20 1 23 4	6 8 8	10 48 15	115/19/54/	19 40 20	23 47 22
30 1 25 56	6 10 58	10 51 1	15 22 34	19 42 52	23/49/45
31 1 28 47	6 13 48	10 53 47	152514	19 45 24	23152 9
32 1 31 39	6 16 38	10 56 33	15 27 54	19 47 56	113 54 32
35 1 34 31	6 19 27	10 59 19	15 50 34	19 50 28	23 56 56
34 1 37 23	6 22 17	111251	115133114	19 53 0	23 59 19
35 1 40 14	6 25 7	11 4 50	1535153	19 55 32	24 1 45
36   1  43   6   37   1  45   58	6 30 46	111 7 36	15 38 32	19 58 1	24 4 6
38 1 48 49	6 33 36	11113 6	115 43150	20 0 36	24 6 30
39!   1   51   41	6 36 26	11115 51	115 46 29	20 3 8	24 8 53
401 1 154 34	6 39 15	11 18 36	115 49 8	20 8 12	24/11/17
41 1 57 25	16 42 5	112121	15 51 47	20 10 43	124/16/2
42 2 0 17	10 44155	11124 6	105420	120[13 14]	124/18/24
43 239	6  47  44	1112651	15157 51	120 15 45	24/20/47
44 260	6 50 341	11 29 36	15 59 44	20 18 16	24/25/10
45 2 8 51	6 53 24	11 52 21	16 2 23	20 20 471	124/25/32
46 2 11 43	16 56 113	111 35 6	1050	20 23 18	124 27 55
47 2 14 34	6 59 2	11137151	16 7 41	20125 49	124/30/17
48 2 17 26	7 1 52	1114036	02 01 01	20 28 20	24 32 39
49 2 2018	7 4 41	11 43 21	16 12 59	20/30/51	24 35 2
50 2 23 9	7 7 30	11 46 6	1611537	20 33 22	14 37 14

Figure 10: The first page of Peuerbach's table of arctangents (1516) [von Peuerbach (1516)] (e-rara).

A table with R = 60000 is again found in the 1490 edition of Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*,<sup>198</sup> but it happens to be a table derived from Regiomontanus's large sexagesimal table, and not Peuerbach's table. Moreover, the 1490 table gives the sines at intervals of 1'.

Around 1450, Peuerbach took R = 600000 and a step of 10' and went beyond what Johannes von Gmunden and Bianchini had done. But this table with R = 600000 is no longer extant.<sup>199</sup> We know of its existence because Peuerbach mentioned it in the *Propositio prima* of his *Quadratum geometricum* (or *Canones gnomonis*<sup>200</sup>) written in 1455 and published in 1516.<sup>201</sup> And another work of Peuerbach confirms that the step of the table was 10'.

Gassendi<sup>202</sup> also mentions a table of sines by Peuerbach with R = 6000000 and a step of 10', and that this table had been extended to a step of 1' by Regiomontanus, but this is probably a typo, no such table with R = 6000000 being known of Peuerbach.<sup>203</sup>

Peuerbach was the one who provided the impetus for the replacement of Ptolemy's chords with the sines from Arabic mathematics, and Regiomontanus computed tables of sines for every minute of arc for radiuses of 6000000 and 10000000 units.

Among Peuerbach's other works is also his *Quadratum geometricum*<sup>204</sup> already mentioned, written in 1455 and published in 1516. This work describes the geometrical square, an instrument for measuring heights. A similar instrument was also described by Oronce Fine in his *De re et praxi geometrica* published in 1556.

Peuerbach's treatise contains what is basically a table of arctangents (figure 10). Peuerbach wrote that he used his now lost table with R = 600000 for the computation of the table. The possible values of the tangents range

<sup>200</sup>[Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 477]

<sup>201</sup>[von Peuerbach (1516)]

and [Zinner (1968), p. 36], [Zinner (1990), p. 23] about the radius of the table.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup>See [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. iii and 115]. Earlier, Hellman and Swerdlow had mentioned a manuscript table with R = 600000, but this is in fact a table with R = 600000 [Hellman and Swerdlow (1978), p. 478]. Brummelen also seems to mention this no longer extant table [van Brummelen (2009), p. 249].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup>See [Gassendi (1658), p. 520] and [von Khauz (1755), p. 54].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup>This incorrect statement is also found in [Martin (1764), p. 158] (and in [Lublink and Meijer (1763), pp. 183-198] which must have the same source), and it was more recently repeated by [Bendefy (1980), p. 245].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup>[von Peuerbach (1516)]. See [Roegel (2021a)] for a modern reconstruction.

from 0 to 1200 and, for an entry x, Peuerbach's table actually gives the value  $\arctan(x/1200)$  in degrees. For instance, for x = 1200, Peuerbach's table gives  $45^{\circ}$ . For x = 500, Peuerbach's table gives  $\arctan(5/12) = 22^{\circ}37'12''$ . The value 1200 used in this table may have been influenced by the radius 12000 in Bianchini's table of cotangents.<sup>205</sup>

This table of arctangents was reprinted by Gemma Frisius<sup>206</sup> in 1545 and a similar table was given by Magini in 1592.<sup>207</sup>

### 3.4 Johannes Regiomontanus (1436-1476)

Regiomontanus, or rather Hans Müller, was probably born in 1436 in Königsberg, near Bamberg in Germany (figure 11).<sup>208</sup> He had latinized his name as Johannes de Monte Regio and it was only half a century after his death in 1476 that he became known as Regiomontanus.<sup>209</sup>

He established trigonometry as an independant field, separate from astronomy, in Western Europe, although the Persian al-Tūsī had already written a purely trigonometric treatise in the 13th century. Regiomontanus was the most famous Western mathematician of his time.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 124-125]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup>[Gemma Frisius (1545)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup>[Magini (1592)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup>[Schmeidler (1977), p. 315]. Some authors, for instance recently [Meskens (2010)], have incorrectly confused this Königsberg with the modern Kaliningrad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup>According to some sources, the name Regiomontanus was coined by Philip Melanchthon. It does indeed appear in his De capta Constantinopoli, Anno 1453 (1556). However, the earliest appearance I found of "Regiomontanus" (or rather Regiomontano) is that in Marcus Beneventanus's Apologeticum opusculum (1521). For summaries of Regiomontanus's life and works, see mainly [Zinner (1968)], which can be supplemented by [Gassendi (1654), pp. 335-373], [Doppelmayr (1730)], [Montucla (1758), v. 1, pp. 445-453], [Martin (1764), pp. 146-157], [Aschbach (1865), pp. 537-557], [Ziegler (1874)], [Günther (1885)], [Gallois (1890a), pp. 1-11], [Thorndike (1929), ch. 8], [Vogel (1973b)], [Rosen (1975a)], [Rose (1975)], [Hamann (1978)], [Hamann (1980)], [Grössing (1983), pp. 117-126], [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 1-8], [Mett (1996)], [Grössing (2002)], [Malpangotto (2008)], [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 251-263], and [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 2-5]. One of the first biographical notices on Regiomontanus was that of Tannstetter, when he published Peuerbach's table of eclipses and Regiomontanus's table of the first mobile [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1514)]. There are also many smaller articles of interest, some more specialized, some more introductory, such as [Shank (2017)], [Horst (2019)], [Götz (2003)], etc., but which are not all cited here. Gessner also mentions Regiomontanus [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 397]. And many sources on Peuerbach, not cited in the previous list, contain some information on Regiomontanus. For the scientific context in Vienna, see [Durand (1952)] and [Duhem (1959), pp. 349-367].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. i]



Figure 11: Regiomontanus's probable birthplace in Königsberg, Bavaria. (photographs by the author)

After having studied in Leipzig, he came to Vienna around 1450 and became a friend and pupil of Georg von Peuerbach. In 1457, this is where he took his Master's degree and was appointed to the faculty, hence a colleague of Peuerbach.<sup>211</sup>

Peuerbach was supposed to go to Italy with Cardinal Bessarion who had asked him to write an *Epitome* (summary) of Ptolemy's Almagest. But after Peuerbach's death in 1461, it was Regiomontanus who accompanied him to Italy.<sup>212</sup> Regiomontanus completed the *Epitome*, probably in 1462.<sup>213</sup> He also studied Greek and it was during the time of the completion of the *Epitome* that Regiomontanus studied the copy he had made of Trebizond's translation of the Almagest.<sup>214</sup>

In Italy, Regiomontanus also became associated with Giovanni Bianchini. Part of their correspondence still survives.<sup>215</sup> Durand writes that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup>See [Rosen (1975a), p. 348] and [Schmeidler (1977), p. 316].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup>See [Rose (1975), pp. 90-117], [Schmeidler (1977), p. 316], [Grössing (1980)], [Mett (1989)] and [Moos (2020)]. On Regiomontanus's knowledge of Latin and Greek, see [Ben-Tov (2009), pp. 195-196] and [Jensen (1996), p. 65] who theorizes that Regiomontanus may not have mastered Latin as well as the Italian scholars.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup>See [Zinner (1990), p. 52] and [Shank (1996), p. 125]. It was however only printed in 1496.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup>[Zinner (1990), p. 59]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup>See [von Murr (1786), vol. 1, p. 74-205], [Curtze (1902)] and [Gerl (1989)]. See

"Regiomontanus envisaged an exchange of problems and answers to be based on friendly emulation, but the older Italian was speedily scared away by the precocity of the enthusiastic German."<sup>216</sup>

It was during this time that Regiomontanus constructed his *Tabula primi mobilis* which was only published in 1514.<sup>217</sup> This table gives the values of  $\arcsin(\sin x \sin y)$  for  $0 \le x, y \le 90^{\circ}$  and is useful for solving problems in spherical trigonometry. The table was computed using Regiomontanus's sine table with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^{6}$ .<sup>218</sup> Glowatzki and Göttsche gave a survey of similar tables or variants published until the 19th century.<sup>219</sup>

Regiomontanus returned from Italy around 1465,<sup>220</sup> he went to Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) in 1467, at the invitation of Matthias Corvinus (1443-1490), King of Hungary,<sup>221</sup> of whom he became an astronomical adviser. Some time later, he was called to Buda.<sup>222</sup>

It was during this time in Hungary that Regiomontanus worked with the Polish astronomer Marcin Bylica (c1433-1493)<sup>223</sup> whom Regiomontanus met in Rome. Together they computed some tables, in particular Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*.<sup>224</sup>

In 1471 Regiomontanus moved to Nuremberg. There he set up a printing press for the purpose of publishing the most important classical scientific works,<sup>225</sup> as well as some of his own works.<sup>226</sup> The first work to be published was Peuerbach's *Theoricae Novae Planetarum*. In 1475 Regiomontanus

also [Swerdlow (1990)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup>[Durand (1943), p. 13]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup>See [Mett (1996), pp. 96-97], [Swerdlow (1999), p. 1], [van Brummelen (2009), p. 263], and [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 378-379].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 199]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 197-207]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup>[Hayton (2010), p. 33]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup>[Schmeidler (1977), p. 317]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup>[Orbán (2015), p. 118]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup>[Domonkos (1968), Vargha and Both (1987), Hayton (2007), Hayton (2010), Orbán (2015)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup>There are several editions of the *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*, in particular in 1490, 1504, 1550, 1552, 1559, 1584 and 1606. A French edition was published by Henrion in 1626 [Henrion (1626)]. For the collaboration between Bylica and Regiomontanus, see [Hayton (2007), p. 188] and [Chabás Bergón (2019), pp. 380-387]. On the relations between the astronomical schools of Vienna and Cracow, see [Markowski (1978), p. 268]. Bylica sent works from Peuerbach and Regiomontanus to the University of Cracow. See also [Walsh (1996)] and [Bendefy (1980)] on Regiomontanus's stay in Hungary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup>[Folkerts (1996), pp. 91-92]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup>[Schmeidler (1977), p. 318]

returned to Rome at the invitation of Pope Sixtus IV in order to work on a reform of the Julian calendar, and this is where he died in 1476, probably from the plague. During all these years, Regiomontanus worked on a critique of Trebizond's translation of the Almagest, his *Theonis Alexandrini Defensio in sex voluminibus contra Georgium Trapezuntium*, a work which was probably only completed in the 1470s and still remains only in manuscript form.<sup>227</sup>

It seems that Regiomontanus started around 1460 to compute sines with a large radius in order to produce a table with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$  for his *De triangulis* (1462?) (figure 22). This table was certainly inspired by Peuerbach's table with R = 600000, although Hallam claimed<sup>228</sup> that Regiomontanus was ignorant of that table. Glowatzki and Göttsche<sup>229</sup> give Regiomontanus's description of the computations, the *Compositio tabularum sinuum rectorum*, as well as a German translation. Regiomontanus's description is contained in the 1541 edition of Peuerbach's treatise on sines.<sup>230</sup> In section 4 below I analyze how Regiomontanus may have computed his table.

Around 1468, Regiomontanus composed another table with a radius of 10000000. Both the sexagesimal and the decimal tables were given at intervals of 1'. These tables were first printed in 1541 (figures 23 and 24).<sup>231</sup> They were however not the first tables with such intervals, and they came after those of Ibn Yūnus and Ulugh Beg (see § 2.3).

Regiomontanus's table of sines with  $R = 10^7$  was accessible in Cracow at the end of the 15th century<sup>232</sup> and was undoubtly one of the sources of Copernicus's trigonometric tables.

The move from a sexagesimal division to a decimal division, initiated by Bianchini, but greatly developped by Regiomontanus, made it much simpler to use the tables. With the new decimal radius, there is therefore no longer any need to mix the bases 10 and 60, as was the case in the older tables.

Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* from 1467 and published in 1490 also contained a table of tangents (figure 15) which was probably inspired by Bianchini's table of tangents.<sup>233</sup> Cardano consid-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup>See [Shank (2007)] for some excerpts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup>[Hallam (1837), p. 259]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 11-24]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541), Roegel (2021b)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup>See [Rosińska (1984), pp. 503-504] and [Rosińska (1987), pp. 421-422].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup>[van Brummelen (2018)]

ered that Regiomontanus's entire *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* was largely drawn from Bianchini.<sup>234</sup> Folkerts,<sup>235</sup> however, considered that Regiomontanus's table of tangents was influenced by Al-Battāni. In fact, Regiomontanus's table of tangents was certainly computed using his large sexagesimal table as I shall show later. A modern reconstruction of this table of tangents is given separately.<sup>236</sup>

The *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* also contains a table of sines with R = 60000 and at 1' intervals (figure 16). But contrary to what Bond,<sup>237</sup> Delambre,<sup>238</sup> or more recently Folkerts,<sup>239</sup> Zinner,<sup>240</sup> North,<sup>241</sup> Brummelen,<sup>242</sup> Husson,<sup>243</sup> and Chabás and Goldstein wrote,<sup>244</sup> this table is neither by Regiomontanus nor borrowed from Bianchini. It was appended to Regiomontanus's book, probably by Johannes Engel (or Johannes Angelus) (1453-1512),<sup>245</sup> and was derived from Regiomontanus's table with R = 6000000. Moreover, as observed by Glowatzki and Göttsche, the appended table was never used by Regiomontanus.<sup>246</sup> A modern reconstruction of Engel's table is given separately.<sup>247</sup>

In fact, most of Regiomontanus's writings were only published after his death. His main work on trigonometry, *De triangulis omnimodis*, was completed about 1464 but only printed in 1533, without any table.<sup>248</sup> It is the first systematic such treatise published in Europe and it was probably used by Copernicus. However, as observed by Stamm,<sup>249</sup> it is unlikely that Copernicus had access to Regiomontanus's treatise in manuscript form and he probably only saw the 1533 edition in the 1530s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup>[Thorndike (1929), p. 148]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup>[Folkerts (1977), p. 235]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup>[Roegel (2021c)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup>[Bond (1921), p. 321]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup>[Delambre (1819), p. 365]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup>See [Folkerts (1977), p. 234], [Folkerts (1995), p. 224] and [Folkerts et al. (2016), p. 136].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup>See [Zinner (1968), p. 345] and [Zinner (1990), p. 236].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup>[North (2008), p. 275]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup>[van Brummelen (2009), p. 262]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup>[Husson (2014), p. 116]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup>[Chabás Bergón and Goldstein (2012), p. 20]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 48] On Johannes Engel, see [Dobrzycki and Kremer (1996)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. iii]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup>[Roegel (2021d)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup>[Regiomontanus (1533)], edited om [Regiomontanus (1967)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup>[Stamm (1933)]

Delambre was critical of Regiomontanus and wrote that except for his observations and trigonometrical work, Regiomontanus had hardly the time to do more than show his good intentions.<sup>250</sup> Delambre stresses that Regiomontanus was less advanced as a calculator than Ibn Yūnus and Abū al-Wafā<sup>5</sup>. However, this opinion may need to be revised in the light of my analysis of the construction of his tables.

Braunmühl<sup>251</sup> considered that Regiomontanus's work on triangles was influential, even if it didn't contain anything original.

And as observed by Glowatzki and Göttsche,<sup>252</sup> the tables computed by Regiomontanus are very modern and could still be used now, only the decimal point would have to be shifted.

Thorndike thought that Peuerbach and Regiomontanus's importance had perhaps been overestimated, among other things because Regiomontanus was more than a mathematician. He was a mathematical publisher, and he came at just the right time.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup>[Delambre (1819), p. 365]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup>[von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), v. 1, pp. 124-133]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. i]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup>[Thorndike (1929), p. 150]

# 4 Regiomontanus's seminal tables

We can now pause and summarize the situation of Regiomontanus's tables at the end of the 15th century. There are four different trigonometric tables usually associated with Regiomontanus: a large table of sines with radius 6000000, another one with radius  $10^7$ , a table of tangents with  $R = 10^5$ and a smaller table of sines with R = 60000, but of which Regiomontanus is actually not the author. Most of the tables published during the 16th century are ultimately based on the table for  $R = 10^7$ .

I also include in this section some tables which are not directly from Regiomontanus, for instance the tables of secants, but which are nevertheless based on Regiomontanus's other tables.

The following tables by Regiomontanus have been reconstructed in separate documents:

- the table of tangents, as published in 1490 (figure 15)<sup>254</sup>;
- the table of sines with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ , as published in 1541 (figure 23)<sup>255</sup>;
- the table of sines with  $R = 10^7$ , as published in 1541 (figure 24).<sup>256</sup>

# 4.1 Fundamental tables

When Regiomontanus set out to construct his new sine tables, he was certainly influenced by Peuerbach's work, and in particular by Peuerbach's sine table with R = 600000 and at intervals of  $10^{\prime}$ .<sup>257</sup> This table is no longer extant, but it is likely that Regiomontanus used it as an inspiration for his further work.<sup>258</sup>

It seems that it was around 1460 that Regiomontanus first computed sines of values at 45' intervals with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^8$  (figure 12), perhaps even before Peuerbach's death.<sup>259</sup> This was to be the fundamental table from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup>There have been some incorrect statements about the tables constructed by Regiomontanus and a table with R = 600000 is sometimes attributed to him, for instance by Günther in 1885 [Günther (1885), p. 573].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup>In a long chapter, Glowatzki and Göttsche try to find the forerunners of Regiomontanus's large sexagesimal table and which may have influenced him [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 72-125].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 10, 16, 22]

which a more complete table for  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$  could be computed.<sup>260</sup> This auxiliary table is only partially extant.

Once he had his pivots, Regiomontanus computed the sines at intervals of 15', dividing the sines at intervals of 45' obtained earlier in three parts in such a way that the sines vary smoothly.<sup>261</sup> Then Regiomontanus trisected each interval, again by ensuring that the differences vary smoothly. This gave him the sines at intervals of 5'.<sup>262</sup> The same procedure was again applied to obtain the sines at intervals of 1'.<sup>263</sup>

For the table with  $R = 10^7$ , Regiomontanus possibly also first computed a number of pivot values with  $R = 10^9$ , but these pivots have not been kept.

### **4.2** Sine table with *R* = 6000000

Regiomontanus's first large complete sine table was for a radius of 6000000 and was probably computed around 1462 in Rome.<sup>264</sup> It gives the sines for every minute. Figure 22 shows an excerpt of a manuscript of that table. This table is based on the computations made with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^8$  as described in the previous sections.

After Regiomontanus's death, Regiomontanus's table was long kept in manuscript form. It was only published in 1541 with Peuerbach's *Tractatus super propositiones Ptolemæ etc.*,<sup>265</sup> and together with the table for  $R = 10^7$  (figures 23 and 24). These two tables were then again published in 1561 in Regiomontanus's *De triangulis*.<sup>266</sup> Glowatzki and Göttsche gave a facsimile of the 1541 sexagesimal table and listed its errors.<sup>267</sup>

Regiomontanus's sine table appears rather accurate, although it is probably slightly less accurate than the table for  $R = 10^7$ . Sampling only the values for whole degrees, there are 25 last-place errors and one typo (for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup>However, as observed by Glowatzki and Göttsche, an error in the computation of  $\sin 45'$  caused other (small) errors, in particular in the interpolation leading to  $\sin 1^{\circ}$  [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 26-27].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 23]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 23]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup>[van Brummelen (2009), p. 263] gives Regiomontanus's implied value of  $\sin 1^{\circ}$ , but does not describe the actual interpolation process. See also [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 18-21], who hints at a procedure below 15' but without detailing it. Kästner gives also only a cursory description [Kästner (1796), pp. 540-560].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup>See [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 71] and [Mett (1996), p. 65].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup>[Regiomontanus (1561)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 28-47]

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Figure 12: The list of pivots for Regiomontanus's large sexagesimal table [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)] (source: Dresden).

 $40^{\circ}$ , 3856796 which should be 3856726). Of the last-place errors, all are of one unit, and one ( $80^{\circ}$ ) is of two units. I have given separately a modern reconstruction of this table with the exact values which can be used for comparison with Regiomontanus's table.<sup>268</sup> And in § 5, I am giving a more detailed analysis of Regiomontanus's errors and computation procedure.

In Regiomontanus's table, the column of differences does not give the actual difference  $\Delta$ , but the difference per second, in other words  $\Delta/60$ . These differences are given to one decimal place which is separated by a space.<sup>269</sup> For instance, the first difference is  $\Delta = 1745$  and it is given as 29 1, because 1745/60 = 29.08... But this value can also be read 291, in which case it is the sixth of the actual difference.

These differences follow a layout similar to those in Bianchini's table with  $R = 60 \cdot 10^3$ , so that it is possible that Regiomontanus borrowed this layout.<sup>270</sup>

## **4.3** Sine table with *R* = 10000000

Regiomontanus's second large sine table was for a radius of  $10^7$  and was completed in 1468.<sup>271</sup> It came shortly after the smaller decimal table of tangents which was computed in 1467.

This large decimal table is probably not the first decimal table of sines, although Folkerts claimed so.<sup>272</sup> It has been assumed that Bianchini had a decimal table of sines, probably with a radius  $R = 10^4$  (see § 3.2), but this table is no longer extant.

Regiomontanus's table is also not based on his large sexagesimal table.<sup>273</sup> Regiomontanus may have computed a number of pivot values, perhaps with  $R = 10^9$ , or he may have reused the sexagesimal pivots by multiplying them by 10/6. In any case, these pivots have not been kept. Then, Regiomontanus must have proceeded by interpolation as in the sexagesimal table.

Like in the previous table, sines are given for every minute. This table was also published in 1541 and 1561 together with the sexagesimal table (figures 23 and 24). Glowatzki and Göttsche gave a facsimile of the entire

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup>[Roegel (2021b)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 27]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 94]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup>See [Folkerts (1977), p. 234] and [Mett (1996), p. 96].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup>[Folkerts et al. (2016), p. 136]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 126]

1541 edition of the table, and listed its typos.<sup>274</sup>

The differences are expressed like in Regiomontanus's sexagesimal table and the first difference is for instance  $\Delta$  = 2909 and it is given as 48 5, corresponding to  $\Delta/60 = 48.48...$ 

I have given separately a modern reconstruction of this table.<sup>275</sup>

It is interesting to note that Regiomontanus's table is slightly more accurate than the previous one with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^{6.276}$  Sampling only the sines for whole degrees, we can for instance see that there are only seven incorrect values, one of which (for 25°) being an obvious typo (4226583 which should be 4226183), and the other six values being only off by one unit of the last place. This suggests of course that the decimal table was not merely obtained from the sexagesimal table, but must have been obtained either from the pivots of the sexagesimal table, or from newly computed pivots, as described above.

### **4.4** Sine table with *R* = 60000

The *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* published in 1490 contains a 30 pages long sine table with R = 60000 giving the sines for every minute (figure 16),<sup>277</sup> but this table was certainly computed by Johannes Engel for that edition (see § 6.1), and not by Regiomontanus.

# 4.5 Table of tangents

Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*,<sup>278</sup> from 1467 and printed in 1490, also contained a short table of tangents, which he called *tabula fecunda* (figure 15).<sup>279</sup> The name "tangent" was as a matter of fact only introduced in 1583 by Fincke.<sup>280</sup>

Regiomontanus's table is only one page long and gives the tangents for every degree, and for a radius of 100000. The tangents were computed from the 1462 table of sines (with R = 6000000), by first dropping two digits and rounding the values, and then by mere division.<sup>281</sup> This procedure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 127-147]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup>[Roegel (2021b)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 147]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup>[Chabás Bergón (2019), p. 383]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 183]

actually gives exactly Regiomontanus's values, except for the angles 43°, 73°, 85° and 89°. In these four cases, Regiomontanus very likely got the computations wrong, or these are typos. Incidentally, the same procedure fails miserably when using the decimal table of sines, and it is almost impossible to obtain the values of the table of tangents with this starting point.

Regiomontanus's table was not the first table of tangents, as tangents had already been used in eastern Islam, as mentioned above (see § 2.3).

Regiomontanus's table was reproduced in subsequent editions of his *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*, by Gemma Frisius in 1545 (but as cotangents)<sup>282</sup> (also with Peuerbach's 1516 *quadratum* table<sup>283</sup>), by Gaurico in 1557,<sup>284</sup> by Maurolico in 1558 (at least partially, and he called it *umbra versa*),<sup>285</sup> by Schreckenfuchs in 1569,<sup>286</sup> and in subsequent editions of these works.<sup>287</sup>

Gaurico's table  $(1557)^{288}$  only goes up to  $50^{\circ}$ , and is attributed to Campanus. But neither Glowatzki and Göttsche,<sup>289</sup> nor von Braunmühl,<sup>290</sup> nor Zinner<sup>291</sup> were able to understand this attribution.

Curiously, Gaurico also gives a sine table with the heading *tabula fecunda* and also only up to  $50^{\circ}$ .

And finally, mention should be made of Bendefy who mistakenly wrote in 1980 that Regiomontanus had constructed a table of tangents for a radius  $R = 10^7$  and for every minute, and that it was only Reinhold who published it in 1554.<sup>292</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup>See [Gemma Frisius (1545)]. It was also reprinted in 1557.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup>[von Peuerbach (1516)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup>[Gaurico (1557)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup>[Maurolico (1558)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup>See [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 180] and [Schreckenfuchs (1569), p. 153].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 180-181]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup>[Gaurico (1557)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 180-181]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup>[von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), v. 1, p. 101]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup>[Zinner (1968), p. 148]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup>[Bendefy (1980), p. 248] Bendefy's statement seems based on Barna Szénássy's history of Hungarian mathematics (*A magyarországi matematika története*, 1970), but I was not able to check this source. Bendefy also cites Zinner's article on Regiomontanus in Hungary, published in Hungarian, and which does not seem to contain such a statement (Ernő Zinner, Regiomontanus Magyarországon, *Matematikai és Természettudományi Értesítő*, volume 55, 1936?, pp. 280-288).

## 4.6 Secant tables

Regiomontanus did not compute tables of secants, but the first tables of secants are based on his tables of sines. This is the case of Copernicus's table of secants, which might have been computed around 1530. Bianchini had computed a table of cosecants (§ 3.2). But I am not aware of earlier such tables, although, as mentioned before (§ 2.3), Abū al-Wafā<sup>°</sup> introduced the notion of secant in Baghdad in the 10th century.

The tables of secants published by Rheticus in 1551 [Rheticus (1551)] and by Maurolico in 1558 [Maurolico (1558)] also ultimately derive from Regiomontanus.<sup>293</sup>

It was Viète<sup>294</sup> who in 1579 was the first to compute a table of secants with an interval of 1' albeit with a variable radius between  $R = 10^5$  and  $R = 10^9$ .

And the first table of secants with an interval of 1' and  $R = 10^7$  was published by Fincke in 1583.<sup>295</sup> Fincke was actually the one who named it secant. His secants were certainly computed from his tangents, which themselves go back to Regiomontanus, via Reinhold.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 193] Incidentally, there have also been surprising statements, such as the one of Davis [Davis (1933), p. 21] who wrote that the first table of secants was that of Maurolico, and that Lansberge was wrong in ascribing this fact to Rheticus, when in fact Lansberge was right, and still is if one ignores manuscript tables.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup>See [Reinhold (1554)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 193].

# 5 An analysis of Regiomontanus's great tables

One of my purposes has been to find out how Regiomontanus computed his two large tables of sines. We know rather well how he computed the sines at intervals of 45', but we know little beyond that, and no one seems to have investigated this matter so far, not even Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>297</sup>

The first step in such an investigation is to clear the tables of the noise they contain, namely of the typos, both in the printed versions and in the manuscripts. Although I have not consulted manuscripts of Regiomontanus's table, I believe that it is possible to come very close to what Regiomontanus has actually computed.

# 5.1 Typos, accuracy and statistics

#### 5.1.1 General principles

I have gone over each of the  $2 \times 5401$  values of the sines (from  $0^{\circ}$  to  $90^{\circ}$  by steps of 1') in the 1541 printing, trying to detect obvious typos. This work has been done independently of that of Glowatzki and Göttsche who had already reported a number of typos.<sup>298</sup> I have consequently made two tables where I corrected a number of typos, such as wrong digits in the left figures, swapped figures, or swapped lines. In the resulting tables, I carefully examined all the cases where Regiomontanus's tables were in error by more than 2 units of the last place. Every such case which appeared isolated was removed. The justification for correcting these seemingly small errors was that they would have been very easy to detect by computing differences between consecutive terms, and that almost always these anomalies were isolated, and could not have been Regiomontanus's real values, at least not his intended values. These decisions may be objectionable, but I have only corrected errors which are easy to detect by anybody working on tables. I did not correct any more fundamental issue. And these corrections are necessary in order to get a better understanding of the underlying computations.

#### 5.1.2 Corrections to the tables

Apart from the very conspicuous typos already reported by Glowatzki and Göttsche (mostly not repeated here), I made the following smaller

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 46-47 and 145-147]

	values			values	
angle	table	corrected	angle	table	corrected
$1^{\circ}29'$	155315	155317	$45^{\circ}42'$	4294154	4294156
$1^{\circ}44'$	181486	181487	$49^{\circ}34'$	4566965	4566968
$2^{\circ}38'$	275668	275665	$51^{\circ}35'$	4701078	4701077
$4^{\circ}58'$	519454	519456	$57^{\circ}21'$	5051893	5051891
$5^{\circ} 1'$	524674	524673	$61^{\circ}26'$	5269565	5269567
$6^{\circ}38'$	693009	693088	$66^{\circ}33'$	5504447	5504445
$7^{\circ}52'$	821219	821211	$70^{\circ} 2'$	5639347	5639349
$12^{\circ} 4'$	1254295	1254297	$70^{\circ}37'$	5659910	5659916
$17^{\circ}33'$	1809221	1809228	$73^{\circ}50'$	5762737	5762735
$18^{\circ}28'$	1900518	1900516	$74^{\circ}51'$	5791465	5791470
$18^{\circ}40'$	1920372	1920370	$76^{\circ}51'$	5842661	5842667
$19^{\circ}29'$	2001193	2001195	$77^{\circ}17'$	5852821	5852823
$19^{\circ}50'$	2035718	2035710	$79^{\circ}58'$	5908230	5908238
$21^{\circ}43'$	2220109	2220102	$81^{\circ}10'$	5928833	5928835
$41^{\circ}59'$	4013488	4013486	$81^{\circ}29'$	5933835	5933837
$42^{\circ}24'$	4045818	4045814	$82^{\circ}46'$	5952258	5952250
$42^{\circ}53'$	4083045	4083046	$86^{\circ}17'$	5987385	5987382
$44^{\circ} 1'$	4169203	4169206	$86^{\circ}46'$	5990440	5990450
$45^{\circ} 9'$	4253736	4253734	$87^{\circ}56'$	5996094	5996097

corrections to the sexagesimal table:

Note that my corrections do not always replace the 1541 printed values by the exact ones, but by the values I believe should have been printed. For instance, for  $6^{\circ}38'$ , Glowatzki and Göttsche replaced 693009 by 693090, which does make sense as a typo. However, the value 693090 does not make much sense in its context (*i.e.*, the surrounding values) and I believe that there was an error before that, and that Regiomontanus should have obtained 693088, which is the value I gave in my table. In this case, I believe that Regiomontanus accidently obtained the correct value 693090, and that the printer got it wrong by setting 693009.

The only values with a deviation of 3 units of the last place are those from  $6^{\circ}50'$  to  $6^{\circ}53'$ . I believe that the pivot  $6^{\circ}50'$  was erroneously computed and should probably have been 713889 (with an error of 1). This has probably caused the sines of  $6^{\circ}51'$  to  $6^{\circ}53'$  to be also wrong by 3 units. I have however not fixed these deviations and these errors remain in the cleaned table, as they are not mere typos. But the truth is that these errors would not escape a close scrutiny by differencing.

The above table also contains corrections for a number of deviations of 2 units, when these were clearly isolated  $(1^{\circ}29', 1^{\circ}44', 6^{\circ}38', 17^{\circ}33',$ 

41°59′, 42°53′, 45°42′, 49°34′, 51°35′, 57°21′, 70°2′, 73°50′, 77°17′, 81°10′, 81°29′, 82°46′).

I also corrected some suspicious transitions, where the error switched from 1 to -1 or from -1 to 1. These errors would have been very easy to detect by differencing and concern 5°1′, 7°52′, 18°28′, 18°40′, 66°33′, and 79°58′.

In the case of the decimal table, I also made a number of corrections, including

	values		]	values	
angle	table	corrected	angle	table	corrected
$4^{\circ}19'$	752688	752687	$39^{\circ}50'$	6405569	6405566
$13^{\circ}14'$	2289163	2289171	$40^{\circ}21'$	6474556	6474550
$13^{\circ}28'$	2328799	2328796	$54^{\circ}15'$	8115746	8115740
$17^{\circ}14'$	2962630	2962639	$54^{\circ}29'$	8139469	8139466
$19^{\circ}39'$	3362739	3362735	$58^{\circ}43'$	8546096	8546099
$20^{\circ}24'$	3485724	3485720	$59^{\circ}59'$	8658793	8658799
$35^{\circ}21'$	5785691	5785697	$60^{\circ}17'$	8684873	8684875
$37^{\circ}42'$	6115272	6115271	$61^{\circ}15'$	8767267	8767269
$38^{\circ}20'$	6202350	6202356	$61^{\circ}50'$	8815783	8815781
$38^\circ 53'$	6277368	6277367	$87^{\circ}32'$	9981731	9990734
$39^{\circ}24'$	6347309	6347306			-

Among these corrections, the small ones for  $37^{\circ}42'$  and  $38^{\circ}53'$  have been made because their deviations appeared to be isolated. And like in the sexagesimal table, I have also corrected some suspicious transitions, where the error switched from 1 to -1 or from -1 to 1. These errors concern the values  $4^{\circ}19'$ ,  $13^{\circ}14'$ ,  $60^{\circ}17'$ ,  $61^{\circ}15'$ , and  $61^{\circ}50'$ . Some of these corrections may appear larger than these small transitions, but that may be because there may have been both printer typos and earlier errors, and that I first corrected the large errors, for instance for  $13^{\circ}14'$  whose sine value in Regiomontanus's manuscript may have been 2289173, but which still can't have been the right one.

