# Traces of Menelaus' Sphaerica in Greek Scholia to the Almagest 

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## 1. Introduction

The Greek mathematician Menelaus lived two generations before Ptolemy; his Sphaerica was the first monograph on "intrinsic" geometry on the surface of a sphere. The treatise, organized in three books, is lost in Greek but has survived in Arabic, as well as in Hebrew and Latin translations therefrom. The author of the Latin version was the celebrated translator Gerard of Cremona. ${ }^{1}$ The Arabic tradition is quite complex: ${ }^{2}$ during the $8^{\text {th }}$ and $9^{\text {th }}$ centuries, two or even three independent translations were completed, one of which probably through a Syriac intermediary; they were subsequently revised by a number of scholars. These revisions soon started to interact, to an extent that it is often impossible to assess, both with one another and with a tradition stemming from Thābit ibn Qurra's treatise on the so-called "Sector Theorem", a crucial result also attested in the Arabic Sphaerica. In Arabic, we only have access to manuscripts of some such revisions; a critical edition of Abū Naṣr's revision of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation was published by M. Krause in $1936 ;{ }^{3}$ no printed edition, either critical or otherwise, is available of the others, ${ }^{4}$ with the only exception being Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s. Gerard of Cremona's translation from Arabic has not been critically edited, either, but the material relevant to this article has been published, as we shall see in due course. A Latin translation based on a Hebrew version and, to a lesser extent, on a series of Arabic sources was provided by Edmund Halley and published posthumously in 1758; the Hebrew text belongs in the same branch of the tradition as Gerard's; both are thought to be quite faithful to one of the original Arabic translations.

[^0]As we shall see in the next section, it happens that two Greek authors preserve fragments from Menelaus' Sphaerica; in particular, we can read the entire text of six propositions. These authors are the $4^{\text {th }}$-century mathematicians Pappus and Theon, who operated in Alexandria and who also wrote extensive commentaries on Ptolemy's Almagest. The aim of the present article is simply to add three items to the list of traces of Menelaus' Sphaerica in Greek sources: these are two definitions and a proof sketch of a particular case of the Sector Theorem. These items are preserved in three scholia to Ptolemy's Almagest: the two definitions are contained in a single scholium; the proof sketch is distributed between two further scholia. It must be stressed that only the first scholium explicitly refers to Menelaus' Sphaerica.

The new evidence bears on parts of the Sphaerica that underwent major changes and revisions in the course of the transmission: therefore it is in principle a non-trivial task to compare the Greek text with the Medieval tradition. Still, the case of the two definitions will prove relatively easy to assess. As for the Sector Theorem, it must be borne in mind that our Greek sources do not even justify the hypothesis that it was included in the "original" Sphaerica: both Ptolemy and Theon provide, as we shall see, very detailed and almost complete proofs of the same result but do not mention Menelaus in this connec-tion-still, Ptolemy (who lived just about fifty years later) reports two astronomical observations of his and calls him "the geometer"; ${ }^{5}$ Theon quotes two entire propositions from the Sphaerica.

A few words must also be said about the origins of the collection of scholia in which those edited in the present article are included. Heiberg knew of 36 manuscripts containing the Almagest (henceforth Alm.) in its entirety; he organized them into three families, whose best (and oldest) representatives are

- Par. gr. 2389 (in majuscule, beginning $9^{\text {th }}$ century, Alm.);
- Vat. gr. $1594\left(2^{\text {nd }}\right.$ half of the $9^{\text {th }}$ century, Prolegomena to the Almagest, incomplete, Ptolemy, Alm., Phaseis, De judicandi facultate et animi principatu, De hypothesibus planetarum I); Marc. gr. 313 (end $9^{\text {th }}-$ beginning $10^{\text {th }}$ century, Prolegomena, Alm.);
- Vat. gr. 180 ( $10^{\text {th }}$ century, Alm.) and Vat. gr. 184 ( $2^{\text {nd }}$ half of the $13^{\text {th }}$ century, varia arithmetica et astronomica, Prolegomena, scholia ad Alm., Alm.).

The first two families, of which Par. gr. 2389 on one side and Vat. gr. 1594 and Marc. gr. 313 on the other are also the prototypes, are linked by a series of conjunctive variants and thus give rise to a super-family. Heiberg notes that the tradition represented by the third

[^1]family, although less correct and often interpolated, allows very old textual layers to be reached. ${ }^{6}$ Overall, the structure of the stemma proposed by Heiberg makes it possible to go very far back in the tradition of Alm.

As for the scholia, the situation can be summarized as follows. ${ }^{7}$
a) Par. gr. 2389 is a de luxe exemplar and has no scholia vetera.
b) A large number of scholia transcribed by the main copyists can be found in Vat. gr. 1594 and Marc. gr. 313. The sets of scholia contained in these two codices are almost identical but they do not coincide, nor is the one a subset of the other. As a consequence, the two manuscripts are independent witnesses of a single collection assembled in Late Antiquity-almost surely within the $6^{\text {th }}$-century Alexandrine Neoplatonic school led by Ammonius-in the same way as they are independent witnesses of Alm. itself. An obvious lower bound to the date of composition of this collection can be set, since they plunder Theon's commentary in Alm., redacted about 360 CE.
c) Vat. gr. 184 is an apograph of Vat. gr. 1594 as for the Prolegomena. The earliest scholia in the margins of Alm. were transcribed by the main copyists themselves. Their text shows strict affinities with the readings of Marc. gr. 313, and I take it as certain that a model of Vat. gr. 184 is an apograph of the Venice codex as far as the marginal scholia are concerned. ${ }^{8}$ A further, select collection of scholia was transcribed in Vat. gr. 184, before Alm. itself, at ff. $25 \mathrm{r}-80 \mathrm{v}$. This collection was surely drawn from Vat. gr. 1594 since it also includes many annotations in a very active hand of the $12^{\text {th }}$ century that were added to that codex. Hence, we sometimes find that the same annotation is found twice in Vat. gr. 184, both in the margins of Alm. and in the liminar collection, copied from different sources.
d) Vat. gr. 180 contains infrequent scholia in the hand of the main copyists, and a very rich and multi-layered apparatus of later annotations. Most of these were copied from Vat. gr. 1594.

As for the scholia edited in the present paper, the first is only contained in Vat. gr. 1594 and Marc. gr. 313, the second and the third are also present in the liminar collection of Vat. gr. 184.

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## 2. Known Traces of Menelaus' Sphaerica in Greek Sources

The list of known traces of Menelaus' Sphaerica in Greek sources includes the following items.

- Quotation of the entire prop. I.5, including a general enunciation, in Pappus, Coll. VI.2, 474.15-476.17 Hultsch: if three arcs of a great circle intersect, the sum of any two of the arcs cut off by the intersections ${ }^{9}$ is greater than the remaining one. The result is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved in El. I.20. The proof of the spherical case in Pappus' text is an immediate application of El. XI.20; it differs considerably from those attested in Gerard's translation and Abū Naṣr's revision, that are identical ${ }^{10}$ to one another and use a result that we read as Theodosius, Sph. III.1.
- Quotation of the entire prop. I.6, including a general enunciation, in Pappus, Coll. VI.3, 476.18-31 Hultsch: the sum of any two arcs issued from the extremes of the base of a spherical triangle [called "trilateral"] and intersecting within it is less than the sum of the other two sides of the trilateral. The result is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved in El. I.21; mutatis mutandis, the two proofs use the same idea, namely, repeated application of the preceding proposition (Sph. I. 5 and El. I.20, respectively). The Arabo-Latin sources have the same proof as Pappus.
- Quotation of the entire prop. I.13, including a general enunciation, in Theon, in Alm. VI.11, p. 342 of the Basel edition: two trilaterals are equal if they have two sides and any of the angles not contained by them respectively equal, provided that the remaining angles not contained by the selected sides do not sum to two right angles. ${ }^{11}$ This and the subsequent proposition are explicitly assigned to Menelaus' Sphaerica by Theon. The result is also valid in plane geometry; it has no counterpart in the Elements, even if Menelaus' proof would also apply to triangles. ${ }^{12}$ The idea of the proof is the same in Theon and in some representatives of the Arabo-Latin tradition, but the formulation of the steps of the deduction may vary considerably. The other representatives of the Arabo-Latin tradition, among them Gerard's translation, have a differ-

[^3]ent proof. ${ }^{13}$ A part of the text of this and of the subsequent proposition is printed in Björnbo 1902, 22-6, in order to compare it with Gerard's translation; since the Basel edition contains a Byzantine recension of Theon's treatise, I provide in the Appendix a complete critical edition from the main manuscript witnesses of Theon, in Alm. VI.

- Quotation of the entire prop. I.14, including a general enunciation, in Theon, in Alm. VI.11, pp. 342-3 of the Basel edition: two trilaterals are equal if they have one side and the two angles adjacent to it respectively equal. Theon also applies this result ear-
 "as Menelaus in the Spherics" (in Alm. I.16, iA, 599.8-9). The result is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved as the first part of $E l$. I.26; since Menelaus did not resort to indirect arguments in his treatise, the two proofs are necessarily different. The idea of the proof is the same in Theon and in the Arabo-Latin tradition, but the formulation of the steps of the deduction may vary considerably. ${ }^{14}$
- Quotation of a part of prop. I.34, not preceded by a general enunciation, in Pappus, Coll. VI.4, 478.1-21 Hultsch: if three arcs of a great circle less than a quadrant and issuing from the same point fall on a great circle, and if they cut off equal arcs on this great circle, the sum of the external arcs among the three falling on the great circle is greater than twice the inner arc. The result is also valid in plane geometry; it has no counterpart in the Elements. The (quite simple) idea of the proof is the same in Pappus and in the several representatives of the Arabo-Latin tradition, but the formulation of the steps of the deduction varies considerably. Sph. I. 5 (= Coll. VI.2) is applied and its general enunciation is explicitly quoted.
- Quotation of a part of prop. I.37, not preceded by a general enunciation, in Pappus, Coll. VI.5, 478.22-480.6 Hultsch. The result (a generalization of the previous one to four arcs of a great circle issuing from the same point) is also valid in plane geometry; it has no counterpart in the Elements. The (quite simple) idea of the proof is the same in Pappus and in the several representatives of the Arabo-Latin tradition, but the formulation of the steps of the deduction varies considerably. Moreover, Sph. I. 37 proves two results with the same proof, whereas Pappus states and proves only one of them, thereby destructuring the proof. Sph. I. 6 (= Coll. VI.3) is applied and its enunciation is quoted in instantiated form; Sph. I. 34 (= Coll. VI.4) is tacitly applied.
- Application, without quotation, of prop. I. 4 (first part) in Pappus, in Alm. VI.9, iA, 275.16; the proposition is explicitly assigned to Menelaus’ Sphaerica: $\dot{\text { © }}$ ह̈б兀ıv Mєvદ́ $\lambda \alpha o \varsigma ~ \sigma \varphi \alpha ı \rho ı к о і ̃ \varsigma ~ " a s ~ M e n e l a u s ~ i n ~ t h e ~ S p h e r i c s ~ h a s ~ i t " . ~ T h e ~ r e s u l t ~(t w o ~ t r i l a t e r a l s ~$ are equal if their sides are respectively equal) is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved in El. I.8; since Menelaus did not resort to indirect arguments in his treatise, the two proofs are necessarily different.

[^4]- Application, without quotation, of prop. I. 4 (first part) in Theon, in Alm. II.7, iA, 680.16; the proposition is explicitly assigned to Menelaus’ Sphaerica: $\dot{\varsigma}$ Mとvé $\lambda \alpha$ ऽ $\dot{\varepsilon} v$ тоі̃ऽ $\sigma \varphi \alpha \iota \iota \kappa$ ı̃ऽ "as Menelaus in the Spherics". The result is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved in El. I.8.
- Application, without quotation, of prop. I. ${ }^{15}$ in Pappus, in Alm. VI.9, iA, 276.1-2; the
 "as Menelaus in the Spherics". The result (the greater side of a trilateral subtends the greater angle) is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved in El. I.18; the two proofs are necessarily different, for that of the Elements employs I.16, a result which is not valid in spherical geometry.
- Application, without quotation, of prop. I. 17 in Theon, in Alm. IV.2, iA, 973.3; the proposition is explicitly assigned to Menelaus’ Sphaerica: $\omega \varsigma$ Mev $̇ \lambda \alpha o \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ̇ v ~$ $\sigma \varphi \alpha \iota \rho \iota \frac{1}{c}$ "as Menelaus in the Spherics". The result (two trilaterals are equal if they have one side and two angles, one of which not adjacent to the side, respectively equal) is also valid in plane geometry and its counterpart is proved as the second part of $E l$. I.26; since Menelaus did not resort to indirect arguments in his treatise, the two proofs are necessarily different.

To sum up: Sph. I. 5 (Pappus), 6 (P), 13 (Theon), $14(\mathrm{~T}), 34(\mathrm{P}), 37(\mathrm{P})$ are quoted in full or in part, Sph. I. $4(\mathrm{PT}), 9(\mathrm{P}), 17(\mathrm{~T})$ are only applied.

Pappus' and Theon's purposes for quoting in full the above-mentioned propositions are quite different. After an initial section devised to boast about the virtues of his own teaching of the "small astronomical corpus", ${ }^{16}$ Pappus begins ex abrupto his exposition by stating and proving, in Coll. VI.2-5, the four theorems listed above; only with Coll. VI.6-7 we learn that these results are preliminary to provide an alternative proof and a completion of Theodosius, Sph. III.5. As a matter of fact, only the results proved in Coll. VI.4-5 are applied in Coll. VI.6-7, respectively; as we have seen, Coll. VI.2-3 simply provide the key steps to the proofs of Coll. VI.4-5, respectively. One remarkable feature of Pappus' exposition is that he expressly asserts at the end of Coll. VI. 2 that the word employed by Menelaus to denote a spherical triangle was $\tau \rho i ́ \pi \lambda \varepsilon v \rho o v ~ " t r i l a t e r a l ~$ <figure>"; only this sentence in Pappus' exposition refers to Menelaus' Sphaerica. ${ }^{17}$

Theon's intent is different: the two theorems he quotes will allow an accurate calculation of the $\pi \rho \circ \sigma v \varepsilon v \in \sigma \varepsilon \varsigma$ "directions" or "inclinations", namely, the point on the horizon towards which the straight line joining the centres of the Sun and the Moon at eclipses

[^5]points. We shall not enter into details on this (see Rome 1948, Neugebauer 1975, 141-4). One notable feature of Theon's proof of Sph. I. 14 is that it initially introduces a partition into three cases according to two angles being equal, greater, or less than two right angles, but then only the first case is proved, the others corresponding to what we read as Sph. I.15. Moreover, Sph. I. 15 subsumes these two cases into the single case "angles not equal to two right angles". This might suggest that Theon is really quoting a segment of text from the Sphaerica, without even editing it, and that the Arabic text is the result of a revision.

The information provided above on the propositions quoted in full by Pappus or Theon shows that in some cases it may prove difficult to retrieve Menelaus' text, and that the Greek sources do not necessarily preserve a text which is more likely to be near to the "original". On the one hand, both Pappus and Theon might have had reasons to change the whole line of proof or merely some details of it (and Pappus almost surely did so with Sph. I.37). On the other hand, the Arabic sources present in some cases proofs that are fairly different from one another.

The entire scientific production of Menelaus is lost in Greek. A few splinters related to writings other than the Sphaerica are preserved in Greek and Arabic sources. ${ }^{18}$

- Menelaus wrote a treatise on Geometrical elements in three books, now lost. Fragments of it, and even its very title, can be only found in Arabic sources (Hogendijk 2000), and amount to the following. Al-Bīrūnī mentions a problem solved in prop. 2 of book III: to inscribe in a given semicircle an inflected straight line of given length. Al-Sijzī asserts that, at the beginning of his work, Menelaus proved, albeit non completely, "the property of equality <that results> from drawing, in an equilateral triangle, the perpendiculars as far as the perimeter". The property alluded to is that the sum of the distances from the sides of any point inside an equilateral triangle is costant (and therefore equal to the heigth of the triangle); al-Sijzī's text also presents a generalization to the case in which the point is external to the triangle, which might also be assigned with some plausibility to Menelaus.
- Commenting on El. I.25, Proclus ascribes to Menelaus an alternative proof of it; this proof is different from any of its counterparts in the Arabic tradition of the Sphaerica. Actually, the "proof" of such a counterpart in Abū Naṣr's revision is just a short sentence appended to the proof of the inverse-namely, Sph. I.8-claiming that the inverse can be proved by reductio. ${ }^{19}$ Maybe the proof transcribed by Proclus was contained in the lost Geometrical elements, or maybe in a Book of the Triangles the Fihrist also ascribes to Menelaus along with the Sphaerica (Flügel 1872 I , 267).

[^6]- In a passage of the Collectio dealing with special curves, Pappus, Coll. IV.58,

 M $\varepsilon v \varepsilon \lambda \alpha ́ o v ~ к \lambda \eta \theta \varepsilon \tau ̃ \sigma \alpha ~ \gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \dot{\eta}$ "some of them were regarded by the moderns worthy of a substantial treatment; one of them is the line also called "surprising" by Menelaus". Pappus refers to special curves that such otherwise totally unknown mathematicians as Demetrius of Alexandria and Philo of Tyana derived from the so-called "loci on surfaces". Some of these curves retained the attention of the "moderns", among them Menelaus. We simply do not have any grounds to guess what line his "surprising" curve could look like. ${ }^{20}$
- In a passage of the Collectio dealing with the rising and setting times of the zodiacal signs, Pappus, Coll. VI.110, 600.26-602.2 Hultsch, asserts that $\pi \varepsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \delta غ ̀ ~ \delta v ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega \varsigma ~ \alpha v ̉ \tau \tilde{\omega} v$

 v̋́тєроv غ̇лıбкєчó $\mu \varepsilon \theta \alpha$ "about their setting he [scil. Hipparchus] does not say anything: for the argument of the proof falls in the rising determinations, and there is even an exposition about this, written by Menelaus of Alexandria, about which we shall inquire later". Pappus did not keep his promise. No modern study exists as to what the "rising determinations" (already mentioned at Coll. VI.108, 600.6-7 Hultsch) might be that apparently set limitations on the general validity of Hipparchus' "proof" alluded to by Pappus.
- At the beginning of his exposition on Ptolemy's table of chords, Theon, in Alm. I.10,

 his exposition on the chords ${ }^{21}$ in twelve books, as well as by Menelaus, in six <books>". To such an exposition might refer the citation at the end of the non-spurious part of Sph. III.14. A likely structure of Hipparchus' chord table is discussed by Toomer, who also suggested (1973, 19-20) that the numbers "twelve" and "six" in the quoted sentence refer in fact to the number of sections of the complete table, not to the number of books of the treatises. Against the possibility that expositions of Hipparchus (and Menelaus) contained a chord table, see Rome 1933a.
- P.Fouad inv. 267, verso line 5, probably mentions Menelaus, likely as the author of a table of ascensions. ${ }^{22}$ The text is too fragmentary to allow giving consideration to any hypothesis.