Some of these typos/errors were reported by Glowatzki and Göttsche, but not all of them, and, as I explained above, Glowatzki and Göttsche reported other errors which I have corrected, but not included in the above tables.<sup>299</sup> Moreover, my corrections do not always coincide with theirs, as I have tried to replace the incorrectly printed values by those that Regiomontanus has presumably computed, and not by the exact sines. I believe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup>The errors which have not been reported can easily be found either by a careful comparison of my cleaned tables with Regiomontanus's tables, or by checking the tables given by Glowatzki and Göttsche.

however that all the typos reported by Glowatzki and Göttsche have been taken care of in my versions.

Eventually, we end up with two tables which must be very close to Regiomontanus's calculations, and which have been cleared of probably almost all typos, both in the printed versions and in the manuscripts. What I mean by this is that Regiomontanus would have found all these errors by mere differencing and that the resulting cleaned tables provide a better start for the analysis of Regiomontanus's actual computations.

These tables are provided separately<sup>300</sup> as text files for others to analyze, should they wish to.

#### 5.1.3 The sexagesimal pivots

The cleaned tables now make it possible to have a closer look at computational errors and in particular at the accuracy of the pivots. It first appears that the sexagesimal table contains *about* 2223 errors of one unit or more, and none of more than 3 units. This does agree with the count given by Glowatzki and Göttsche who came up with 2232, but with slightly different corrections. I am of course writing "about," because in some cases I made adjustments which may or may not be correct. The same remark applies to the decimal table.

The pivots at 45' intervals (for  $R = 6 \cdot 10^8$ ) for the sexagesimal table appear very accurate. There are only 17 values which are not correct, and among them all are off by one unit of the last place, except those for 45', 27°, 57°75', and 59°25'. In the case of 57°75', there is an obvious typo, and the original value may have been correct. The value for 45' may also be a typo. In any case, none of these small errors have any serious impact on the values in the sexagesimal table.

Consequently, the 45' pivots in the sexagesimal table (for  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ ) are mostly correct. In fact, they should even all be correct. But there are three exceptions. The 6°45' pivot is correctly given in the table for  $R = 6.10^8$ , but there is a different value in the final table. The neighboring values would make things worse if I gave the correct value to  $\sin 6^{\circ}45'$ , so that I suspect that Regiomontanus made an error when copying his own (correct) value of  $\sin 6^{\circ}45'$ . The same observations apply to  $\sin 8^{\circ}15'$  and  $\sin 44^{\circ}15'$ . These three sines are off by one in the sexagesimal table.

As far as the other pivots are concerned, two 15' pivots are off by 2 and 78 are off by 1. 345 5' pivots are off by 1, and 11 by 2 or 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup>See the files roegel2021regio6.txt and roegel2021regio10.txt.

#### 5.1.4 The decimal pivots

The decimal table contains about 1841 errors or one unit or more. Again, this is very close to Glowatzki and Göttsche's count which is 1833, but with slightly different corrections. There are also three 45' pivots which are incorrect, but not the same ones as for the sexagesimal table. 22 15' pivots are off by 1, and none by 2. 282 5' pivots are off by 1, and one is off by 2.

It does therefore appear that the decimal table is somewhat more accurate than the sexagesimal table, but not by an order of magnitude.

#### 5.1.5 Some general statistics

We can also observe that in the sexagesimal table the longest sequence without errors is of length 52 and starting at  $56^{\circ}4'$ : once the typos are corrected, all the sines from  $56^{\circ}4'$  to  $56^{\circ}55'$  are correct. The longest sequence with a constant error of one unit of the last place (in the same direction) is of length 30 and starts at  $3^{\circ}52'$ . The longest sequence with a constant error of two units is of length 6.

Similar results are obtained with the decimal table and the longest sequence without errors is of length 50, starting at  $27^{\circ}45'$ .

The average errors are -0.10 for the sexagesimal table and 0.12 for the decimal table, but it is difficult to analyze errors in more depth without taking into account the structure of the computations, namely the two trisections and the possibly final linear interpolation.

We can now try to answer a number of questions on the computation of the pivots:

• For instance, assuming two 45' pivots are correct, how often are the 15' pivots correct?

The answer to this question is surprising, because there is a clear difference between the sexagesimal and decimal tables. In the first case, 70 15' pivots (for 114 ranges out of 120) are incorrect, but in the second case only 17 are incorrect (also for 114 ranges). The 15' pivots of the decimal table appear clearly more accurate than in the sexagesimal table.

An example of incorrect 15' pivot in the sexagesimal table is that of  $45^{\circ}15'$ , where the sines of  $45^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}45'$  are correct.

One should actually distinguish the cases where the two twin/double 15' pivots (in a 45' interval) are wrong, and the cases where only one of

them is wrong. Surprisingly, there are 24 cases of wrong twin pivots in the sexagesimal table, and none in the decimal table.

Morevover, in the decimal table, 13 out of 17 wrong (non twin) 15' pivots concern the second 15' pivots. Things are more even in the sexagesimal table, where 13 out of 22 wrong (non twin) 15' pivots concern the second 15' pivots.

An example of incorrect 15' pivot in the decimal table is that of  $32^{\circ}$ , where  $31^{\circ}30'$  and  $32^{\circ}15'$  are correct.

• And assuming two 15' pivots are correct, how often are the 5' pivots correct?

We find that for the sexagesimal table, 119 5' pivots are incorrect (for 231 ranges out of 360) when the 15' pivots are correct, and that there are 30 incorrect twin pivots.

For the decimal table, 217 5' pivots are incorrect (for 318 ranges out of 360), including 52 twin pivots. Under this perspective, the sexagesimal table appears more accurate than the decimal table.

An example of an incorrect 5' pivot in the sexagesimal table is that of  $75^{\circ}5'$ .

• Finally, how often are the 5' interpolations correct?

Again, we restrict ourselves to the cases where the two pivots are correct, as such a restriction is still representative.<sup>301</sup> What is the most common outcome? Is it 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0? In other words, if two adjacent 5' pivots are correct, are the four intermediate values also usually correct?

The number of ranges to consider (where the two 5' pivots are correct) is similar in both tables: 576 ranges for the sexagesimal table and 604 ranges for the decimal table. Is the outcome the same? First, given that the table has been checked by differences, the only values which can appear between the two end 0s are 0 and  $\pm 1$ . There are therefore  $3^4 = 81$  different possible sequences, but the most common sequence is (0, 0, 0, 0, 0) with 277 cases in the sexagesimal table and 258 cases in the decimal table. Again, under this perspective, the sexagesimal table is in fact slightly more accurate than the decimal one.

 $<sup>^{301}</sup>$ We could also consider the computation of 5' pivots from incorrect 15' pivots, for instance by shifting these pivots, but I don't think we would reach significantly different results.

### 5.2 A tentative analysis of Regiomontanus's construction

The procedure used by Regiomontanus to construct his large tables is a bit vague, but I believe that it can be clarified. As far as I know, no attempt has been made so far to explain this process. As mentioned above, Regiomontanus basically describes a subtabulation process, where from sine values at 45' intervals he obtains values for every 15', then for every 5', and finally for every minute. Regiomontanus explicitely speaks of making the differences increase regularly, and it should be clear that the differences between values played a key role in this computation. It is also clear that what Regiomontanus has done was to interpolate values, more than merely to compute accurately thousands of sines.

Reading Regiomontanus's description, one can not avoid thinking of the works of Bürgi<sup>302</sup> and Briggs<sup>303</sup> and wonder if, perhaps, Regiomontanus had not anticipated them. I believe in fact that his computations were indeed forerunners of what Bürgi and Briggs did, a century or a century and a half later. Both Bürgi and Briggs analyzed how finite differences could be used not merely to find new values by adding differences, but also to subtabulate, and find intermediate values from larger differences. For instance, Briggs computed the logarithms of various integers as interpolations of logarithms given at larger intervals. Among the techniques he describes is the quinquisection, where he is able to divide an interval in five parts and obtain the intermediate logarithms.

#### 5.2.1 The general setting

Here, I want briefly to test this hypothesis, which may be expanded later in the future. To be as general as possible, I will consider a sequence of sines  $v_0, v_1, v_2, \ldots$ , for angles  $a_0, a_1, a_2, \ldots$ , where  $a_{i+1} - a_i$  is a constant interval, for instance 45'.  $v_i = Sin(a_i)$ , with some radius R, which I will take here as  $6 \cdot 10^8$ , but which could be different.

These values are used to define the finite differences  $\Delta_0^1 = v_1 - v_0$ ,  $\Delta_1^1 = v_2 - v_1, \dots, \Delta_0^2 = \Delta_1^1 - \Delta_0^1, \Delta_1^2 = \Delta_2^1 - \Delta_1^1, \dots, \Delta_0^3 = \Delta_1^2 - \Delta_0^2$ , etc.

What Regiomontanus sought to do was to find the sines  $v_{1/3}$ ,  $v_{2/3}$ , etc., of the intermediate angles  $a_{1/3}$ ,  $a_{2/3}$ ,  $a_{4/3}$ , etc. In other words, he was working on a trisection. For instance, if  $a_0 = 3^\circ$ ,  $a_1 = 3^\circ 45'$ , etc., then  $a_{1/3} = 3^\circ 15'$  and  $v_{1/3} = \sin 3^\circ 15'$ .

The subtabulated differences are  $\delta_0^1 = v_{1/3} - v_0$ ,  $\delta_0^2 = \delta_{1/3}^1 - \delta_0^1$ , and so on.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup>[Roegel (2016a)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup>[Roegel (2010a)]

I believe that during the first stage of his procedure, Regiomontanus tried to compute the smaller differences, that is the differences for intervals of 15', from the differences for intervals of 45'. In other words, I believe that he tried to compute  $\delta_0^1$  and  $\delta_0^2$ , and these two values would then be sufficient to compute  $v_{1/3}$  and  $v_{2/3}$ .

I invite those who are unconvinced by this suggestion to consider for instance the trisection of the 45' interval between  $\sin 20^{\circ}$  and  $\sin 20^{\circ} 45'$ . The radius could be taken as  $R = 10^5$ , and the sines to start with would then be 34202, 35429, 36650, 37865, etc. Merely manipulating these numbers without great thought leads to two approximations of the subtabulated first differences, namely 410 and 407. We would have three 410 differences and three 407 differences. This is of course not satisfactorily, it is not an even decrease, and looking at the second differences, we find 0,0,-3,0,0. This can be improved by starting with the first subtabulated difference 410 and spreading the -3 over five values, hence taking -0.6 instead of -3 for the second difference. We have here a very simple means to obtain the second differences. Adding up these differences, we end up with 36653 instead of 36650. It is not perfect, but it is not that bad. Since the second difference was correctly spred, we may want to improve the first difference 410, but it will actually be difficult to reach a better result with this radius. Such experiments are useful to convince oneself that it is practically unfeasible to get the differences to vary evenly merely by fiddling with the numbers, and at the same time they pave the way for the discovery of a relationship between certain values. And these are the key issues here.

The first key is to notice that the second differences are practically proportional to the sines. This had actually been discovered long before Regiomontanus, for instance in India by Āryabhaṭa in the 6th century<sup>304</sup> And Wagner and Hunziker recently suggested<sup>305</sup> that there was perhaps a transmission from India to Bürgi, although I am rather doubtful about such an assertion. In the above simplified example, one would readily find that the second differences are all equal to -6, at least around  $20^{\circ}$ , and if this operation is done for other values, one can't be far from discovering that the second differences are proportional to the sines.

I will therefore assume that Regiomontanus first noticed that  $\Delta_0^2 \approx \frac{v_1}{C_{45}}$  where  $C_{45}$  is some constant, and that this is true on the entire sine table. I am also guessing that Regiomontanus knew that the constant depends on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup>See [Hayashi (1997)], [Bressoud (2002)], [Raju (2007), p. 132], [Lefort (2007)] and [Gupta (2008)] for some references (among many others) describing Āryabhaṭa's computation of sines and how the second differences are used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup>[Wagner and Hunziker (2019)]

the size of the interval, hence my subscript. For intervals of 45', we have  $C_{45} \approx -5836$ . The exact expression behind this value matters little here,<sup>306</sup> but what is important is that by playing with differences, any serious table computer would eventually find out that there is some constant ratio involved, and perhaps think of using it backwards. By computing a few exact values of sines at 15' intervals, Regiomontanus may have found that another constant is involved:<sup>307</sup>  $\delta_0^2 \approx \frac{v_{1/3}}{C_{15}}$  and that  $C_{15} \approx -52525$ . Regiomontanus may or may not have noticed that  $C_{15}/C_{45} \approx 9$ . But he must certainly have noticed that the third differences  $\Delta^3$  vary only very slowly and that their variations can be neglected on small ranges.

At this stage, Regiomontanus could have had a means to compute  $\delta_0^2$  using an approximation of  $v_{1/3}$ . Of course,  $v_{1/3}$  is what we are looking for, but we can easily get an approximation of  $v_{1/3}$  such as

$$v_{1/3} \approx v_0 + \frac{v_1 - v_0}{3}$$

and this is in fact sufficient to get a good approximation of  $\delta_0^2$ .

What now remains is to obtain an approximation of  $\delta_0^1$ . An obvious approximation is

$$\frac{\Delta_0^1}{3}$$

but Regiomontanus needed a better one.

The second key here is to see or guess that the second differences are involved in the approximations of the first differences. In any case, one may want to test whether

$$\delta_0^1 \approx \frac{\Delta_0^1}{3} + \alpha \delta_0^2$$

for some value of  $\alpha$ . Although the constancy of  $\delta^2$  makes this actually obvious,<sup>308</sup> it is also possible to observe experimentally that  $\alpha = -1$ , and thus that

$$\delta_0^1 \approx \frac{\Delta_0^1}{3} - \delta_0^2$$

Again, in the simplified example given above, where the first differences are 1227, 1221, and 1215, and where the second differences are all about -6,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup>See [Roegel (2010b), § 2.4] for the computation of the exact values of  $\Delta \sin x$ . The value 5836 is actually about  $1/\sin^2 \Delta x$ , that is  $1/\sin^2 45'$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup>This constant is given by  $1/\sin^2 15' \approx 52525$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup>The three first differences are then  $x - \delta^2$ , x, and  $x + \delta^2$ , and the average first difference is necessarily the median first difference.

it should not be difficult to notice that the first first difference is equal to the average first difference minus the second difference,  $\frac{37865-34202}{3} + 6 = 1227$ , or that the second (middle) first difference is also the mean first difference.

If these two observations are made, namely 1) the link between the second differences and the sines, and 2) the dependency of the subtabulated first differences on the subtabulated second differences, then it is possible to derive the values  $v_{1/3}$  and  $v_{2/3}$ .

### 5.2.2 An example

Let me show how to put this in practice on a small example. Let's for instance interpolate the sines between 39° and 39°45′. I will assume that all of Regiomontanus's values at 45′ intervals were exact, which, as mentioned above, is true except in a few instances.<sup>309</sup> So, Regiomontanus must have had

$$\sin 39^{\circ} = 377592235$$
  
 $\sin 39^{\circ}45' = 383663401$ 

Using the approximation  $v_{1/3} \approx 379615957$  (the exact value is 379623197) we obtain

$$\begin{split} &\delta_0^2 \approx -\frac{379615957}{52525} = -7227\\ &\Delta_0^1 = 383663401 - 377592235 = 6071166\\ &\delta_0^1 \approx \frac{6071166}{3} + 7227 = 2030949\\ &\delta_1^1 \approx \delta_0^1 + \delta_0^2 = 2023722\\ &v_{1/3} = \sin 39^\circ + 2030949 = 379623184\\ &v_{2/3} = v_{1/3} + 2023722 = 381646906 \end{split}$$

and in fact Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$  does have the values 3796232 and 3816469 which would have been obtained from the above computation.

This procedure does unfortunately not work on all 45' intervals, and Regiomontanus's pivots sometimes differ from those obtained with this procedure, although the difference never exceeds one unit of the last place. This does not prove that Regiomontanus did not use such a procedure, but

 $<sup>^{309}</sup>$  The two values I am using are in fact given in [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)].

it may be that some computations were lacking uniformity, and also that some errors were introduced in the computations. I also believe that the two guard digits, viz. those added when computing with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^8$ , were used throughout the interpolation, and not merely for the pivotal values.

The same procedure used to obtain the sines at 15' intervals can be used to obtain the sines at 5' intervals. The only difference is that  $\delta_0^2$  involves a new constant, which may have been guessed or computed by Regiomontanus, namely

$$\delta_0^2 \approx -\frac{v_{1/3}}{52525 \times 9}$$

If for instance we want to compute  $\sin 39^{\circ}5'$ , we find

$$\begin{split} \delta_0^2 &\approx -\frac{378269218}{52525 \times 9} = -800\\ \delta_0^1 &\approx \frac{2030949}{3} + 800 = 677783\\ \delta_1^1 &\approx 676983\\ v_{1/3} &\approx 378270018\\ v_{2/3} &\approx 378947001 \end{split}$$

and these two values  $v_{1/3}$  and  $v_{2/3}$ , when rounded to  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ , are exactly the values given by Regiomontanus for the sines of  $39^{\circ}5'$  and  $39^{\circ}10'$ . But again, I must stress that although this procedure works on this example, it does (slightly) fail to give Regiomontanus's values on others.

Anyway, if Regiomontanus proceeded along these lines, he now has obtained the sines for all multiples of 5', using relatively simple techniques. In fact, the computations involved here (except those for the pivots) are more a matter of being clever than of being hard working.

What now remains is to divide the 5' intervals in five parts. This is what Briggs called a quinquisection.

The same procedure could be applied here as for the trisection, but we would have

$$\delta_0^2 \approx -\frac{v_{1/5}}{52525 \times 9 \times 25}$$

and<sup>310</sup>

$$\delta_0^1 \approx \frac{\Delta_0^1}{5} - 2\delta_0^2$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup>This is in fact also pretty obvious, because like in the case of the trisection, we have a sequence of values of which the median is necessarily equal to the average, and the first first difference is obtained by subtracting twice the second difference from the median value.

When applying this procedure (which is left as an exercise) to the interval from  $39^{\circ}$  to  $39^{\circ}5'$ , one obtains

$$\sin 39^{\circ}1' = 377727856$$
  
 $\sin 39^{\circ}2' = 377863445$   
 $\sin 39^{\circ}3' = 377999034$   
 $\sin 39^{\circ}4' = 378134623$ 

and Regiomontanus's table has 3777278, 3778634, 3779990 and 3781345, that is two values differ by one unit of the last place.

This suggests that Regiomontanus may perhaps not have used such an interpolation. If one performs a mere linear interpolation, with  $\delta^1 = 135557$ , we end up with the values 377727792, 377863349, 377998906 and 378134463, also with two differing values.

But if instead we interpolate with only one guard digit, that is between 37759224 and 37827002 and with  $\delta^1$  = 13556, we end up with the values 37772780, 37786336, 37799892 and 37813448, where only one value differs from that of Regiomontanus.

And if the guard digits are entirely discarded, we have an interpolation between 3775922 and 3782700,  $\delta^1 = 1356$ , and we end up with the values 3777278, 3778634, 3779990 and 3781346, and again only one value differs from that of Regiomontanus.

Finally, if we interpolate with only one guard digit, but with  $\delta^1 = 13557$ , then we end up with exactly Regiomontanus's values. This does not prove that Regiomontanus did such an interpolation in every case, but it does at least make it plausible that he proceeded that way in some cases.

### 5.3 Conclusion

Looking at Regiomontanus's tables, it is pretty clear that he had the means to compute the 45' pivots correctly. The 15' and 5' pivots are relatively accurate, but less than the 45' pivots. In the previous section, I have given a procedure which may be close to the one used by Regiomontanus to find his pivots.

For the 15' pivots, we have seen earlier that Regiomontanus's sexagesimal table has 70 pivot errors. Now, if we use my algorithm using finite differences, we end up with 42 errors on the all the 15' pivots. However, if we compare my pivot values with those of Regiomontanus, there appears to be about 85 differences. Regiomontanus's values do not perfectly agree with those of my algorithm for the first trisection, although the differences do not exceed one unit of the last place. This agreement can not be significantly improved even with a different constant  $C_{15}$ . It is still possible that Regiomontanus made use of an algorithm close to the one I sketched, but perhaps he did not always use two guard digits, in addition of having made a few computation errors here and there.

I also believe that the last step was a linear interpolation, but that glitches came into play and that the computations were not done totally uniformly and rigorously.

To sum up, and in the absence of other convincing theories, I believe that it is plausible that Regiomontanus applied two trisections, computed the first subtabulated first and second differences in each range, derived the missing values, and interpolated linearly in the 5' intervals, perhaps using only one guard digit, and eventually rounding all values to  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ . The same procedure could have been applied with the decimal table.

I believe that Regiomontanus's tables contain the germs of several innovations, and that it was the quality of workmanship underlying these tables which is the true reason why they endured so long. They did contain errors and typos, but they provided a solid foundation for others to build upon, and only Bürgi, Briggs and a few others were able to develop similar skills to renew the computation of tables.

# 6 After Regiomontanus

Most of the trigonometric tables printed in the 16th century actually use values or computations inherited from Regiomontanus's tables<sup>311</sup> (see figures 13 and 14). Rheticus (1514-1574) was the only one to compute really new values which were eventually published in 1596 by Otho<sup>312</sup> and in 1613 by Pitiscus.<sup>313</sup> Bürgi also computed sines anew, but his table was not published and was not used by others.

Among all these tables, Glowatzki and Göttsche distinguished those which retain the radius  $R = 10^7$  and those for which  $R = 10^{5}$ .<sup>314</sup> But we should also consider separately the few sexagesimal tables based on Regiomontanus's tables, namely those of Engel, Fine, Schreckenfuchs and Bressieu.

The tables with radius 10<sup>7</sup> include those of Rheticus (1542 and 1551),<sup>315</sup> Reinhold (1554),<sup>316</sup> Eisenmenger (1562),<sup>317</sup> Viète (1579),<sup>318</sup> Fincke (1583),<sup>319</sup> Clavius (1586),<sup>320</sup> Lansberge (1591),<sup>321</sup> Magini (1592),<sup>322</sup> Blundeville (1594),<sup>323</sup> and Ceulen (1596).<sup>324</sup> Glowatzki and Göttsche also considered the 17th century tables of Sems/Dou (1600, 1612, 1616 and 1620), Stevin (1608 and 1628), Roomen (1609), Crüger (1612), Napier (1614, 1616 and 1620), Blebel (1616 and 1629), Ursinus (1618), Alsted (1620, 1630 and 1649), Muller (1621) and Tonski (1640 and 1645),<sup>325</sup> which all go back to Regiomontanus, but which are outside the limited scope of this survey. The fact that all these tables use Regiomontanus's values is asserted by several checks, including on the typographical and last digit errors stemming from Regiomontanus, but also on mere layout considerations. Many table makers did actually not

<sup>318</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. i]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup>[Rheticus and Otho (1596)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup>[Pitiscus (1613)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 148]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup>[Copernicus (1542)] and [Rheticus (1551)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup>[Eisenmenger (1562)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup>[Clavius (1586)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup>[van Lansberge (1591)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup>[Magini (1592)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup>[Blundeville (1594)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup>[Ceulen (1596)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 161-168]

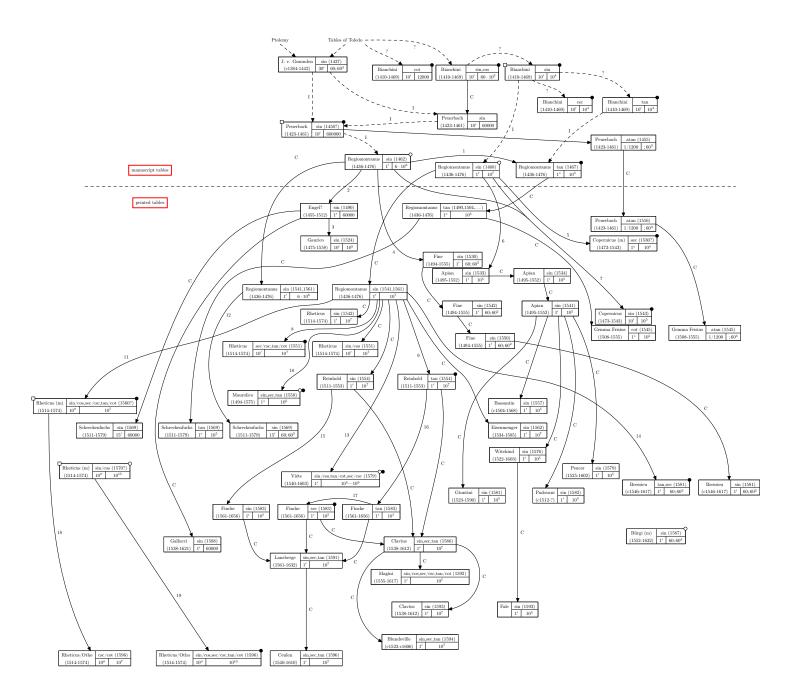


Figure 13: The interrelationships between the main 15th and 16th century fundamental trigonometric tables. Corner squares ( $\Box$ ) indicate no longer extant tables, unfilled corner circles ( $\bigcirc$ ) indicate new computations, and filled corner circles ( $\bigcirc$ ) indicate computations based on earlier tables. Tables marked "(m)" in the lower part are manuscript tables. See figure 14 for details on the links.

- C means entirely copied from, or printed at a later date.
  - I inspired or influenced by.
  - ? probable link.
  - 1 Regiomontanus (tan, 1467) obtained by computation from the 1462 table.
- 2 Engel (1490) obtained from the 1462 table by truncation (and not rounding) (no computation).
- 3 Gaurico (1524): table obtained from Engel by multiplication by 10/6.
- 4 Fine (1530): computed from Regiomontanus's table with R = 6000000.
- 5 Copernicus (c1530): computed from Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 10^7$ .
- 6 Apian (1533): obtained from Regiomontanus  $(10^7)$  by mere truncation, without rounding.
- 7 Copernicus (1543): probably obtained from a combination of Regiomontanus's tables.
- 8 Rheticus (1551) (tan, sec): computed from Regiomontanus (or Rheticus 1542).
- 9 Reinhold (1554): tangents computed from the sines.
- 10 Maurolico (1558): computed from Regiomontanus.
- 11 Rheticus (c1560): computed from Regiomontanus.
- 12 Schreckenfuchs (1569): one table computed from the 1541/1561 table.
- 13 Viète (1579): computed from Regiomontanus.
- 14 Bressieu (1581) (tan, sec): from Regiomontanus and interpolation.
- 15 | Fincke (1583): sines based on Reinhold's sines, but with slight adaptations.
- 16 Fincke (1583): tangents based on Reinhold, but with corrections.
- 17 | Fincke (1583): secants computed from Fincke's tangents.
- 18 Rheticus (1596):  $10^7$  table was probably excerpted from an earlier table from c1560.
- 19 Rheticus (1596):  $10^{10}$  table obtained from a  $10^{15}$  table.

Figure 14: The interrelationships between the main 15th and 16th century fundamental trigonometric tables (cont'd, see figure 13). The number of places of sexagesimal tables is shown as 60;  $60^n$ , the first 60 being the value of R, and n being the number of additional sexagesimal places. Note that in Rheticus's 1551 table, the sines were copied from Regiomontanus (or Rheticus 1542); in Reinhold's table (1554), the sines were copied from Regiomontanus (or Rheticus 1551); in Schreckenfuchs's table (1569), one table was copied from Engel (in an edition of the *Tabulæ directionum profectionum-que*) and another was copied from the 1490 table of tangents (or another edition of the *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*); in Bressieu (1581), the sines were copied from Fine (1530 or 1550).

bother checking the values using the differences, and Clavius in 1586 was apparently the first to get rid of the typographical errors of earlier tables. Note however that Glowatzki and Göttsche do not always give the direct predecessor of a table, and do seldom consider the layouts of the tables as an indication for their source.

Among the tables with radius  $10^5$  are the tables of Bassantin (1557),<sup>326</sup> Witekind (1576),<sup>327</sup> Peucer (1579)<sup>328</sup>, Giuntini (1581)<sup>329</sup>, Padovani (1582)<sup>330</sup> and Fale (1593)<sup>331</sup> which were taken directly or indirectly from Apian (1533),<sup>332</sup> which itself goes back to Regiomontanus's table of 1468, merely by dropping two digits and no rounding.<sup>333</sup>

Engel's table with R = 60000 (figure 16) is derived from Regiomontanus's large sexagesimal table and was used by Schreckenfuchs in 1569 (see § 6.14).

Immediately following the table of sines for radius 60000 published in 1524,<sup>334</sup> there is an additional table of sines with radius 100000 and for every 10' (figure 17). As mentioned by Delambre,<sup>335</sup> this table was added by Gaurico (see § 6.2).

Fine's tables from 1530 and 1550 are not mentioned by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>336</sup> Fine's table published in 1530 and reprinted in 1550 gives the sines for a radius R = 60, at intervals of 1' and to two sexagesimal places.

Fine's tables are the only fully sexagesimal tables based on Regiomontanus's tables, apart from those of Schreckenfuchs published in 1569 and of Bressieu published in 1581.

Mention should also be made of Bürgi's sexagesimal sine table from c1587, which seems to be a totally independent and very accurate recomputation of sines, paralleling to some extent Rheticus's efforts that led to the *Opus palatinum* (1596) and the *Thesaurus mathematicus* (1613).

To sum up, the main new computations based on Regiomontanus's values are the following, which are detailed in the subsequent sections:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup>See [Bassantin (1557)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 176].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup>See [Witekind (1576)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 176]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup>See [Peucer (1579)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 177].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup>[Giuntini (1581)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup>[Padovani (1582)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup>See [Fale (1593)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 177].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup>[Apian (1533)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 169]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup>[Regiomontanus (1524)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup>[Delambre (1819), p. 292]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990)]

- in 1551, Rheticus published his computations of tangents and secants at intervals of 10';<sup>337</sup>
- in 1554, Reinhold published his computations of tangents at intervals of 1' (and 10" for the last degree);<sup>338</sup>
- in 1579, Viète published his computations of tangents and secants at intervals of 1';<sup>339</sup>
- in 1583, Fincke published his computations of secants at intervals of 1'.

In the following sections, I go into more detail for each of these tables copied from Regiomontanus's tables, or based on them. This list tries to be as complete as possible, but it is possible that some lesser known work containing a sine table or a more complete canon still escaped my attention.

# 6.1 Engel (1490)

Johannes Engel (or Johannes Angelus) (1453-1512) was an astronomer and astrologer from Aichach, near Augsburg. He published many almanachs and astronomical tables.<sup>341</sup>

The 1490 edition of Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionum* $que^{342}$  contains corrections by Johannes Engel and in particular a 30 pages long sine table with R = 60000 giving the sines for every minute (figure 16).<sup>343</sup>

Folkerts<sup>344</sup> assumed that this table had been computed before 1463-1464, but in fact the table was certainly added by Johannes Engel who obtained it by truncating (not rounding) Regiomontanus's table for  $R = 6 \cdot 10^{6}$ .<sup>345</sup> Here is a sample of Regiomontanus's values (R) and Engel's values (E):

<sup>341</sup>On Johannes Engel, see [Knobloch (1983)] and [Dobrzycki and Kremer (1996)]. He is also mentioned by Gessner [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 336].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup>[Rheticus (1551)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup>Not all editions seem to contain this sine table, and it is for instance absent from the copy at ULB Darmstadt (Inc II 357).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup>[Folkerts (1977), p. 234]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 48-49]

Angle	R	Е	
60°0′	5196152	51961	
$60^{\circ}1'$	5197024	51970	
$60^{\circ}2'$	5197896	51978	
$60^{\circ}3'$	5198768	51987	
$60^{\circ}4'$	5199639	51996	
$60^{\circ}5'$	5200510	52005	
60°6′	5201380	52013	
$60^{\circ}7'$	5202350	52022	
60°8′	5203119	52031	

In this sample, we can also see that Engel introduced an additional error for  $60^{\circ}7'$ .

Moreover, Regiomontanus's table contains a column of differences, whose values can be interpreted as the sixths of the differences of the sines. For instance, (5197024 - 5196152)/6 = 145.333... and that column starts with 145. Engel's table contains exactly the same value 145, although it is basically meaningless in that reduced table.

By analyzing the correspondence of Regiomontanus with Bianchini and others, Glowatzki and Göttsche have also shown that Regiomontanus actually did not himself use the table R = 60000 printed in 1490, and whenever he used this radius, he drew the values by dropping two digits from his large table and rounding the value.<sup>346</sup> This is an additional proof for the fact that the table for R = 60000 actually did not exist before it was prepared for printing in 1490. Instead, Glowatzki and Göttsche<sup>347</sup> assume that Regiomontanus had made a table with R = 60000 for himself, but different from the printed one. Such a table may have been held at the Seitenstetten Abbey until 1924, but it was then sold and had not been located by the authors. If this table surfaces again, one should check whether its values are truncated or rounded.

Engel's table (figure 16) is found again in the 1504 edition,<sup>348</sup> where the title of the work explicitely mentions this sine table. It is also found in later editions of the *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*, where it is often attributed to Regiomontanus. My modern reconstruction<sup>349</sup> is based on the 1504 edition which has less idiosyncrasies than the 1490 version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 65-71]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 71]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup>[Regiomontanus (1504)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup>[Roegel (2021d)]

Engel's table was used by Gaurico in 1524 (see below, § 6.2), in 1569 by Schreckenfuchs (§ 6.14) and reprinted in 1588 by Gallucci (§ 6.24).

# 6.2 Gaurico (1524)

Luca Gaurico (in Latin, Lucas Gauricus, in French Luc Gauric) (1475-1558) was an Italian astrologer, astronomer, and mathematician.<sup>350</sup>

In 1524, as an appendix to Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*,<sup>351</sup> Gaurico published a table of sines with R = 100000 and at intervals of 10<sup>'</sup> (figure 17). This table was reprinted in 1557,<sup>352</sup> together with Regiomontanus's table of tangents but the latter only up to 50°.

It is tempting to consider that Gaurico took his sines from a manuscript of Regiomontanus's table for  $R = 10^7$  and truncated or rounded the values (this was also suggested by Glowatzki and Göttsche<sup>353</sup>), but this is actually not the case. Gaurico's values differ both from the truncated values and from the rounded ones of the  $10^7$  table.

In fact, it seems that Gaurico took the values in Engel's table for R = 60000, and merely multiplied them by 10/6, although this procedure will in a few cases give values that differ from those in Gaurico's table.<sup>354</sup>

Gaurico's table was also certainly *not* the basis of Copernicus's table of sines (or semi-chords) published in 1543, although it uses the same radius and interval.