[^7]- A further treatise of Menelaus, in one Latin manuscript entitled Liber de quantitate et distinctione corporum mixtorum, is mentioned by the Fihrist; it is also transmitted only in Arabic translation and Latin version therefrom (German version in Würschmidt 1925). The dedicatee of the treatise is the Roman emperor Domitian (ruled 81-96 CE).

Finally, one must not forget that the initial segment of book I of the Sphaerica can quite obviously be read as a rewriting of the corresponding theorems of the Elements: the choice of using only direct proofs entails major changes in the deductive order. ${ }^{23}$ This attests to Menelaus' foundational interests.

## 3. New Traces of Menelaus' Sphaerica in Greek Scholia to the Almagest

### 3.1 Definitions

In chapter II. 10 of Alm., Ptolemy sets out to calculate the angles between the ecliptic and some important great circles: the meridian, the horizon, the altitude circles. He starts his exposition by providing a definition of an angle between two great circles: "We must first make clear that we define an angle between <two> great circles as follows: we say that <two> great circles form a right angle when a circle having as pole the intersection of the great circles and as radius any distance whatever has <exactly> a quadrant intercepted between the segments of the great circles forming the angle; in general, whatever ratio the intercepted arc of a circle described in the above manner bears to the whole circle is the same as the ratio of the angle between the planes <of the two great circles> to 4 right angles. Thus, since we set the circumference of the circle as $360^{\circ}$, the angle subtending the intercepted arc will contain the same number of degrees as the arc, in the system where one right angle contains $90^{\circ{ }^{\circ}}{ }^{24}$

Thus, Ptolemy actually defines how to measure such an angle, namely, by measuring the arc of a circle, having as pole the intersection of the great circles and as radius any distance whatever, intercepted between the segments of the great circles forming the angle, but his definition can be immediately restated so as to say that "the angle between two great circles is the one subtending the arc of a circle, having as pole etc.".

The first scholium edited in the present article provides a definition alternative to that (implicitly) stated by Ptolemy, as well as a definition of a "rrilateral figure". The scholiast asserts that both of them are drawn from Menelaus' Sphaerica. The scholium is found in Vat. gr. 1594, f. 42v marg. int., and Marc. gr. 313, f. 73v marg. ext. In the Vatican ma-

[^8]nuscript, it is located in such a way that its end is just by the side of the title of Alm. II.10; in the Venice manuscript, the beginning of the scholium also has such a position with respect to the main text. Since Ptolemy's definition quoted above is the second sentence of chapter II.10, the scholium is in both manuscripts near to the intended relatum, and in Marc. gr. 313 exactly by the side of it. The ascription to Menelaus' Sphaerica is treated as a title, and therefore it is in majuscule in both manuscripts.

Sch. 1
غ̇к $\tau \tilde{\omega} v \mathrm{M} \varepsilon v \varepsilon \lambda \alpha ́ o v ~ \sigma \varphi \alpha ı \rho ı \kappa \check{\omega} v$




$2 \sigma \varphi \alpha \iota \rho ı \kappa \tilde{n}] \sigma \varphi^{\alpha l}$ codd. $\left.4 \sigma \varphi \alpha \iota ı \kappa n ̃\right] \sigma \varphi^{\alpha l}$ codd.

## Transl. From Menelaus' Spherics

Let a trilateral figure be called the one contained by three arcs in a spherical surface, ${ }^{25}$ each of which is less than a semicircle of a great circle; let angles contained by arcs in a spherical surface be called equal whenever the inclinations of the circles are equal to which the arcs containing the angles belong.

The situation with the definitions in the Arabic tradition is quite complex and its essential features are set out in the following table. Probably because of an accident of transmission, Gerard's Latin translation does not contain definitions. ${ }^{26}$

| al-Māhānī $\bar{i}^{27}$ | Abū Naṣr | al-Harawī \& al-Țūsī ${ }^{-28}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Triangle on a spherical surface | Trilateral figure | Spherical figures. Triangle and quadrilateral |
| Angle of a spherical triangle | Angle of a trilateral | Angle of a spherical triangle |
| Equal angles | Equal angles | Right, acute, obtuse angles |
| Angle greater than another |  | Angle less than another |
| Right angle | Equal angles |  |

Several points are worth a short discussion.

[^9]- The first definition virtually coincides with the one in Abū Naṣr's revision; it includes the condition that the sides of the $\tau \rho i \pi \lambda \varepsilon u \rho o v$ must be less than half of a great circle. This condition will also be crucial in the proof of the Sector Theorem; Ptolemy repeatedly recalls it in the Almagest. The other Arabic sources either change $\tau \rho i \pi \lambda \varepsilon u \rho o v$ to "triangle on the surface of a sphere" (both) or enlarge the definition to one of a generic spherical figure, whose first two species are the triangle and the quadrilateral (al-Harawī).
- One might wonder why the scholiast quotes the first definition, since Ptolemy has already used the word $\tau \rho i ́ \pi \lambda \varepsilon u \rho o v$ in Alm. II. 3 and since what is at issue here is only to back up Ptolemy's implicit definition of "equal angles" with a definition taken from standard literature. It is also true, on the other hand, that Ptolemy will repeatedly use the term $\tau \rho \dot{\prime} \pi \lambda \varepsilon u \rho o v$ in the textual segment Alm. II.10-2.
- All Arabic sources have a definition of "angles of a trilateral" (or of a spherical triangle) inserted between the two transcribed in the scholium: such angles are the angles contained by the arcs forming the trilateral. Of course, the scholiast might well have omitted this definition, but I would favour the possibility that he is really transcribing a continuous stretch of text of the Sphaerica. One indication in this sense is that the definition attested in the Arabic Sphaerica is a vacuous truism, unless a definition of angle between two arcs on a surface of sphere is provided. This is done in the next definition quoted in the scholium, that quite appropriately replaces an "essential" definition (namely, the "what is" of an angle between arcs on a spherical surface) with an operative definition, indicating when two such angles are equal.
- The second definition in the scholium virtually coincides with the ones attested in the Arabic sources as the third definition of the Sphaerica: it defines equality of angles between arcs on the surface of a sphere in terms of equality of the "inclination" of the planar objects that "carry" the arcs (see next remark).
- The "inclination of the circles" in the Greek definition did not win the favour of the Arabic revisors: they changed it to "inclination of the semicircles" (Abū Naşr and alHarawī) or to "inclination of the planes" (al-Māhān̄̄). All these plane objects contain the arcs that contain the equal angles.
- Only in Abū Nașr's revision we read an addition, intended to clarify what the "inclination" between two planes is. ${ }^{29}$ As the Greek scholium appears to confirm ex silentio, this was taken for granted by Menelaus to be simply represented by the arc cut off by the planes from circles, perpendicular to the common section of the planes, with center on such a common section and any radius. ${ }^{30}$ If the planes are defined by

[^10]arcs on the surface of a sphere, such circles most naturally specialize to circles on the surface of the sphere whose center coincides with the intersection of the arcs and whose "radius" is less than the chord subtending half a great circle of the sphere: this much we may also infer from Ptolemy's definition.

- Menelaus makes the angle a species of the genus к $\lambda$ í $\sigma \iota$ " "inclination" taken as a primitive notion, exactly as the Elements do in the case of the definition of a plane angle at $E l$. I.def.8. ${ }^{31}$ In book XI, however, the Greek text of the Elements (but not the Arabo-Latin tradition) introduces three definitions (XI.def.5-7) related to what we would call dihedral angles. The definitions are never used in the sequel and present obvious problems, among them inverting the genus-species relation with the $\kappa \lambda i \sigma t \varsigma$, this choice conflicting squarely with I.def. 8 in the case of XI.def.5. All of this shows that these definitions are spurious. ${ }^{32}$ Let us read El. XI.def.6-7: غ́ $\pi 1 \pi \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \delta o v ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s$

 ó $\mu$ оí $\omega \varsigma ~ к \varepsilon к \lambda i ́ \sigma \theta \alpha ı ~ \lambda \varepsilon ́ \gamma \varepsilon \tau \alpha ı ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \varepsilon ̌ \tau \varepsilon \rho o v ~ \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ̌ \tau \varepsilon \rho о v ~ o ̋ \tau \alpha v ~ \alpha i ~ \varepsilon i ̉ \rho \eta \mu \varepsilon ́ v \alpha ı ~ \tau \tilde{ø \nu ~ к \lambda i ́ \sigma \varepsilon \omega v ~}$
 contained by the <straight lines> drawn, at the same point in each of the planes, at right <angles> with their common section; a plane to a plane is said to be similarly inclined as another to another whenever the said angles of the inclinations are equal to one another".
- The definition we read as Theodosius, Sph. I.def. 6 can safely be considered spurious as well; it quite obviously results from a montage, with some slight adaptation, of the


 to a plane is said to be similarly inclined as another to another whenever the straight lines drawn, at the same points in each of the planes, at right <angles> with the common section of the planes contain equal angles". ${ }^{33}$

As for the issue of authenticity, the previous discussion seems to me to corroborate the hypothesis that the definitions in the scholium are original with Menelaus' treatise, the several versions we read in the Arabic tradition being the result of a series of very specific, sometimes slight, and maybe independent modifications. In particular, one might seriously entertain the hypothesis that the definition of "angles of a trilateral" is

[^11]spurious, its presence in all Arabic versions suggesting that it was already interpolated in a Greek source.

### 3.2 The "Parallel" Case of the Sector Theorem

The most celebrated result of Greek spherical trigonometry is the Sector Theorem, also known as "Menelaus' Theorem" because of its being attested in the Sphaerica (proposition III. 1 in Abū Naṣr's redaction). It is a powerful mathematical tool, devised to determine arcs of a great circle on the surface of a sphere. It is the keystone of some of the most important technical results of Alm., where it is applied seventeen times. ${ }^{34}$ It comes as no surprise, then, that the Sector Theorem is also proved in Alm. I. 13 and, with many more cases on offer, in Theon, in Alm. I.13, iA, 535.10-570.12. ${ }^{35}$

The Sector Theorem is proved by Ptolemy as the last of a series of seven propositions.

1) First rectilinear lemma, "by composition" (POO I.1, 68.23-69.20); see Fig. 1. From the end-points $\mathrm{B}, \Gamma$ of two mutually intersecting straight lines $\mathrm{AB}, \mathrm{A} \Gamma$, two lines BE , $\Gamma \Delta$ are drawn across, meeting at Z and intersecting straight lines $\mathrm{A} \Gamma, \mathrm{AB}$ at $\mathrm{E}, \Delta$, respectively (this will henceforth be called "rectilinear supine configuration"). It is required to show that $\Gamma \mathrm{A}: \mathrm{AE}=(\Gamma \Delta: \Delta \mathrm{Z})^{\circ}(\mathrm{ZB}: \mathrm{BE})$ ("rectilinear relation" henceforth) ${ }^{36}$ The proof writes the "obvious" compounded ratio with a term common to the two compunding ratios: $\Gamma \Delta: \mathrm{HE}=(\Gamma \Delta: \Delta \mathrm{Z})^{\circ}(\Delta \mathrm{Z}: \mathrm{HE})$, draws a suitable parallel HE to one of the assigned straight lines and readily argues by similar triangles and substitutions in compounded ratios.
2) Second rectilinear lemma, "by separation" (ibid., 69.21-70.16); see Fig. 2. In the same configuration as lemma 1, one also has that $\Gamma \mathrm{E}: \mathrm{EA}=(\Gamma \mathrm{Z}: \mathrm{Z} \Delta)^{\circ}(\Delta \mathrm{B}: \mathrm{BA})$. The auxiliary parallel line HA is now drawn external to the assigned configuration.
3) First cyclic lemma (ibid., 70.17-71.13); see Fig. 3. In a circle $А В Г$ of centre $\Delta$, mark two consecutive arcs $A B, B \Gamma$, any of which is less than a semicircle, join $\Delta B$ and $\mathrm{AE} \Gamma$ intersecting at E , drop from $\mathrm{A}, \Gamma$ perpendiculars $\mathrm{AZ}, \Gamma \mathrm{H}$ to radius $\triangle \mathrm{B}$. Then $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{~B} \mathrm{\Gamma}):: \mathrm{AE}: Е Г$, where $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})$ is the chord of twice arc AB. Since

[^12]$\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})=2 \mathrm{AZ}$ and $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{~B} \Gamma)=2 \Gamma \mathrm{H}$, the proportion is an immediate consequence of the fact that triangles AZE and $\Gamma \mathrm{HE}$ are similar.
4) Second cyclic lemma (ibid., 71.14-72.10); see Fig. 4. The theorem is formulated in the "language of the givens". Adopting the configuration of the first cyclic lemma, from centre $\Delta$ draw a straight line $\Delta Z$ perpendicular to АЕГ. It is required to show that, once arc $\mathrm{A} \Gamma$ and ratio $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{~B} \Gamma)$ are given, each of arcs $\mathrm{AB}, \mathrm{B} \Gamma$ is also given. The proof applies a series of theorems from Euclid's Data.
5) Third cyclic lemma (ibid., 72.11-73.10); see Fig. 5. In a circle АВГ of centre $\Delta$, mark two consecutive arcs $А В, В Г$, any of which is less than a semicircle, join $\Delta \mathrm{A}$ and $Г \mathrm{~B}$ intersecting at E once produced, drop from $\mathrm{B}, \Gamma$ perpendiculars $\mathrm{BZ}, \Gamma \mathrm{H}$ to radius $\triangle \mathrm{A}$, possibly produced. Then $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{~A}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB}):: \Gamma \mathrm{E}: \mathrm{BE}$. Now, since $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{~A})=2 \Gamma \mathrm{H}$ and $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})=2 \mathrm{BZ}$, the proportion is an immediate consequence of the fact that triangles $B Z E$ and $\Gamma H E$ are similar. Note that, when $B$ and $\Gamma$ are so placed that $B \Gamma$ is parallel to radius $\Delta \mathrm{A}$, obviously $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{~A})=\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})$ and hence the ratio involved in the lefthand side of the above proportion is that of equality, but no such proportion holds since triangle ГHE cannot be constructed.
6) Fourth cyclic lemma (ibid., 73.11-74.8); see Fig. 6. It is formulated in the "language of the givens". In the configuration of the third cyclic lemma, from centre $\Delta$ join $\mathrm{B} \Delta$ and draw $\Delta \mathrm{Z}$ perpendicular to $\mathrm{EB} \Gamma$. Then, if arc $Г \mathrm{~B}$ and ratio $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{~A}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})$ are given, arc AB is also given. The proof applies a series of theorems from Euclid's Data. If $B$ and $\Gamma$ are so placed that $B \Gamma$ is parallel to radius $\Delta A$, the theorem still holds since in this case arc $A B$ is given by the very straightforward argument we shall read in sch. 2.
7) The Sector Theorem (ibid., 74.9-76.9); see Fig. 7. From the endpoints B, $\Gamma$ of two mutually intersecting arcs $\mathrm{AB}, \mathrm{A} \Gamma$ of great circles on the surface of a sphere, two arcs $\mathrm{BE}, \Gamma \Delta$ are drawn across, meeting at Z and intersecting arcs $\mathrm{A} \Gamma, \mathrm{AB}$ at $\mathrm{E}, \Delta$, respectively (this will henceforth be called "spherical supine configuration"); all these arcs must be less than a semicircle. Then the following relations (any of them will henceforth be called "Menelaus relation") hold:
\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{E}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{EA})=[\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{Z}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{Z} \Delta)] \odot[\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})] \text { ("by separation") } \\
& \operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{~A}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AE})=[\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \Delta): \operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{Z})] \odot[\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{ZB}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BE})] \text { ("by composition"). }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

The proof introduces a suitable rectilinear supine configuration, derives a specific rectilinear relation associated with it and "lifts" it to the requited Menelaus relation associated with the assigned spherical supine configuration. Let us see this at work for the theorem "by separation" in the spherical supine configuration of Fig. 7. From the centre H of the sphere, radii $\mathrm{HB}, \mathrm{HZ}, \mathrm{HE}$ are joined; HB is produced to meet $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ produced at $\Theta ; \Gamma \Delta, \Gamma$ are joined and they meet $\mathrm{HZ}, \mathrm{HE}$ at $\mathrm{K}, \Lambda$, respectively; one shows that points $\Theta, K, \Lambda$ are on one and the same straight line. Applying the preced-
ing lemmas to the rectilinear supine configuration in which from the endpoints $\Theta, \Gamma$ of two mutually intersecting straight lines $\mathrm{A} \Theta, \mathrm{A} \Gamma$, two lines $\Theta \Lambda, \Gamma \Delta$ are drawn across, meeting at K and intersecting straight lines $\mathrm{A} \Gamma, \mathrm{A} \Theta$ at $\Lambda, \Delta$, respectively, one readily obtains the result, for the first or the second rectilinear lemma provide the rectilinear relation appropriate to the case at hand, the first or the third cyclic lemma "lift" each ratio of segments in the rectilinear relation to a ratio of chords in the spherical supine configuration.

The second and the fourth cyclic lemma are not applied in the proof of the Sector Theorem: they are intended to validate the calculations needed to determine the numerical value ${ }^{37}$ of an arc involved in an assigned Menelaus relation once the values of four chords and the sum or difference of the arcs subtended by the other two chords (provided they feature in the same ratio) are given. Such a calculation is never performed in Alm. (Sidoli 2004a) but we find it three times in Pappus' commentary thereon. ${ }^{38}$

It is easy to see that several Menelaus relations, both "by separation" and "by composition", are associated with one and the same spherical supine configuration; each of them requires a specific construction and proof, in the lines of that outlined above but in some cases presenting subtle mathematical differencies as to the required construction. This explains the length of Theon's exposition, who treats in fact only a small number of cases. ${ }^{39}$ A complete classification of the different theorems and cases was worked out by Thābit ibn Qurra (Lorch 2001); most of the valid cases can be deduced from one another by simple manipulations of compounded ratios, without any geometric argument.