# 6.3 **Copernicus (c1530?)**

The earliest known decimal table of secants is a handwritten table by Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543),<sup>355</sup> included in his copy of Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* published in 1490.<sup>356</sup> There Copernicus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup>For a summary of Gaurico's life and works, see [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 455] as well as [Moréri (1733), p. 243-244].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup>[Regiomontanus (1524)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup>[Gaurico (1557)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 178]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup>This procedure anticipates what Copernicus has probably done in some places in the sine table included in his 1543 opus, although on the basis of Regiomontanus's full sexagesimal table.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup>For a summary of Copernicus's life and works, see [Rosen (1971)]. Note in passing that in 1574 Gessner only briefly mentions Copernicus [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 518].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup>See [Curtze (1875), pp. 34-37], [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 190-192] and [Folkerts et al. (2019)].

gave the values of the secant for each degree<sup>357</sup> and for R = 10000, overlayed to Regiomontanus's table of tangents. A reproduction of Copernicus's table was given by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>358</sup>

Curtze considered that Copernicus had computed the secants from the cosines<sup>359</sup> but Birkenmajer<sup>360</sup> thought that the secants were computed using the formula  $\text{Sec } x = \sqrt{\text{Tan}^x + R^2}$ . Rosińska also observed that Copernicus's table of secants is not copied from Bianchini's table of cosecants.<sup>361</sup> Rosińska concluded therefore that Copernicus used neither Bianchini's nor Regiomontanus's tables for his table of secants.<sup>362</sup>

But still, Glowatzki and Göttsche observed that since Copernicus's values are very accurate, he must have used a manuscript of Regiomontanus's tables with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$  or  $R = 10^7$ , later published in 1541.<sup>363</sup>

Now, according to my experiments, using either of Regiomontanus's tables, computing the exact secants, by mere division, as Curtze suggested, and rounding, will give almost always Copernicus's values, except for 88° and 89° where Copernicus probably tried to obtain more accurate values. The discrepancy of these two values is not, in my opinion, a sufficient reason to look for a different source or a different computation for Copernicus's entire table of secants.

## 6.4 Fine (1530)

Oronce Fine (1494-1555) was a French mathematician and cartographer. After having learned his first lessons of mathematics from his father in Briançon, he matriculated at the University of Paris and from about 1531 until his death he occupied the chair of mathematics of the Collège Royal in Paris.<sup>364</sup>

<sup>361</sup>[Rosińska (2002), p. 16]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup>Stamm mistakenly wrote that the secants are given for every minute, but this is surely a typo [Stamm (1933)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 191]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup>See [Curtze (1875), pp. 34-37] and [Rosińska (2002), pp. 15-16].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup>[Birkenmajer (1900), pp. 62-63]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup>[Rosińska (1987), p. 422]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 192]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup>For summaries of Fine's life and works, see [Gallois (1890b)], Poulle [Poulle (1978)], [Marr (2009)], [Pantin (2013)] and [Axworthy (2016), Axworthy (2020)]. See also the accounts given by [Lindgren (2007)] (on land surveys) and [Fréchet (2009)], as well as the early notice by Gessner [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 534]. I have chosen to spell his name "Fine," in accordance with Poulle, but it is also sometimes spelled "Finé."

In 1530, Fine published his *De geometria*<sup>365</sup> which contains a sexagesimal table of sines. Fine's table gives the sines for a radius R = 60, at intervals of 1' and to two sexagesimal places (figure 18).

This table is not based on Engel's 1490 table<sup>366</sup> as one might think. Instead it must be based directly on a manuscript of Regiomontanus's large sexagesimal table, without truncating.

In 1542, Fine published his *De sinibus libri II* which was the first treatise solely on trigonometry to be printed in France.<sup>367</sup> This work is an appendix of Fine's *De mundi sphaera*.<sup>368</sup> Ross is very critical of this work and considers that it was unoriginal and out of date,<sup>369</sup> because it does not contain any contributions to trigonometric mathematics, and because it lags behind the developments soon introduced by Rheticus for the unification of sines, shadows, etc., in a same framework. Fine also appears to be unaware of Regiomontanus's *De triangulis omnimodis*<sup>370</sup> published in 1533 and which laid the foundations of modern trigonometry. But on the other hand, Fine's purpose with this book was pedagogical and he succeeded in contributing to the revival of mathematics in Paris.

The 1542 *De sinibus libri II* reprinted the table of sines published in 1530, with only minor variations. The layout is the same, although the table was obviously reset, as can be observed on the last lines of each page.

The second edition of *De sinibus libri II* was published in 1550,<sup>371</sup> but the sine table now uses a different layout (figure 30). In the two editions of this work (1542 and 1550), Fine's introduction gives the sines up to 90° at intervals of  $3^{\circ}45'$ . In a second table, he gives the sines up to  $7^{\circ}30'$  at intervals of 15'. These two tables were not given in the 1530 *De geometria*<sup>372</sup> and were presumably not used for the computation of the table published in 1530. None of these tables are mentioned by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>373</sup>

Fine's table is the only sexagesimal table based on Regiomontanus's tables, apart from those of Schreckenfuchs<sup>374</sup> published in 1569 and of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup>[Fine (1530)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup>[Ross (1975), p. 379]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup>[Fine (1542)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup>[Ross (1975), pp. 385-386]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup>[Regiomontanus (1533)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup>[Fine (1550)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup>[Fine (1530)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup>[Schreckenfuchs (1569)]

Bressieu published in 1581.<sup>375</sup> Bressieu has actually copied Fine's table, from either of the three editions I have mentioned.

Certainly in order to help for the work with sexagesimal numbers, Fine had also published a sexagesimal multiplication table, his *tabula proportionalis*.<sup>376</sup>

I am giving separately a modern reconstruction of Fine's 1530 and 1550 tables.  $^{377}$ 

# 6.5 Apian (1533)

Peter Apian (1495-1552), also known as Petrus Apianus, was actually born Peter Bennewitz, or Peter Bienewitz, in Leisnig, Germany.<sup>378</sup> He was active in astronomy and geography and was a popularizer of astronomical and geographical instrumentation.<sup>379</sup> Apian studied at the University of Leipzig from 1516 to 1519 and then for two years in Vienna. His first major work was his *Cosmographia* (1524), which was later revised by Gemma Frisius (1508-1555), Apian's student.

Apian's second major work was his *Astronomicum Caesareum* (1540) which displayed an elaborate typography and the use of sophisticated volvelles.

From 1526 until his death he occupied the chair of mathematics and astronomy at the University of Ingoldstadt.

Apians's mathematical work is linked to Regiomontanus's writings.<sup>380</sup> He published his work on sines in 1533.

In his *Introductio geographica* published in 1533,<sup>381</sup> Apian provides a table of sines with  $R = 10^5$  and for every minute of the quadrant (figure 19). The same table was reprinted in 1534 in Apian's *Instromentom primi mobilis*<sup>382</sup> (figure 20) and in 1541 in his *Instrumentum sinuum*<sup>383</sup> (figure 21).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup>[Bressieu (1581)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup>[Roegel (2021e), Roegel (2021f)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup>See [Roegel (2021g)] and [Roegel (2021h)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup>For surveys of Apian's life and works, see in particular [Günther (1882)], [Gallois (1890a), pp. 102-116], [North (1966)], [Kish (1970)] and [Röttel (1995)]. See also the early notice by Gessner [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 552].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup>See in particular [Lindgren (2007)] for some background on land surveys.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup>See [Kaunzner (1995)], [Folkerts (1995)] and [Lindgren (2007), p. 501].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup>[Apian (1533)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup>[Apian (1534)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup>[Apian (1541)]

This table appears to have been obtained by merely dropping the last two digits of Regiomontanus's table for  $R = 10^7$ , without any rounding.<sup>384</sup> Regiomontanus's table having only been printed in 1541, Apian must have had access to one of the manuscripts of the 1468 table. Moreover, as observed by Glowatzki and Göttsche, the manuscript table used by Apian is in fact the same as the one used in the 1541 printed edition of Regiomontanus's table.<sup>385</sup>

And, as remarked by Kish,<sup>386</sup> Apian's sine table is the first printed table giving sines every minute and divided decimally, Regiomontanus's table having only been printed in 1541.

I am giving separately a modern reconstruction of Apian's 1533 table.<sup>387</sup>

Apian's tables seem to have been copied by directly or indirectly by Bassantin in 1557,<sup>388</sup> by Witekind in 1576,<sup>389</sup> by Peucer in 1579,<sup>390</sup>, by Giuntini in 1581,<sup>391</sup>, by Padovani in 1582,<sup>392</sup> and indirectly by Fale<sup>393</sup> in 1593.

#### 6.6 Rheticus (1542)

Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514-1574) was born in Feldkirch (Austria).<sup>394</sup> In 1539, while he was professor of mathematics in Wittenberg, he set out to meet Copernicus in Frombork (Poland). He stayed with Copernicus for two years, published a first account of Copernicus's theory as *Narratio Prima* in Gdansk (1540), and was instrumental in the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*<sup>395</sup> in 1543. When Rheticus returned from

<sup>393</sup>[Fale (1593)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup>Delambre had written that the table was "computed by Apian," but this is a bit excessive [Delambre (1819), p. 395].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup>See [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 173-174].

pp. 173-174]. <sup>386</sup>[Kish (1970)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup>[Roegel (2021i)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup>[Bassantin (1557)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup>[Witekind (1576)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup>[Peucer (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup>[Giuntini (1581)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup>[Padovani (1582)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup>For summaries of Rheticus's life and works, see in particular [Kästner (1796), 561-564], [De Morgan (1841)], [Burmeister (1967–1968)], [Bernleithner (1973)], [Rosen (1975b)], [Kraai (2003)], [Danielson (2006)] [Wanner and Schöbi-Fink (2010)], [Schöbi-Fink and Sonderegger (2014)], and [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 7-9]. Note also Gessner's description of Rheticus's work [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 228].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup>[Copernicus (1543)]

his visit, he also made it possible for Erasmus Reinhold to become closely acquainted with Copernicus's theory, leading to the publication of the *Prutenic tables* in 1551.

But in 1542, before the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*, Rheticus published its trigonometrical chapters under the title *De lateribus et angulis triangulorum*.<sup>396</sup> This work contains a table of sines at intervals of 1' and for a radius of 10<sup>7</sup> (figure 25). The sines were in fact not called sines, but half-chords. And the table is actually by Rheticus and not by Copernicus.<sup>397</sup> More precisely, Rheticus took the sines from Regiomontanus's table<sup>398</sup> published in 1541 (or from a common manuscript source). This is in particular confirmed by printing errors found in both editions.<sup>399</sup> Some of the typos that remain in Rheticus's table are in fact so conspicuous that they should have been corrected by Rheticus. Rheticus however did not carry over Regiomontanus's differences, but introduced the actual differences.

In her article on Copernicus's tables, Rosińska<sup>400</sup> hypothesizes that Copernicus had first planned to append to his work a table of sines with  $R = 10^6$  but that this table was eventually replaced by Rheticus's one with  $R = 10^7$ .

In the past von Braunmühl,<sup>401</sup> Cantor,<sup>402</sup> Busard,<sup>403</sup> Rosen<sup>404</sup> and Folkerts<sup>405</sup> were of the opinion that Rheticus was the real author (computer) of the sine table. And Zinner thought that the author of the table was Copernicus himself and that he may have been inspired to construct a table with  $R = 10^7$  by a glimpse of Regiomontanus's table.<sup>406</sup>

Rheticus's table seems to be the first table of sines where a value can easily and explicitly be read in two different ways. This novelty was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup>[Copernicus (1542)] An edition of this work is given in [Folkerts et al. (2019)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup>See [Swerdlow and Neugebauer (1984), pp. 27-28] and [Rosińska (2002), pp. 18-20].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup>See [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)], [Zinner (1988), pp. 193-194], [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 150] and [Rosińska (1994b)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup>[Rosińska (1987), p. 423]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup>[Rosińska (2002)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup>[von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), v. 1, pp. 140-141]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup>[Cantor (1900), p. 474]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup>[Busard (1971a), p. 76]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup>[Rosen (1975b), p. 396]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup>[Folkerts (1977), p. 235]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup>[Zinner (1990), p. 183]

observed by Stamm,<sup>407</sup> Rosen<sup>408</sup> and more recently by Husson.<sup>409</sup> For each value, there is both a reading using the first line and the first column (giving the sines), and a second reading using the last line and the last column (giving the cosines). Similar features are found again in the tables of Rheticus (1551), Reinhold (1554), Viète (1579), Clavius (1583), Magini (1592) and Rheticus/Otho (1596). Of course, earlier tables, including those of Regiomontanus, can also be read that way, but not explicitly, and it is necessary to perform a (simple) computation to find the cosine of an angle, for instance.

I am giving separately a modern reconstruction of Rheticus's table.<sup>410</sup>

## 6.7 **Copernicus (1543)**

As we have seen earlier, Copernicus  $(1473-1543)^{411}$  had computed a small table of secants, perhaps around 1530, and in 1542 the trigonometric chapters of *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* were published separately by Rheticus, together with a sine table. But in Copernicus's famous *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* published in 1543 shortly before his death,<sup>412</sup> Copernicus included another table of sines, with an interval of 10<sup>′</sup> and a radius  $R = 10^5$  (figure 26). Like in the excerpt published in 1542, the sines were actually not called sines, but half-chords.

Copernicus's table shows a few deviations from the values obtained from Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 10^7$  when the values are rounded to  $R = 10^5$ . For instance there are three errors in the first 36 values (from 0° to 6°) and Copernicus gives  $\sin 0° 40' = 1163$  instead of 1164,  $\sin 1° 30' =$ 2617 instead of 2618, and  $\sin 4° = 6975$  instead of 6976. However, there are more deviations when Copernicus's table is compared to Gaurico's table published in 1524 (also with  $R = 10^5$ ), with eight errors in the same interval. The most likely basic explanation would then be that Copernicus used Regiomontanus's table for  $R = 10^7$  and made a few rounding errors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup>[Stamm (1933), p. 2]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup>[Rosen (1975b)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup>[Husson (2014)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup>[Roegel (2021j)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup>For a first summary of Copernicus's life and works, see [Rosen (1971)]. A recent biography of Copernicus is that by [Freely (2014)]. For further study, one might turn to [Swerdlow and Neugebauer (1984)], to Owen Gingerich's works as well as to Copernicus's complete works. On the connections between Italy and Krakow before Copernicus, see [Walsh (1996)]. For Copernicus's trigonometric tables, see [Rosińska (2002)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup>[Copernicus (1543)]

Glowatzki and Göttsche were of the same opinion and concluded that Copernicus must have used a manuscript version of Regiomontanus's table of sines with  $R = 10^{7}$ , <sup>413</sup> as he certainly did for his table of secants.<sup>414</sup>

Copernicus probably did not take the sines directly from the table published in 1542, although it is almost identical to that of Regiomontanus, because Copernicus's manuscript must have been ready long before its publication. In any case, if Copernicus took his values from Regiomontanus, he also made some corrections to that table, as Regiomontanus's typos for the sines of  $36^{\circ}10'$  and  $51^{\circ}20'$ , reprinted in 1542, have been corrected in the *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*.<sup>415</sup>

However, I think that it is possible to get a somewhat better understanding of the elaboration of Copernicus's table. I have said above that among the first 36 values of Copernicus's table, there are three obvious errors when comparing them to the rounded values from Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 10^7$ . For instance, for  $0^{\circ}40'$ , Regiomontanus's table gives 116353, and Copernicus has 1163, which looks like a truncation, but for almost every other angle Copernicus's sine is the rounded and not truncated value obtained from Regiomontanus's table.

Now, if we start with Regiomontanus's sexagesimal table, that is, the table with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ , the decimal values can be obtained by dividing Regiomontanus's values by 6. Considering only the first 36 values in Copernicus's table (from 0° to 6°), it appears that until 3°50′, one obtains Copernicus's values by dropping one digit of Regiomontanus's table and rounding, then dividing by 6, then rounding.<sup>416</sup> For instance, for 0°50′, one obtains 8726/6 = 1454.333... which is rounded to 1454. In case the result is a half integer, the rounding occurs to the integer below, except if the first rounding was by default, although there may be exceptions (such as 2°40′) taking account of how the first rounding was performed.

This procedure fails after  $3^{\circ}50'$  and it seems that a different operation was involved. In fact, between  $4^{\circ}$  and  $5^{\circ}20'$ , there was apparently a truncation of the last two digits of Regiomontanus's table, the resulting value was multiplied by 10, divided by 6 and rounded. Between  $5^{\circ}40'$  and  $6^{\circ}$ , the initial procedure was again applied. These two procedures give a slightly better outcome than merely using Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 10^{7}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 178-179]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 192]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 150]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup>This procedure is reminiscent from that probably used by Gaurico in 1524, although Gaurico started with Engel's table.

If we look at the last page of Copernicus's table, also containing 36 values, a comparison with Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 10^7$  reveals five rounding errors ( $84^\circ 30'$ ,  $85^\circ$ ,  $86^\circ 40'$ ,  $87^\circ 40'$  and  $89^\circ 50'$ ). But if we start with the great sexagesimal table as above, there are in fact even more errors, 16 altogether. For instance, for  $86^\circ$  one obtains 99757, and not Copernicus's 99756.

I have of course only sampled the first and last 36 values of Copernicus's table, and this should be further investigated. It suggests however that different computations may have been involved in the making of Copernicus's sine table, and probably that some parts of Copernicus's table are based on Regiomontanus's sexagesimal table, whereas others are based on the table with  $R = 10^7$ , in addition of involving different rounding schemes from the same source. It is also possible that some values were based on other tables. But among the 16 values that are incorrectly rounded on the last page of Copernicus's table when starting with Regiomontanus's great sexagesimal table, only 10 of Copernicus's values are identical with those published by Apian in 1534.<sup>417</sup> It is therefore not possible to conclude that Copernicus used Apian's table. Perhaps for some comparisons, but not for all values.

Given this somewhat confused situation, it is understandable that Copernicus's table led to other opinions or conclusions. For instance, Stamm<sup>418</sup> wrote that Copernicus probably compared his values to those published by Apian in 1534,<sup>419</sup> but I have just shown that this is not conclusive. Folkerts<sup>420</sup> thought that Copernicus had computed the table himself, since he could not have been able to use Regiomontanus's table for  $R = 10^7$  which was only published in 1541. Looking for Copernicus's source, Swerdlow and Neugebauer<sup>421</sup> excluded most sources, including Regiomontanus's tables printed in 1541, but they did not conclude further. And according to Rosińska,<sup>422</sup> Copernicus did not use Regiomontanus's table for his table of sines, although she did not provide another theory for the origin or calculation of the table.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup>[Apian (1534)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup>[Stamm (1933)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup>[Apian (1534)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup>[Folkerts (1977), p. 234]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup>[Swerdlow and Neugebauer (1984), pp. 100-101]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup>[Rosińska (1987), p. 422]

# 6.8 Gemma Frisius (1545)

Gemma Frisius (1508-1555) (Jemme Reinerszoon, or Rainer Gemma) was a Dutch physician, mathematician, cartographer, philosopher, and instrument maker. He was born in Dokkum in the Netherlands.<sup>423</sup>

Gemma Frisius first practiced medicine in Louvain, but his real interests seem to have been geography and mathematics. In 1529 he revised Peter Apian's *Cosmographia*. He also designed globes and astronomical instruments. He died in Louvain.

In 1545, he published his *De radio astronomico et geometrico*<sup>424</sup> in which he included a table of cotangents (figure 27) which was copied from Regiomontanus.<sup>425</sup>

This work also contained a table of arctangents (figures 28 and 29) obviously copied from that of Peuerbach published in 1516.<sup>426</sup>

# 6.9 Rheticus (1551)

In 1551, Rheticus  $(1514-1574)^{427}$  published his *Canon doctrinæ triangulorum*.<sup>428</sup> There, he gave the sines, cosines, tangents, cotangents, secants and cosecants at intervals of 10' and for a radius  $R = 10^7$ . Rheticus's table was in fact the first table to give all six possible ratios in a right triangle (figure 31).<sup>429</sup>

The sines in Rheticus's table were copied from Regiomontanus's table for  $R = 10^{7.430}$  Most of the values were not changed, but some of the typos were corrected, for instance the cosine of  $38^{\circ}40'$  whose value was still incorrect (as  $\sin 51^{\circ}20'$ ) in Rheticus's 1542 table.

Rheticus made new computations for the tangents and the secants using

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup>For summaries on Gemma Frisius's life and works, see [Cantor (1878)], [Hallyn (1996), Hallyn (1998), Hallyn (2004), Hallyn (2008)] and [Kish (1972)]. [Lindgren (2007)] gives some background on Gemma Frisius's work on land surveys. Note in passing that Gessner briefly mentions Gemma Frisius [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 221].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup>[Gemma Frisius (1545)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 181]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup>[von Peuerbach (1516)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup>[Rosen (1975b)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup>[Rheticus (1551)] See [De Morgan (1845a), De Morgan (1845b)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup>However, in the first treatise of trigonometry independent of astronomical applications, the *Treatise on the Quadrilateral*, the Persian al-Tūsī (1201-1274), already in the 13th century, had used all six trigonometric functions [Archibald (1949), p. 31].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup>See [Rosińska (1994b)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 152]

these sines. According to Glowatzki and Göttsche,<sup>431</sup> Rheticus merely computed the ratios for the tangents, but things are actually a bit more complicated.

First, it appears that the secants and cosecants were computed by dividing 1 (or rather  $10^{14}$ ) by the values of the cosines or sines, and truncating the results. This can readily be observed on the secants of  $17^{\circ}20'$ ,  $29^{\circ}$ ,  $29^{\circ}50'$ ,  $43^{\circ}$ , etc., and practically every ratio whose decimal part is greater than 0.5. This is also true for the cosecants, an example being  $35^{\circ}30'$ .

But the tangents and cotangents are another story. I don't know exactly how Rheticus computed these values, but a close examination of Rheticus's values reveals that the tangents are more accurate than the cotangents and consequently one cannot have been computed from the other. They must have been computed differently. The tangents may have been computed by dividing the sines by the cosines, but this cannot have been the case for the cotangents.<sup>432</sup>

It appears that the values of the cotangents are close to those obtained when computing

$$\operatorname{Cot} x = \sqrt{\operatorname{Csc}^2 x - R^2}$$

but they are not totally identical. The agreement is however much better than that obtained by merely dividing the values of the cosines by the sines of Regiomontanus, and it may even be a little better if  $\operatorname{Csc}^2 x$  is rounded to seven or eight significant digits. This hypothesis may need to be tested further, but it parallels a suggestion by van Brummelen and Byrne for the computation of secants by Maurolico,<sup>433</sup> although I argue below that their suggestion is in fact not applicable to Maurolico's computations. However, I also suggest below that Fincke used a similar procedure to compute his secants in 1583.

In any case, Rheticus's work remains based on Regiomontanus's tables, and although he was the first to construct a table giving all six triangle ratios, he did not compute the cosecants and cotangents sufficiently accurately for small angles, and seems to have not yet understood that more accurate sines were needed. He had no problems giving cosecants and cotangents to 10 figures, when the sines were only given to 5 figures. This understanding of the need for more accurate sines only came later, and even the *Opus* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 185]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup>It will be interesting to see to what conclusions came [Pritchard (2021)] who seems to have conducted a similar investigation, but whose result is not yet published at the time I am writing this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>433</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021)]

*palatinum*<sup>434</sup> published in 1596 is still marred by this problem which will only fully be solved by Pitiscus in the early 17th century.<sup>435</sup>

I am giving separately a modern reconstruction of Rheticus's table.<sup>436</sup>

## 6.10 Reinhold (1554)

Erasmus Reinhold (1511-1553) was a German astronomer and mathematician. He was born in Saalfeld, Germany. In 1536 he became professor of mathematics at the university of Wittenberg.<sup>437</sup> In 1542, Reinhold published a commentary on Peuerbach's *Theoricae Novae Planetarum*. When Rheticus came back from his visit to Copernicus, Reinhold studied Copernicus's theory closely and after the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, Reinhold made detailed annotations of this work.<sup>438</sup>

Between 1544 and 1551, Reinhold worked on recasting Copernicus's theory in handier tables and in 1551 he finally published his *Tabulæ prutenicæ cælestium motuum* (Prutenic tables).

In his *Primus liber tabularum directionum* published in 1554 after his death,<sup>439</sup> Reinhold gave a table of sines (figure 34) and a table of tangents (figures 32 and 33), both with radius  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of 1<sup>'.440</sup>

The sines were copied from Regiomontanus's sines,<sup>441</sup> probably from the 1541 printing, but the tangents were recomputed at intervals of 1', using these sines.<sup>442</sup> Moreover, in the range from  $89^{\circ}$  to  $89^{\circ}59'50''$ , Reinhold gave the tangents at intervals of 10''.

The tangents seem to have been computed in a non systematic way. For the angles which are found in Regiomontanus's table, Reinhold has apparently mostly taken the ratio of the sines given by Regiomontanus, but sometimes the result was truncated (for instance for Tan 1° where Reinhold gives 174550 instead of 174551), and sometimes the sines were rounded to the tens (for instance for Tan 10° where 173648/984808 was computed

<sup>439</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup>[Rheticus and Otho (1596)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup>[Pitiscus (1613)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>436</sup>[Roegel (2010c)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup>For a summary of Reinhold's life and works, see [Gingerich (1975)]. Note in passing that Gessner briefly mentions Reinhold [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 184].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup>[Gingerich (1973)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>440</sup>See [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 5-7].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>441</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 152-153]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>442</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 185]

instead of 1736482/9848078). In the case of Tan 80°, there must have been a computation error, as Reinhold has actually computed 9848085/1736482 instead of 9848078/1736482. This error is not present in Rheticus's table.<sup>443</sup> My samples may or may not be representative of the entire table, and it would be useful to conduct a thorough analysis of Reinhold's table of tangents.<sup>444</sup> It seems in particular that Reinhold did not copy Rheticus's values given in 1551 at intervals of 10'. Reinhold's error on Tan 80°, incidentally, is found again in Fincke's table,<sup>445</sup> as well as in Clavius's table.<sup>446</sup>

In the last part of the table, Reinhold added the tangents at intervals of 10". The values themselves are not as accurate as one might wish, but this matters little here. What does interest us is to find out how Reinhold computed these values. These computations seem so far not to have been analyzed, not even by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>447</sup> At first, this part of the table suggests a new computation of the sines and cosines of 10", 20", etc., up to 59'50", but this was most certainly not the case. It is in fact very easy to see what Reinhold has done, because the ratios behind each tangent value can be reconstructed. I am giving here only some samples:

Angle	Fraction	Value
89° 0′10″	$\frac{9998370}{174038}$	57.44935014
89° 0′30″	$\frac{9998502}{173070}$	$57.77143352\dots$
89° 0′50″	$\frac{9998519}{172101}$	58.09680943
89°30′10″	$\frac{9999625}{86780}$	$115.22960359\ldots$
89°30′20″	$\frac{9999628}{86296}$	$115.87591543\ldots$
89°59′10″	$\frac{99999999}{2424}$	4125.41212871
89°59′20″	$\frac{99999999}{1939}$	5157.29706034
89°59′30″	$\frac{10000000}{1455}$	6872.85223367
89°59′40″	$\frac{10000000}{970}$	$10309.27835051\ldots$
89°59′50″	$\frac{10000000}{485}$	$20618.55670103\ldots$

<sup>443</sup>[Rheticus (1551)]

<sup>444</sup>The forthcoming study [Pritchard (2021)] may contain some interesting clues on this matter.

<sup>445</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>446</sup>[Clavius (1586)]

<sup>447</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 185]

The "Fraction" column gives the ratios actually used by Reinhold for the tangents, and the column on the right gives the values of these fractions. These can be compared with those in Reinhold's table.

It turns out that the values given by these fractions are almost exactly those of Reinhold, with the occasional rounding errors or typos. For instance, Reinhold table has  $Tan 89^{\circ}0'10'' = 574493507$  which must be a typo for 574493501. In most cases, the fractions seem to have been truncated (and for instance for  $89^{\circ}30'10''$  this resulted in the incorrect value), but in some cases they were rounded (for instance for  $89^{\circ}59'30''$ ).

We can see in this sample that Reinhold uses

 $\sin 10'' = 485$   $\sin 20'' = 970$   $\sin 30'' = 1455$  $\sin 40'' = 1939$   $\sin 50'' = 2424$  ...

and these values are obtained by linear interpolation of Regiomontanus's sines. There may again be some slight inaccuracies, and the value of  $\sin 59'50''$  would for instance have been better at 174039 than 174038.

The numerators used by Reinhold were also obtained by interpolation from Regiomontanus's values. For instance, for  $89^{\circ}30''$ , 9998502 is just halfway between Regiomontanus's sine values 9998477 and 9998527. But for Tan  $89^{\circ}10''$ , something obviously went wrong, because the value of  $\sin 89^{\circ}10''$  used is smaller than that for  $\sin 89^{\circ}$ , although the resulting value is still acceptable. Of course, given the limited number of significant digits for the sines, especially at the end of the range, most of the figures in the tangents end up being meaningless. It doesn't make much sense to give Tan  $89^{\circ}59'50''$  to 12 places, when the value of  $\sin 10''$  used only has three places...

We can also see that at the end of the range Reinhold moved to cosine values of  $10^7$ , but that he did not try to do a finer interpolation. In any case, such an analysis can be made for all  $60 \times 5 = 300$  values which are not multiples of 1', but this is left as an exercise. There may be other errors such as the one mentioned for  $89^{\circ}10''$  and it might be interesting to do some detailed statistics about these errors.

It is precisely for these reasons that Viète's tangents and secants published in 1579 are much more accurate than those of Reinhold, because Viète used sufficiently accurate sines for the number of figures he was trying to compute for the tangents and secants.

Reinhold's table of tangents was the first table of tangents at intervals of 1'. Secants at this interval would only be published 25 years later by

Viète.<sup>448</sup> Reinhold's tangents were reused by Fincke in 1583, and Fincke added the secants.

A modern reconstruction of Reinhold's tables is provided separately.<sup>449</sup>

# 6.11 Bassantin (1557)

James Bassantin (c1504-1568) was a Scottish astronomer and mathematician who came to France under the reign of Henri II who was King of France from 1547 to 1559.<sup>450</sup>

Bassantin owes his fame to the publication of his *Astronomique Discours*<sup>451</sup> in 1557 in Lyon. This book contains many volvelles based on the system of Ptolemy.<sup>452</sup> It also contains a table of sines with  $R = 10^5$  and at intervals of 1' (figure 35) which was presumably copied from Apian, since both the values and the layout agree with Apian's 1533,<sup>453</sup> 1534<sup>454</sup> and 1541<sup>455</sup> tables. Glowatzki and Göttsche came to the same conclusion.<sup>456</sup> Possibly the only altered value is the sine of  $89^{\circ}59'$  which Apian had put at 100000, but which Bassantin put at its correct value, 99999. However, many other values are wrong, since Apian truncated and did not round Regiomontanus's values.

# 6.12 Maurolico (1558)

Francesco Maurolico (1494-1575) was a mathematician and astronomer born in Messina, Sicily, but of Greek lineage. He lived almost all of his life in Sicily and made contributions to the fields of geometry, optics, conics, mechanics, music, and astronomy.<sup>457</sup> He was ordained a priest in 1521 and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>448</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup>[Roegel (2021k)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup>See [de Chaufepié (1750), p. 112], [Delambre (1821), v. 1, p. 308-309], [Hoefer (1873), p. 314] and [Henderson (1885)] for some biographical elements on Bassantin. In France, he was called Jacques Bassantin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup>[Bassantin (1557)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup>For some interesting information on the physical structure of this work, see [Vaucher (2020)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup>[Apian (1533)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup>[Apian (1534)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup>[Apian (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 169]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup>For a summary of Maurolico's life and works, see [Masotti (1974)] and [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 12-13]. Note in passing that Gessner briefly mentions Maurolico [Gessner

later became a Benedictine.

Maurolico edited the works of classical authors including Archimedes, Apollonius, Autolycus, Theodosius and Serenus. He also composed his own unique treatises on mathematics and mathematical science.

In 1558, Maurolico published his commentary on the spherics of Theodosius.<sup>458</sup> It contains short tables of sines (figure 39), tangents (figure 40) and secants (figure 41), all using the radius  $R = 10^5$  and only giving values every degree. Maurolico also gave the tangents and secants for 89°15', 89°30', 89°45', 89°55' and 89°59'.

The values of the sines differ from those of the earlier tables with  $R = 10^5$ , namely those of Gaurico (1524)<sup>459</sup> and Apian (1533).<sup>460</sup> Instead, Maurolico seems to have taken his values from Regiomontanus's table by dropping two digits and rounding.<sup>461</sup> And, contrary to what von Braunmühl wrote,<sup>462</sup> Maurolico was unaware of Rheticus's *Canon doctrinæ triangulorum*<sup>463</sup> published in 1551.

As far as the tangents are concerned, Glowatzki and Göttsche wrote that Maurolico took his values from Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque*<sup>465</sup> and recomputed those above 45° using Regiomontanus's sines.<sup>466</sup>

But according to Brummelen,<sup>467</sup> the tangents were copied from Regiomontanus's 1490 table up to about 60°. Above 60°, the values of the tangents seem to have been recomputed from Regiomontanus's sines and Brummelen implies (his table 3) that they have been recomputed that way until 89°15′ inclusive. Beyond 89°15′ the difference between Maurolico's values and those computed from Regiomontanus's sines becomes much larger. The last four values are more accurate than the values that could have been obtained from Regiomontanus's table with  $R = 10^7$ . Van Brum-

<sup>460</sup>[Apian (1533)]

<sup>461</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 178-179]

<sup>465</sup>[Regiomontanus (1490)]

<sup>466</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 181, 185]

and Simmler (1574), p. 204].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup>[Maurolico (1558)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>459</sup>[Regiomontanus (1524)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup>[von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), vol. 1, p. 151]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup>[Rheticus (1551)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>464</sup>See [van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 200]. In 1944, Zeller had already considered the different opinions of Fincke and Magini, but without settling with any [Zeller (1944), p. 72].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 202]

melen therefore suggested some kind of independent computation.<sup>468</sup>

I believe however that the threshhold for that "independent" computation occurs earlier than 89°15′. In fact, it is easy to see what Maurolico has done for the last values of the table. He basically recomputed the required sines with one more digit and used them for the tangents. For instance,

- for  $89^{\circ}30'$ , Maurolico used  $\frac{9999619.2}{87265.3}$  = 114.588721... (and printed 11458872), when Regiomontanus had only given  $\sin 89^{\circ}30'$  = 9999619 and  $\sin 30'$  = 87265;
- for 89°45′, Maurolico used <sup>9999904.8</sup>/<sub>43633.1</sub> = 229.1816258... (and printed 22918163), when Regiomontanus had only given Sin 89°45′ = 9999904 and Sin 15′ = 43632 (and not 43633);
- for 89°55', Maurolico used  $\frac{9999989.4}{14544.5}$  = 687.544391... (and printed 68754439), when Regiomontanus had only given Sin 89°55' = 9999989 and Sin 5' = 14544;
- for 89°59', Maurolico used  $\frac{9999999.6}{2908.9}$  = 3437.725463... (and printed 343772546), when Regiomontanus had only given  $\sin 89^{\circ}59'$  = 99999999 and  $\sin 1'$  = 2909.

The values taken by Maurolico are all correct, except for  $\sin 5'$  which should have been 14544.4 and  $\sin 30'$  which should have been 87265.4. In summary, Maurolico must have recomputed the sines of eight angles (1', 5', 15', 30', 89°30', 89°45', 89°55' and 89°59'), perhaps using  $\sin 1'$  as a basis. In fact, if Maurolico has started with  $\sin 1' = 2908.9$ , he could have computed  $\sin 5'$  and found 14544.5 or even 14544.4, depending how he computed the value. Continuing with 14544.4, Maurolico could have found  $\sin 15'$  to be 43633.1, and eventually  $\sin 30'$  to be 87265.3.

This procedure was applied at least as early as  $85^{\circ}$  and we can see for instance that the ratio 9961947/871557.4 gives exactly Maurolico's value, but that 9961947/871557 (Regiomontanus's values) does not.

Maurolico's accurate computation of the last tangents then boils down to a one digit more accurate value of  $\sin 1'$  than that provided by Regiomontanus. I don't know how Maurolico obtained that value, but there is a very simple way, which is to observe that the sine of a small angle measured on the circumference (in radians) is almost equal to the angle itself. Therefore, with  $R = 10^7$ ,

$$\sin 1' \approx \frac{\pi}{180 \cdot 60} \cdot 10^7 = 2908.882...$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 205]

and all that Maurolico needed was to take 2908.9 instead of Regiomontanus's 2909. There was no need to resort to bisections, trisections, etc., and to recompute the sines of small angles. There was also no need to interpolate as Regiomontanus did to construct his tables. And proceeding the above way does not require a very accurate value of  $\pi$ , as Ptolemy's value 3.1416... is sufficient.

Maurolico's third table is his table of secants, which he called *tabella benefica.*<sup>469</sup> It was actually Fincke who first named that function secant.<sup>470</sup> Fincke thought that Maurolico had copied his secants from Rheticus.<sup>471</sup> But Brummelen recently gave an edition of Maurolico's short manual of his *tabella benefica.*<sup>472</sup> There Maurolico claims that he worked on this matter in 1550, and it would then very likely be a work independent of that of Rheticus. Magini had also assumed that Maurolico's work was an independent one, not influenced by Rheticus.<sup>473</sup> One might therefore assume that it was directly computed from Regiomontanus, probably from the 1541 edition.

Maurolico's table of secants is in fact very accurate, and more accurate than what would have been obtained by a mere use of Regiomontanus's tables.<sup>474</sup> In order to explain this accuracy, Brummelen and Byrne claim that Maurolico computed the secants from the tangents, and not directly from Regiomontanus's sines, as claimed by Glowatzki and Göttsche.<sup>475</sup>

According to van Brummelen and Byrne, Maurolico used the relation

$$\sec^2\theta = \tan^2\theta + 1$$

which transcribes into

$$\operatorname{Sec}^2 \theta = \operatorname{Tan}^2 \theta + R^2$$

when the radius is *R*. For instance, for  $\theta = 81^{\circ}$ , Tan  $\theta = 631375$  and  $\sqrt{631375^2 + 100000^2} = 639245.172...$  and Maurolico gives Sec  $\theta = 639245$ . This appears to work for  $81^{\circ}$ , but merely computing 1/1564345 would have given the correct result too.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup>[Delambre (1819), p. 440]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 200]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>472</sup>See [van Brummelen and Byrne (2021)] as well as [van Brummelen (2021), p. 22].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup>See the second page of the preface of Magini's *Primum mobile* [Magini (1609)], of which an excerpt is translated in [van Brummelen and Byrne (2021)], but mistakenly attributed to Magini's *De planis triangulis*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 206]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 193]

In fact, the procedure suggested by van Brummelen and Byrne (which echoes Birkenmajer's suggestion for Copernicus's table of secants) does not always work, and fails to give Maurolico's values for 86°, 87°, or 89°30′. The solution is actually much simpler, and Maurolico must have proceeded like for the tangents, using an additional digit for a number of sines. Doing so from 85° to the last angle gives the values in Maurolico's table, the only exception being 86°. But in that case, computing the secant from the tangent also does not yield the value in Maurolico's table. It is possible that Maurolico only used one additional digit for the secants from 87°, or that he made a mistake, or perhaps that the table contains a typo there.

Incidentally, Fincke seems to have used the procedure suggested by van Brummelen and Byrne in order to compute his secants in 1583 (and in fact van Brummelen and Byrne claim so,<sup>476</sup> but with no references).

I have also given a modern reconstruction of Maurolico's tables in a separate document.<sup>477</sup>

# 6.13 Eisenmenger (1562)

Samuel Eisenmenger (1534-1585), known as Siderocrates, was a German physician, theologian and astronomer. He was professor of astronomy at the University of Tübingen in 1557-1568.

In 1562, Eisenmenger published his *Libellus geographicus*<sup>478</sup> in which he gave a table of sines with  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of 1' (figure 42). This table was certainly also copied from Regiomontanus,<sup>479</sup> and probably from the 1541 printing.<sup>480</sup> The layout and headings of Eisenmenger's table are practically identical to those of Regiomontanus's published table, except that Eisenmenger put only half a degree in each column.

#### 6.14 Schreckenfuchs (1569)

Erasmus Oswald Schreckenfuchs (1511-1579) was an Austrian humanist, astronomer and Hebraist.<sup>481</sup> In 1551 he produced a commentary to the Al-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 206]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>477</sup>[Roegel (20211)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup>[Eisenmenger (1562)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 153-154]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup>[von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup>For a summary of Schreckenfuchs's life and works, see [von Khauz (1755), pp. 184-203]. Note in passing that Gessner briefly mentions Schreckenfuchs [Gessner and Simmler (1574), p. 184].

magest of Ptolemy and in 1556, he published a commentary on Peuerbach's *Theoricae Novae Planetarum*.<sup>482</sup>

In 1569, in his *Commentaria in Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobusto*,<sup>483</sup> he reprinted Regiomontanus's table of tangents from one of the editions of the *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* (figure 43).

But Schreckenfuchs also gave two tables of sines. His first table of sines covers two pages and uses the radius R = 60000 and an interval of 15' (figure 44). This table is likely based on the table of sines found in Regiomontanus's *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* (1490, 1504, 1550, 1552 or 1559), namely Johannes Engel's table (figure 16), as the values are truncated and not rounded from the large table with  $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ .

Schreckenfuchs's second table spans six pages, also with 15' intervals, and uses a radius R = 60 and three sexagesimal places (figure 45). However, the last place is always given as 0 or 30. This second table cannot have been obtained from the first one. For instance, for 15', Schreckenfuchs gives the sine as 261 ( $60000 \times \sin 15' = 261.7...$ ), but 261 would give a sine of  $0^{P}15'39''36'''$ , not  $0^{P}15'42''30'''$ . It is therefore to assume that now Schreckenfuchs used the sines in Regiomontanus 1541 (or 1561). For 15', Regiomontanus gave 26180, and this then would lead to  $0^{P}15'42''28.8'''$  that Schreckenfuchs could have rounded to  $0^{P}15'42''30'''$ .

# 6.15 Witekind (1576)

Hermann Witekind (or Wilken) (1522-1603), a student of Melanchthon, was a German humanist and mathematician. In 1585, under the pseudonym of Augustine Lercheimer he published a book against the persecution of witches.<sup>484</sup>

In 1576, he published his work *Conformatio horologiorum sciotericorum* etc.<sup>485</sup> in which he included a table of sines for a radius of 100000 and for every minute of the quadrant (figure 46). This table was presumably copied from one of Apian's tables (1533, 1534 or 1541),<sup>486</sup> as the values all seem to agree.<sup>487</sup> The layout, however, is different. Each page has six columns for degrees and 30 rows for 30 minutes. Six degrees therefore span two pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup>[Malpangotto (2020), pp. 221-232]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup>[Schreckenfuchs (1569)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup>[Binz (1888)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup>[Witekind (1576)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>486</sup>[Apian (1533)], [Apian (1534)] and [Apian (1541)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 169]

Moreover, repeated leading digits are not printed (for instance the value 145 following 116 is shown as 45).

Among Witekind's other scientific publications, I mention only his *De sphaera mundi* published in 1574 (second edition in 1590).

# 6.16 Peucer (1579)

Caspar Peucer (1525-1602) was a German reformer, physician, and scholar from Bautzen, Germany.<sup>488</sup> He wrote on mathematics, astronomy, geometry, and medicine, and edited some of Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560)'s letters, having married one of his daughters. He also became professor of mathematics in Wittenberg in 1554, the successor of Erasmus Reinhold after his untimely death in 1553. In 1560, he was appointed to the medical faculty of Wittenberg.

In his *De dimensione terræ etc.*<sup>489</sup> published in 1579, and reprinted in 1587, Peucer included a table of sines for  $R = 10^5$  and at intervals of 1' (figure 47). The situation parallels that of Witekind, and Peucer's table was presumably also copied from Apian (1533, 1534 or 1541),<sup>490</sup> since the values agree,<sup>491</sup> with only minor alterations. However Peucer adapted Apian's layout and put only five degrees and 30 minutes per page. Therefore one page of Apian's table corresponds to four pages of Peucer's table.

# 6.17 Viète (1579)

François Viète (1540-1603) was a French mathematician whose work on the new algebra was an important step towards modern algebra. According to Zeller, Viète "was the foremost mathematician of France in the sixteenth century."<sup>492</sup> Viète received a bachelor's degree in law in 1560 and held a number of official positions. In 1573, the King Charles IX made him counselor to the *parlement* of Brittany. He came back to Paris in 1580. Among his many works is his *In artem analyticem isagoge*, the earliest work on symbolic algebra (1591).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup>For a summary of Peucer's life and works, see [Kolb (1976)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>489</sup>[Peucer (1579)]. Earlier editions from 1550 [Chassagnette (2006)] and 1554 do not include the table of sines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>490</sup>[Apian (1533)], [Apian (1534)] and [Apian (1541)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>491</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 169]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup>[Zeller (1944), p. 73]. For summaries of Viète's life and works, see [De Morgan (1843)], [Ritter (1895)], [Busard (1976)], and [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 9-11].

Also inspired by Rheticus' 1551 *Canon doctrinæ triangulorum*,<sup>493</sup> Viète constructed a new table, which he called the *Canon mathematicus*.<sup>494</sup> This work contained a typographically sophisticated table of the six trigonometric functions for every minute of the quadrant and with a radius of 100000, with sometimes one or more additional figures<sup>495</sup> (see figure 48). The printing of the table was started in 1571 but it was only completed in 1579.<sup>496</sup>

This was the first published canon giving the trigonometric functions every minute, but on the other hand it gave them to less places than Rheticus' 1551 table (which however only had an interval of 10').

The sines from 0° to 45° and the cosines from 0°30′ to 45° were taken from Regiomontanus (or Reinhold) and rounded or not, depending on the range of the table. Glowatzki and Göttsche had observed that Viète had recomputed the sines from 89°61′ to 90°,<sup>497</sup> but in fact the cosines from 0° to 30′ have been computed from Regiomontanus's (or Reinhold's) sines, probably with  $\cos x \approx 1 - \frac{\sin^2 x}{2}$ , which, with a radius *R* other than 1, becomes  $\cos x \approx R - \frac{\sin^2 x}{2R}$ . For instance, for 6′,  $R = 10^8$  and Regiomontanus's sine value 17453:

$$\cos 6' \approx 10^8 - \frac{174530^2}{2 \cdot 10^8} = 10^8 - \frac{17453^2}{2 \cdot 10^6} = 99999847.69\dots$$

and Viète gives the value 99999848. Viète did not use the values of the sines in his table for this purpose, and using 175 (Viète's value for  $\sin 6'$ ) in the previous example would not produce a sufficiently accurate cosine.

For the tangents and secants, Glowatzki and Göttsche wrote that they were recomputed from Regiomontanus's values.<sup>498</sup> But we can actually tell a bit more.

First, we can see that Viète computed the secants from  $0^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$  by inverting his cosines (and not those of Regiomontanus). The tangents between  $0^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$  were computed by using Regiomontanus's full values.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup>See [Rheticus (1551)] and [Hunrath (1899)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup>See [Hunrath (1899)] and [Delambre (1819), pp. 455-456]. The cosines and secants are given more accurately than the other values throughout the table. They are given to four more places from 0° to 0°2′, to three more places from 0°3′ to 0°24′, to two more places from 0°25′ to 4°5′, and to one more place from 4°6′ to 45°.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>496</sup>[Tannery (1896), p. 205]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 154-155]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 189, 196]

Then, the cotangents from about  $5^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$  were also computed from the ratios  $\cos / \sin u$  using Viète's values (and not by inverting the tangents). The cosecants from about  $5^{\circ}$  to  $45^{\circ}$  were computed by inverting Viète's values of the sines.

But for the cotangents and cosecants between  $0^{\circ}$  and about  $5^{\circ}$ , Viète used more accurate values of the sines than those printed in his table, with 1 to 5 more figures than Regiomontanus. For instance, for Cot 1', Viète used Sin 1' = 29.0888204 (here with  $R = 10^{5}$ ), that is 5 more figures than Regiomontanus. This enabled him to obtain (reducing the cosine and sine to  $R = 10^{9}$ )

$$\cot 1' = \frac{999999958}{290888.204} = 3437.74668$$

or (with  $R = 10^5$ )

$$\cot 1' = \frac{999999958}{290888.204} \times 10^5 = 343774668$$

and this is precisely the value given in the *Canon mathematicus* (the exact value being 343774667).

The same applies for  $\operatorname{Csc} 1'$ . For  $\operatorname{Sin} 2'$ , Viète took 58.1776385, whereas Regiomontanus only has 5818. And so on.

These values are much more accurate than the tangents and secants given by Reinhold in 1554 and Fincke in 1583 for large angles, and obviously Viète had a much better understanding of the requirements for exact computations.

In his treatise on angular sections,<sup>499</sup> Viète describes a way to compute the sine of 1' and other values he needed. This sine can be obtained as follows. First, like Ptolemy before, one can compute the sines of 18° and 60°. Trisecting 60° twice, we obtain  $\sin 20^{\circ}$  and then  $\sin 6^{\circ}40'$ . Using quinquisection with 18°, we obtain  $\sin 3^{\circ}36'$ . Bisecting  $6^{\circ}40'$  we find  $\sin 3^{\circ}20'$ . Using the two values  $\sin 3^{\circ}36'$  and  $\sin 3^{\circ}20'$ , we obtain the sine of the difference of the angles, namely  $\sin 16'$ . And bisecting 16' four times, we obtain  $\sin 1'$ . But as a matter of fact Viète seems to have proceeded slightly differently for his table. He actually found two approximations of  $\sin 1'$ , one greater and one smaller than the sought value. An interpolation between these two values then gave a better approximation of  $\sin 1'$ .

As observed by Tannery, Viète's tables are rare because of the success of Rheticus' *Opus palatinum* (1596),<sup>501</sup> of Pitiscus' *Thesaurus mathematicus* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup>See [Viète (1615)] and [Zeller (1944), pp. 79-80].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup>See [Viète (1579), pp. 62-67] and [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 22-23].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup>[Rheticus and Otho (1596)]

(1613),<sup>502</sup> and because of the introduction of logarithms in 1614. They all made Viète's tables obsolete.

A persistent legend is also that the *Canon mathematicus* contained many errors, and that Viète consequently withdrew or re-purchased all the copies he could find and had them destroyed. This would then explain why this book is of great rarity.<sup>503</sup> But according to Ritter's biography of Viète,<sup>504</sup> this legend rests on the editor of Viète's 1646 *Opera* omitting the *Canon mathematicus*, on the grounds that the computations would have to be redone.<sup>505</sup> Moreover, as I have shown, Viète's table is actually very accurate.<sup>506</sup>

The *Canon mathematicus* was also published with a London imprint in 1589 (*Opera mathematica*, London: Bouvier) and there is an edition dated 1609, but Bosmans showed that it is not a reprint. It is the 1579 edition rebound.<sup>507</sup> Cantor and von Braunmühl had mistakenly thought that it was a new edition,<sup>508</sup> probably after Eneström led them to think so.<sup>509</sup>

A modern reconstruction of Viète's table is given separately.<sup>510</sup>

#### 6.18 Bressieu (1581)

Maurice Bressieu (c1546-1617) was a French mathematician and humanist.<sup>511</sup> In 1576, Bressieu won a position of mathematics professor founded in Paris by Petrus Ramus (1515-1572), which he kept until 1608.<sup>512</sup>

In his *Metrices astronomicæ* published in 1581,<sup>513</sup> Bressieu first gives a sexagesimal table of sines, with an unusual layout (figure 49). The sines and sines of the complementary angle (cosines) are given in two adjacent columns and the table therefore only runs up to  $45^{\circ}$ . But Bressieu's layout is in fact very unusual, in that it doesn't use a footer line. In figure 49, the first column (headed 18) gives from top to bottom the sines from  $18^{\circ}$  to  $19^{\circ}$ . The second column (headed 71) gives the sines from  $71^{\circ}$  to  $72^{\circ}$ , but from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup>[Pitiscus (1613)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup>See [Eneström (1892)] and [Cantor (1900), pp. 583-584].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>504</sup>[Ritter (1895), p. 54]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup>See [Tannery (1896), p. 208] and [Tannery (1900)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup>[Roegel (2011)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup>See [Bosmans (1901-1902), pp. 111-114] and [Bosmans (1901), pp. 297-298].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup>See [von Braunmühl (1900, 1903), v. 1, p. 158] and [Cantor (1900), p. 583].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup>[Eneström (1892)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>510</sup>[Roegel (2011)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>511</sup>See [de Mérez (1880)] for a summary of Bressieu's life and works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup>[Waddington (1855), p. 337]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup>[Bressieu (1581)]

bottom to top. Consequently, the second column actually also gives the cosines from  $18^{\circ}$  to  $19^{\circ}$ , from top to bottom.

The values are given in degrees (or parts) with a radius of 60. For instance, the sine of  $45^{\circ}$  is given as 42;25,35 as  $\sin 45^{\circ} = 42 + 25/60 + 35/60^2 + \cdots$ . This table contains exactly the same values as in Fine's tables.<sup>514</sup>

Bressieu also gives a second table (figure 50), which actually contains values of the tangents and secants, also with a radius of 60. For instance,

$\operatorname{Tan} 45^{\circ} = 60$	is given as	1, 0; 0, 0
$\operatorname{Sec} 60^{\circ} = 120$	is given as	2, 0; 0, 0
$Tan 89^{\circ}3' = 60^{2} + 18 + 20/60 + \cdots$	is given as	1, 0, 18; 20

and so on. Bressieu's tables of tangents and secants are the only known printed fully sexagesimal tables of tangents and secants. Their layout follows the style used by Rheticus in 1542 and not that used in Bressieu's table of sines.

It appears that these tangents and secants have not been computed from Bressieu's table of sines which is not sufficiently accurate. Bressieu could have taken another table giving the tangents and secants for every minute, but the only such table available in 1581 was Viète's table<sup>515</sup> and the last values of Bressieu's tangents do not agree with Viète's values. Yet another possibility is that Bressieu used Reinhold's values for the tangents.<sup>516</sup> But this appears again not to be the case.

I believe instead that Bressieu used Regiomontanus's table of sines (or a derivative thereof) for  $R = 10^7$  and computed a number of sexagesimal values of the tangents and secants in his second table, but not all of them. For the last values of the table, Bressieu may have done a number of special computations, but for the other gaps, I believe that Bressieu interpolated the missing values. In fact, if Bressieu would have used Regiomontanus's values in each case, he would have obtained more accurate values for the tangents and secants. The deviations do not occur only for the last values around 90°, but also for smaller values. For instance, for Tan 75°, Bressieu gives 3, 43; 55, 18, and working with Regiomontanus's values would have given him 3, 43; 55, 23 which is the correct value. For Tan 89°59', Bressieu gives 57, 17, 42; 26, when the correct value is 57, 17, 44; 48, 1, . . ., which he would have obtained using Viète's table. Regiomontanus's values instead would have given 57, 17, 36; 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup>[Fine (1530), Fine (1550)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup>[Viète (1579)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

In figure 13, the accuracy of Bressieu's tables is indicated as  $60; 60^2$ , by which I mean a radius of 60 and two sexagesimal places. However, for  $89^\circ$  and above, the values of the tangents and secants are given to only one sexagesimal place.

Bressieu is mentioned by Zeller<sup>517</sup> but not by Glowatzki and Göttsche.

# 6.19 Giuntini (1581)

Francesco Giuntini (1523-1590) was an Italian theologian and one of the most famous astrologer of the second half of the 16th century.<sup>518</sup>

In his *Speculum astrologiæ*<sup>519</sup> published in 1581, Giuntini included a table of sines with  $R = 10^5$  and an interval of 1' (figure 51). This table was most certainly copied from one of Apian's tables (1533, 1534 or 1541),<sup>520</sup> or perhaps from one of its derivatives.

The 1573 edition of the *Speculum astrologiæ* does not contain this sine table.

# 6.20 Padovani (1582)

Giovanni Padovani (b. c1512) was an Italian mathematician and astronomer.<sup>521</sup> He was from Verona and a student of the astronomer and mathematician Pietro Pitati.

In his *De compositione, & vsu multiformium horologiorum solarium*,<sup>522</sup> a work on sundials published in 1582, Padovani included a table of sines with  $R = 10^5$  and an interval of 1' (figure 52). Like Giuntini's table (1581), Padovani's table was also most certainly copied from one of Apian's tables (1533, 1534 or 1541),<sup>523</sup> or perhaps from one of its derivatives, but Giuntini and Padovani's tables do not share the same layout.

An earlier edition of Padovani's work on sundials was published in 1570, but I have not seen it. It possibly lacks the table of sines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup>[Zeller (1944), pp. 86-88]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup>For a summary of Giuntini's life and works, see [Ernst (2001)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup>[Giuntini (1581)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup>[Apian (1533)], [Apian (1534)] and [Apian (1541)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup>For a summary of Padovani's life and works, see [Pizzamiglio (2004), p. 58-59].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup>[Padovani (1582)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup>[Apian (1533)], [Apian (1534)] and [Apian (1541)].

#### 6.21 Fincke (1583)

Thomas Fincke (1561-1656) was born in Flensburg, Germany, now at the border with Denmark. From 1577 to 1582, he studied mathematics, astrology, rhetoric and philosophy, in particular with Conrad Dasypodius, a teacher at the Strasbourg University and one of the authors of the second astronomical clock of the Strasbourg cathedral.<sup>524</sup>

In 1581, Fincke published an ephemeris based on the prutenic tables (*Ephemeris coelestium motuum anni 1582, supputata ex Tabulis Prutenicis*). He returned from Strasbourg to Heidelberg and Leipzig, and moved to Basel in 1583. This is where, at the age of 22, he published his most famous work, his *Geometriæ Rotundi*,<sup>525</sup> an influential work on plane and spherical trigonometry based on Ramus's *Geometria* (1569).<sup>526</sup>

This book does in particular contain tables of sines (figure 54), tangents (figure 53) and secants (figure 55) with  $R = 10^7$  and intervals of 1<sup>'.527</sup> And it was precisely Fincke who coined the names "tangent" and "secant" which had not been used before. Incidentally, Viète did apparently not approve of these names.<sup>528</sup>

Fincke's sines do slightly differ from those of Reinhold, hence from those of Regiomontanus. It seems that Fincke made a number of small last figure adjustments to either Reinhold's or Regiomontanus's tables.<sup>529</sup> Given that the tangents were certainly taken from Reinhold (1554),<sup>530</sup> I assume that this was also the case for the sines.

As far as the tangents are concerned, we can see for instance that the last values agree with those of Reinhold, except for 89°53′, 89°56′, and 89°57′. In the first case, Fincke's tangent is less accurate than Reinhold's, but in the two other cases the tangents are slightly more accurate.

Finally, Fincke's secants are the result of new computations. The val-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup>For summaries of Fincke's life and works, see [Thorndike (1958), p. 140], [Verdonk (1971)], [Moesgaard (1972), p. 119-120] and [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 13-16]. Some authors have wrongly attributed some works of Kaspar Finck (1578-1631), who was a German theologian, to Thomas Fincke. In particular, the *Methodica tractatio doctrinae sphaericae* published in 1626, and cited by Moesgaard, is not by Thomas Fincke.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup>See [Schönbeck (2004)] and [Zeller (1944), pp. 88-90].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup>See also [Glaisher (1873), p. 42].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup>[Zeller (1944), p. 88]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 157-158]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

ues differ from those of Rheticus's *Canon doctrinæ triangulorum*.<sup>531</sup> Fincke, however, did not use Regiomontanus's sines, nor his own version to compute the secants. Instead, it seems that he computed the secants using his tangents. Fincke most certainly used the formula

$$\operatorname{Sec} x = \sqrt{\operatorname{Tan}^2 x + R^2}$$

to compute the secants, and when computing  $\operatorname{Tan}^2 x$ , he must have kept only seven or eight significant figures and rounded, although the procedure may not have been systematic. This is reminiscent of the computation of cotangents by Rheticus in 1551, and also echoes a recent suggestion by van Brummelen and Byrne for the computation of secants by Maurolico.<sup>532</sup> In fact, it is only after I concluded the above that I noticed that van Brummelen and Byrne claimed that Fincke used this formula to compute the secant.<sup>533</sup>

Fincke's tangents and secants, as well as Reinhold's tangents, are less accurate than those published by Viète in 1579. For instance, Fincke and Reinhold gave Tan 89°59' = Cot 1' = 34376070815 (for  $R = 10^7$ ) where only the first four figures are correct. Instead, Viète gives a value whose error is about 10000 times smaller. This is so because Viète took more accurate values for the sines and understood that this was necessary in order to obtain tangents with such an accuracy.

I am giving separately a modern reconstruction of Fincke's tables.<sup>534</sup>

After the publication of his *Geometriæ Rotundi*, Fincke began to study medicine in Basel, Padua, Siena and Pisa. He became MD in 1587. He then returned to Denmark where he held the chair of mathematics at the University of Copenhagen from 1591 until 1602, but afterwards was more active as a physician and his mathematical activity never reached again the level of his 1583 book.

# 6.22 Clavius (1586)

Christopher Clavius (1537 or 1538-1612) was a German mathematician and astronomer. He was born in Bamberg and entered the Jesuit order in Rome in 1555.<sup>535</sup> He published his *Euclidis elementorum libri XV* (*The elements of* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup>[Rheticus (1551)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup>[van Brummelen and Byrne (2021), p. 206]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>534</sup>[Roegel (2021m)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup>For summaries of Clavius's life and works, see [Busard (1971b)], [Naux (1983)], [Knobloch (1988)], [Lattis (1994)] and [Sasaki (2003), p. 45-93].

*Euclid*) in 1574 and was a supporter of the Ptolemaic system, and at the same time a friend of Galileo. He also helped develop algebra in Italy and introduced Stifel's symbols "+" and "-."

He was also a member of the Vatican commission that accepted the proposed calendar invented by Aloysius Lilius, that is known as Gregorian calendar.

In his last years he was probably the most respected astronomer in Europe and his textbooks were used for astronomical education for over fifty years in and even out of Europe.

In 1586, Clavius published an edition of Theodosius's sphaerics, <sup>536</sup> in which he included tables of sines (figure 56), tangents (figure 57) and secants (figures 58 and 59) with  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of 1<sup>'.537</sup>

Clavius's sines and tangents were taken from Reinhold (1554),<sup>538</sup> as they do not show the alterations made by Fincke.<sup>539</sup> But the secants instead were taken from Fincke's work (1583).<sup>540</sup> And in fact Clavius used the new names "tangent" and "secant" coined by Fincke. Clavius, however, corrected all the typos in the earlier editions (but not the last digit deviations).<sup>541</sup>

On the other hand, Clavius's table has at least one typo, namely for  $\sin 89^{\circ}30'$  which he gives as 9999616 instead of the correct 9999619. This error was corrected by Magini in 1592, and by Clavius himself in 1593.

Clavius's 1586 table, without the corrections of the typos, was copied by Blundeville in 1594.

#### 6.23 Bürgi (1587)

This survey of 15th and 16th century trigonometrical tables based on Regiomontanus's work would not be complete without mentioning Jost Bürgi (1552-1632). Bürgi is well known as a (very) skillful mechanician, clockmaker and instrument maker, and also as an inventor of a table of progressions which could be used for the same purpose as logarithms.<sup>542</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup>[Clavius (1586)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup>[Zeller (1944), pp. 91-94]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup>[Reinhold (1554)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>541</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 158]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup>On Bürgi's table of progressions, see [Roegel (2010d)]. The most recent overview of Bürgi's work, which contains many other references, is [Staudacher (2018)]. For reasons explained in [Roegel (2017)], I do not view Bürgi as a coinventor of logarithms.

Around 1587, Bürgi devised a new way (his so-called "*Kunstweg*") to compute sines iteratively, without any geometrical construction<sup>543</sup> and he constructed at least two tables, one giving the sines at intervals of 2" and another giving the sines at intervals of 1'. However, I believe that Bürgi did not use his new algorithm to construct these tables, and instead built up the tables by finite differences. Although Bürgi's work represents a new computation of sines, it is therefore possible that he reinvented some techniques already used by Regiomontanus, and even before in India, as mentioned earlier (see § 5).

The 2" table does not seem to have survived, but the 1' table resurfaced a few years ago. At that time, I made modern reconstructions of both tables.<sup>544</sup>

Bürgi's surviving sine table (figure 60) gives the sines at intervals of 1', with a radius R = 60, and to four sexagesimal places, except for the last two degrees where they are given to five and six sexagesimal places. These four sexagesimal places correspond to a radius of  $10^9$  with a sine usually correct to 9 decimal places.

For instance,  $\sin 75^{\circ}$  is given as 57; 57, 19, 58, 43 which corresponds to the decimal value 0.965925827, the correct value being 0.96592582628906....

In contrast, Rheticus and Otho's *Opus palatinum*  $(1596)^{545}$  gives the value 9659258263 for Sin 75°, and this is correct to 10 places. Rheticus also gives the sines every 10<sup>"</sup>.

And in 1613 Pitiscus<sup>546</sup> gave 96592,58262,89067, instead of the correct 96592,58262,89068. Rheticus must have had such accurate values already in the 1570s, before Bürgi, but with the exception of Rheticus, Bürgi's table was probably the most accurate sine table constructed at the end of the 16th century.

Bürgi's table can be compared to those of Fine, Schreckenfuchs and Bressieu which are also sexagesimal tables, but which are less accurate and based on Regiomontanus's sines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>543</sup>[Roegel (2015), Roegel (2016b), Roegel (2016a)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup>[Roegel (2016c), Roegel (2016d)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup>[Rheticus and Otho (1596)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>546</sup>[Pitiscus (1613)]

# 6.24 Gallucci (1588)

Giovanni Paolo Gallucci (1538-1621) was an Italian astronomer and translator.<sup>547</sup> Among his notable translations, Gallucci published in 1591 his *Della simmetria dei corpi humani*, a translation of Dürer's "Four books on human proportion" (*Vier bücher von menschlicher Proportion*, 1528). He was also a private teacher to the Venetian nobility and a founding member of the second Venetian Academy.

Gallucci's most famous works are probably his *Theatrum mundi, et temporis*<sup>548</sup> published in 1588, and his *Speculum Uranicum* published in 1593, both featuring some volvelles. In the *Theatrum mundi* Gallucci also included a table of sines with a radius R = 60000 and an interval of 1' (figure 61). This table was most certainly copied from Engel's table (§ 6.1), in one of the editions of the *Tabulæ directionum profectionumque* where it appears, not necessarily the 1490 edition. Gallucci uses exactly the same layout, with six half-degrees per page, but he has dropped the differences. The values seem to agree, with the exception of a few transcription errors.

#### 6.25 Lansberge (1591)

Philip van Lansberge (1561-1632) was born in Ghent, Belgium, but in 1566 his parents moved to France and then to England, because of the religious troubles. There, he studied mathematics and theology.<sup>549</sup> He became a protestant minister in Antwerp in 1580 and then established himself in the Netherlands.

In 1591 he published his *Triangulorum geometriæ*<sup>550</sup> which is closely based on Fincke's *Geometriæ Rotundi*.<sup>551</sup> Lansberge did in particular include Fincke's tables of sines (figure 62), tangents (figure 63) and secants (figure 64) with  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of 1'.<sup>552</sup> These tables are therefore ultimately based on those of Regiomontanus.<sup>553</sup> Lansberge also used the new names "tangent" and "secant" coined by Fincke. I am giving

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>547</sup>For a description of some of Gallucci's works, see [Delambre (1821), v. 1, pp. 711-714] and [Ernst (1998)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup>[Gallucci (1588)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup>For a summary of Lansberge's life and works, see [Busard (1973)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>550</sup>[van Lansberge (1591)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>551</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>552</sup>[Zeller (1944), pp. 94-97]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>553</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 159]

separately a modern reconstruction of Lansberge's tables.<sup>554</sup>

In 1632, Lansberge published his best known work, his *Tabulae motuum coelestium perpetuæ*, for the prediction of planetary positions. Lansberge was a follower of Copernicus and his work is based on an epicyclic theory, but he did not accept Kepler's theories.

Lansberge died that same year in Middelburg in the Netherlands.

# 6.26 Magini (1592)

Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555-1617) was an Italian astronomer, astrologer, cartographer, and mathematician. He was born in Padua and studied in Bologna where in 1588 he obtained one of the chairs of mathematics.<sup>555</sup>

Magini's chief scholarly interest was astrology and he adhered to the Ptolemaic principles. He was much more skilled in calculations than in theory and his ephemerides were useful. In 1592, he published his work *De planis triangulis*.<sup>556</sup> This work also contained a *Tabula tetragonica*<sup>557</sup> which could be used to compute the products of two numbers.

The *De planis triangulis* also contains tables of sines (figure 65), tangents (figure 66) and secants (figure 67) with  $R = 10^7$  and at 1' intervals.<sup>558</sup> These tables are copied from those of Clavius (and borrow Fincke's new names),<sup>559</sup> and thus are ultimately based on those of Regiomontanus.<sup>560</sup> But contrary to Clavius, Magini has adopted a semi-quadrantal arrangement and only runs the angles up to 45°. The sines are the *sinus primus*, the cosines are the *sinus secundus*, and similarly with the tangents and secants. The value of Sin 89°30' is given by Magini as 9999619, which is correct, but Clavius had 9999616. It therefore appears that Magini has corrected Clavius's typo.

Magini's *De planis triangulis* also contains a *Tabula gnomonica* which is a table of arctangents similar to that of Peuerbach,<sup>561</sup> but where the entries vary between 0 and 1000.

In his Primum mobile duodecim libris contentum<sup>562</sup> published in 1609,

<sup>560</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 159-160]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup>[Roegel (2021n)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>555</sup>For a summary of Magini's life and works, see [Campedelli (1974)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>556</sup>[Magini (1592)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup>[Magini (1593)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup>[Zeller (1944), pp. 97-100]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>559</sup>[Clavius (1586)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup>[von Peuerbach (1516)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup>[Magini (1609)]

Magini gives another table with  $R = 10^7$  and at 1' intervals, with sines, versines, tangents and secants, but the values are not those of the 1592 table. Instead, Magini took the values from Rheticus and Othos' *Opus palatinum* (1596).<sup>563</sup>

The later years of Magini's life were devoted to cartography and geography. He worked in particular on an atlas of Italy.