Both the first and the third cyclic lemma are applied in the proofs of the theorem "by separation" and in that of the theorem "by composition"; ${ }^{40}$ Ptolemy proves in detail the former theorem, leaving the latter to the reader. ${ }^{41}$ There is, however, a case of the Sector

[^13]Theorem that cannot be covered by his proof, as we have seen under item 5 above: the "parallel" case. This case arises when, in the third cyclic lemma, ${ }^{42} \mathrm{~B} \Gamma$ is parallel to radius $\Delta \mathrm{A}$. In this case, the constructions of the lemma cannot be completed. Nor can the proof of the theorem "by separation" just outlined under item 7: in this case (see Fig. 7), A $\Delta$ is parallel to HB and the rectilinear configuration does not "close" on point $\Theta$. The proof of any theorem "by separation" presents the "parallel" case, but this can only happen with respect to one of the outer arcs of the spherical supine configuration. Since any theorem "by composition" can be deduced from a suitable theorem "by separation", no additional difficulties arise if the former theorem is to be proved or applied; for this reason, I shall implicitly refer in what follows to theorems "by separation".

Our Greek sources deal with the "parallel" case in the following ways.

- Ptolemy does not mention the "parallel" case, which in fact he never needs in the seventeen applications of the Sector Theorem one finds in the Almagest: see Rome's remarks at $i A, 554-6 \mathrm{n} .1$, and Rome 1933, 45-50.
- Theon does mention the "parallel" case of the third cyclic lemma but only to assert that it is non-constructible: $\dot{\alpha} \sigma v ́ \sigma \tau \alpha \tau o v ~ \varepsilon ̌ \sigma \tau \alpha ı ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \theta \varepsilon \omega ́ \rho \eta \mu \alpha ~ " t h e ~ t h e o r e m ~ w i l l ~ b e ~ n o n-~$ constructible". ${ }^{43} \mathrm{He}$ also points out that Ptolemy ov̉ $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \chi \rho \tilde{\eta} \tau \alpha 1$ $\tau \alpha i ̃ \varsigma$ ov̋ $\tau \omega \varsigma$ $\dot{\alpha} \sigma v ́ \sigma \tau \alpha \tau 0 v \pi o t o v ́ \sigma \alpha ı \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \rho o ́ \beta \lambda \eta \mu \alpha$ "does not use those <straight lines> that make the problem in this way non-constructible" (in Alm. I.13, iA, 554.11 and 554.16; the oscillating denomination "theorem"/"problem" has no relevance).

Still, by directly reasoning on the final configuration of the Sector Theorem (that is, without applying the cyclic lemmas), the "parallel" configuration, albeit as a limiting case, can be shown to give rise to the same relations between ratios of chords as those witten down under item 7 above: the peculiarity of the "parallel" case, as we shall see, is that one of the compounding ratios in the associated Menelaus relation is that of identity. Therefore, the Menelaus relation reduces in this case to a proportion.

[^14]The contributions of the scholia amount to the following:

- Sch. 2 shows that the result of the fourth cyclic lemma is also valid when $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ and $В \Gamma$ are parallel; this fact is crucial in the proof of the "parallel" configuration of the Sector Theorem.
- Sch. 3 characterizes the "parallel" configuration as a limiting case of the configuration actually assumed by Ptolemy. The scholiast also outlines a correct proof of the "parallel" case.

Let us read the scholia; a discussion focusing on technical and linguistic detail will follow each of them. ${ }^{44}$ A more general discussion will follow both. In particular, I shall show that the outline of proof found in sch. $\mathbf{3}$ is very much in the lines of the sketchy but sound proof of the "parallel" case found, with the variants to be discussed below, in the AraboLatin tradition of Menelaus' Sphaerica.

## Sch. 2

 $\alpha v ̉ \tau o ́ \theta \varepsilon v ~ \delta i ́ \delta o \tau \alpha ı ~ \eta ~ B A ~ \pi \varepsilon \rho ı \varphi \varepsilon ́ \rho \varepsilon ı \alpha, ~ \delta ı \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta o \theta \varepsilon i ́ \sigma \eta \varsigma ~ \tau \eta ̃ \varsigma ~ v ̇ \pi o ̀ ~ Z \Delta B ~ \delta i ́ \delta o \sigma \theta \alpha ı ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \lambda \varepsilon i ́ \pi o v-~$

$\mathbf{1} \Delta \mathrm{A}]$ BA codd. $\mathbf{2} \mathrm{BA}] \Gamma \mathrm{C} \mid \mathrm{Z} \Delta \mathrm{B}] \mathrm{ZAB} \mathbf{K}$

Transl. In the cases by composition, $\mathrm{B} \Gamma$ often becomes parallel to $\Delta \mathrm{A}$; this is the reason why in that case arc BA is immediately given, because, once $<$ angle $>\mathrm{Z} \Delta \mathrm{B}$ is given, the complement to one right <angle> is also given, that is, $\mathrm{B} \Delta \mathrm{A}$; therefore both $<\operatorname{arc}>\mathrm{BA}$ and $Г В \mathrm{BA}$ as a whole are also given.

Comm. a) B, f. 25 r marg. sup., C, f. 51r marg. sup., K, f. 31v. b) To Alm. I.13, 73.11-14


 $\Gamma В$ is given and the ratio of the <straight line> under the double of <arc> $Г$ A to that under the double of $\mathrm{B} \Gamma$ is given, arc AB will also be given" ff. c) A scholium to the

[^15]fourth cyclic lemma (see Fig. 6), showing that the result is also valid when $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ and $\mathrm{B} \Gamma$ are parallel. That angle $\mathrm{Z} \Delta \mathrm{B}$ is given is stated by Ptolemy, 73.16-74.2; one then applies Data 4, the fact that the arcs on a circumference and the angles at the centre subtending them are in one-to-one correspondence (use Data 89, El. III.20, Data 2), and Data 3. In this case one also immediately gets that, since $\mathrm{BZ}=\Gamma \mathrm{H}$ in the configuration of the third cyclic lemma (Fig. 5), the ratio $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{~A}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})$ mentioned in the relatum is that of equality, a fact that will prove crucial in the proof of the "parallel" configuration of the Sector Theorem outlined in sch. 3. Why a similar scholium was not attached to Ptolemy's proof of the third cyclic lemma will remain a mystery. $d$ ) In $\mathbf{B}$, the scholium is above the column in which the fourth cyclic lemma ends. In $\mathbf{C}$, it is in the upper margin of the page containing the same lemma. In either case, no signe de renvoi is added. e) The scholiast's $\pi о \lambda \lambda \alpha ́ \kappa ı s$ "often" at line 1 is something of a cheat: as we have noted above, the "parallel" configuration of the Sector Theorem is never required in Alm. The avitó $\theta \varepsilon v$ "immediately" at line 1 is both imitative of the relatum, where the same adverb occurs, and a typical metadiscursive modifier, of which Ptolemy is specially fond; one finds 69 occurrences in Alm., 5 in Pappus, in Alm. V-VI, 26 in Theon, in Alm. I-IV. The operator $\dot{\eta} \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \pi o v \sigma \alpha$ cis "the complement to" at line 2 is in this scholium applied to an angle; otherwise the expression $\dot{\eta} \lambda \varepsilon i ́ \pi \sigma v \sigma \alpha$ عís $\tau$ ò $\dot{\eta} \mu \kappa \kappa ́ \kappa \lambda$ ıov means "the <chord> complement to a semicircle".

Sch. 3
 غ̇ $\lambda \alpha ́ \tau \tau о v \alpha \varsigma, ~ \tau o ́ \tau \varepsilon ~ \grave{\eta} \mathrm{~A} \Delta \sigma v \mu \pi \varepsilon \sigma \varepsilon i ̃ \tau \alpha 1 ~ \tau ท ̃ ~ H B ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \Theta ~ ف ̧ ~ v v ̃ v . ~ o ̋ \tau \alpha v ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \delta u ́ o ~ o ̉ \rho \theta \tilde{a} v$











Transl. When the <straight line> joining H and A makes angles $\triangle \mathrm{AH}$, AHB less than two right angles, then $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ will meet HB at $\Theta$, as now; when <it makes angles $\triangle \mathrm{AH}, \mathrm{AHB}>$ greater than two right angles, then $\triangle \mathrm{A}$ will meet HB on the other side, once semicircles $\mathrm{B} \triangle \mathrm{A}, \mathrm{BZE}$ and diameter BH have been completed, and the proof can proceed. When $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ is parallel to $B H$, then it necessarily becomes parallel to $K \Lambda$ too, and the ratio of $\Gamma \Lambda$ to $\Lambda \mathrm{A}$ will be compounded of that of $\Gamma \mathrm{K}$ to $\mathrm{K} \Delta$, for the $<$ ratio $>$ of the $<$ straight line $>$ under
the double of $<$ arc $>\mathrm{AB}$ to the $<$ straight line $>$ under the double of $<\operatorname{arc}>\mathrm{B} \Delta$ is in that case the ratio of equality, that is, of the same to the same-as a consequence, also in this way the proof will proceed.