# 6.27 Clavius (1593)

In 1593, Clavius published his work *Astrolabium*<sup>564</sup> which contained a sine table with  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of 1' (figure 68). This table was copied from Clavius's earlier tables published in 1586,<sup>565</sup> but with some corrections. For instance, as mentioned previously, the value of Sin 89°30' was given incorrectly in Clavius's 1586 table, and was corrected here, perhaps after the discovery of the typo by Magini.

#### 6.28 Fale (1593)

Thomas Fale (born c1560?) was an English mathematician. Very little is known of him.  $^{566}$ 

In 1593, Fale published his *Horologiographia*.<sup>567</sup> This work, which is the only one known of him, appears to be the first book in English on sundials.<sup>568</sup> It contains in particular a table of sines (figure 69) which was presumably copied from Witekind's *Conformatio horologiorum sciotericorum etc*.<sup>569</sup> published in 1576 and with which it shares the values and the layout.<sup>570</sup> There are however some slight differences, and Fale gives for instance  $\sin 5^{\circ}3' = 8803$ , when Witekind gave the correct 8802 (compare figures 46 and 69).

As observed by De Morgan and Goodwin, Fale's table may be the earliest sine table printed in England.<sup>571</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup>See [Rheticus and Otho (1596)] and [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 160].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup>[Clavius (1593)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup>[Clavius (1586)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup>[Goodwin (1889)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup>[Fale (1593)] Later editions were printed in 1626, 1627, 1633, 1652 and perhaps other years. A facsimile was published in 1971.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup>[Turner (1989)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup>[Witekind (1576)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 177]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup>See [De Morgan (1851), p. 598] and [Goodwin (1889)].

# 6.29 Blundeville (1594)

Thomas Blundeville (c1522-c1606) was an English writer and mathematician, who wrote in particular on horsemanship and cartography.<sup>572</sup>

In 1594, he published his *Exercises, containing sixe Treatises, etc.*<sup>573</sup> which contain tables of sines, tangents and secants for  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of  $1'.^{574}$  These tables are based on those published by Clavius<sup>575</sup> in 1586 and Blundeville explicitly mentions Clavius. They use the new names coined by Fincke in 1583. It is possible that Blundeville's tables are the first complete (that is not merely of sines) trigonometric tables published in England.<sup>576</sup>

Interestingly, Blundeville carried Clavius's incorrect value for  $\sin 89^{\circ}30'$  given in the 1586 table.

Thus Blundeville's sines are ultimately based on Regiomontanus's tables.  $^{\rm 577}$ 

# 6.30 Ceulen (1596)

Ludolph van Ceulen (1540-1610) was a German-Dutch mathematician born in Hildesheim. At some point he settled in Holland. In the 1580s and 1590s he was a fencing master as well as a mathematics teacher. He died in 1610 in Leiden.<sup>578</sup>

In 1596 he published his main work, *Vanden circkel etc.*<sup>579</sup> where he gave among other things a 20-place approximation of  $\pi$ .

Ceulen's book also contains tables of sines, tangents and secants for  $R = 10^7$  and at intervals of 1' (figure 71). Ceulen's tables are certainly based on those of Lansberge<sup>580</sup> who is mentioned by Ceulen.<sup>581</sup> Ceulen uses the

<sup>579</sup>[Ceulen (1596)]

<sup>580</sup>[van Lansberge (1591)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup>For summaries of Blundeville's life and works, see [Bullen (1886)], [Jacquot (1953)], [Taylor (1954), p. 173, 331], and [de Smet (1979)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup>[Blundeville (1594)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup>[Zeller (1944), p.101]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup>[Clavius (1586)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup>See [De Morgan (1851), p. 598] and [van Brummelen (2021), p. 53].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. 160]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup>For a summary of Ceulen's life and works, see [Struik (1971)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>581</sup>See [Ceulen (1596), f<sup>o</sup> 25] which mentions Regiomontanus, Reinhold, Rheticus, Clavius and Lansberge, but not Fincke. Glowatzki and Göttsche only relate Ceulen's tables to Regiomontanus [Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), pp. 160-161].

new names introduced by Fincke in 1583.

Ceulen departed somewhat from the previous tables, in that he did not separate sines, tangents and secants in different tables, but put them together, for a range of two degrees, on each page.

#### 6.31 Rheticus/Otho (1596)

After the publication of his *Canon doctrinæ triangulorum* in 1551 which was based on Regiomontanus's tables,<sup>582</sup> Rheticus (1514-1574)<sup>583</sup> continued to work on a more extensive project, where the six trigonometric functions would be given every 10<sup>"</sup> and for a larger radius. As observed by Zeller,<sup>584</sup> "Rheticus built his trigonometry on the foundation established by Regiomontanus."

Rheticus embarked on totally new computations, but his work was only completed after his death by Lucius Valentinus Otho (c1545-1603) and published in 1596 in the *Opus palatinum*<sup>585</sup> (figure 72). Otho had met Rheticus in 1573 and Rheticus had asked him to complete his work.

With the exception of Bürgi's work, this was the first new computation of trigonometric values in the 16th century, since most of the trigonometric tables printed in the 16th century actually use values or computations inherited from Regiomontanus's tables<sup>586</sup> (see figure 13).

However, even a cursory examination of the *Opus palatinum* reveals that it contains two overlapping tables. On one hand, there is a table giving all six functions with a radius  $R = 10^{10}$  and an interval of 10''. This table spans 540 pages. On the other hand, there is a table giving only the cosecants and cotangents, with a radius  $R = 10^7$  and the same interval of 10''. This second table spans 180 pages. One might expect the second table to be an abridgement of the first, but this is not the case, as is apparent when comparing the first values of the cosecants and cotangents. These two tables obviously correspond to two different computations. This has actually been noticed before, and Glaisher wrote that "there seems no reason why it should have been printed at all, as the great ten-decimal canon completely supersedes it."<sup>587</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup>[Rheticus (1551)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>583</sup>[Rosen (1975b)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup>[Zeller (1944), p. 62]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>585</sup>See [Rheticus and Otho (1596)] and [Roegel (2010e)]. See also [Glaisher (1873), p. 43] and [van Brummelen (2009), pp. 273-282] for descriptions of the *Opus palatinum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. i]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup>[Glaisher (1873), p. 43]

I have therefore assumed that the shorter table is in fact an older table, perhaps computed by Rheticus around 1560.<sup>588</sup> I believe that after his *Canon doctrinæ triangulorum* (1551), which already used  $R = 10^7$  and an interval of 10', Rheticus decided first to compute the functions with an interval 60 times smaller, that is 10", but with the same radius. This is what I have shown in figure 13.

It is in fact easy to see what were the computations in this first attempt at a 10" table (and it would consequently be rather straightforward to complete this table with those for the sines, cosines, tangents and secants, which presumably existed). We can observe that the cosecants at 1' intervals were merely obtained by the fractions  $10^{14}/2909$ ,  $10^{14}/5818$ ,  $10^{14}/8727$ ,  $10^{14}/11635$ ,  $10^{14}/14544$ , etc. In other words, Rheticus merely used the sines found in Regiomontanus's table, apparently sometimes with slight adjustments (as for Csc 4' or Csc 10'), but adjustments that did not always produce more accurate results (as for Csc 4'). It is possible that some of these "adjustments" were in fact typos. Rheticus did the same for the cotangents, taking the sines from Regiomontanus. It seems that the adjustments made for the sines in the case of cosecants were also used for the cotangents, but this should be checked throughout the table.

For the 10'' intervals, Rheticus merely interpolated the sines. For instance,  $\operatorname{Csc} 10''$  is obtained using  $\operatorname{Sin} 10'' = 485$ ,  $\operatorname{Csc} 20''$  uses  $\operatorname{Sin} 20'' = 970$ , and so on. There may be the usual typos, such as for  $\operatorname{Cot} 10''$  which is given as 206085546390, but should be 206185546392, and was merely obtained by dividing 9999999 by 485.

Sometime after that first computation, Rheticus must have realized that the cosecants and cotangents could not be computed accurately with such a scheme, because Regiomontanus's sines were not accurate enough for small angles. He must therefore have decided to construct a larger table, and he computed this time the sines and cosines with a radius of  $10^{15}$  and an interval of 10''. This was probably done around 1570. This work was used to produce the table for  $R = 10^{10}$  published in 1596. However, the cosecants and cotangents were not computed using these accurate values of the sines, but those from the *Opus palatinum* itself. For instance, for Csc 1', Rheticus (or Otho) used the sine value 290888204563 in the  $R = 10^{15}$  table.

When the Opus palatinum was published, Otho must have decided to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup>This concurs with De Morgan who considered that "it is clearly nothing but a previous attempt made before the larger plan was resolved on."([De Morgan (1851), p. 599] and [Glaisher (1873), p. 43])

include Rheticus's earlier computation of cosecants and cotangents, but the reason for publishing it remains unclear, as Otho must have realized that these first calculations were inadequate. On the other hand, it was much more difficult for him than for us to realize it, and he perhaps decided to include these tables in case they contained some valuable results.

Of course, computing the cosecants and cotangents with the sines given in the *Opus palatinum* is still not enough for small angles, as the sines are still not sufficiently accurate. This led Bartholomaeus Pitiscus (1561-1613) to correct the *Opus palatinum* and to publish Rheticus's sine table with  $R = 10^{15}$  (figure 73) as well as other tables that he computed himself in his *Thesaurus mathematicus*.<sup>589</sup> Incidentally, Pitiscus was the one who first coined the word "trigonometry."

# 7 Conclusion

This marks the end of our journey through 15th and 16th century fundamental trigonometric tables. But this end is also a beginning. Rheticus's *Opus palatinum* and its amendments by Pitiscus were the start of a new era and these tables would themselves last until the 20th century. And the first years of the 17th century were the place of a bifurcation. On one hand trigonometric tables would continue their path, with little changes beyond Rheticus's masterpiece,<sup>590</sup> and on the other hand they made their foray into the world of logarithms, as if logarithms naturally absorbed the trigonometric functions.<sup>591</sup>

Logarithms first appeared in public in 1614, and they started in association with sines. Indeed, when Napier published<sup>592</sup> the first table of logarithms in 1614, it was a table of logarithms of sines, and these sines were either those of Fincke<sup>593</sup> or those of Lansberge.<sup>594</sup> Napier's work was therefore based again on that of Regiomontanus, and not yet on Rheticus's work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup>See [Pitiscus (1613)] and [Roegel (2010f)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>590</sup>De Morgan wrote that "There have been no trigonometrical tables of note published since the invention of logarithms, except those which contain logarithms" [De Morgan (1842), p. 497].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup>See [van Brummelen (2021), pp. 62-109] for a recent survey of the development of logarithms as a continuation of trigonometry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup>See [Napier (1614)] and [Roegel (2010g)].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup>[Fincke (1583)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup>[van Lansberge (1591)]

Three years later, the decimal logarithms were introduced by Briggs,<sup>595</sup> and expanded in 1624 and 1628.<sup>596</sup> They were however unrelated to trigonometric tables.

Edmund Gunter was the first to compute and publish tables of decimal logarithms of sines and tangents in 1620.<sup>597</sup> His tables gave the logarithms to 8 places and were probably based on Rheticus's *Opus palatinum* or Pitiscus's *Thesaurus mathematicus*.

In 1633, Henry Gellibrand completed and published Henry Briggs's *Trigonometria Britannica*<sup>598</sup> which was a large table of trigonometric functions and decimal logarithms of trigonometric functions. Briggs's table was in fact the result of a new computation of sines, tangents and secants,<sup>599</sup> in which he divided the degree in 100 parts. The sines were computed with  $R = 10^{15}$  and the tangents and secants with  $R = 10^{10}$ . Briggs's trigonometric functions are not based on earlier tables, not even on those of Rheticus's *Opus palatinum*.

The same year 1633, Adriaan Vlacq independently published his *Trigonometria artificialis*.<sup>600</sup> This work gives only the logarithms of sines, cosines, tangents and cotangents, and not the trigonometric functions themselves. But contrary to Briggs, Vlacq computed his logarithms using the values given by Rheticus in his *Opus palatinum*. It was Vlacq's table and not Briggs's table which had the greatest offspring, and was many times reprinted, simplified and adapted until the 20th century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup>[Briggs (1617)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup>[Briggs (1624), Vlacq (1628)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup>[Gunter (1620)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup>[Briggs and Gellibrand (1633)]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup>[Glowatzki and Göttsche (1990), p. ii]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>600</sup>[Vlacq (1633)]

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Figure 15: Excerpt of Regiomontanus's table of tangents [Regiomontanus (1490)] (source: The Budapest University of Technology and Economics, 85.211, www.manuscriptorium.com).

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12	209	1256	2303	49 1	94	37
13	26	74	20 1	3366	4411	5455
14	44	91	38	84	29	72
15	61	1308	2355	3401	46	90
16	279	26	73	15	4463	5507
17	96	43	90	36	81	24
18	314	1361	2407	3453	98	42
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29	506	1553	99	45	90	33
30	23	70	2617	62	4707	50

Figure 16: Excerpt of Engel's table of sines with R = 60000 [Regiomontanus (1490)] (source: The Budapest University of Technology and Economics, 85.211, www.manuscriptorium.com).

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Figure 17: Excerpt of Gaurico's table of sines, with R = 100000 [Regiomontanus (1524)] (source: Google books).

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Figure 18: Excerpt of Fine's table of sines [Fine (1530)] (source: Google books).

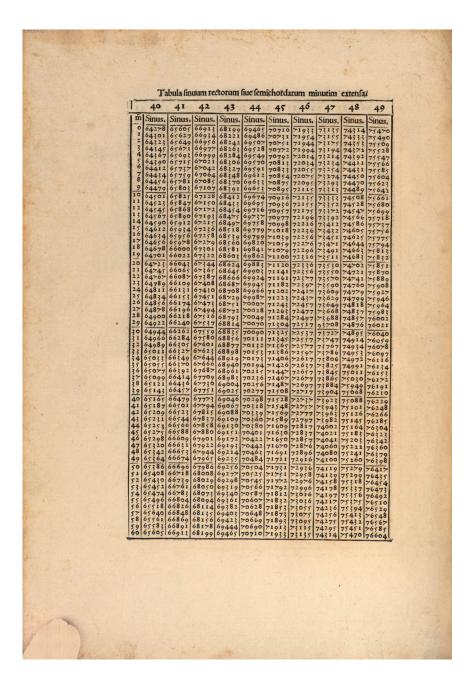


Figure 19: An excerpt of Apian's table of sines [Apian (1533)] (source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

1         2           Sing.         Sing.           1745         3495           1774.5         1803           1803         3543           1932         3573           1803         3543           1992         2635           1993         3644           1994         3633           1973         3742           2007         3751           2007         3751           2007         3751           2034         3838           2132         3857           2132         3243           2132         3254           2132         3245	5233 5262 5251 5320 5349 5349 5407 5435 5445 5445 5445 5445 5445 5524 5553 5524 5553	6975 7004 7033 7062 7091 7120 7149 7178 7178 7207 7236 7265 7294	8715 8744 8773 8802 8831 8860 8889 8918 3947 8976 9005	10452 10481 10510 10539 10548 10597 10526 10555	12186 12244 12273 12302 12302 12389 12417	13917 13946 13974 14003 14032 14031 14030 14118 14147	15543 15572 15720 15729 15758 15757 15815 15844
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1821 4536	6279	SO19 804.8	9753	11493	13225	14953	16576
			9874	11609	13340	15068	16791
			9931	11667	13398	15126	16949
3082 4826	6569	8309	10047	11781	13513	15241	16963
3112 4855	6598	8338	10076	11811	13542	15269	16992
3199 4943	6714	3454	10192	11927	13658	15384	17105
							17135
3286 5030	5772	8512	10150	11984	13715	15442	17164
3315 5055	6801	8531	10279	12013	13744	15471	17192
3373 5117	6859	3599	10337	11071	13802	15528	17250
3460 5204	6946	8686	10423	12158	13888	15614	17330
3489 5233	5975	87.15	10452	12186	13917	15643	17364
	1458 1459 1457	14.68         10.13         77.68           12.07         40.13         77.68           12.07         40.43         77.68           12.07         40.43         77.68           13.16         07.1         18.14           13.55         41.00         58.43           13.55         41.00         58.43           13.55         41.00         58.43           13.57         41.03         57.93           14.14         41.57         57.93           14.71         42.15         57.95           15.01         44.73         51.00           15.02         45.03         16.04           15.03         50.04         47.14         57.95           15.04         17.43         16.10         17.43           15.07         16.10         17.43         16.10           15.07         17.44         17.93         16.10           15.07         17.44         17.93         16.10           15.07         17.44         17.93         16.30           15.17         17.97         16.40         17.93           15.14         17.93         16.10         16.10	1053 4797 65408380 3082 4836 6598 8338 3141 4856 5598 8338 3141 4856 5598 8338 3141 4884 6537 8357 3170 4914 6556 8396 3199 4943 6537 8435 3186 592 6714 8454 3257 500 16743 8435 3186 592 6774 851 3318 592 6774 851 3318 593 63778 851 3318 593 6378 853 344 503 6378 853 343 15175 6917 8657 343 15175 6917 8657 343 15175 6917 8657 3657	14.68         40.13         77.96         74.97         93.37           13.08         40.13         77.86         74.97         93.37           13.08         40.13         17.86         74.97         93.37           13.08         47.16         17.86         75.84         93.31           13.08         47.01         19.47         17.83         93.13           13.08         47.16         19.47         13         93.11           13.08         47.16         19.17         76.13         93.11           14.14         11.07         57.90         76.43         93.11           14.74         14.16         57.90         77.49         94.68           14.74         14.16         57.90         77.90         94.68           14.74         14.16         57.90         77.97         94.68           15.01         14.74         16.13         78.74         94.68           15.01         14.74         16.13         78.74         94.68           15.01         16.13         78.74         94.63         97.93           15.01         16.13         78.77         95.84         97.79         97.63	14.68         40.13         67.96         74.97         91.37         10.97.3           12.97         40.21         67.96         77.97         92.42         10.02           13.95         79.14         75.95         77.16         92.46         11.002           13.95         79.16         93.97         10.97.3         93.94         10.01           13.95         71.91         93.97         10.80         93.23         11.060           13.95         41.10         95.97         76.13         93.81         11.17           14.14         14.97         19.90         77.92         94.93         11.17           14.14         14.97         19.97         77.92         94.93         11.12           14.14         14.97         10.97         78.9         94.97         11.13           15.91         43.03         67.97         78.9         95.97         11.12           14.14         10.14         78.97         95.94         11.13.04           14.91         10.13         78.74         95.11.14.07           14.74         10.14         78.94         95.97         11.13           14.75         62.20         79.01	1468         1403         1756         7497         9337         10973         12706           1297         10973         12706         9436         11002         12736           1297         1947         1947         9337         10973         12706           1297         1001         12737         9447         11002         12737           1316         1791         1794         9317         10973         12764           1315         1005         1584         7954         9311         11080         12733           1414         1597         7761         9440         1144         1379           1471         1431         1597         7770         9438         11204         1297           1501         1445         15959         7700         9458         11201         1302           1501         1445         1597         9518         11320         1303         1304           1579         4533         1604         7951         9575         11330         13051           1579         4533         1607         7816         9758         11320         13052           1579         4533	1468       4013       1778       7937       1937       10973       11706       14437         1297       4043       778       7717       9137       10973       11706       14437         1297       4044       778       7717       9147       11001       1273       14443         1315       4717       7717       9177       9171       11080       11376       14493         1355       4100       5843       7584       9331       11080       13793       14454         1414       159       7701       9410       11145       1379       14605         1471       4179       9507       7702       9439       11331       12961       14457         1471       4179       9507       11331       12961       14457       1370       14731       13197       14605         1473       13163       14491       1397       14437       13131       1397       14463         1473       13167       14730       13131       13031       14733       13167       14730         1370       13167       14730       13170       13131       13031       14733       13167       1473

Figure 20: An excerpt of Apian's table of sines [Apian (1534)].

-	0	1	um rec	3	14	15	6	1 7	8	1 9
m	Sinus	and the second second	Sinus.						Sinus.	Sinus
0	00	1745	3489	5233	6975		10452			
1	29	1774	3519	5262	7004	8744	10481	12215	13946	1567
2	58	1803	3548	5291	7033		10510			
3	87	1832	3577	5320	7062		10539			
4	110	1851	3505	\$349	7091	\$831	10568	12302	14032	1575
5	145	1890	3635	53-8	7120		10597			
6	174	1919	3664	\$407	7149		10626			
7	203	1948	3693	\$436	7178		10684			
8	232	1977	3722	5455	7236		10713			
9	290	2036	3780	5524	7265	1 9005	10742	12475	14205	15930
10	319	2055	3809	5553	7294	9034	10771	11504	14234	15955
12	349	2094	3838	5582	7343	9053	10799	12533	14262	15988
13	378	2123	3867	5611	7352		10828			
14	407	2152	3896	5640	7381	9121	10857	12591	14320	1604
15	436	2191	3925	5669	7410	9150	10386	12019	14349	10074
16	455	2210		5698	7439	9179	10915	12645	14405	16121
17	494	2239	3984	\$727	7468	PERSONAL PROPERTY.	10944			
18	523	1265	4013	5755	7497		11002	12735	14464	1618
19	552	2297	4042	5814	7555	10000000	11031	12764	14493	16217
20	581	2325	4071	\$\$43	7584	9323	11050	12793	14521	15240
21		2385	4129	\$\$72	7513	0352	11089	12821	14550	16275
22	639	2414		5901	7542	9381	11117	12550	14579	16303
24	698	2443	4187	\$930	7671	1 9410	11146	12879	14608	1633
25	72"	2472	4215	5959	7700	9439	11175	12908	14537	1636
25	750	2501	4245	5933	7729	9458	11204	12937	14665	16379
27	785	2530	4274		7758		11233	12004	14777	1644-
28	814	2559	+303	6046	7787	9520	11291	12023	14751	15476
29	843	2588	Street in Allert	6104	7845	0004	11320	13052	14780	16504
30		2517		6133	7874		11349	13081	14809	1553
31	930			-		0642	11378	13110	14839	11656
32		1000				9571	11407	13139	14867	11.659
34		And the Party of the Party of the		6220		9700	11435	1316	1489	1661
35	1015		and the second se				11464	11319	1492	1004
30					801	9 975	7 1152	1325	1408	1670
33	1		1		The second of the second	1	51155			
13					1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		51158			
39	1	-		A DESCRIPTION OF THE OWNER	The second	c 987	4 1160	91334	01505	8 1675
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4	A CONTRACTOR OF				and the second second	3 993	1 1166	7 1339	8 1512	6 1684
4	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		ri 473	9 648	2 822	2 995	01159	5 1342	7 1515	4/1657
4	1 1279	302.		5 551		1 998	9 1172	+ 1345	6 1518	3 1690
4		-			-	01001	71175	11348	24024	11600
4		3 305			9 S30 S S23	5,1007	61181	11354	2 1520	9 1699
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4-5					c 842	\$1016	311189	81362	91535	01707
S					4 845	4 1019	2 1192	7 1365	8 1538	4171
5		2 325		674	8 848	3 1022	1 1195	5 1355	51541	3 171
5			5 5030		2 861	2 1025	011198	9/13/1	4 1044	1170
15			5 505	9 680	1 853	1 1027	9 1201	2 1377	3 1540	9172
5		and period of the local division of the loca			01 057	9 1033	711207	11380	2/1552	8172
3		8 337	3 511		S. 862	811036	61210	01303	01555	/1/4
15		Contraction of the local division of the loc			1 960	211020	4/1212	285110	81718	\$ 173
	S 148 9 171				232 13	61042	21215	8 1388	31561	41173
Pa					el 871	c11045	2 1218	611391	711564	3 1730

Figure 21: An excerpt of Apian's table of sines [Apian (1541)].

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	10/5-678	8A 2A 109 A2		113900		219030 216319 218118 219862				428986	1
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	20	139 03		120920		224094		329101 329101 31949	-	432461 439208 439999	
and the second	11	11949		122,164 123,910 124,644		228483		33318A		434949 931690	
	12	22690		12404	1	13032A 1320A1		338919		927690 919930 9419430 941171 942911	
	13 14 19	191 99 20999 22690 29939 29939 26180		1219.00 129194 130898 132634		233819 234499 23/203		338414 39014A 391899		442911 444542 445392	
	10	40000		132634 139380 136129		23/203 23909A 290/91		394899 393692 394389	-	446392 448153 4498153	
* * *	14 18 19 20	319.16		136129		2926891		394389 39412A 398869		449813	
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12.00	51	44840	1	148801		263960 2692 03		369114		4149494 414919	
	22	4195 41	1	162296		266991		311411		414919	
1.1	****	14109 41840 41840 51499 19391 61086 62851	•	109.090 109.184 101.430		210919		314001		419449 981199	
	15	644 AC		169214		213921 214664		3184.84		9-82-933 9-84-015	
	39	6806/	1	112103		211908		381968		986912 988142	
	41	A14.4A	i	110248		219142 280894 282639		383110 384942 381194		489891 491531	
	43	114 41 140 92 140 92 161 91	3	111991 119192	-	282639 289382 286126		380194 388934 390000		491531 9933A0 494110	
	44	161.93 184 78 802 83		119/92 1819:86 185231		286126 281869 389612		390001		496849 998849 998488	
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	40	84119 8A2 69	-	191913 19309A 19309A 194991 194180 198931		299.892 296 484 298 328	-	399384 401121 402868		403806 404444 404289 409023	
	511-52	890 00 901 49	+	194992	1 5	300011		409.610		409 023	0.
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	110 228	919.90		202419		304301 301099		409839		414240	
	75	999 80 1012 24		204109		308A8A 310 430		415316		419446	
	22	1029 AC 109 A 14	i	201648	-	3122/13	291	414048 416199 418490	1	41118 419946 421194 422939	

Figure 22: The first page of a manuscript of Regiomontanus's first great table of sines ( $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ ) (source: Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania, LJS 172, ca1476).

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		13	22690		129145		233815		338414	(Alue)	442911	
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		17	29671		134380		2 39047		343642		448133	
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		19	34907	Page 1	139614		244279		343369	2 40.2	453354	
		21	36652	578 0	141359	See	246023	A ales	350611	13 Martin	455094 456834	
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	fuerer, agentra	53	92500		197186		301815		406351	-	510762	
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		50	97735		202419		307044		411575		515979	
		57	99480 101225		204164		308787		413316		517718	
		59	102970	1	207553		312273	29 1	416799		521195	
		00	104715		209397		314016	29 0	418540		522934	

Figure 23: The first page of the first printing of Regiomontanus's first great table of sines ( $R = 6 \cdot 10^6$ ) [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)] (source: Dresden).

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3	11636		186158	1	360623		534980		709172	
5	14544		189066		363530		540789	10007	714975	
6	17453		194883		1369344	192.01	543694	+	717876	
8	23271	1012	197792		372251		545598		723678	
9	20180		200700		375158	1 cent	552407	7	726579	
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12	34906		209425		383878		561120		735282	48 3
13			212333	N	389692		564024	4	738183	1
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10	4054		221057		39550	2	57273	5	746886	122
17			22687	3	40131	31	57564	0	749787	1
19	-55268	3	22978		40422		57854	4	75558	
20			232659		41003		\$8435	2	758489	2
22			23850	5	41294	4	58725		761389	
23			24141		41585		59306		76718	1
24			247229		42166	Contraction of the local division of the loc	159595	7	770090	
20	7563		25013		42457		59887	Contraction of the	77299	
27	7853	9	25304		42747	2	60467	S	77379	
- 25	8435	7	25886	11.	43328	S	61049	2	78159	
30			26176		43519		61338		7\$749	
31			26758	5	44200		61629	2	79039	1
3	3 9599		27049	3	44491	2	61919		79329	
3			27340		44781	4	62500		79909	0
30	10471	8	27921	6	45363	0	62790		80199	
3	7 10762 8 11053		28212		45653		63080		80778	
2			128794	10	46234		163661	4	181053	
4	0 11035	3	29084	Contraction of the local sectors of	46525		63951		81358	
44			29375	3	46815		64532		81938	5
4	2 12507	ol	29957	048	4 47397	0	64823	6	\$2228 \$2519	
4		6	30247	c	47687		6511		182513	
++	6 13380	15	30829	3	48268	7	6569	4	33098	1
-4	71 13671	4	31120	00	43559	2	6598	7	\$3388 \$3677	8
4-4-			31410		49140		166564	2]	183967	7
5	0 14543	9	31992	2	49430	S	66854		84257	
25			32283		49721		67144		84547 84837	1
1-5			32864		50302	4	167725	11	185127	1
5	+ 15707	4	33155	2	50592		68015	3	185416	
15			33445		50883		68305	5	85706	5
5	7 16579	9	34027	4	51464	5	68889	[9]	186286	3
5	5 16870	S	34318	1	51755		69170	51	56365	
5			34899		52045	0	69750		87155	

Figure 24: The first page of the first printing of Regiomontanus's second great table of sines ( $R = 10^7$ ) [von Peuerbach and Regiomontanus (1541)] (source: Dresden).

$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	a data	0		1		2		3		4		
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	2	5819	2509	190341	2608	354809	2907	529170	2505	703369		52
$\begin{array}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$		14544		189066	1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1	363530		537384	a and	712073		5555
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	8	23271		197792		372251	100	546598	2904	720777	231	52
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	11	31997	1.4	205517		380971	1	1 555312		719480 732381		544
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	14	40724		215241		389692	2	564024	H	738183		444
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	17	49450		22396	5	39941	2	572730	5	746886	5	4 4
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	20	58177	7	232689	7	40713	11	581448	8	75558	8	9
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	23	66904	H	24141	3	4158	51	59016	04	764290	5	3
29 84317 30 87265 261769 433288 607582 781691 30 87265 261769 436194 610485 784591	25	7563	0 -	25013	74	4245-	70	5988- 90177	23	77299	1	
89 88 87 86 85	2.9	8435	7	2588	61	4332	88	60758	32	78169	21	
		89		88		87		86		85		1

Figure 25: The first page of Rheticus's table of sines in Copernicus's *De lateribus* [Copernicus (1542)] (source: Dresden).

Ca			n circulo rect	arun	Semiffes	IDife
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040	11163			40	11609	
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10	1745		and an and	10	12476	
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130	2617		internation -	30		288
140	2908	and the second	a ta start of a start	40		1
150	3199 3490			8 0	13917	
210	3781	1		10		1 Acres
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230	4362	291	and a start of the	40	15069	
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30	5234		ana an ing a	9 0		and the second se
310	5524	290	U.S. CLOBERT	20	16218	1.1
320	6105		-	30		
340	6395		- Settingenery	4		
350	6975	and the second	La man	10 1		
410	7265			1	0 17651	28
420	7555		2 march and	2		
430	7845		-	4	0 18500	
440	8425			5	0 18794	
50	8715		-	11	0 1908	
510	9005			2	0 19652	20
5 30			Latore to the later	3	0 19937	
540	9874	200		45	0 20222	
550					0 2079	
00	1 110453	1 1209		-	1 1-17	No. 1

Figure 26: The first page of Copernicus's table of sines in the *De revolutionibus* [Copernicus (1543)] (source: e-rara).

			1 fœcunda		
The second se	Part.æğ.   C	ira. l		ra. P	ar.æq
1	5729799	31	166429	61	55432
21	2863563	32	160035	62	53170
31	1908217	33	153987	631	50952
4	1430203	34	148253	641	48772
SI	114;131 1	351	142813	651	46631
6	951387	36	137639 1	66	44522
71	814456 1	37	132704	671	42448
8	711569 1	38	127994		40402
91	631377 1	39		691	38387
10	567118 1	40	119197	70	36396
11	514438 11	411	115037 11	71	34433
12	470453	42	111062	72	32492
131	433148	431	107236	73	30573
14	401089	44	103551	74	28674
15	373211	451	100000	751	26794
16	348748	46	965711	761	24932
171	327088 11	471	93254 11	771	23087
181	307767 11	48	90040	78	21256
191	290422	49	86929	79	19439
20	274753	50	83909	80	17633
21	260511	51	80978 11	811	15838
22	247513	52	78129	821	14053
231	235583 11	531	75356 1	831	12278
24	224607	541	72654	84	10511
25	214450	55	70022	851	8748
26	205034	56	67452	86	6992
271	196263	57	64940	871	5240
28	188075	58	62486 I	88	3492
29	180402	59		89	1745
30	173207	60	57734	90	•/+)

Figure 27: Excerpt of Frisius's table of cotangents [Gemma Frisius (1545)].

## Se Tabula Gnomonica

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11 0 11	200	200	300	400	500
G. m. fe. G					
	4 45 491	9:27 44	14 210	18 26 7	22 37 12
11 1 1 1	4 48 40	9 30 32	14 4 52	18 28 42	22 39 38
2 0 5 44 1	4 51 301	9 33 19	14 7 34		22 42 4
	4 54 21	9 36 6	14 10 16	18 33 51	22 44 30
	4 57 12	9 38 53	14 12 58	18 36 25	22 46 56
	5 0 21	9141140	14115139	118 38 59	22 49 22
	§ 2 53	9 44 27	14 18 20	18 41 33	22 51 47
	5 5 44 5 8 34	9 47 14	14 21 1 14 23 42	18 44 7 18 46 41	22 54 13,
		9 52 47	14 23 42	18 49 15	122 59 4
9 0 25 47	5 11 24	9 55 34	14 29 4	18 51 49	23 1 30
11 03131	5 17 5	9 58 21	14 31 49	18 54 23	23 3 56
121 034231		0 1 7	14 34 26	18 56 57	23 6 21
13 037-15		10 3 54	14 37 7	18 59 31	23 8 47
14 040 7	5 25 36 1	0 641	14 39 48	19 2 5	23 11 12
15 0 42 59	5 28 26	10 9 28	14 42 29	19 4 39	23 13 38
16 045 50	1/2=1=/11	10 12 14		19 7 12	23 16 4
17 04842		00/15/ 0		19 9 45	231829
18 0 51 34	5 36 57	10 17 47		19 12 18	23 20 53
19 0 54 26	5 39 48	10 20 33	14 53 13	19 14 51	23 23 18
20 0 57 18		10 23 19	11 1 1	119 17 24	23 25 42
21 I 0 10 22 I 2 I		10 26 5 10 28 52	11 1 1		23 28 7
22 <b>1</b> 3 <b>1</b> 23 <b>1</b> 5 53	5 51 8	10 31 38		19 25 3	23 30 32
		10 34 24			23 35 20
25 11137	5 56 4.8	10 37 10			23 37 45
26 1 14 29	5 59 38	10 39 57	15 11 54	19 32 42	23 40 9
		2	·· - E		
		* * s	(m) (m)	a 8	

Figure 28: Excerpt of Frisius's table of arctangents [Gemma Frisius (1545)]. (continued on next page)

Georgij Peurbachij. 🕬

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	500
G. m. fe.	
27 1 17 20 6 2 28 10 42 43 1 5 14 34 19 35 15	23 42 34
28 1 20 1 2 6 5 18 10 45 29 15 17 14 19 37 48	23 44 58
29 1 23 4 6 8 8 10 48 15 15 19 54 19 40 20	23 47 22
30 1 25 56 6 10 58 10 51 1 15 22 34 19 42 52	23 49 45
31 1 28 47 6 13 48 10 53 47 15 25 14 19 45 24 12 1 31 39 6 16 38 10 56 33 15 27 54 19 47 56	23 52 9
	23 56 56
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	23 59 19
35 1 40 14 6 25 7 11 4 50 15 35 53 19 55 32	24 1 43
36   1 43 6 6 27 57 11 7 36 15 38 32 19 58 4	24 4 6
37 145 58 63046 11 10 21 15 41 11 20 036	24 6 30
381 1 48 49 6 33 36 11 13 6 15 43 50 20 3 8	24 8 53
39 15141 63626 11 15 51 15 46 29 20 5 40	24 11 17
40 1 54 34 6 39 15 11 18 36 15 49 8 20 8 12	24 13 40
41 1 57 25 6 42 5 1 11 21 21 15 51 47 20 10 43	24 16 2
42 2 0 17 6 44 55 11 24 6 15 54 26 20 13 14 42 2 3 9 6 47 44 11 26 51 15 57 5 20 15 45	24 18 25
	24 20 47 24 23 10
	24 25 32
45       2       8       51       6       53       24       11       32       21       16       2       23       20       20       47         46       2       11       43       6       56       13       11       35       6       16       5       0       20       23       18	24 27 55
47 2 14 34 6 59 2 11 37 51 16 7 41 20 25 49	24 30 17
48 2 17 26 7 1 52 11 40 36 16 10 20 20 28 20	24 32 39
49 2 20 18 7 4 41 11 43 21 16 12 59 20 30 51	24 35 2
50 223 9 7 7 30 11 46 6 16 15 37 20 33 22	24 37 24
	,

Figure 29: Excerpt of Frisius's table of arctangents [Gemma Frisius (1545)] (cont'd).

	C	8			N	ŀΤ	E	C	EE		N	T	Í.	S.			e	
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<u>42</u>	14			13	32		12	30		11 12	5		<u>9</u> 10	16		7	58	
43	15	12			32		13	29		12	4	_	111	14 12		7		
44	110	11 11		15	31		14	27		14	~		1.8	10	1.1	9	43	
45		+10		-	129	-	16	26	l		59		-1.3	- 7		10	긢	
<u>4</u> 6 47	19	10		18	28		17	24	<b>.</b>	14	57	<b>1</b>	14	5		11	48	
48	120	- 9	1.1	19			18	23		16	55		15	3		12	46	
49	21	9		20	26		19	22	1.	17	54		16	T		13	43	
50	22			21	26		20	20		18	52	1	16	59	11.1	14		
51	23	8		22	25		21	19		19	50		17	57		15	38	
52	24	7		23	24		22	18		20	48		18	55		16	35	
53	125	7		24	23		23	16		2.I	47		19	-		17	34	
54	26	6		25	22		24	15		22	45		20	51		18	30	
55	27	5		26	21		25	14	in the second second	23-	43		21	48		19		
56	128	5		27	20		26	13	_	24	42		22	46	1 - 1	20	25	
57	29	4		28	19		27	11		25	40		23	44		21	23	
<b>58</b>	30	4		29	18		28	10		26	38		24	42			20	
\$9+-	-3-1-	-3		30	117		29	8		27	37		25	40		23		
60119	132	3	20	31	16	21	30	7	22	<b>z</b> 8j	35	23   E N	26	38	24	24	<u>1</u> 5	

Figure 30: Excerpt of Fine's table of sines [Fine (1550)] (source: Google books).

		ulum rectum	Maius latus includen #
	erpendicul: Different:	Balls. Differe:	Hypotenula   Differe:
7/10	1218693 28867	9925461 3587	10075098 3643
144	1247560 28857	9921874 3670	10078741 3729
20	1276417 28845	9918204 3755	10082470 3819
30	1305262 28834	9914449 3839	10086289 3907
40	1334096 28824	9910610 3922	10090196 3994
50	1362920 288II	9906688 4007	10094190 4085
8 -0	1391731 28800	9902681 4090	10098275 4172
- 412 -	1420531 28788	9898591 4175	10102447 4263
20	1449319 28775	9894416 4257	10106710 4350
30	1478094 28763	9890159 4342	10111060 4441
40	1506857 . 28751	9885817 4425	10115501 4530
50	1535608 28737	9881392 4509	10120031 4620
0	1564345 28724	9876883 4592	10124651 4710
1910	1593069 28710	9872291 4675	10129361 4799
20	1621779 28697	9867616 4760	10134160 4891
30	1650476 28683	9862856 4842	10139051 4980
40	1679179 28669	9858014 4927	10144031 5072 .
50	1707828 28654	9853087 5009	10149103 5162
IO	1736482 28639	9848078 5093	10154265 5254
10	1765121 28625	9842985 5177	10159519 5345
20	1793746 28609	9837808 5259	10164864 5439
30	1822355 28594	9832549 5342	10170303 5529
40	1870949 28778	9827207 5426	10175832 5620
50	1879527 28563	9821781 5509	10181452 5714
II	19080901 28546	9816272 5592	10187166 5807
11 10	1936636 28530	9810680 5674	10192973 5900
20	1965166 28513	9805006 5759	10198873 5993
30	1993679 28497	9799247 5840	10204866 6086
40.	2022176 28480	9793407 5924	10210952 6179
50	20506761 28461	9787483 6007	10217131 6274
IZ C	2079117 28445	9781476 6089	10223405 6369
IO	2107562 28426	9775387 6172	10229774 6462
20	2135988 28408	9769215 6255	10236236 6559
80	2164396 28391	9762960 6337	10242795 6652
40	2192787 28371	9756623 6420	10249447 6749
50	2221158 28353	9750203 6503	10256196 6845
130	2249511 28333	9743700 6584	10263041 6940
KO.	2277844 28315	9737116 6666	10269981 7036
20	2306159 28295	9730450 6751	10277017 7135
10	2334454 28275	9723699 683I	10284152 7229
40.	2362729 28255	9716868 6914	10291381 7328
50-	2390984 28235	9709954 6997	10298709 7428
==	Balis. Different:	Perpendicul:   Dittere:	Hypotenusa Differen

Figure 31: Excerpt of Rheticus's table of the six trigonometric functions [Rheticus (1551)] (source: Dresden).

•	40		4I		42	E	47	5	-
	8390996	958-	8692867	5108	9004040	5 268	19225151		16
	8395954 8400915	61	8697975 8703085	\$110	9009308	5271	9330591 9336034	3	5
	8405878 8410844	6	8708198 871334	- 3-	9019853	7	9341480 9346929	9	5
5	841 5812		8718433	5122	9030410	5280-	9352381	5452	5
6	8420782	-2	8723555	-4	9035693		19357835	-7	15
8	8420729	2	8733806	7	9046265	0	19368752	5460	5
10	843 5706 4	980	8738935 8744067	5132	9051557	3	9374215 9379682	7	15
	8445668	5	8749201	4	9062146	9	9385152	5470-	14
13	8455640		87,9478	5140-2	19071747	5302-	9390625	-6	4
	8465622	-2	8764620 8769764	-4	9078052	8	9401580	5482	4
16	8470617	-7	8774911 8780001	5150	9088670	2	9412547	5	4
17	847 5614 8480614	5000	\$785214		\$093983 \$099299		9418034 9423524	5490	44
	8485617 8490622	5	8790369 8795527	0	9104018	5322	9429017	6	44
21	8495629	71	88cc688	5161-	9115265	5 8	9434513	5502	3
22	10,000,91	2	8805851	-6	9120593	5330	9445514	5	3
24	8510666		8816186	9 5171	9131256	_ 6	0456528	5512	120
25	8515683 8520703		8821357 8826531	4	9136592 9141930	5341-	9462040	5	3.
	8525725	5	8831708 8836887	9	9147271 9152615	4	947 1073	5 521	3
29	8535777	9	8842069	5182	91 57962	5350	9484118	-4	13
30	8540806		48		9163312		948964:		3
	49		40		47		26		

Figure 32: An excerpt from Reinhold's table of tangents [Reinhold (1554)] (source: e-rara).

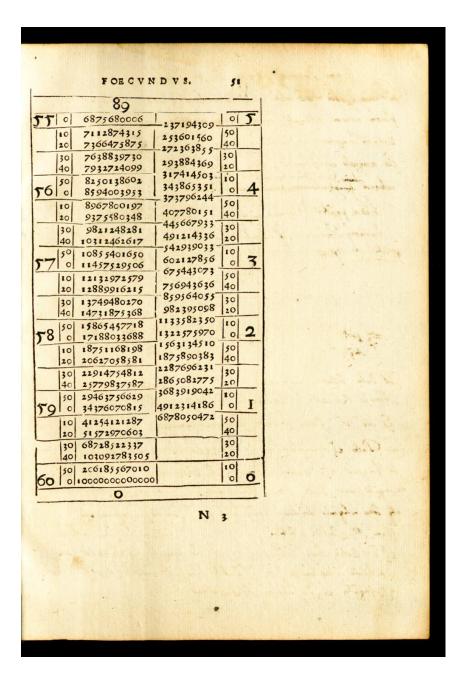


Figure 33: The end of Reinhold's table of tangents, with values every 10 seconds [Reinhold (1554)] (source: e-rara).

h.	25	12	26		27	P.S	28		29	dis.
0	4226183	tele al	4383712	10.11	4539905	10110	4694716	1.	4848096	1 and
									4850640	
	4231455		4388940		4545088		4699852		4853184	
	4234090		4391554		4547679		4702419		4855717	
	4239360		4396780		4552860		4707553		4860812	
-	4241994		4399392		4555450		4710119		4863354	
	4244628		4402004		4558039				4865895	a la
	4247262	1	4404616	10000 00000	4560628	1000 1000	4715250	5	4868436	
-	4249895		4407227	- said grant of the local division of the lo	4563216		4717815		4870977	
	4252528		4409838	C1 C2 F C2 F	4;65804	A 6 7 7 655	4720380		4873517	
main	4255161				4568392		4722944		4876057	
	4257793 4260425	A. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.	4417669		4573566		4728071		4878596	
_	4263056				4576153		4730634		4883674	
	4265687		4422887		4 578739		4733197		4886212	
16	4268318		442 5496		4581325		4735759		4888750	10 m 20 m 20
17	4270949	2630	4428104		4583911		4738321	2	4891 287	197
	4273579		4430712		4586496		4740882		4893824	
1	4276209				4589081		4743443		4896361	
	4278838 4281467		4435927 4438534	7	4591665		4748564		4898897	
	4284096		4441140		4596833		and a sub-		4903968	
	4286724	1	4441746		4599416		47 5 368 3		4906503	
24	4239352		4446352		4601999		4756242		4909037	1214
-	4291979		4448957		4604581		4758801		4911571	
	4294606		4451562		4607163		4761359		4914105	
1	4297233		4454167	The second second	4609744		4763917		4916638	-
28	4299859 4302485	C. C. Sarra	4456771 4459375	CONTRACTOR DA	4614906	N 25 TO 4 21	4769031	and the second second	4919171	200
	4305111		4461978		4617486				49:4235	12.5.0
,.		(D)	-	00.	62	101	Constant of the	86.		62
15	64		63		02		61		60	

Figure 34: An excerpt from Reinhold's table of sines [Reinhold (1554)] (source: e-rara).

1	0	I	2	3	4	5	6	1	8	9
m.	Sinus.	Sinus.	Sinus.	Sinus.	Sinus.	Sinus.	Sinus.			Sinus
0	00	1745	3489	5233	6975	8715	10452	12186	13917	1564
1	29	1774	3519	5262	7004	8744			13946	1567
2	58	1803	3548	5291	7033	8773	10510	12244	13974	1570
3	87	1832	3577	5320	7062	8802	10639		14003	1572
4	116	1861	3606	\$349	7091	8831	10568	12302	14032	1575
5	145	1890	3635	5378	7120	8860	10197	12331	14061	1578
6	174	1919	3664	\$407	7149	8889	10626	12360	14090	1581
7	203	1948	3693	\$436	7178	8918	10655	12389	14118	1584
8	232	1977	3722	5465	7207	8947	10684	12417	14147	1587
9	261	2007	3751	5495	7236	8976	10713	12446	14176	1590
10	290	2036	3780	5524	7265	9005	10742	12475:		1593
11	319	2065	3809	5553	7294	9034	10771	12504	14234	1595
12	349	2094	3838	5582	7323	9063	10799	12533	14262	11598
13	378	2123	3867	5611	7352	9092		12562	14291	1601
14	407	2152	3896	5640	7381	9121	10857	12591	14320	1604
15	436	2181	3925	\$669	7,410	9150	10886	12619	14349	1607
16	465	2210	3955	5698	7439	9179	10915	12648	14378	1610
17	494	2239	3984	\$727	7468	92.08	10944	12677	14406	1613
181	523	2268	4013	\$756	7497	9237	10973	12706	14435	1616
19	552	2297	4042	5785	7526	9266	11002	12735	14464	1618
20	581	2326	4071	5814	7555	9294	11031	12764	14493	11621
2 1	610	2355	4100	5843	7584	9323	11060	12793	14521	1624
22	639	2385	4129	\$872	7613	9352	11089	12821	14550	1627
23	669	2414	4158	\$901	7642	9381	11117	12850	14579	1630
24	698	2443	4187	\$930	7671	9410	11146	12879	14608	1633
25	727	2472	4216	5959	7700	9439	11175	12908	14637	1636
26	756	2501	4245	5988	7729	9468	11204	12937	14665	1637
27	785	2530	4274	6017	7758	9497	11233	12966	14694	1641
28	814	2559	4303	6046	7787	9526	11262	12994	14723	1644
29	843	2 5 8 8	4332	6075	7816	9555	11191	13023	14752	1647
30	873	2617	4361	6104	7845	9584		13052	14780	1650
31	901	2646	4391	6133	7874	9613		13081	14809	1653
32	930	2675	4420	6162	7903	9642	11378	13110	14838	1656
33	959	2704	4449	6191	7932	9671	11407	13139	14867	1659
34	989	2734	4478	6220	7961	9700	11435	13167	14896	1661
35	1018	2763	4107	6250	7990	9729	11464	13196	14924	1664
36	1047	2792	4536	6279	8019	9758	11493	13229	14953	1667
37	1076	2821	4565	6308	8048	9787		13254	14982	
38	1105	2850	4594	6337	8077	9816	11551	13283	15011	1673
39	1134	1879	4622	6166	8106	9845	11580	13312	15039	1676
40	1163	2908	4652	6395	8135	9874	11609	13340	15068	1679
41	1192	1937	4681	6424	8164	9903	11638	13369	15097	1682
42	1221	2966	4710	6453	8193	9931	11667	13398	15126	1684
43	1250	2995	4739	6482	8122	9960	11695	13427	15154	1687
44	1279	3014	4768	6911	8251	9989	11724	13456	15183	1690
45	1308	3053	4797	6540	8280	10018	11753	1.3485	15212	
46	1338	3082	4826	6569	8309	10047	11782	13513	15241	1696
47	1367	3112	4855	6198	8338	10076	11811	13542	15269	1699
48	1396	3141	4884	6617	8367	10105	11840	13571	15298	1702
49	1425	3170	4914	6656	8396	10134	11869	13600	15327	1704
50	1454	3199	4943	6685	8425	10163	11898	13629	15350	1707
, ı	1483	3228	4943	6714	8454	10192	11927	13658	15384	1710
52	1912	3257	5001	6743	8483	10192	11955	13686	15413	1713
		3286	1030	6772	8512	10250	11999	13715	15415	1716
53	1541			6801						1719
54	1570	3315	5059	6830	8531	10279	12013	13744	15471	1722
55	1599	3344	1088		8570	10308	12042	13773	19499	1725
56	1628	3373	5117	6859	8599	10337	12071	13802	15528	1727
57	1657	3402	\$146	6888	8628	10366	12100	13830	15557	
58	1687	3431	\$175	6917	8657	10394	12129	13859	15585	1730
\$9	1716	3460	\$204	6946	8686	10423		13888		
60	1745	3489	5233	6975	8715	10452	12106	13917	15643	1736

Figure 35: An excerpt of Bassantin's table of sines [Bassantin (1557)].

P 2	Tabula f	ecunda per L. G.	Χ
poli	fu	pputəta.	
= (		dus Gr. Multiplicand	us.
	1745	26 43837	IS ·
2 S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	3489	27 45399	] 🖬
	5233 6975	28 4 947	12
i 4	6975	29 48480	a.
	8716	30 2000	12
	10453	31 51504	3
	12187	32 52992	In hac tabella frounda femidiameter que linus est torus. prefuppo nummer 200000. partium.
	13917	33 54464	2
	15643	34 559 19	i di la
10		35 57; 57	
1		36 58779	라
k ∎ i		37 60180	1
1		38 61565	Ä
<b>[</b> '4	24192	39 62932	4
		40 6 + 279	d a
1		41 65 605	5.3
	1 (11) (11) (11) (11) (11) (11) (11)	42 66912	
11	1 2-41	43 68199	d d
19		44 69465	28
20	1 27	45 70710	3.8
21		46 7 1934	50
24		47 73235	hac tabella frœunda fem numur, 100000. partium
23	39072	48 74314	2 8
1 24		49 75481	
		50 76604	14
	Numerus Multiplican	Numerus Multiplicad.	8 11 an <sup>12</sup>
	÷		

Figure 36: An excerpt of Gaurico's sine table with the heading *tabula fecun- da* [Gaurico (1557)].

	Tabella fecunda per Campanum
	Nouariensem iamdiu
•	fupputata .
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	• • • •

i^

<b>. . .</b>	1ulaplicandi	15	Multiplicandu				
Gr.	Numeru	\$	IGr	Numer	us.		
101	0000	}	. 26	48 772	1		
1.1	17 45	Ť	27	5 0952			
2	34 92	ł	18	5 3 170			
3	52 40		29	5 5 4 3 4			
-4	6992		30	\$774			
5	87.48		31	6.0086	2 C - 2 C - 2		
	105 21		32	€ 2486			
7	1 2 278		33	6 4 9 4 0			
8	74053		34	\$ 775 2			
9	1 5238		35	70022			
10	17633	·	36	7 18 14			
TTT.	1 9479	250	37	75356	1. "		
14	\$ 1250	8. ST	38	78119			
19	2 3087		39	80978	1 -		
14	2 4932		40	11 11 390 P			
1.1	2 6794		41	\$ 691			
10	2 8674		42	9 1040			
	30573	r. at	43	9,4787			
Calut	3.249.2		44	96571	Las		
121	3 44 33	1	45	100000			
10	3.19	incer.		103552			
	38387	1 	147	1072;0			
diate:	40403		1		1		
	<b>(010)</b>	21114	2	21 - 145037 011 - 145037	<b>b</b>		
1.	A45.22	100		vo 1			
and chine	40031		f	trinet of un	<del>e</del> sil.		

Figure 37: Gaurico's table of tangents [Gaurico (1557)].

	rcus		Arcus   Sinus	Arcus   Sinus
G	. M. I	Partes	G.M.   Partes	[G.M. [Partes]
0	10	290	5 10 8716 5 10 9005	10 0 17365
01	20 30	581 873	20 9295 30 9584	30 18223
0	40 50	1163 1454	40 9874 5 50 10163	40 18509 10 50 18795
K.a	010	1745 2036	6 0 10453 10 10742	10 19080
-	20 30	2327	20 11031 30 11320	20 19651 30 19937
	40 50	2908 3199	40 11609 6 50 11897	40 20222 11 50 20505
	0	3489 3780	7 0 1 2 18 7 10 1 2 4 7 5	1 2 0 20791 21075
	20 30	407 1 4 3 6 2	20 12764 30 13052	20 21359 30 21644
-	40 50	4652 4943	40 13340	12 50 22211
	0	5 2 3 3 5 5 2 3	8 0 13917 10 14205	13 0 22495
	30	5814 6104	20 14493 130 14781	20 23061
_	40 50	6395	40 15068 8 50 15355	40 23627 13 50 23909
-	10	6975 7265	9 0 15643	14 0 24192 10 24474
_	20 30	7555	20 16217 30 16504	20 24756
	40 50	8136	9 50 17078	40 25319

Figure 38: An excerpt of Gaurico's sine table [Gaurico (1557)].

ğ	Sinus.	Dfa 1745	6 <sup>mª</sup>	<u>_</u>	Sinus.	Dfa	6m4
1	1745	1745		46	71934	1223.	20.23
2	3490	1744		47	73135	1201.	
3	5234	1742	29. 4	48	74315	1180.	19.40
4	8716	1740	29. 0	49 50	76604	1 1 3 3.	18. 53
51		1737	28.57	1 51	77715	1111.	18. 31
6	10453	1734	28.54	52	78801	1086	18. 6
2	13917	1730	28.50	53	7 9864	1063	17. 43
8	15643	1726	28.46	54	80902	1038	17, 18
9	17365	1722	28. 42	5.5	81915	1013	16. 53
	19081	1716	28.36	56	82904	989	16.29
11	20791	1710	28.30	57	83867	963	16. 3
13	22495	1704	28.24	58	84805	938	15. 38
14	24192	1697	28. 17	59	85717	912	15.21
15	25882	1690	28. 10	60	86603	886	14. 46
16	27564	1682	28. 2	1 61	87462	8:9	14.19
17	29237	1673	27.53	62	88295	833	13. 53
18	30902	1665	27.45	63	89101	806	13. 26
19	32557	1655	27.35	64	89879	778	12. 58
20	34 202	1645	27. 25	65	90631	752	12. 32
21	35837	1635	27. 15	661	91355	724	12. 4
22	37461	1624	27. 4	67	92051	696	11. 36
23	39073	1612	26. 52	68	92718	667	11. 7
24	40674	1601	26.41	69	93358	640	10. 40
25	42262	1 5 8 8	26. 28	70	93969	611	10 11
26	43837	1575	26.15	71	94552	5 83	9. 43
27	45399	1562	26. 2.	72	95106	554	9. 14
28	46947	1 ; 48	25.48	73	95631	525	8. 45
29	48481	1534	25.34	74	96126	495	8. 15
30	50000	1519	25.19	75	96593	4 67	7. 47
31	51504 1	1504	25. 4	1 76	97030	437	7. 17
32	52992	1488	24.48	-77	974.37	4°7	6. 47
33	54464	1472	24.32	78	97815	378	6. 18
34	55919	1455	24.15	79	98163	348	5. 48
351	57358	1439	23 . 59	80	98481	318	5. 18
36	\$8779	1421	23.41	81	98769	288	4. 48
37	60182	1403	23. 23	82	99027	258	4. 18
38	61566	1384	23. 4	83	99255	228	3. 48
39	62932	1366	22,46	84	99452	197	3. 17
40	64279	1347	22. 27	85	99620	168	2. 48
41	65606	1327	22. 7	86	99756	139	2. 16
42	66913	1307	21.47	87	99863	107	1. 47
43	68200	1287	21.27	88	99939	76	1. 6
44	69466	1266	21. 6	89	99985	46	0. 46
45	70711	1245	120.45	1 90	100000	15	0. 15
-							

TABELLA SINVS RECTI. 66

Figure 39: Maurolico's table of sines [Maurolico (1558)] (source: Öster-reichische Nationalbibliothek).

g Vmbra	Dfa	6 <sup>m4</sup>	ğ	Vmbra	Dfa	6 <sup>mª</sup>
1745.	1745	29. 5	46	103551	3551.	59. 11
3492	1747	29. 7	47	107236	368:.	61. 25
5241	1749	29. 9	48	111062	3826.	63. 4
4 6992	1751	29. 11	49	115037	3975.	66. 15
8748	1756	29.16	50	119197	4 160.	69. 20
01201 0	1762	29.22	51	123491	4294	71. 34
7 12278	1768	29.28	52	127994	45.03	75 5
8 14053	1775	29.35	.53	132704	4710	78. 30
1 : 838	1785	29.45	54	137639	4935	82. 15
0 17633	1795	29.551	1 5 61	142813	5174	86. 14
1 19439	1806	30. 6	156	148253	\$440	90.40
2 21256	1817	30. 17	57	153987	\$734	95.34
3 23087	1831	30. 31	1.28	1 60033	6046	100.46
4 24932	1845	30. 45	1 59	166429	6396	106.36
5 26794	1862	31. 2	60	173205	6776	112.56
6 28674	1880	31.20	61	180405	7200	120. 0
7 30573	1899	31.39	62	188073	7668	127.48
32492	1919	31.59	63	196261	8183	136.28
34433	1941	32.21	64	205030	8769	146.9
36396	1963	32.43	1.65	214451	1421	157.1
1 38387	1991	33. 1,1	66	224603	10152	169. 12
2 40402	2015	33.35	67	235585	10 982	103. 2
3 42448	2046	34. 6	- 68	247509	11924	198.44
4 44522	2074	34.34	69	260509	13000	216.4
46631	2109	35. 9	70	274747	14238	237.18
6 48772	2141	35.41	71	290421	15674	2 61. 14
7 50952	2180 .	36.20	72	307768	17347	289. 7
8 531.70	2218	36. 58	73.	327084	19316	321. 56
9 55432	2262	37.42	74	348742	21658	360. 58
\$ 7735	2303	38.23	79	373205	24463	407.43
60086	2 35 1	39. 11 1	1 76	401078		464.33
62486	2400	40. 0	77	433148	32070	\$34:30
64940	2454	40. 54	78	470453	37305	621. 45
4 67452	2 512	41. 51	79	514455	44002	733. 22
5 . 70 0 2 2	2570 1	42. 50	80	\$67128	1 \$2673	877. 53-
6 72654	2.632	43. 52	1 81	631375	164247	1 1070. 47
7 75356	2.70.2	45 . 2	82	711537	80162 .	13 36. 2
8 78-1-2 9	2.773	46. 13	83	814435	102898	1714:18
9 80978	2 849	47. 29	84	951436	13 7001	2283, 21
0 83909	2931	48. 51	1.85	1143005	191569	-3192.49
1 86929	3020	50. 20 1	186	14 30 067	287062	4784.22
2 900:40	3111	5 1. 51	87	1908113	478046	7967. 26
\$ 63232	3212	53. 52	88	2 86 3625	955512	15925.12
4 96971	3319	\$5.19	89	\$ 728995	2865370	47756.10
5 1000001	3429	57. 9	1 90 1	Infinitum.	Infinitum.	-infinitum
						- in mundin

TABÉLLA FOECVNDA.

Figure 40: Maurolico's table of tangents [Maurolico (1558)] (source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

		TA	BELLA	BEN	EFICA		66
1	Radius	Dfa	6 0 m *	'ğ	Radius	Dia E	60m*
1	100015	++ 15	0. 15	46	143955	1.2534	42.14
	100061	46	0. 46	47	146628	. 2673	44.33
	100137	76	1. 16	48	149448	. 2820	47. 0
	00244	107	2. 47.	49	192429	. 2977	4 9. 37
_	100551	169	2. 49	1 51	1 1 8 9 02	1.3330	55.30
	100751	200	3+ 20	52	162427	• 35 2 5	\$8.45
	100983	232	3. 52	53	166165	. 3738	62.18
1	101246	2 64	4. 24	54	170131	. 3966	66. 6
	101543	297	4' 57	55	174344	. 4213	70.13
	101871	328	5. 28	\$6	178830	.4486	1 74.46
	102234	363	6. 3	\$7	183608	. 4778	79.38
	102630	·· 396	6. 3(	58	188708		85. 0
	103061	467	7. 47	60	200000	. 54 52	97.20
-	104030	502	8. 221	1 61	206267		104.27
	104050	539	8. 59	62	213006	. 6739	112.19
	10:146	577	9. 37	63	220265	. 7263	121. 3
1	105762	616	10. 16	64	228117	. 7848	130.48
0	106418	616	10. 56	65	236620		14 1. 43
1	107115	697	11. 37	66	245859	· 92 39	153.59
2	107854	·· 739	12.19	67	255930	10071	167.51
3	108636	·· 782	13. 48	69	279043	12096	201.36
4	110338	8 74	14.34	70	292380	13337	222.17
1	111260	1 922	15. 22	71	307155	14775	246.15
7	112233	973	16. 13	72	323607	16452	2 74. 12
3	113257	. 1024	17. 4	73	342030		307.3
	114335	. 1078	17. 58	74	362796	20766	346. 6
0	11(4 70	. 1130	18. 55	75	386370		392.54
	116664	. 1194	19.54	77	44441		449.47 5 19.44
	119236	1 31 8	21. 58	78	480973	364 32	60 7.12
	120621	. 1385	23. 5	79	524084	43111	718.31
	122078	. 1497	24. 17	80	\$ 7 5 8 77	51793	863.13
	123606	. 1 5 2 8	25.28	81	639245	63368	1056. 8
	125214	. 1608	26.48	82	7 18 530	79285	1321.75
	126902	. 1688	28.8	83	820552	1 02 022	1700.22 2268.45
	128676	. 1865	31. 5	85	1147371	190694	3178.14
	132501	+ 1960	32, 40	86	1433558	286187	4769.47
1	134563	. 2062	34. 22	87	1910732	477174	7952.54
	136733	. 2170	39. 10	88	2865371	954639	15910.39
	139016	. 2283	38. 3	89	\$729868		4774 1.37
	141421	. 2405	40. 5	90	mmmuni.	Infinitum.	minicuin,
		0			6000		
		89.	15	7639			
	ú	89.	• 10 m 10 m	2291			
			55				
				4377			

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Figure 41: Maurolico's table of secants [Maurolico (1558)] (source: Öster-reichische Nationalbibliothek).

	4		3		2		Ľ	1	0	6
portio		portio		portio		portio		portio	_	1
uni9 4	Sinus	uni9 1	Sinus	unig 2	Sinus	uni9 2	Sinus	uni92	Sinus	ñ
10		10		10		10		10		. 1
48 4	697565		523360	48 4	348995		174524		0	0
	700467		526265		351902				1909	1
ſ,	703369		529170	~	354809		180341		5818	12
1	706170		532075		357716		183250		8727	3
	709172		\$ 34980		360623		1861 58	<u> </u>	11636	4
1	712073		537884	ł	363550		189066		14544	5
	714975		540789	i	366437		191975		17453	6
<u> </u>	717876		543694		369344		194883		20362	7
	720777		546598	1	\$72251		197792		23271	8
	723678		549503	1	\$75158		200700		26180	9
	726579		552407		378064		203608		29088	10
	729480		555312	1	380971	1	206517		31997	11
	732381	3	558216		3\$ 3878		209425	1	\$4906	12
48 .	735282		561120		386785	1 1	212333	1	37815	=3
	738183		564024		389692	1 1	215241		40724	14
	741084		566928	1	392598	1	218149	I I	43632	15
	743985		569832		395505		221057		46541	16
	746886		572736	وبإستقاقاتها	398412	_	1123965	1	49450	17
	749787		575640		401318		2 26873	1	52359	18
	752688		1578544		404225	1	229781	and the local division of the local division	55268	19
	755588		581448		407131	ſ	232689		58177	20
/ /	758489		584352		410038		235597		61086	21
	761389		587256		412944		238505		63995	22
		-	590160	the second s	415851	the second se	241413	1	66904	23
	764290		593064	10	418757		244 321		69813	24
			595967		421663		247229	1	72721	25
	770090		598871		424570		250137		75630	26
	771991		601775	_	427476		2 53045		78539	27
	77 5891 778791		604678		430382		255953			28
		_	607581		433288		258861		84357	29
	781691		610485		436194		261769			30
	784591	-	10425	l	170124					
	6			2		63	1	12		

## Tabula Sinutimad 1000000. particulas computate. T

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·\*.,

Figure 42: Eisenmenger's table of sines [Eisenmenger (1562)].

<u>.                                    </u>	Numerus		Numerus  .		Numerus	••
G	1	G		G	1 1	
0	00000	31	60086 -	61	180402	
I	1745	32	62486	62	188075	28
2	3492	33	64940	63	196263	
3	5240	34	67452	64	205034	
4	6992	35	70022	65	214450	
5	\$748	30	72554	66	224697	
6	10511	37	75356	67	235583	<u></u>
7	12278	. 38	78129 80978	68	247513	
	14053	39				
	15838	40	83909 86929	70	274753 290422	
11]	19439	42	90040	7,2	307767	
12	21256	43	93254	73	327088	
. 13 ;	23087	44	96571	74	348748	
14	24932	45	000001	75	373211	
15	26794	46	103551	70	401089	
16	28674	47	107236	77	433148	_
17	30573	48	111062	78	470453	
18	32492	49	115037	79	514438	
19	34433	50	119177	, 80	567118	
20	36396	<u>[51</u>	123491	181	631377	
21		52	127994	82	711569	
22	40402		132704		814456	
	42448 44522	54	137639	84	951387 1143131	
_	46631	156	148253	1801	1430203	
100000	48772	57	153987	87	1908217	
	509521	158	160035	88	2863563	
28	\$3170	59	166429	89	5729796	•
201	55432	160	173207	90	Infinitum	

.

## TABVLA FOECVNDA.

Figure 43: Excerpt of Schreckenfuchs's table of tangents [Schreckenfuchs (1569)].

Arcus. Simus.	Arcus. Simus.	Arcun. Simu.	Arcut. Simus.
G. M.   par.	G. M. par.	G. M.   par.	G. M.   par.
0 15 261	11 30 11962	23 0 23443	34 15 33768
0 30 523	115 12218	23 15 23684	34 30 33984
0 45 785	12 0 12474	23 30 23934	34 45 34199
1 0 1047	12 15 12730	23 45 24164	35 0 34414
1 15 1308	12 30 12086	24 0 24404	35 19 34621
1 30 1570	12 45 13241	24 15 24643	35 30 3484
1 49 1832	13 0 13497	24 30 24881	35 45 35054
2 3 2093	13 15 13752	24 45 25119	36 0 3526
2 115 2355	13 30 14006	25 0 25357	36 1 5 3 5 47
2 30 2017	140 14515	25 15 25594	36 30 3968
2 45 2878	14 15 14769	25 30 25830	36 45 35899
3 10 3140	14 30 19022	25 45 26066	37 0 36189
3 15 3401	14 45 15276	26 0 26302	37 15 363 17
3 30 3652	150 15529	26 15 26537	37 30 3692
3 45 3924	15 15 15781	26 30 26771	37 45 3673
4 0 4185	15 30 16034	26 45 27005	38 0 36939
4 115 4446	15 45 16286	27 0 27239	38 15 3714
4 30 4707	160 16538	27 15 27472	38 30 373.50
4 45 4968	16 15 16789	27 30 27704	38 45 3755
5 0 5229	16 30 17040	27 45 27936	39 0 37751
5 15 5490	16 45 17291	28 0 28168	39 15 3796
5 130 5750	17 0 17541	28 19 28399	39 30 38164
6 0 6271	17 15 17792	28 45 28858	40 0 3856
6 15 6532	17 45 18291	29 0 29088	40 15 3875
6 30 6792	18 0 18541	29 15 29317	40 30 3896
6 45 7052	18 15 18789	29 30 29545	40 49 3916
7 0 7312	18 30 19038	29 45 29742	41 0 3936
7 115 7571	18 45 19286	30 0 30000	41 15 39560
7 30 7831	190 19534	30 15 30226	41 30 3975
7 45 8091	19 15 19781	30 30 30452	41 45 3995
8 10 8350	19 30 20028	30 45 30677	42 0 4014
8 15 8609	19 45 20275	31 0 30902	42 15 4034
8 30 8868	2010 20521	31 15 31126	42 30 4053
8 45 9127	20 19 20767	31 30 31349	42 45 4072
9 0 9386	20 30 21012	31 45 31 572	43 0 4091
9. 15 9644	20 45 21257	32 0 31795	43 15 41110
9 3.0 9902.	210 21502	32 15 32016	43 30 4930
9 45 10160	21 15 21746	32 30 32237	43 45 4144
10 0 10418	21 30 21990	32 45 32458	44 0 4167
10 15 10676	214922233	330 32678	44 15 4186
10 30 10934	22 0 22476	33 5 32897	49 30 4202.
10 45 11291	22 15 22718	33 30 33116	44 45 4224
110 11448	22 30 22961	33 45 33334	45 0 4242

Figure 44: Excerpt of Schreckenfuchs's first table of sines [Schreckenfuchs (1569)].