Comm. a) B, f. 25 r marg. ext., C, f. 51v marg. ext. et inf., K, f. 32r. b) To Alm. I.13,
 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ ט ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ v ~ \delta i \pi \lambda \eta \tilde{\eta} v \tau \tilde{\eta} \mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{BA}}$ "in fact, let the centre of the sphere be taken [...] and of the $<$ ratio $>$ of the $<$ straight line $>$ under the double of $<\operatorname{arc}\rangle \Delta B$ to that under the double of BA". c) A scholium to the construction and proof of the theorem "by separation" of the Sector Theorem (see Fig. 7), describing the "parallel" configuration as a limiting case of the configuration actually assumed by Ptolemy. The straight line joining H and A does not feature in Ptolemy's construction; its function is simply to permit formulating a criterion of intersection $v s$. parallelism of straight lines $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ and HB. The scholiast also summarizes in few but careful words the gist of the proof in that case (see just below for a more expanded version). $d$ ) In $\mathbf{B}$, sch. $\mathbf{3}$ is located in the outer margin, beside the construction of the Sector Theorem; in $\mathbf{C}$, its beginning is placed beside the last five lines of the proof; the remaining portion of the scholium continues beside the proof sketch of the theorem "by composition" (76.3-9). No signe de renvoi is added. e) Maybe the form $\dot{\alpha} v \alpha-$ $\varphi \theta \dot{\eta} \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha 1$ the manuscripts have at line 5 need not to be corrected to $\sigma v v \alpha \varphi \theta \eta \quad \sigma \varepsilon \tau \alpha 1$ : the point is that there is only one compounding ratio, namely, $\Gamma \mathrm{K}: \mathrm{K} \Delta$, that "makes up" ratio $\Gamma \Lambda: \Lambda \mathrm{A} . e)$ At line 3, the form of $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \alpha \nu \alpha \pi \lambda \eta \rho \circ \tilde{v} v$ with double preverb is slightly more canonical, in case of parts of circles, than the form of $\dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha \pi \lambda \eta \rho o \tilde{v} v$ : after the isolated, seminal occurrences of the former at $E l$. III. 25 (what is completed is a circle) and of the latter at El. XII. 2 (what is completed is a parallelogram), a mathematical Atticist such as Pappus only resorts to the former when completing circles ( 11 occurrences in Coll.).

The argument of the scholiast can be formalized as follows (an asterisk * marks the statements made by the scholiast).
(1) Take the rectilinear relation associated, by the first rectilinear lemma, with the rectilinear supine configuration assumed by Ptolemy: $\Gamma \Lambda: \Lambda \mathrm{A}=(\Gamma \mathrm{K}: \mathrm{K} \Delta)^{\circ}(\Delta \Theta: \Theta \mathrm{A})$.
(2)* Now, as seen in sch. 2 and as the scholiast points out, in the "parallel" case of the third cyclic lemma the ratio between chords $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$ mentioned in the relatum (underlined above), and that will be made to correspond to ratio $\Delta \Theta: \Theta \mathrm{A}$ in the rectilinear relation of point (1), is that of equality.
(3)* On the other hand, as the scholiast points out, when $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ becomes parallel to BH and hence to $\mathrm{K} \Lambda$, by $E l$. VI. 2 the ratios $\Gamma \Lambda: \Lambda \mathrm{A}$ and $\Gamma \mathrm{K}: \mathrm{K} \Delta$ become identical.
(4) Now, we may use the third cyclic lemma applied to the following two ratios: $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{E}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{EA}):: Г \Lambda: \Lambda \mathrm{A}$ and $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{Z}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{Z} \Delta):: Г \mathrm{~K}: \mathrm{K} \Delta$.
(5) By El. V.11, one immediately has $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{E}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{EA}):: \operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{Z}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{Z} \Delta)$.
(6) Since $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$ is the ratio of equality, this means that the Menelaus relation $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{E}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{EA})=[\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{Z}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{Z} \Delta)] \cdot[\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})]$ associated with the assigned spherical supine configuration also holds in the "parallel" case, in the limiting non-compounded form $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{E}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{EA}):: \operatorname{ch}(2 \Gamma \mathrm{Z}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{Z} \Delta)$.

Sch. 2 and $\mathbf{3}$ constitute the first direct evidence that a proof of the "parallel" configuration of the Sector Theorem was elaborated in Greek. The outline of proof provided by the scholiast is clear and omits no important step, since steps (1) and (4)-(6) above either involve trivial manipulations or are obvious given the context. One has to fill in the details and write down a formal argument, as I have just done, or as is reflected in the actual proof of this statement, attested as a case after that "by separation", in the Arabo-Latin tradition of the Sphaerica, to which I now turn.

The proofs of the Sector Theorem we read in Gerard's translation and in the alMāhānī \& al-Harawī recensions have been carefully compared by N. Sidoli, who takes them as "the versions of the theorem least removed from Menelaus" (2006, 51). For Abū
 versions, the proofs of the "parallel" case reads as follows (I adapt the lettering to an obvious modification of Fig. 7).

- al-Māhān̄̄ \& al-Harawī. They state steps (2), (3), and (5), and only these. Step (2) is modified: it is not asserted that $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$ is the ratio of equality, but that $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B})=\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$.
- Gerard. He first provides a sketchy outline of the construction of the configuration of the "parallel" case. He then states the condition in step (3) by assuming that $\mathrm{A} \Delta$ is parallel to $\mathrm{K} \Lambda$, and therefore must also prove that it is also parallel to $\mathrm{BH} .{ }^{45} \mathrm{He}$ then states: step (2) in the modified formulation just seen and identifying the two chords $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B})$ and $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$ as the two perpendiculars dropped from points $\Delta$ and A , respectively, to straight line BH ; steps (3) and (4) combined in one; the conclusion of step (6), backed up by a postposed explanation that we might take as a short form of step (5).
- $A b \bar{u}$ Naşr. He first provides a lengthy outline of the construction of the configuration of the "parallel" case. At the beginning of the construction, he states steps (2) in the modified formulation just seen and identifying the two chords $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B})$ and $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$ as the two perpendiculars dropped from points $\Delta$ and A , respectively, to straight line BH . He then embarks in a lengthy and pointless proof by reductio that $\mathrm{K} \Lambda$ is parallel to $\mathrm{A} \Delta .{ }^{46} \mathrm{He}$ then states steps (3), (5), and (6).

[^16]This outline shows that the Arabo-Latin tradition elaborates on one and the same core argument, adding steps whenever this was perceived to be too concise. If we take the alMāhānī \& al-Harawī version to be the least removed from Menelaus' original argument, then this virtually coincides with the sketchy outline we have read in sch. 3.

I close this article with an assessment, in the form of three scenarios in each of which I shall argue in its favour, of the information on the Sector Theorem afforded by our sources. In principle, any of the actors mentioned in the scenarios might have had his own redaction of Menelaus' Sphaerica, and in any of these the (parallel case of the) Theorem might have been present or absent; this would solve all problems raised by our documentary record-still, entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem. My discussion will not take up the issue of the origins of the Theorem (on this, see most recently Sidoli 2006), even if the first scenario makes the issue more urgent than the others.

1. Menelaus' Sphaerica did not contain the Sector Theorem. If one would insist on keeping the link between Menelaus and the Theorem, a very appropriate place for it could be the exposition on (rising and) setting times mentioned by Pappus in Coll. VI.110. No modern scholar seems to believe that the extreme scenario is possible. Still, a circumstantial argument can be adduced in its favour. ${ }^{47}$ Neither Ptolemy nor Theon (nor, by implication, Pappus, whose commentary Theon surely took as a reference) ever associate the name of Menelaus with the Theorem that deserves the longest and most sustained mathematical argument in Alm. or in the commentaries thereon. If Ptolemy's silence comes as no surprise at all ${ }^{48}$, to explain the silence of the commentators (part of whose job was exactly to make tacit references of this kind explicit) such typical distortions of hypercritical exegesis must be mobilized as supposing that Pappus' and Theon's acquaintance with the Sphaerica was limited to the propositions they quoted-or maybe, to the first book of the treatise. The fact that the Sector Theorem is applied in a number of subsequent propositions (Sph. III.2, 3, 13, 16, 22, 24 in Abū Naṣr's revision) has no relevance, since, for instance, a result as fundamental as the invariance of the cross-ratio on the surface of a sphere is applied without proof in Sph. III.5. On the contrary, this fact might provide a very simple explanation of the presence of the Sector Theorem in the Sphaerica we read: it was included to fill a perceived deductive gap. The fact that the Theorem is attested in the entire Arabic tradition suggests that this supplement to Menelaus' Sphaerica was already present in the Greek line of tradition. It may well be that the scholiast (who most likely writes, as we have seen, in the early $6^{\text {th }}$ century) already had a "completed" edition of the Sphaerica in his hands.

[^17]2. Menelaus' Sphaerica did contain the Sector Theorem but not the "parallel" case. It is the conclusion drawn by Rome $(1933,50)$ : $^{49}$ "il semblerait bien, d'après ce qui précède, que Ptolémée et Théon ne trouvaient pas dans Ménélas la preuve complète du théorème qui est mis sous son nom". The crucial clue, of course, is Theon's claim that the "parallel" case is "non-constructible", but also Ptolemy's silence about it is significant: Rome takes pains to show, a task that is not obvious at all, that in none of the seventeen applications of the Theorem in Alm., the "parallel" case is needed, in at least one case the necessity of applying it being neutralized by a trifle. It is perverse, so Rome concludes, to think that Ptolemy spent a treasury of ingenuity during one thousand pages, just to avoid writing down the 5 -line proof of the "parallel" case. This hypothesis has the advantage that we do not have to suppose that Theon (and, almost surely, Pappus) was ignorant of the later part of the Sphaerica. Again, we may think that the "parallel" case was added, in a sketchy form, at some point in the Greek line of transmission, possibly after Theon, or possibly independently of him; the form of the addition triggered the various completions and additions attested in the AraboLatin tradition; our scholiast just made a compendium of the argument he had found in his source (note that, contrary to what happens in sch. 1, he does not mention the Sphaerica!). As for the apparent disadvantage of this hypothesis, namely, that we should think of a Menelaus (and of a Ptolemy after him) who did not realize that the proof he was about to give is incomplete, one might argue that in fact it is not, since the "parallel" case does not give rise to a compounded ratio (as we have seen, also Theon's remark can be read in this way). Therefore, it is debatable whether it can be regarded as a case of the Sector Theorem, or simply as a result similar to it and holding for the same spherical supine configuration as the Sector Theorem. As a matter of fact, the "parallel" case cannot occur in some of the propositions of the Sphaerica in which the Sector Theorem is applied: these are Sph. III.16, 22, 24 (and III. 13 only applies the theorem "by composition"). Moreover, the "parallel" case is never used in Alm., and one might argue that in fact it could not. ${ }^{50}$ Maybe it is simply at oversight on the part of Menelaus and Ptolemy, that Theon later transformed into an impossibility.
3. Menelaus' Sphaerica contained a complete proof of the Sector Theorem. This was ignored by Ptolemy and Pappus and unknown to Theon, but found by some scholar in the late ancient period. The main reason favouring Menelaus’ authorship obviously resides in the fact that the Arabo-Latin tradition has the Sector Theorem in its complete form. If this were the case, however, we need to explain how Pappus and Theon either ignored or did not know this. As for Ptolemy, there is no indication that he read Menelaus'Sphaerica. At the very least he did not choose to use the material on spherical trigonometry that begins with the Sector Theorem, since this would have greatly