## Tabula linuum rectorum.

	and the second se
G. M.  par. M. St. 12.	G. M.   par. M. Sz. la.
10 15 0 15 42 30	19 0 9 23 9 30
0 30 0 31 250	19 115 9 38 40 30
10 45 10 47 7 30	9 30 9 54 10 30
1 0 1 2 500	19 45 10 9 39 30
11 15 1 18 32 0	1100 1102518 0
1 30 1 34 140	10151040360
11 45 1 49 56 0	110 10 10 56 3 10
12 0 2 5 380	110451111290
2 15 2 21 200	1110 11126 54 30
2 30 2 37 2 0	11115111421930
2 49 2 92 43 30	11130111574330
3 0 3 8 24 30	11145112136 30.
3 15 3 24 5 30	
3 30 3 39 46 30	1 12 15 1 12 43 50 30
13 45 3 55 27 0	1 12 30 1 12 59 110
4 0 4 117 30	11249113143030
4 15 4 26 47 30	15 0   13 29 49 0
14 45 4 58 27 30	a second s
1 5 0 5 13 46 30	
5 15 5 29 24 0	[13]30]14]0 [24]0
5 30 5 45 2 30	1 3 4 5    3 4 1 5 4 0 0
15 45 6 0 40 30	
0 81 81 8 10 8	1415 1446 9 0
6 15 6 31 550	14 30 1 15 1 22 0
6 30 6 47 32 0	14 45 15 16 34 0
16 45 7 3 8 0	1.5 0 1 1 5 31 45 0
17 0 7 18 43 30	115 25 125 46 55 0
7 15 7 34 19 0	115 30 16 2 4 0
7 30 7 49 53 30	1115451161174110
	11500 11532 17 30
	116151647230
18 15 8 36 34 30	[16]30]172 2730
18 30 8 52 7 0	1126451171273030
8 45 9 7 38 30	117 0 117 32 32 30
	1 27 25 1 27 47 33

Figure 45: Excerpt of Schreckenfuchs's second table of sines [Schreckenfuchs (1569)].

G	10/1	11	2 1	3	4 1	5
m	Partes	Partes	Partes	Partes	Partes	Partes
7	29	1774	3519	5262	67004	8744
2	58	1803	48	. 91	33	7
3	87	32	77	5320	62	880:
4	116	61	3606	49	91	3
5	45	90	35	78	7120	6
6	74	1919	64	5407	49	89
7	203	48	93	36	78	091
8	32	77	3722	65	7207	4:
9	61	2007	51	95	36	71
10	90	36	80	5524	65	900
11	319	65	3809	53	94	3.
12	49	94	38	82	7323	6
13	78	2123	67	5611	52	9
14	407	52	96	40	SI	91=
15	36	81	3925	69	7.110	
16	65	2270	- 55	98	39	7
17	94	39		\$7-7	65	920
18	523	68	4013	56	97	
19	52			85	7526	.6
20	100 81	2326	00 71	5814	55	9
21	610	55	4100	43	84	_ 932
22	39	85	29	71	7613	5
23	69	2414	58	5901	42	10 1100 8
24	98	43	\$7	20	71	941
25	727	72	4216	59	7700	3
26	56	2501	45	83	29	6
27	85	- 20	74	6017	58	
28	\$14	59	4303	46	\$7	952
29	43	88	32	75	7816	5
30	73	1 2617	1 61	6104	45	8

Figure 46: Excerpt of Witekind's table of sines [Witekind (1576)].

	0	T	2	3	4
m.	Simus.	Simus.	Sinus.	Sinus.	Simus
0	00	1745	3489	5233	6975
I	29	1 774	3519	5262	7004
2	83	1803	3548	5291	7033
3	87	1832	3577	5320	7062
4	IIG.	1861	3606	5349	7091
5	145	1890	3635	5378	7120
ē	174	1919	3664	5497	7149
2	203	1948	3693	1436	7178
8	232	19.77	3722	5465	7207
9	261	2007	3751	1405	7236
0	290	2036	3780	<b>FF84</b>	7265
I	319	20 65	380.9	5552	7494
2	349	2094	3818	5582	7323
3	7.83	2123	38 67	5611	735Z
4	407	2152	3896	5640	7381
5	436	2181	39.25	5669	7410
6	465	2210	3955	5698	7439
7	494	2239	3984	57.27	7468
8	523	2268	4013	5756	7497
9	552	2297	4042	5785	7526
ō	581	2326	407I	5814	7555
τ	610	2355	4100	5843	7584
2	619	2385	4129	587.2	7613
3]	669	2414	4158	5901	7642
4	698	2443	4 187	5930	7671
5	747	2472	4216	5959	77.00
6	756	2501	4245	5988	7729
7	785	2530	4274	5017	7758
8	814	2559	4303	6046	77.87
9	841	2188	4332	6075	7816
51	872	2617	4361	6104	7845

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Figure 47: Excerpt of Peucer's table of sines [Peucer (1579)].

		CANO	N MATHEMAT	LCIZS	
		and the second	GVLI PLANI R ECTA	and the second	and the state of t
Quidran	Circu-	D1			load-
Quedrana circuli ze, parc. Angu lar rechas, Hypose, nula con- gruna.	PERIPHIEIA	Hypotenufa I00,000	Bafis 100, 000	Perpendiculum 100,000	A RELEASE
gruns,	PERIPHIEIA Perpendicalo congiuz PART.	Perpendiculum Bafis E CANONE SI-	Perpendiculum Hypotenufa E CANONE FÆCVNDO	Bajis Hypotenusa	Bali songrua
	II.	nuum PRIMA	Facuadifimóque SZRIZ SECFNDA	* Fæcundiflimóque	
-	5CRVP.*			TERTIA	111 111
	I	3,490 99,939 08	3,492 100,060 96		
and the second	II	3, 519 99, 938 06 3, 548 99, 937 03	3, 521 100,061 98 3, 550 100,063 01	2,839,940 2,841,700 2,816,642 2,818,417	LVIII
	ш	3, 577 99, 935 99	3,579 100,664 05	2,793,723 2,795,512	LVII
	IIII	3,606 99,934 95	3.609 100,065 09	2, 771, 174 2, 772, 978	LVI
	V	3,635 99,933 99	3, 638 100, 066 15	2, 748, 985 2, 750, 804	LV
1	VI	3,664 99,932 84	3,667 100,067 21	2, 727, 149 2, 728, 981	LIIII
	VIII	3, 693 99, 931 77	3, 696 100,068 28	2,705,656 2,707,504	LIII
	IX	<u>3,723</u> 99,930 69 3,752 99,929 60	3,725 100,069 36	2,684,498 2.686,360	
Divisie 1	x	3,752 99,929 00 3,781 99,928 50	3,754 100,070 45 3,783 100,071 55	2, 663, 669 2, 665, 546 2, 643, 160 2, 645, 051	L
	XI	3,810 99,927 40	3,812 100,072 65	2, 622, 964 2, 624, 869	XLIX
	XII	3,839 99,925 29	3, 842 100, 073 76	2, 603, 074 2, 604, 994	XLVIII
	XIII	3,868 99,925 17	3,871 100,074 88	2, 583 482 2, 585, 416	XLVII
	XIIII	3,897 99.924 04	3,900 100,076 01	2,564,183 2,566,132	XLVI
	XV XVI	3,926 99,922 90	3, 929 100,077 16	2, 545, 170 2, 547, 134	XLV
	XVI	3,955 99,921 75	3,958 100,078 31	2, 526, 436 2, 528, 414	XLIIII
	XVIII	3,984 99,920 60 4,013 99,919 44	3,987 100,079 46 4,016 100,080 62	2, 507, 976 2, 509, 968 2, 489, 783 2, 491, 790	XLIII
	XIX	4,013 99,919 44	4,016 100,080 62 4,046 100,081 79	17 941 17 917	XLII
1.1.1.1.1.1.1	xx	4.071 99.917 09	4,075 100,082 98	2, 47 I, 84 I 2, 47 3, 86 3 2, 45 4, 17 6 2, 45 6, 2 I 2	XL
	XXI	4, 100 99, 915 90	4, 104 100, 084 17	2,436,751 2,438,802	XXXIX
	XXII	4. 129 99, 914 70	4. 133 100.085 37	2,419,571 2,421,637	XXXVIII
The second	XXIII	4, 159 99, 913 49	4, 162 100,086 58	2, 402, 632 2, 404, 712	XXXVII
	XXIIII	4. 188 99, 912 28	4, 191 100,087 79	2, 385, 928 2, 388, 023	XXXVI
	XXV XXVI	4, 217 99.911 06	4, 220 100,089 02	2, 369, 454 2, 371, 563	XXXV
	XXVII	4.246 99.909 83	4. 250 100,090 25	2,353,205 2,355,329	XXXIIII
	XXVIII	4, 275 99, 908 59	4, 279 100,091 49 4, 308 100,092 74	2, 337, 177 2, 339, 315	XXXIII
1	XXIX	4,333 99,906 08	4, 337 100,092 74	2, 321, 367 2, 323, 520 2, 305, 768 2, 307, 936	XXXI
1.	xxx	4, 362 99, 904 82	4, 366 100,095 27	2, 290, 377 2, 292, 559	XXX
III		PRIMO	SECUND A	TEETLA	SCRYP.
	1 in	E CANONE SI-	Fæcundifsimóque E CANO'E FÆCVNDO	E CANONE FÆCVNDO	XXXVII.
2.00	coograa Bati	Bafis Perpendiculum	Basis Hypotemusa	Perpendiculum Hypotenufa-	groot of
	dati	100, 000 Hypotenufa	100,000 Perpendiculum	100,000 Bafis	
	lo ad-		Laurence II		Circu-
		TRIANO	GVLI PLANI RECT.	ANGVLI	
The Party				•	
19.5					
		Section and the section			
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and the second		Contraction of the second second			
And in case of the local division of the loc	Sector Sector		and the second sec	And the second s	

Figure 48: Excerpt of Viète's *Canon mathematicus* [Viète (1579)] (source: e-rara).

Big	grad:	18		. 7	1	1 19		1 70		1 20		69	arcu
arcuú	11	Sin			us.	Sin		Sint	15.	Sinus		Sin	
	11 2			] g. n		<u>ğ.</u> m		ğ. m.		1 g. m.	2.		
0	1 12	-	28	57 3		19 32	- 3	56 43		20 31	16	56 22	,
1	11 8	33	27	3		33	2	43	31	32	15	22	
2	11	. 34	27	3	9	34	1	43	11	33	14	22	1
3	11	35	17	1 1		35	1	42	50	34	13	21	4
4	11	36	27	2		36	0	42	30	35	12	21	2
3	<del>  </del>	37	26	1		37		41	9	36	10	1 20	
7	11	39	26		51	37	59 58	41 41	48	37		10	
8	11	40	25			39	58	41	.7	39	9 8	• 20	
9	11	41	75	1 0		1 40	57	40	47	40	7	19	
10	1	42	25			41	56	40	26.	41	6	19	
11	11	43	25	0		42	56	40	6	42	5	18	
11	11	44	24	56 59	54	43	55	39	45	. 43	4	1 18	
13	1	45	24	59		44	\$4	39	24	44	3	18	
14	11	46	24	59	15	45	54	39	4	45	2	1 17	
is	11	47	23	18	55	46	53	38	43	46	1	17	2
16		48	23	58		47	52	38	22	47	0	17	
17	11	49	23	58	15	48	52	38	2	47	59	1 16	
18		50	22	57	56	49	51	37	41	48	58	16	
19		51	22	\$7	36	50	50	37	20	49	57	16	
2Ò		52	22	. 57	16	<u> 51</u>	10	36	59	50	56	1 15	4
21		53	21	56	56	52	49	36	38	51	55	1. 15	1
22	1	54	21	56	36	53	48	36	17 57	52	54	14	5
4	í	55	20			54	47	35	36	54	<u>53</u> 51	14	
4		56	20	55	57	55	47	35 35	15	55	50	13	5
6	1	57 58	19	55	17	57	45	34	54	56	49	1 3	2
7	i	59	19	54	57	58	44	34	33	57	48	1 13	
8	19	0	19	54	38	59	44	34	12	58	47	. 12	
9	1	I	181	54	18	20 0	43	33	ş I	59	46	1 12	
0	1	2	18	53	58	1	42	33	31	21 0	- 45	12	
11		3	17	53	38	2	41	33		1	44	. 11	
2	1	4	171	53	18	3	40	32	48	2	4 2	11	
3		5	16	52	58	4	40	32	27	- 3	41	. 10	-
4		6	16	52	38	- 5	39	32	6	4	40	10	3
5		7	15	52			381	31	45	5	39	. 10	1
6		8	15	5 1 5 1	58 38	7 8	37	3 I 3 I	24	6	38	9	4
8	1.	9 10	19	51	17	9	37	30	42	78		9	
	<u> </u>	11	14	50	57	10	35	30	21		35	8	4
10	1.00	12	13	50	37	. 1 1	34	30	0	10	33	. 8	20
11		13	13	50	17	12	33	29	38	11	32	- 7	5
2	r	14	12	49	57	13	32	29	17	12	30	. 7	3
-3		15	12	49	37	14	32	28	50	13	29	. 7	1
4		16	11	49	17	15	31	28	351	14	28	6	5
15		17	11	48	57	16	30	28	14	15	27	6	. 29
6		18	10	48	37	17	29	27	53	16	26	16° 6	
171		19	10	48	16	18	2.8	27	31	17	2,4	· · · · ·	. 44
8	1.	20	9	47	56	19	27	27	10	· 18	23	5	. 21
9		21	9	47	36	20	26	26	49	19	22	5	c
0		22	81	47	11	1 21	26	26	27	20	20	4	37
1		23		46	55	22	25	26	6	2.1	19	4	. 19
2		24	7	46	35	23	24	25'	45	22	16	3	51
3		25	61	45		24	23	25	23	23	15	3	30
4		26	- 5	45	54	16	21	25.	40	24	15	2	45
5	1	28	5	45	13	27	. 20	24	19	26	13	2	4)
7		29	4	44	53	28	19	23	58	27	11	2	
61		30	4	44	33	29	18	23	36	28.	10	. 1.	38
8							1000	23.			8	T :	16

CANON SINVVM

Figure 49: Excerpt of Bressieu's table of sines [Bressieu (1581)] (source: Google Books).

1 9	rad.60	60	61		62 1	6 2 arcoù. 1
11	Adicriptæ	Hypotenula	Adicriptæ	Hypotenula		Hypotenulæ
11.	EX. g. m. 2;		SEX. g. m. 2.	SEX.g. m. 1.	SEX.g. m. 2.	SEX. g. m. 2
		2000	0	2 3 45 3	1 52 50 38	2 7 48 12 0
- H -		3 37	• 19 2	49 2		52 24 5
	59 34 1 44 3 46	7 14	23.30	.53 2.	1	56 36 1
		10 51	27 58	57 19		2 8 0 49
3	7 58			2 4 1 1		5 3
4		14 29			14 28	9 1511
511	16 21	And i adapted				13 27
5	20 33	21 47			19 13	17 41
711	24 47	25 27			28 49	21 56
311	29 0	2.9.7			1/	26 10
21	33 14	32 47				30 24
	37 27	36 27			43 12	34 40
	41 42	and the second sec	0			States and a state of the local state
	45 56	43 49		32 4		
3	50 10	·47 31		363	57 39	43 11
+	54 27	51 12		40 3		and the second s
11	58 40	54 53		44 3		
11	1 45 2 55	58 34				56 0 2 9 0 17
711	7 11	2 1 2 17	3 I C		*	
311	11 28	6 0				4 34 8 51
	15 45	, 9 42				8 51
	20 0	13 25			4 I	
11	24 17	17 8		7		17 27
2	28 34	20 52	53 44			21 46
311	32 50	24 36				and the second se
+11	37 9	28 20				30 24
511	41 26	32 4			9 <b>51 4</b>	34 44
511	45 45	35 48				3.9 . 5
11	50 4	39 33				43 25
	54 23	43 19				47 45
511	58 42	47 4				52 6.
· H ·	1 46 2 59	50 48			6 15 33 8 20 27	56 28
I	7 20	54 34				2 10 0 50
211	11 39	58 21			-	
311	16 0	2 2 2 .7				9 34
4	20 19	5 54				13 57
511	24 38	. 9. 40				
61	29 0	13 20			5 50 4	22 41
7	33 19	17 13			55 1	27 5
8	37 40	21 0				and the second se
911	42 2	24 48				1
0	46 23	28 36				
1	50 47	32 29				the second s
2	. 55 9	36 15			/	. 49 7
3	59 32	40 4				
- H.	1 47 3 55	43.54				
511	8.16	47 43				
6	12 40	5 I 3 I				6 48
711	· 17 5	55 21			4 39 47	and the second se
8	21 28	59 12		58 1	2 44 48	15 43
2	25 54	2 3 3 1		1		
0	30 15	6 5 2		Carolina and a	Charles	-
1	34 41	10 43	and a second second	10 3		29 6
2	39 5	14 34				- 33 35
31	43 30	18 2.0		the state of the s		3.8 1
4	47 56	22 18			6 15.0	42 35
5	52 22	26 10				47 5
6	56 47	30 1				51.34
7	1 48 I IS	33 50	36 2.		30 9	56 5
8	5 43	37 49		9 39 49	35 13	2 12 0 36
9	10 9	1	45 5	44 (		5 711
T		29	2.8	2.8	2 7	27 comple
1	15100.49	in the second second	and the second se			second second second from the second

Figure 50: Excerpt of Bressieu's table of tangents (odd columns) and secants (even columns) [Bressieu (1581)] (source: Google Books). Note that the faded parts are artefacts of the way Google Books stores images.

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1	0	ŝ	r	2	3	4	1 5	6	7	8	
Ī	parte	:8	partes	partes	partes	partes	partes	partes	partes	partes	
I	25	,	1774	3519	\$262	7004	8744	10481	12215	1 13946	
l	si si	\$	1803	3548	5291	7233	8773	10510	12144	13974	
ł	8	7	1832	3577	\$320	7062	8802	10539	12273	14003	
l	134	\$	1861	3606	\$349	7091	8831-	20568	12302		
Ĺ	149		1990-	3635	5378	7110	\$860	10197	laşşi	14061	
	174		1919	3664	5407	7149	8889	10515	12360	14090	
	203		1948	3693	\$436	7179	8918	10655	12389	14118	
ļ	232		1977	3722	5455	7207	8947	10684	13417	14147	
ł	- 26)		2007	3751	5425	7236	8979	10713	12445	14170	0
ł	290		2036	3780	. 5524	7265	9025	10741	12475	14105	63 <b>—</b> 3
1	2 315	8 2	2065	3809	5553	7294	9034	10771	12504		
	345		1094	3838	5582	7323	9063	10799	\$2533.		
	37		3123	3867	5611	7352	9092	10828	12562		
ľ	. 407		2152	3896	5640 5669	7381	9121	10817	12591	14120	
l	430		1110	3925	5698	7439	9150 9179	10886	12619	14549	
l	494		1139	3984	\$7-7	7468	9208	10915	12648	14378	
Į	523		.1268	4013	5756	7497	9237	10973	12706	14406	
I	552		2297	4042	\$785	7526	9266	11002	12735	14454	
ŀ	581	_	2326	4071	5814	7555	9194	11031	11764		
	610		2355	4100	5843	7584	9323	11060	12993	1.4493 14521	
l	635		1 2385	4119	5872	7613	9352	11689	12821	14550	
	.665		\$414	4158	\$901	7642	9381	11117	12850	145.79	
l	69		2443	4187	\$930	7671	9410	11146	12879	14603	
ł	717	7	\$471	4216	5959	7700	9439	11175	12908	14527	
ł	750		2501	4245	5988	7729	9468	11104	12937	14665	
	789		2530	4274	6017	7758.	9497	11233	12966	14694	·
ł	814		2559	4303	6046	7777	9526	11262	¥2994	147/3	
Í.	843	<u> </u>	2588	4332	6075	7816	9555	11.01	13033	14752	0.000
	873		2617	4361	6104	7845	9584	11320	13052	14781	
	901		2646	4391	6133	7874	9613	11049	13081	14809	
	939		2675	4410	6162	7903	9641	11378	13110	14938	
	919		2704	4449	6191 6120	7932	9671	11407	13139	14867	
ļ	989 1018		2734	4478	6250	7961 7990	9700 9729	11435	13167	14896	
	1047		1791	4536	6279	8019	9758	11464	13196	4924	
ŀ,	1276		2821	4:65	6308	8048	9787	11522	13254	14953	
	110		2850	4594	6337	\$077	9816	11551	13283		
	1134		2879	4622	6366	8100	9845	11580	13311	15039	
'	1163	-	1908	4652	6395	8135	9874	11609			
	1192		2937	4681	6414	8164	9903	11638	13340	15068 19097	
1	1225		1966	4710	6453	8193	9931	11667	13398	15126	
1	1250	2 1	2995	4739	6482	8122	9960	11695	13 427	15154	
	1275		3024	4768	6511	.8251	9989	11724	13456	15183	
1	1308		3053	4797	6540	8280	10018	11753	13485	15211	
l	1338		3082	4826	6569	8309	10047	11782	13513	15241	
	1367		3112	4855	6598	8338	10076	11811	13542	15269	
ľ	1390		3141	4884	6627 6636	8367 8396	10105 10134	11840 11869	13571	15298	
	141	-	3170	4914					13600	15327	
	1454		3199	4943	6685	8425	10163	8و181	13629	15356	
ļ	14%		3228	4972	6714	8454	10192	11927	15658	15384	
ł	1512		3257	5001	6743 6772	8483 8512	10241	11955	13080	15413	
l	154		3286	5030	6801	8541	10250 10179	11984	13715		
I			3315 3344	4088	6830	8570	10348	12042		15471	
	1599		3373	\$117	6859	8599	10347	12071	13802	15499 15528	
1	1657		3402	5146	6883	8198	10366	12100			
l	1687	,	3431	5175	6917	8557	10394	12129	13858		
ł	1710		3460	5204	6946	8686	10433	12158	13878	15614	
İ	174		3489	5233	6975			12186	11917	and the second s	

Figure 51: An excerpt from Giuntini's table of sines [Giuntini (1581)] (source: Google books).

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	<u>, v sc</u>	<u>0</u>	-				-	8 (B	•				
G	.80: 1	181	82	33	84	85	86	87	88 (	89			
М	Sinus	S'nús	Sinus	Sinus	Sinus	Sinus	Sinus	Sinus	Sinus	Sinus			
30	98628	98901	99144		99539	99691	99813	99904	99964	99996			
31	98633	98905	99148	99360		99594	99815		99965				
3 4	98638		99152	99363	99545	99696	99817	99907		99996			
33	98642	98914	99155	99367	99547	99698	99818	99908	99967	99996			
34	98647	98918	99159	99370	99550	99700	99820	-	99967	99997			
35	98692	93922	99163	99373	99553	99703	96822	99911	99968	99997			
36	98657	98917		99376	99556	99705	99823	99912	99969	99997			
37	93661	98931	99170	99380	99558	99707	99825	99913	99970	99997			
38	98666	98935	99174	99383	99551	99709	99827	99914	99970	99997			
39	98671	98939	99178	99386	99564	99711	99829	99915	99971	99998			
40	98676		99182	99389	99567	99714	99830	99917	99972	99998			
41	98681	98948	99185	99391	99569	99716	99832	99918	99972	99998			
42	98685	98952	99189	99396	99572	99718	99834	99919	99973	99998			
43	98690	98956		9 <u>9399</u>	99575	99720	99835		99974				
44	98694	98960	99196	99402	1	99722	99837	99921	99974	99998			
45	98699		99200	99405		99725	99839	99922	99975	99999			
46	98704	98969	99204	// 4		99727	99840	99924	99975	99999			
47	28705	9 <u>8973</u>	99207	99411	99585	99729	99842	99925	99976	99999			
+8	28713	98977	99211	99415		99731	29844	99926	99977	99999			
49	98718	98981	99215	99418	99591	99733	99845	99927	99978	99999			
50 51	98722	98985	99218	99421		99735	99847	99928	99978	99999			
	98727	98990	99222	9 <u>9424</u>	99596	99737	99848	99929	99979	99999			
52	98732	98994	99225	99427	99598	99739	99850	99930	99980	99999			
53	987;6	100 C 100 C	99229	99430	99601	99742	99852	99931	95981	99999			
54	98741	99002	99233	99433	99504	99744	99853	99932	99981	99999			
55	98745	99006	99236	99436	99606	99740	99855	99933	99982	99999			
56	98750		99240	99439	99509		99856	99934	99982	99999			
57	98755	99014	99244	99443	99611	99750	99858	99935	99983	99999			
59				99446	99514	99752	99359	99937	99983	99999			
60	98754		99251	9944	29516	99754	99861	99938	99984	100000			
-	98768	99025	99254	19452	99519	99756	99862	99939	99984	10000			
1								]	1				
									1				
<u>ا_</u>				I	[	1	l j			1 1			
	1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 - 1997 -	50. SOS						•					

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Figure 52: An excerpt from Padovani's table of sines [Giuntini (1581)] (source: Google books).

32 30 0,370,702 0,018,855 31 0,374,792 0,023,035 32 0,378,884 0,027,225		7,132,931	
31 6,374,792 6,623,035		7,132,931	
			and a state of the
32  0, 378, 884  0, 627, 229		7,137,321	
33 5,382,977 5,531,413			1. E
34 0,387,072 0,635,603		7,150,501	
5 0,391,109 0,039,792		7,154,878	
36 0,395,207 0,043,984	6,898,539	7,159,298	
37 6,399,300 6,048,178		7,153,598	
38 6,403,467 6,652,373	Contraction of the second second second second second second second second second second second second second s	7,108,100	
39 0,407,509 0,050,570 40 0,411,073 0,000,708		7,176,910	
+0 6,411,673 6,660,768 +1 6,415,779 6,664,968		7,181,318	
12 6,419,886 6,669,170		7,185,728	
43 6,423,995 6,673,373		7,190,140	1
4 6,428,105 6,677,578		7,194,554	C
5 6,43,2,216 6,681,785		and the subscription of the local division o	
6 0,43,0,329 0,085,994 7 0,440,444 0,090,204	And a state of the	7,203,387	
8 0,444,500 0,094,410		7,212,227	
9 0,448,678 0,098,630		7,210,050	
0 0,452,798 0,702,845	0,958,813	7,221,075	
6,450,919 0,707,002		7,225,502	
5,461,042 6,711,281	1	7,229,931	
3 6,465,166 6,715,501		7,234,362	
6,4.69,292 6,719,723 6,473,419 6,723,946	I man Dia a sal	7,243,228	
6 6,477,548 6,728,171			
7 6,481,678 6,732,397	1 A. D. A. P. C. C.		
18 6,485,809 6,73,6,625		7,250,541	
59 6,489,942 6,740,854	6,997,741	7,200,982	
50 6.494.0761 5.745.084	7,002,075	7,205,424	

Figure 53: An excerpt from Fincke's table of tangents [Fincke (1583)] (source: e-rara).

153		C	ANON	the case of the	
	35	36	37	38	39
0	5,735,764	5,877,852	6,018,150	6,156,615	6,293,204
		5,880,205			
2	5,740,529	5,882,558	6,022,796	6,161,198	6,297,724
		5,884,910			
4	5,747,672	5,887,202	6,029,760	6,168,070	6.304.50
		5,891,964			
7	5,752,432	5,894,314	0,034,400	6,172,648	6,309,01
8	5,754,811	5,895,564	5,035,719	5,174,935	6,311,27
		5,899,013			
10	5,759,508	5,901,301	0,041,357	0,179,512	6,315,784
		5,903,709			
13	5.760,700	5,905,050	6.049.309	6.186.371	0,320,29
		5,910,750			
15	5,771,452	5,913,090	5,052,940	5,190,940	0,327,05
10	5,773,827	5,915,442	0,055,255	0,193,224	0,329,30
		5,917,787			
18	5,778,570	5,920,132	6,059,884	6,197,791	5,333,80
		5,922,476			
11	5,785,697	5,924,820	6,066,824	6,202,350	6,338,31
		5,929,505			
23	5,790,441	5,931,847	5,071,448	6,209,199	5,345,05
24	5,792,912	5,934,189	5,073,759	6,211,479	0,347,30
25	5,795,183	5,230,530	6,076,069	0,213,758	0,349,55
26	5,797,553	5,938,871	6,078,379	6,216,037	0,351,80
		5,941,211			
29	5.804.601	5,943,551	7.095.306	6,222,870	6 2 5 8 5 2
30	15.807.030	5,948,228	61087.614	6,225,145	6360 78
-		1	1-3	1-,),1-+0	10, 900, 70.

Figure 54: An excerpt from Fincke's table of sines [Fincke (1583)] (source: e-rara).

	a starte Patrice alliant and a strategy and a strategy and	CANTIF.	and the second se	
	87	88	89	
State Barrier	229,255,785	382,010,194	1,145,934,768	
32	2 3 2,3 5 1,7 1 8 2 3 3,9 3 1,2 6 1	390,696,734	1,227,777,193	
34	235,532,422	399,780,910	1,322,226,495	
30	237,156,211 238,801,972	404,483,275	1,432,397,932	
37	240,470,730	414,227,875	1,494,678,912	
39	243,879,838	424,453,607	1,637,036,239	C
41 42	247,380,980	440,775,230	1,809,365,043 1,909,891,150	
43	250,995,450	and the second day of the seco	2,022,234,532	
45	254,713,403	subjects started second successive processive research to the second sec	2,291,895,669	
47	258,541,505	470,958,329	2,644,450,861	
49	262,487,160	- reasonable Statement property in the statement of the s	3,125,282,743	
51 52	200,554,348	498,256,113	3,819,709,423	
53	270,750,304	513,128,395	4,911,255,640	
55	275,080,457	528,915,798	0,875,087,278 8,594,018,305	
57	279,551,345	545,702,599	11,458,691,197	
59	284,170,01	5 5 3 , 5 9 3 , 0 3 1	34,376,072,269	
	200, 3, 3, 3, 44	3/ 3/2,907,090	L 3	·

Figure 55: An excerpt from Fincke's table of secants [Fincke (1583)] (source: e-rara).

13 <b>2</b> m 12 Ann (	r. 'A Gradus Qu	e B V adrantis		ubus	۲ ۱۱
] ] 0		2	3	4	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	348995 351902 354809 357716 360623 363530 366437 369344 372251 375158 378064 380971 383878 38071 383878 38071 383878 39692 392598 395505 398412 407131 410018 412944 415851 418757 421663 424570 417476 430382 433288 436194	523360 526265 529170 532075 534080 537884 540789 543694 546598 549503 552407 553216 561120 564024 566928 569832 575640 595967 598871 601775 604678 607582 610485 86	697165 200467 703369 706270 709172 712073 714975 717876 720777 723678 725282 735282 735282 735282 735282 735283 741084 743985 74084 743985 746886 749787 752588 755588 75891 77891 784591 784591 785581 785588 785588 785588 75891 778791 785591 785581 78	0987055555555555555555555555555555555555

Figure 56: An excerpt from Clavius's table of sines [Clavius (1586)].

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	0		2	3	4	_
0123450789011234507890	0000	174550	349207	1 \$240781	699269	160
T	2909	177419	352120	526995	702194	59
2 34 50	5818	180369	355073	\$29911	705116	58
3	8 727	183274	357945	532828	708039	57
4	116 36	18618,	360818	535745	710962	56
5	14544	189100	363770	538663	713886	55
		192010	366683	541580	710809	<u> 54</u>
78-910	20361	194920	369596	544498	719733	5352
8	23270	197830	372508	547415	722657	52
1.2	26179	100740	375421	550333	725580	SI
Ē	29088	203650	378334	553251	728504	120
	31996	206551	381247	556169	731418	49 48
12	34905	209471	384160	\$59087	734353	40
13	37814	212381	387073	562005	737277	47
1314	40723	215291	389987	564923	740202	46
15	43632	218201	392900	\$67841	743127	45 44 43
		221111	395814	\$70759	746052	금
17 18	49450	224022	398727	573678	748978	42
	\$+3.59	226932	401641	\$76596		42
19 20	55268	229842	404554	579514		41 40
	\$8177	232752	407.468	\$82433	757754	F
2 I 22	61086	235063	410382	585352	760680 763606	28
23	63995	238574	413295	\$88270	766532	39 38 37 36
24	66904 69813	241485 244395	416209	\$91189	769459	36
25		the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second se	419123	594108	7-9419	-1
25	72722	247306	422037	\$97028 \$99047	772385	35
27	78540	253128	424951 427866	599947 602866	778238	35 34 33 32
28	81450	156038	430780	605786	781164	33
29	84319	258949	433694	608705		
30	872 68	261859	4356609	611625	787017	3 I 30
	كالشائد بمستجر		-		the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second s	
]	89	88	87	86	85	
	Gradu	s Quadi	antis pr	o tange	ntibus	

Figure 57: An excerpt from Clavius's table of tangents [Clavius (1586)].

	0		I		2		3	ļ	
0	10000000	I	10001524		10006095	1	10013723	1	60
I	10000001	-1	10001574		10006198		10013875	ľ	595555555555
2	10000002	ļ	10001626		10006301		10014029	Ì	58
3	10000004		10001679		10006405		10014184		57
4	10000008		10001733		100065.09		10014339		20
2 1 4 50	01000001		10001788	1	10006615		10014495		55
0	10000014		10001844		10006721		10014653		24
1 2 3 4 50 78 90 1 4 1 1 1 5 6 7 8 9 0 1 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	10000020	8	100010001		10006828	1	1001484	- 53	5.3
<u>-</u> 9	1000001	1	10001957		10006936	F-1,	10014970		24
10			1000201		10007045	ţ	10019130 10015291		50
TL				1	10007159	17	1001345	+	54 532 51 50 49 47 47
12	10000060	4	10002134		10007376	1	1004 46 19	4	<b>4</b> 3
113	*	-	1000225		10007488				47
14	10000083	9.0	1000731		10007001		10015942		4.6
ÎS			10002381		10007716	100 C	10016107		4 <u>6</u> 45
16	80100001		1009244	17	40007831	ł	10016173		44
17		• }	10002510		10007946		to016440	3	44 43
18			10002576		10008062		10016608		42
179			10002642		10008179		10016777		41
20			10002709	?ľ	10008298		10016946		40
21	10000186		10001777		10008417	ų –	10017116		39
22	10000204		1000284	2.1	10008537		10017287		<u> 38</u>
23	10000223		1000291		10008658		10017459		37
24	10000243		1000198		10003779		10017632	h i	30
25	10000264		1000305		10008901		10017806	-3	35
20			1000313		10009025		10017981	3	34
127	10000 308		1:00320		10009149		10018157	Ċ	33
28	_ 1 /		10003277		10009274	-1	10018510		12
29	0 10000 3 57		1000335	21 81	10009400		10018687		410 38 30 33 33 33 33 33 30 30 30 30 30 30 30
(2)	89	ī	88'	† T	87	1	86		1

Figure 58: An excerpt from Clavius's table of secants [Clavius (1586)].