[^18]simplified his spherical astronomy (see Nadal, Taha, Pinel 2004, 404). So he was probably following a previous, well-established tradition (Sidoli 2006, section V). Pappus clearly read some of Menelaus' treatise, but there is no indication that he went on to the final section on spherical trigonometry, which is anyway unnecessary for expounding Ptolemy's methods. As for Theon, there is nothing to indicate that he was familiar with the material on spherical trigonometry too, so all we need to assume is that Theon himself did not have Menelaus' book available to him, and quoted Sph. I. 13 and 14 in in Alm. VI by lifting them from some other source. Note that this source cannot be Pappus' commentary, whose book VI we read and who does not mention the two propositions.

Someone might think that one of theses scenarios fits the documentary record on the Sector Theorem better than the others. I content myself with admitting that such a record fiercely resists being satisfactorily fitted. ${ }^{51}$

[^19]
## Appendix. Sph. I. 13 and I. 14 in Theon's commentary

The text is established on the basis of Laur. Plut. 28.18, ff. 250v-251v (siglum L), Marc. gr. 303. f. 127r (H), Vat. gr. 183, ff. 189v-192r (X); the first critical apparatus presents the variant readings of these manuscripts, that Rome had shown to belong to different branches of tradition ( $\mathbf{L}$ on the one side, HX on the other: $i A$, XXI-XXIV and LXXXVIXCII) as far as Theon in Alm. I-IV is concerned. However, a few variant readings suggest either that $\mathbf{X}$ was a direct (and very bad) copy of $\mathbf{L}$ or that they are apographs of the same model. The second critical apparatus contains the variants of the main manuscripts of the two Byzantine recensions: Vat. gr. 198, f. 448r (J), and Marc. gr. 310, ff. 233v-234r (E), respectively. The Venice manuscript was penned by Isaac Argyros, to whom this recension must be ascribed-in fact, as it was usual with Argyros, his text is a correction in scribendo of the recension contained in the Vat. gr. 198.

Contrary to what we might have expected given the fact that Theon in Alm. I-IV is very correctly copied in $\mathbf{L}$ (iA, XXIII: "on le [scil. the copyist] prend rarement en faute"), the text in this manuscript is larded with mistakes, often very trivial (for instance, र̈ $\sigma 0 \varsigma$ "equal" is constructed several times with the genitive) and often to be found also in $\mathbf{H X}$; such trivial mistakes are not contained in the summaries located in the margins of $\mathbf{L}$, and here simply transcribed in three footnotes to the Greek text. This cannot be explained by the mere fact that a different copyist is at work in Theon in Alm. VI. One cannot draw conclusions from such a short text as the one edited here, but a good working hypothesis is that all extant manuscript witnesses of Theon in Alm. VI derive from an exemplar copied by a surprisingly unskilled copyist on a model in majuscule filled with abbrevations, conventional signs and truncated words.

The Greek text is edited and (sparingly) punctuated according to the rules expounded in Acerbi, Vitrac 2014, 98. The diagrams of $\mathbf{L}$ are reproduced as Pl. I and Pl. II (ff. 250v and 251 r , respectively). The sign $\mid$ marks the beginning of a page of $\mathbf{L}$. The first and the second critical apparatus are placed at the end of the Greek text and of the translation, respectively.

## Greek Text








[^20]

Pl. I. The diagram of Sph. I. 13 in Theon, in Alm. VI.11. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. 28.18, f. 250v. Su concessione del MiBACT. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.


Pl. II. The diagram of Sph. I. 14 in Theon, in Alm. VI.11. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. 28.18, f. 251 r. Su concessione del MiBACT. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

## Translation

By virtue of this, the said inclinations can be obtained quite loosely in most cases; still, it is possible to compute them more exactly if one assumes the following two theorems proved in Menelaus' Spherics as a preliminary.

If two trilaterals have one angle equal to one angle, the sides about the other angles respectively equal, and the remaining angles together not equal to two right <angles>, they will also have the remaining sides equal to one another.






 $\delta \iota \alpha ̀ \tau \tilde{\omega} v \Theta \mathrm{E}$ ó $\Theta \mathrm{E}$.
























 «$\rho \alpha$ غ́к $\alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \rho \alpha$.

[^21]Let there be two trilaterals $\mathrm{AB} \Gamma, \Delta \mathrm{EZ}$, having the angles at $\mathrm{B}, \mathrm{E}$ equal, the sides about angles $\Gamma, Z$ equal $(B \Gamma$ to $E Z$ and $A \Gamma$ to $\Delta Z)$, and again the angles at $A, \Delta$ together not equal to two right $<$ angles $>$. I say that $A B$ is equal to $\Delta \mathrm{E}$.

In fact, let $\mathrm{E} \Delta$ be produced as far as $H$. Since $\mathrm{BA} \Gamma, \mathrm{E} \Delta \mathrm{Z}$ are unequal to $\mathrm{E} \Delta \mathrm{Z}, \mathrm{Z} \Delta \mathrm{H}$, once $\mathrm{E} \Delta \mathrm{Z}$ in common is removed the remaining $\mathrm{BA} \Gamma, \mathrm{Z} \Delta \mathrm{H}$ are unequal. First, then, let $Z \Delta H$ be greater than $B A \Gamma$, and let $Z \Delta \Theta$ be constructed equal to angle $A$, and let $\Delta \Theta$ be set equal to $A B$, and let a great circle $Z \Theta$ be traced through $Z, \Theta$, and again $\Theta E$ through $\Theta$, $E$.

Since $A B$ is equal to $\Delta \Theta$ and $A \Gamma$ to $\Delta Z$, two $<\operatorname{arcs}>B A, A \Gamma$ are equal to two $\Theta \Delta, \Delta Z$; and angle $B A \Gamma$ is equal to angle $\Theta \Delta Z$; therefore base $B \Gamma$ is equal to base $\Theta Z$; but $B \Gamma$ has been supposed equal to $E Z$; therefore $E Z$ is also equal to $Z \Theta$, so that angle $Z \Theta E$ is also equal to angle $Z E \Theta$. And since trilateral $\mathrm{AB} \Gamma$ has been proved equal to trilateral $\triangle \mathrm{Z} \Theta$, angle $Z \Theta \Delta$ is equal to $\Gamma \mathrm{BA}$; but $\Gamma \mathrm{BA}$ is equal to $\mathrm{ZE} \Delta$, so that $Z \Theta \Delta$ is also equal to $Z E \Delta$, of which $\mathrm{E} \Theta Z$ was proved equal to $\Theta E Z$; therefore $\Delta \mathrm{E} \Theta$ as a remainder is also equal to $\Delta \Theta E$ as a remainder, so that side $\mathrm{E} \Delta$ is also equal to side $\Delta \Theta$; but $\Delta \Theta$ is equal to AB ; therefore AB is also equal to $\mathrm{E} \Delta$.

Then, let angle $Z \Delta H$ be less than $B A \Gamma$, and let $Z \Delta K$ be constructed equal to $B A \Gamma$, and let again AB be equal to $\Delta \mathrm{K}$. Again, what has been proposed will be similarly proved by means of the same arguments.

If two trilaterals have two angles respectively equal to two angles and have the base equal to the base (the one about the equal angles), they will also have the remaining sides equal to the remaining sides.

Let there be two trilaterals $\mathrm{AB} \Gamma, \triangle \mathrm{EZ}$ having two angles equal to two angles $(\mathrm{AB} \Gamma$ to $\Delta \mathrm{EZ}$ and $\mathrm{B} \Gamma \mathrm{A}$ to $\mathrm{EZ} \Delta$ ) and side $\mathrm{B} \Gamma$ equal to EZ . I say that they will also have the remaining sides equal to the remaining sides.

In fact, $\mathrm{AB} \Gamma, \triangle \mathrm{EZ}$ either are, or are less, or are greater than a right $<$ angle $>$.
First, let them be right <angles>; therefore the poles of circles $\mathrm{AB}, \Delta \mathrm{E}$ are on $\mathrm{B} \Gamma, \mathrm{EZ}$; and $Г В, E Z$ either are, or are less, or are greater than a quadrant.

First, let them be quadrants; therefore $Г \mathrm{~A}, \Delta \mathrm{Z}$ also are; now, two $<\operatorname{arcs}>\mathrm{B} \Gamma, \Gamma \mathrm{A}$ are equal to two $\mathrm{EZ}, \mathrm{Z} \Delta$; and angle $\mathrm{B} \Gamma \mathrm{A}$ is equal to angle $\Delta \mathrm{ZE}$; therefore base AB is equal to base $\Delta \mathrm{E}$.