## SECANTIPM.

Figure 59: Another excerpt from Clavius's table of secants [Clavius (1586)].

			all of the second	-							/		118	/		/		Note -	/		/		/	-		/			
		1	(		75		1	(		7	6	1	(		77		V	(	;	78		V	/	7	.9		1		
		0	57	<i><b>47</b></i>	19	58	43	58	13	3	52	37	58	27	43	56	Z 31		1	3	3	17	2010		1	59	47	0	
		1		57		13			13	19	4	6	64	27	58		33		41 1	17				4	1	57	44	1	
	E. A. ST	2	0.0	57 5	52 :		2 5		13	34	14	32	-4. -	28	12	10 5	0		41 4		1 9	27	5	+ 1		24	49	z	
		3	1	58	9	41	7	25	13		23	54	1	28	26	15	ZZ	24	41 5	13	59	30	. 5	·4 2			27	3	
	1	4			24		<b>9</b> 57		14		32	12	12.2	29	40		10		42	11 1				4 3			29	4	
		5		58		4			14		39	1 march	100		54	22	54	-	42 7		58	32		54 5				5	
		6	-	1	57	13					45			29		25	5	-	42 3		-6			· F	3	4	55	6	
		7		59		22	50		14		50	42	Car		22	26	Z	1.3	42 :	50 5		17	-	55	14		15	7	
		8	1	59	1-1		36		15	4	54	45	200	29	36	26	12	-	42	3.	40	3		55 2	16	48	30	8	3
		9	TR C	59	45	100			15		57			and the second second	1.1.1	25		and a	43	16	43	44		55 3	8	39	41	9	
		10	5.8	0	10000	42	54			-	59		58	30	4	23	3	59.	42 .	29	27	21	58	55 9	50			10	
		11			17	47	35		15		.0		-	30	18	19	53		43 .		29	53	12	56	Z	15	49	11	
		12	1997 (1997)	1	33		7	1	16	5	0	16		30	32	15	38		43	55	21	21		56	14		46	12	
		13	140	U	10		36		16	19	58 58 57			30	+6	10		1	44	8	11 49	45	-	56 :	25	48	38	13	
		14	1000		16				16	34	56			71		3		in the	44	21		4	K	56 :		37		14	
		15	10	1	16	55	22			49	56	17		31	13	52	28	31	44		49	19		56	49		9	15	
		16	1		15	59	18	140		4		45	1	31	27	F1 47	97	1.4	44	12 46 12	36	11		57	10	59	48	16	
	Lesine.	17	1.20	1	53	58	54		17	19	43		-	31	41	38	21	1.0	44	59	22			57	12	41	21	17	
	-	19		100	19	57	11		17	34	36	24	-	31	55	49	41			12	7	37		57	24	21	30 51 24	18	1
		-		2	19	56	6		17	49	28	14	1	32	. 9	48	57	1236		24		35		97	36	1	15	19	
制設計制		19	58		15	55	4	58		17	20	11	58	72		47	12	58	45	12	34	27	58	57	47	79		20	1
	1.	20		1 AC	15	57	59		AL.	14	50	12	-	32	136	46				12	+1		-	57	59	37	50	21	
	in the second	21	1.1		15	52	56		386	14	49	7		108	13	45	7	-	19.00		40	44	1	58	10	53		22	-
		22		13.2	19	51	52	1	The fait	14	48	4	1		17	43	51	1000			39	39		58	22	39	3 G	-	-
		23		100	19	50	49		1 to	1.4	47	- 34		100	17	42	59	122			38	75			11	9.	+ 1	23	
		24	-			41	45	-	12.2	14	45	56	-		17	41	51	1	- and	12 40	37	31	1		11	32	- 57	24	-
	- Stern	25	1	13.00		48	41		100	14	4	- 52	-		13		+6	Jest.	12.00	12 53	36	26	-		11	31	52		-
		26	1.1	145		47	39	1.	1	14	- 43	22	3	NAP	13	39	+3	S. C.	12.94	12	75	21	-		11	30	47	20	-
		27	1	4	32	36	99 33		1	14	++2	10			143	38	338	10.5	11th	6	34	17	-		11	29	7 43		-
		28	1.2		48	+5	31	100	24	1-	31	54	,	100	13	42	33	100	No. of Concession, name	Same and the same of the		49			11	28			1.
		29	1000	.5	4	. 8	59	10.00	1.99	19	40	34	1000	a little	13	19	30	1	16.00	31	32	. 8			14	27	7 33		
		3.0	58		19		25	58	20	131	54	1 32	52	3 74	- 39	56	15	158	+7	42	44	10	58	59	47	3 2	628	30	

Figure 60: An excerpt of Bürgi's table of sines (1587). Bürgi's *Fundamentum Astronomiæ* manuscript is kept at the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wrocław, under call number IV Qu 38a. This excerpt of Bürgi's sine table was provided by Dieter Launert and is included in LOCOMAT (http://locomat.loria.fr) with permission.

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## THEATRI MVNDI Incipic tabula.

_			Incipit ta	Dula.		
31	0		2	3_1	4	1_5_
M.						
1	17	1064	2111	3157	4202	5246
2	34	1082	2128	3175	4220	5264
3	52	1099	2146	3192	4237	5281
4	69	1116	2163	3209	4255	5298
5	87	1134	2181	3227	4272	5316
2 3 4 56	104	1151	2198	3244	4289	5333
	122	1169	2216	3262	4307	5351
7	139	1186	2233	3279	4324	5368
9	157	1204	2250	3297	4342	5385
10	174	1221	2268	3314	4359	5403
II	191	1239	2285	3331	4376	5420
12	209	1256	2203	3349	4394	5437
13	226	1274	2320	3366	4411	5455
14	244	1291	2338	3384	4429	5472
15	261	1308	2355	3401	4446	5490
16	279	1326	2373	3418	4463	5507
7	296	1 1343	2390	3436	4481	5524
£ 8	314	1361	2407	3453	4498	5542
19	331	1378	2425	3471	4516	5559
20	349	1396	2442	3488	4533	5577
2 1	366	1413	2460	3506	4550	5594
22	383	1431	2477	3523	4568	5611
23	401	1448	2495	3540	4585	5629
4	418	1465	2512	3558	4603	5646
25	436	1483	2529	3575	4620	5663
26	453	1500	2547	3593	4637	5681
27	471	1518	2564	3610	4655	5698
8	488	1535	2582	3628	4672	5716
29	506	1553	2 599	3645	4690	5733
30	523	1570	2617	3662	4707	5750
1		l Ì	• •			

Figure 61: An excerpt from Gallucci's table of sines [Gallucci (1588)] (source: Google books).

23	3	CA	NON	2	and the second
	20	121	122	123	124
	a start was a start of the	3,583,679	3,746,066	3,907,311	4,067,366
	1	3,586,391	3,748,763	3,909,989	4,070,023
3		3,591,825	3,751,460	3,912,666	4,072,680
4	1	3,594,540	3,756,852	3,918,020	4,077,993
5		3,597,254	3,759,548	3,920,696	4,080,649
6	1	3,599,968	3,762,243	3,923,372	4,083,305
7		3,602,682	3,764,938	3,926,048	4,085,960
9	Contract of the Contract of th	3,608,108	3,70,3327	3,928,723	4,088;615
IC		3,610,821	3:77 3.021	3.934.072	4,093,923
II	3,450,253	3,613,533	3.775.715	3,936,746	4,096,577
IZ	Charles States and States	3,616,245	3,778,408	3,939,420	4,099,231
I	A CONTRACTOR OF A CONTRACTOR OFTA CONTRACTOR O	3,618,957	3,781,101.	3,942,093	4,101,884
14	the stand of the second second second second	3,621,669	3.783.794	3,944,766	4,104,537
10	and the second states	the second state of the se	3,789,178	3,950,112	4,109,84
17	THE STORE WAR THE AVE	3,629,802	3,791,870	3,952,784	4,112,493
I	1	3,632,512	3,794,562	3,955,456	4,115,144
IS	a state of the state	3,635,222	3,797,253	3,958,128	1
20	S. M. See Line 1 ( a	The second second second second	3,799,944		
2			3,805,325	3,963,470	
2	- Factor to the		3,808,015	3,968,810	
2	4. 3,485,741	3,648,768	3,810,704	3,971,480	the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second s
2	5 3,488,447	3,651,476		3,974,149	4,133,69
2	6 3,491,173	3,654,184	3,816,082		
-	the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second se	3,656,892			
1. 1.	8 3,496,624	3,659,599			
	0 3,502,07			and the second s	the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second s
	and the la		Tink all VI	Tree Con the	VERLICE, 1
÷		D z			
C. C. C. C.					

Figure 62: An excerpt from Lansberge's table of sines [van Lansberge (1591)] (source: e-rara).

	1244 0245 046 47	
	30 9,826,974 10,176,073 10,537,801 10,913,084 31 9,832,694 10,181,996 10,543,942 10,919,459	
-	32 9,838,417 10,187,922 11,550,087 10,925,838	
-	33         9,844,143         10,193,852         10,556,235         10,932,221           34         9,849,872         10,199,785         10,562,387         10,938,608	
	34 9,849,872 10,199,785 10,562,387 10,938,608 35 9,855,605 10,205,722 10,568,543 10,945,000	
31.7	36 9,861,341 10,211,663 10,574,703 10,951,396 37 9,867,080 10,217,607 10,580,867 10,957,796	
-	37 9,867,080 10,217,607 10,580,867 10,957,796 38 - 9,872,822 10,223,555 10,587,034 10,964,200	
4	39 9,878,968 10,229,506 10,593,205 10,970,608	
	40 9,884,317 10,235,460 10,599,280 10,977,020 41 9,890,070 10,241,418 10,605,559 10,983,436	
F	42 9,895,826 10,247,380 10,611,742 10,989,856	
-	43 9,901,585 10,253,345 10,617,929 10,996,280 14 9,907,347 10,259,314 10,614,119 11,002,708	
1	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	The street
)	46 9,918,882 10,271,262 19,636,541 L1,015,577 47 9,924,654 10,277,242 10,642,713 11,022,028	1
1-	47 9,924,654 10,277,242 10,642,713 -11,022,028 48 9,930,430 10,283,225 10,648,919 11,028,463	
	49 9,936,209 10,289,212 10,655,128 11,034,912	
100	10 9,941,991 10,295,202 10,661,341 11,041,365 51 9,947,777 10,301,196 10,667,558 11,047,822	
-	52 9,953,566 10,307,193 10,673,779 11,054,283	
-	13 9,919,359 10,313,194 10,680,c04 11,060,748	
P	14 9,965,155 10,319,199 10,686,233 11,067,218 55 9,970,954 10,325,207 10,692,466 11,073,692	
1-	56 9,976,756 10,331,219 10,698,702 11,080,170	
-	57         9.982,562         10,337,234         10,704,942         11,086,652           58         9.988,371         10,343,253         10,711,186         11,093,138	
	59 9,994,184 10,349,276 10,717,434 11,099,629	
	60 10,000,000 10,355,302 10,723,686 11,106,124	
	L	

Figure 63: An excerpt from Lansberge's table of tangents [van Lansberge (1591)] (source: e-rara).

132		. CVAL	VO.	SECA	
	52	6253	64	-54	8455
	6,242,692 6,248,742	16,616,		7,013,017	17,434,469
2/1	6,254,799	16,629,	43 81	7,026,654	17,448,968
And an a state of the state of	6,260,861	16,635,		7,033,482	17,456,229
	6,273,003	16,648,	551 1	7,047,160	17,470,775
	6,279,083 6,285,169	16,655,	1 100	7,054,010	17,478,059
8 1	6,291,261	16,667,0	19 11	7,067,729	17,492,650
E	6,297,358	or other the subscription of the subscription	408 1	7,074,599	16,499,957
	6,303,461 6,309,570	16,680,	345 1	7,081,476	17,507,272
	6,315,685	16,693,		7,095,250	17,521,924
	6,321,806	16,700,	Constant of the second	7,102,148	17,529,262
15 1	6,3;4,067	16,713,	336 1	7,115,965	17,543,959
	6,340,197	16,719, 16,726,		7,122,885	1
18 1	6,352,505	16,732,	377 I I	7,136,747	17,566,063
	6,358,663 6,364,827	16,739,		7,143,689	17,573,446
2.1 1	6,370,996	16,752,		17,157,593	
	6,377,172			17,164,556	and the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second
I THE OWNER AND ADDRESS OF ADDRESS OF	6,389,542	1 16,772,	195	17,178,502	17,610,480
25 1	6,395,736	16,778,	767	17,185,485	17,617,909
26 I 27 I	6,401,936	16,785,	347 1 933 1	7,192,476	17,625,347
	6,414,365	16,798,	525 I	7,206,477	17,640,246
and an and a second sec	6,420,573	16,805,		7,213,488	17,647,707
1 301	,+20,790	1 10,011,	(-9) -	/,220,10/	[ -/,0));:/)
The sector		a starting	tic straight		the second

Figure 64: An excerpt from Lansberge's table of secants [van Lansberge (1591)] (source: e-rara).

T	A	B	V	L	A

16 10 10	0		1	2
	Primus	Secundus	Primus Secondas	Primus Secundus
0	00,00	100000,00	17+5, 2+ 99984. 77	3+89 95 99939,08 60
L	-29109		1774-33 99984. 26	3519,02 99938 06 135
2	58,18	99999, 98		31+8,09 99937,03 5
3	87, 27	99999,96		
4	1151 26	99999.93	the second secon	
3450	145.44	99999.89	1890,66,99982-12	1635. 30 99933.90 5
	174.53	99999.8	1000 75 99981.57	
7	203,62	99999, 78		3693.4+99931,77.5
8	232, 71	99999.71	1977, 92 99980, 44	3722, 51 99930, 69
2	261, 80	99999,65	2007 00 99979. 86	3751, \$8 99929.60
0	290, 88		2036.08 99979. 27	3780,64 99928, 30 5
1	319,97			3809,71 99927,40 4
2	349,06	1 1111111	2094. 25:99978,06	
3	378, 15		12123.133 99977.45	3867.85199925, 17
4	407, 24	99999, 10	1 2152, 41 99976, 83	3890, 92 9992 4, 0 4 4
15	.4 6,32			
6	465, 41			3955,95 99921, 75
7	494, 50			
8	523.59			4013, 18 99919, 44
2	552,68			
14	181,77			
-	610.86			
12	639,95			
3	669,04		+	
14	698,13			
20	737.21			
27	756,30			4245, 70 99909, 83
8	785.39		a company of the second s	
19	814,48			
_	843, 57			4332, 88 99906, 08
0	872,65 Secundu		Secundus' Primas	4361,9-99904,82 Secundus Primus
		9	85	\$7
		 		\$7265

Figure 65: An excerpt from Magini's table of sines [Magini (1592)].

0		1 1	
Prima	Secunda	Prima	Secunda
00,00	Infinita	17+5,50	5728998,30
	43760708,15	1774,59	5635043,09
	71880336,88	1803,69	55441 49,14
87.27 1	14575295,06		5456109,68
	85640039 53	1861,89	5370850 03
	68756800;06	1891,00	5288212,50
	57296338,39	TT 1920,10	\$208051,57
	49110981,24	1 1949320	5130300,40
232.70	42971819.90 M.O.	AAT 1978,30	
261,79	38196963,33	2036,50	4910380,2
	34378290,02 TH	OG 1 2065,61	4841183,53
319,96	31252767,45	2003,01	4773931,9
349,05		07711212123,81	4708521,5
407,23	26444339,55	2152,91	
43632	22918738,54 9399	0 110	4582931,8
465,41	21486107.11	1 2211,11	452261455
494,50	202222198,18 10 00	. aluda 1246,22	4463863,1
523.59	19098649,71	2269,32	4406617,8
\$52,68	1809:374/10 0000	0/9x2 0 2298)92	4850829:50
581,77	1-1886:1.24	2327,52	4296417,90
610,86	16370056,97	neup 2356,63	
639.95	15628900346 15 111		#191591,3
669.04	14946454,62	2001 2414,85	4141112,9
698.13	14323030,2/	(4473,9)	A COMPANY A DOCTOR
727.22	13750821 63	2473,06	4043596,4
756,31	13221886,81	2502,17	3996558,28
785,40	12732134,35	2531,28	
814,50	12277364,79	2560,38	3905687,3
843.59	11853958,77		3861782,5
872,68	11458911.36	T PATTER AND	3818852,8
Secunda	Prima	Secunda	
8	9	1 8	8

Figure 66: An excerpt from Magini's table of tangents [Magini (1592)].

TABVLA

		o	l				1
	Prima	Secunda			Prima	Secunda	
0	100000,00	Infinita.			100015,24	5729870.98	16
I	100000,01	3+3760722,69				5635930,31	dš
2	1 00000,02	171880365,98			100016,25	5545050.91	15
5	100000,04	114586911,97			100016579	5437025.99	15
4	100000 08	85940183,65				5371780,89	15
5						5289157,98	15
6	100000.14	57296425,66		22		5209011,52	15
7	100000,20	49112556,40			100019,00	5131283-95	5
8	100000,27	42971935,36		£ 7 1		5055816,34	15
9	100000,34		:		100020,15		15
0				1		4911398,38	
1	100000,51	31252827,43				4842216,19	
2	100000,60	28648346,81				4774978.28	
3	100000,71					4709583.29	14
4	100000.83	24555541.99	••	•		4645954,85	lli
5	100000,95					4584022.71	44
6	1,00001,08					4523719.94	
7	100001,22	20322345,32	-			4464983.05	
8	100001,37	19098911,50		3		4-107752,30	14
9	100001,52	18093650,43		9 F		435 1969 61	4
0	100001,68					4297581,56	
: 1	100001,86	16370362.39				+2++536,07	117
2	10002,04	15626220,42				+192784.06	13
3	100002,23	1.49.46789,12		4		4142278,75	3
4	100002,43	14323979.32				+093975.66	3
5	100002,64					40.44833.75	13
6	100002-85	13122264,95			the second second second second second second second second second second second second second second second s	3997809,16	11-2
7	100003,08	12732527,03				3951866.30	1
8	100003,32	12277771.93				3906967.34	
9	100003,57	11854380,54				5863077,09 3820161.94	
0	100003.81	and the second s		{			13
	Secunda	Prima		I	Secunda	Prima   18	<u> </u>
	<b>N</b> 2	9		12	<u> </u>	-	100
-					••	100003.8	T

Figure 67: An excerpt from Magini's table of secants [Magini (1592)].

H	0	1	1	1	2		3	1 1	4	
0	0000	48.5	174524	48.5	348995	48.	\$23360	+8.4	697565	48.
I	2909		177433		351902		526265		700467	
2	5818		180341		354809		529170		703369	
3	8727		183250		357716		532075	-	706270	
4	11636		186158 189066		360623		534980 537884		709172 712073	3.
6	17453	1.4					540789	1.		1
7	20362	-	191975	- 1	366437 369344		543694	- 1	714975	48.
8	23271		197792		372251	1.1	546598	-	720777	
9	26180		200700		375158		549503		723678	
10	29088	-1-	203608	11	378064		552407	510	726579	1
11	31997		206517	1	380971	1	555312	1.000	729480	1.00
12	34906		209425		383878		558216		732381	
13			212333		386785	1	561120	1	735282	1 .
14	40724 43632	{	215241 218149		389692		564024		738183	
16	46541		221057	1	395505		569832	-	743985	
17	49450	1	223965		398412		\$727 26		746886	
18	52359		226873		401318		575'640		749787	
19	55268		229781	1	404225		\$78544		752688	
20	58177		232689	1	407131		581448		755588	
21	61086		235597		410038		584352		758489	1
22	63995	1	238505		412944		587256		761389	
23	66904		241413		415851	1	\$90160	1	764290	1
25	69813 72721		244321 247229		418757 421663		593064		767190	
26	75630		250137	1	424570		598871			
27	78539		253045		427476		601775		772991	
28	81448		255953		430382		604678	1	778791	
29	84357		258861		433288		707582		781691	
301	87265	48.5	261769	48-5	436194	43.4	610485	18.4	784591	48.
1	89	1	88	1	87	1	1 86	1	85	

Figure 68: An excerpt from Clavius's table of sines [Clavius (1593)].

DI	0	<b>I</b> [	2.	3	4	
M	Parts	Parts	Parts	Parts	Parts	Parts
1	29	1774	3519	5262	7004	8744
2	58 87	1803	48	91	33	73
3	87	32	77	5320	62	8803
	116	GI	3000	4.9	19	13 1
450	45	90	35	78	7120	60
б	74	1919	64	5407	• 49	89
7 8	203		93	. 30	78	8918
531 3	32	77	3722	5	7207	47
9	61	2007	51	95	30	76
10	1		80			
11		65	3809	53	94	
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		3 2617		1 610		

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Figure 69: Excerpt of Fale's table of sines [Fale (1593)]. (source: https://archive.org/details/b30333106)

3		Junio	Tangennu	m, moc	ant	ium, rege	11 20000000	uen Dia.
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34	11636	11636	10000000	はあきのスティ	34	186158	183279	
51	14544	14544	100000010	061901-0	5	189066	189100	10001733
6	17453	17452	10000014	TITLE STATE	6	191975	192010	10001844
8	20362	20361	10000027	303(11))	78	194003	194920 197830	10001900
91	261801	26179	10000034	3129 (182) 12 P	9	200700	200740	10002015
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11	39197	31996 34905	10000051	TT TE TO TAKE	II I2	206517	206561	10002134
121	34906	37814	10000071	and a g	13	2123331	212381	10002256
14	40724	40723	10000083	the second	14	215241	215291	10002319
15	43632	43632	10000095	tinier -	15	218149	818201	10001381
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18	\$2359	52359	10000137			226873	226932	10002576
19	55268	55268	10000152	Contra las	19 20	229781	229842	10002642
20	610861	61086	10000186	122	21		2356621	10002709
22	63995	63995	10000204	1. 1. 1.	22	235597	235663	10002846
23	66904	66904 69813	10000223	Progedity	23	241413	241485	10002916
24	69813 72721	72722	10000264		24	244321	244395	10002987
25	75630	75631	10000285	N ARE	25	250137	250217	10003130
27	78539 81448	78540	10000308		27	253045	253128	10003203
28	84357	81450	10000332	1	29	255953	256038	10003277
30	87265	84359 87268	10000357 10000381		30	261769	261859	10003428
31	90174 93083	90177 93086	10000407	Salt and	31	264677	264770 267681	10003505
32	93083	93000	10000433		32	267585	267681	10003582
33	98901	98904	10000489	N. mark	34	273401	273503	10003739
35	101809	101814	10000518	Carlos and	35	276308	276414	10003819
361	104718	104723	10000548		36	279216	279325	10003900
37 38	110536	110541	10000611	10 10 10	37 38	285032	285148	10004065
39	113445	113450	10000643		39	287940	288059	10004148
40	116353	116360	10000677	- Juni	40		290970	10004232
41 42	122171	119269 122178	10000746	ALL TON	42	293755 296663	296794	10004317
43	125079	125088	10000782 10000819	2 34	43	299570	299705	10004490
44	127988	127997	10000819		44	302478	302617	10004578
45	133805	133816	10000895	122	46	308293	305528	10004765
	136714	136725	10000934	A REAL A	47	311200	311351	10004845
47 48	139622	. 139635	10000975		48	314108	314262	10004936
49 50	142531 145439	142544 145454	10001018	124 Art	49 50	317015	317174 320085	10005028
SI	148348	148363	00110001	the state	51	322830	322.997	10005216
52	151257	151273	10001144	1	52	325737	325909	10005310
53	154165	154182	10001188	1	53	328645	328821	10005405
54	159982	160001	10001280	i	551	334459	334645	10005598
55	162891	162911	10001327	Carlos I.	561	337367	337558	10005696
57	165799 168708	165820 168730	10001375	The state	57 58	340274	340470	10005795
59	171616	171640	10001423	- dentil	59	3460881	346295	10005994

Figure 70: The first page from Ceulen's table of trigonometric functions [Ceulen (1596)].

afeten ban Sinuum, Tangen           51 nus,  Perpendi.   Snijde           88   88           9993908 186361498   186537004           19994009   188770746   1889438           2999409   291219764   1291314           3   2994108   193710768   1291880	r,     Gradē	Sinu	is, Perpendi	
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3 9994208 293710598 2938806 4 9994307 296244357 2964130	83 3		603057015	60313991 61390744
5199944051298823024 2989902	991 15	1 20087201	624990311	62507030
6 9994502 301445987 3016118	07 6	1 3 3 3 1	636564040	63664258
7 9994598 304115322 3042796 8 9994692 306833212 3069961	87 7	9998811	648578536 661050728	64865562 66112635
9 9994787 309599077 3097605	33 1. 5	9998900	674016415	67409052
10 9994881 312416191 3125761		1111-11-1	687500739	68757340
11 9994974 315283945 3154424 12 9995066 318204757 3183618	91 11		701531474 716149676	70161274
12 0 0 9 1 1 7 1 3 2 1 1 8 1 1 3 7 1 3 2 1 3 3 6 7	741 113	9999065	7313855931	73145395
14 9995247 324212583 3243667	65 14		747289264	74735616
15 9995336 327302782 3274555 16 9995424 330451272 3306025	09 15 45 16	9999143	763899813	76396526
17 9995512 333661982 3338118	001 17	9999218	799432199	
18 9995599 336934467 3370828	30 18	9999254	818463792	79949473 81852487
19 9995685 340272744 3404196 20 9995770 343677949 3438234	52 19		838430438 859395374	83849006
21 9995854 347150587 3472945	861 21	11111111	881427652	88148437
22 9995937 350695255 3508377	99 22	111111	904627361	90468261
23 9996019 354312962 3544540 24 9996101 358006024 3581456	51 23 79 24		929081086 954893332	92913489
1 1 200 1 8 2 1 261 776788 1 2610140	68 25		982180553	95494569
16 9996262 365626388 3657630	13 26	9999511	1011062679	10/11/212
17 9996341 369560062 3696953 28 9996419 373579199 3737130			1041705454	104175344
29 9996496 377686614 3778189	75 20	1777551	1074263399	107430994
	94 30	99999619	1145891136	114593476
31 9996649 386178258 386307 32 9996724 39568737 3906967			1185395877	118543803
22 9996798 395060088 395186	6:01 1:	3 9999692		122777715
34 9996871 399655828 399780	916 13.	4 9999714	1273213435 1322188681	132222649
35 9996943 404359642 4044833 36 9997014 409175388 409397		5 9999736 9999756	1375082163 1432363027	137511852
37 9997085 414107152 414227	375 37	1 9999776	1494645462	143239793
38 9997155 419159137 419278	106! 38	9999795	1562590046	156265204
39 9997224 424335793 424453 40 9997292 429641796 429758	607 31 156 40		1637005697	163703623
41 9997359 435082056 435196	961 41	99998471	1809337410	171889221
42 9997425 440661780 440775	130 41	9999863	1809337410 1909864971	190989110
43 9997491 446386310 446498 44 9997556 452261453 452371			2022219818	202222451
45 9997620 458293185 458402	271 4	5 9999905	2291873854	214864298
46 9997683 454487853 464595	485 40	5 9999917	2455533838	245555410
47 9997745 470852152 470958 48 9997806 477393195 477497			2644433955 2864819229	264445080
49 9997866 484118351 4842210	519 49		3125276745	200483468
50 9997927 491038024 491139	338 150	99999959	3437829002!	312528274 343784354
51 9997986 498155754 498256 52 9998044 505482730 505581	113 S1 534 S2		3819696333	381970942
(1 9998101 113030946 113128			4297181900	429719353
CA 00081 CT 02080 CI CT 020001	102 0	1 9999986	5729633839	572964256
55 9998212 528821258 528915 56 9998267 537085003 5371780	798 55 89 56	9999989	6875680006	687 687 27
57 9998321 545610968 545702	199 59	1111111	8594012547	859401836
58 9998374 554414914 554505 59 9998426 563504309 563593	1100	8 9999998	11458686834 17188033688 34376070815	1141869119 1718803619

Figure 71: The last page from Ceulen's table of trigonometric functions [Ceulen (1596)].

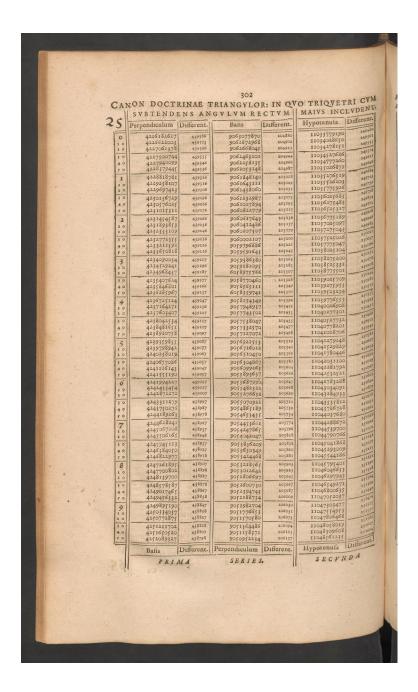


Figure 72: Excerpt of Rheticus's *Opus palatinum* [Rheticus and Otho (1596)] (source: e-rara).

		NON	115		SINU	UM	1000	11		1
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10	4.84813.68092 9.69627.36070	48481367978		1	99999999988.24778	1175222	1350441		TO I	
20	14.54441.03820	48481367408	118	114	99999.99952.99114	3525664	2350444		10	
40	19.39254.71228	48481366953	455	116	99999999894-23006 999999-99811-96456	8126550	2350444	0-1	10	
50	24.24068.38181	48481366382	571	111	99999.99706.19462	10576994	2310443	_	10	
10	29.08882.04563 33.93695.70262	48481365699 48481364901	683 797	114 116	99999.99576.92025	12927437	2350441	110	9	
20	38.78509.35164	48481363989	911	111	999999-99424-14146 99999-99247-85824	17618322			p	
30	43.63322.99153	48481361964	1015	114	99999.99048.07058	19978766	1350441	100 C 100 C	10	
40	48.48136.62117 53.32950.23942	48481361825	1139 1254	115	99999998824-77850	22329208	1350444	V-21	10	
2	\$8.17763.84513	48481359204	1367	115	99999.98577.98198	17030093	2350444		8	
10	63.01577.43717	48481357722	1481	113	999999.98013.87568	29380537	2350441	3	10	
20	67.87391.01439	48481356117	1.631	115	99999.97696.56590	31730978	2350444		10	
30	71.72204.57566 77.57018.11983	48481354417 48481352595	1710	III	999999.97355.75168 999999.96991.43305	34081422 36431863	2350441		10	
50	82.41831.64578	48481350657	1938	313	99999.96603.60998	\$\$781307	2350442	2	10	
3	87.26645.15235	48481348606	2051	114	999999.96192.28249	41132749	2350441		7	
10	92.11458.63841 96.96272.10282	48481346441 48481344162	1165	114 114	9999999575757-45°59 99999995299.11426	43483190 45833633	2350443	-	to of	
30	101.81085.54444	48481341769	2393	114	99999.94817.27351	48184075	2310441		0	
40	106.65898.96213	48481339262	2507	114	99999994311.92835	50534516	2350443		10	
10	111.50712.35475	48481336641	1.621	114	99999.93783.07876	\$2884959	2350440		0	
to	121.20339.06022	48481333906 48481331057	2731	114	99999.93230.72477 99999.92654.86635	55235399 57585842	2350443	S 8 1 1	10	
20	126.05152.37079	48481328095	2.962	116	99999.92055.50353	\$9936282	2350442	0-2	24	
30	130.89965.65174	48481325017	3078	111	99999.91432.63629	62286724	2350440		0	
40	135.74778.90191 140.59592.12019	48481311818	3189	117	99999.90786.26465 99999.90116.38859	64637164 66987601	2350442		0	
5	145-44405-30541	48481315104	3418	114	99999.89423.00812	69338047	\$350440		5	
10	150.29218.45645	48481311572	3532		99999.88706.12325	71688487	2350440		0	
20	155.14031.57217 159.98844.65142	48481307915	3647		99999.87965.73398	74038927 76389368	2350439		0	
30	164.83657.69306	48481300290	3701		99999.86414.44223	78739807	2350441		10	
50	169.68470.69596	48481196302	3988	111	99999.85603.53975	\$1090248	2350439		10	
6	174.53283.65898	48481292199	4103	111	99999.84769.13288 99999.83911.22161	\$3440687 \$5791127	2350440		4	
10	179.38096.58097 184.22909.46081	48481187984	4215	114	99999.83029.80595	\$8141566	1350439	ALC: NOT THE OWNER OF	40	
10	189.07722.29734	48481279208	4445	111	99999.82124.88590	90492005	2350438		10	
40	193.92535.08942	48481274652	4556		99999.81196.46147 99999.80244.53264	92842443 95192883	2350440	1000	10	
50	198.77347.83594	48481269978	4674	111	99999.79269.09943	97543311	1350438		3	
10	203.62160.53572 208.46973.18765	49481260293	4785	IIS	99999.78170.16184	99893759	1350438	0	10	
20	213.31785.79058	48481255278	1015	111	99999.77247.71987	101144197	2350438		40	
30	218.16598.34336	48481250151	\$127	115	99999.76201.77352 99999.75132.32280	104594635	2350437		30	
40	223.01410.84487 227.86223.29396	48481244909 48481239554	5242	11J 11f	99999.74039.36770	109295510	1350436		10	
8	2,1.71035.68950	48481234084	5470	114	99999.72922.90824	111645946	1350438		2	
10	237.55848.03034	48481218500	5584		99999.71782.94440 99999.70619.47621	113996384 116346819	1350435		10	
10	242.40660.31534	48481222801	\$698	114	99999.69432.50365	118697156	1350437		40	
30	247-25472-54336 252-10284-71326	48481216990	5812	112	99999.68222.02675	121047690	2350438		10	
40	256.95096.82392	48481109016	6040	114	99999.66988.04547	113398118	1350434		10	
9	261.79908.87418	48481198871	6154	112	99999.65730.55985	125748561	1350436	0-1 4	1	
10	266.64720.86290	48481192606	6266	117	99999.64449.56987 99999.63145.07555	118098999	2350434	0.1	40	
10	271.49532.78896	48481186113	6383	114	99999.61817.07688	131799867	2350433	*	30	
30	276.34344.65119 281.19156.44847	48481173119	6609	114	99999.60465.57388	11210100	2350435	0.1	10	
10	186.03968.17966	48481166396	6723	114	99999.59090.56653	137500735	2350431	=	10	
	Sinus complementi	Diff.I.	11.	П.,	Sinus.	Diff. I.	11,		0	

Figure 73: Excerpt of Pitiscus's *Thesaurus mathematicus* [Pitiscus (1613)] (source: École des Ponts ParisTech, Paris, photograph by the author).