Let $\mathrm{B} \Gamma, \mathrm{EZ}$ be less than a quadrant, and let $\mathrm{BH}, \mathrm{E} \Theta$ be set equal to a quadrant, and let great circles $\mathrm{HA}, \Delta \Theta$ be traced through $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{A}, \Delta, \Theta$; therefore each of them is a quadrant.









$\varepsilon ̋ \sigma \tau \omega \sigma \alpha \nu \quad \delta \eta ̀ ~ \pi \alpha ́ \lambda ı v ~ \alpha i ~ B \Gamma ~ E Z ~ \mu \varepsilon i ́ \zeta o v \varepsilon \varsigma ~ \tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha \rho \tau \eta \mu о \rho i ́ o v, ~ к \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha ̀ \varphi \eta \rho \eta ́ \sigma \theta \omega \sigma \alpha v$

 $\alpha i \operatorname{K\Gamma ~} \Lambda Z$ ̂̉б $\alpha ı$ •

 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \alpha ̀ \varsigma ~ \varepsilon ̇ \varphi \varepsilon \xi \tilde{\eta} \varsigma ~ \tau \alpha ̀ \varsigma ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ K A M ~ \Lambda \Delta N \cdot ~ \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \alpha i ~ A \Gamma ~ D Z ~ đ ̈ \rho \alpha ~ i ̂ \sigma \alpha ı ~ \varepsilon i ̉ \sigma i ̀ ~ \delta ı o ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \rho o \delta \varepsilon \imath \chi \theta \varepsilon ́ v \cdot ~ \delta v ́ o ~$














 $\tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha \rho \tau \eta \mu о \rho i \varphi]$ ] $\tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha ́ \gamma \omega v o v$ LHX $39 \gamma \varepsilon \gamma \rho \alpha \dot{\alpha} \varphi \theta \omega \sigma \alpha v] \gamma \varepsilon \gamma \alpha-\mathbf{L} \mid$ HA] KA X | $\tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha \rho \tau \eta \mu o ́ \rho ı v] \tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha \gamma \omega v / \mathbf{L H}$








And since $\mathrm{BH}, \mathrm{E} \Theta$ are equal to one another, of which $\mathrm{B} \Gamma, \mathrm{EZ}$ are equal, therefore $\Gamma \mathrm{H}$, $\Theta Z$ as remainders are equal; and $H A, \Delta \Theta$ are also equal; and angle $A \Gamma H$ equal to $\Theta Z \Delta$ because the adjacent <angles> are also equal; then, there are two trilaterals $\mathrm{A} \Gamma \mathrm{H}, \Delta \mathrm{Z} \Theta$ having one angle equal to one angle $(\mathrm{A} \Gamma \mathrm{H}$ to $\Delta \mathrm{Z} \Theta)$, the sides about $\Gamma \mathrm{HA}, \mathrm{Z} \Theta \Delta$ equal, and the remaining <angles> $\Gamma \mathrm{AH}, \mathrm{Z} \Delta \Theta$ together unequal to two right <angles> because $\mathrm{BAH}, \mathrm{E} \Delta \Theta$ as a whole are two right angles; therefore the remaining sides are also equal to the remaining sides, respectively; and angle $В Г А$ is equal to $E Z \Delta$; therefore base $A B$ is equal to base $\Delta \mathrm{E}$.

Then, again, let $\mathrm{B} \Gamma, \mathrm{EZ}$ be greater than a quadrant and let quadrants $\mathrm{BK} \mathrm{E} \Lambda$ be removed, and let great circles KA, $\Lambda \Delta$ be traced through $\mathrm{K}, \mathrm{A}, \Lambda, \Delta$; therefore each of $\mathrm{KA}, \Lambda \Delta$ is also a quadrant; and $\mathrm{B} \Gamma, \mathrm{EZ}$ are equal; therefore $\mathrm{K} \Gamma, \Lambda \mathrm{Z}$ as remainders are also equal; then, there are two trilaterals $\mathrm{AK} \Gamma, \Delta \Lambda Z$ having one angle equal to one $(\mathrm{B} Г \mathrm{~A}$ to $\mathrm{EZ} \Delta$ ), the sides about $\Gamma \mathrm{KA}, \mathrm{Z} \Lambda \Delta$ equal, and the remaining <angles $>\mathrm{KA} \mathrm{\Gamma}, \Lambda \Delta \mathrm{Z}$ together unequal to two right <angles> because $\mathrm{BAK}, \mathrm{E} \Delta \Lambda$ are two right angles and the adjacent <angles> $\mathrm{KAM}, \Lambda \Delta \mathrm{N}$ also are; therefore $\mathrm{A} \Gamma, \Delta \mathrm{Z}$ are also equal because of what has been proved above; now, two $<\operatorname{arcs}>\mathrm{B} \Gamma, ~ Г А$ are equal to two $\mathrm{EZ}, \mathrm{Z} \Delta$; and angle $\mathrm{B} \Gamma \mathrm{A}$ is equal to $\mathrm{EZ} \Delta$; therefore base AB is equal to base $\Delta \mathrm{E}$.

Menelaus proved this in the $1^{\text {st }}<$ book $>$ of the Spherics.










 om. J 34 ГВ] ВГ JE | $\left.\tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha \rho \tau \eta \mu o ́ \rho ı \alpha] \tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha \gamma \omega ́ v \omega v ~ J E ~ 35 \tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha \rho \tau \eta \mu o ́ \rho ı \alpha^{12}\right] \tau \varepsilon \tau \rho \alpha \gamma \omega ́ v \omega v$ JE $\left.36 \Delta Z E\right]$ EZ $\Delta$







 54 ВГА - $\left.55 \gamma \omega v i ́ \alpha \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \varsigma] ~(l a c . ~ 3 ~ l i t t). ~ \tau n ̃ ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~(l a c . ~ 3 ~ l i t t). ~ \tau \grave{\alpha} \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\varepsilon} \mathbf{E} \mid \pi \lambda \varepsilon u \rho \alpha ̀ \varsigma] ~ \pi^{\lambda} \mathbf{J} \mathbf{5 6} \Lambda \Delta \mathrm{N}\right] \Lambda \Delta \mathrm{N}$ к $\alpha$ ì


## Diagrams



Fig. 1. First rectilinear lemma


Fig. 3. First cyclic lemma


Fig. 2. Second rectilinear lemma


Fig. 4. Second cyclic lemma


Fig. 5. Third cyclic lemma


Fig. 6. Fourth cyclic lemma


Fig. 7. The Sector Theorem

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a first orientation of Gerard's life and work see Lemay 1974. See also, more recently, Burnett 2001 and the references therein.
    ${ }^{2}$ The basic data are conveniently summarized in Sidoli 2006, 48-51, relying on Krause 1936, and, as for the "Sector Theorem", on the very clear exposition in Lorch 2001, 327-35. I shall use interchangeably the terms "revision" and "recension".
    ${ }^{3}$ The numbering of the propositions of the Sphaerica used in this article is that of Abū Naṣr' recension according to Krause's edition. A concordance table of the proposition numbers in the different recensions is set out in Krause 1936, 6-9.
    ${ }^{4}$ Al-Māhānı̄'s recension can only be recovered by means of the Hebrew and Latin translations, with the complication of a further intermediary revision that amalgamated it, to an extent that it is impossible to determine, with Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation. On al-Harawī's recension, extant in four manuscripts and in its turn also depending on al-Māhānı̄'s, see Krause 1936, 1-2 and 32-42, and, most recently, Sidoli, Kusuba 2014. Al-Ṭūsī's revision was based on al-Harawī's and Abū Naṣr's.

[^1]:    ${ }^{5}$ The epithet is employed at Alm. VII.3, POO I.2, 30.18. The two observations are also cited in Alm. VII. 3 (occultation of Spica by the Moon and alignment of notable points on the lunar disc with some fixed stars in Scorpius: ibid., 30.18-31.2 and 33.3-10); they are dated to 98 CE, January $10 / 11$ and 13/14, respectively, and were made in Rome. A papyrus containing a fragment of a planetary theory quite likely comes from a treatise of Menelaus; it contains an observation dated to 104 December 31/105 January 1, maybe also made in Rome (POxy. 4133, cf. Jones 1999 I, 69-80; II, 2-5).

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ In this order, partial stemmata are given at POO II, LIII, LXXXI, CXXXVI. See also the remarks in Toomer 1984, 3-5.
    ${ }^{7}$ This summary mentions results first presented in my forthcoming edition of the scholia vetera to the Almagest: Acerbi 2017.
    ${ }^{8}$ On the fact that the copyists of Vat. gr. 184 surely had access to Vat. gr. 1594, see Heiberg at $P O O$ II, XXXII-XXXIII and CXVII-CXXI. As for Marc. gr. 313, Heiberg already surmised that the model of Vat. gr. 184 was collated with it (POO II, CXXI). Only a model of Vat. gr. 184 can be involved since Marc. gr. 313 was in the West since the middle $12^{\text {th }}$ century.

[^3]:    ${ }^{9}$ As we shall see, it is always assumed that the arcs of a great circle that are the sides of a spherical triangle are less than a semicircle.
    ${ }^{10}$ In comparing Gerard's Latin translation and the Arabic text of Abū Nașr's revision of the same proposition, "identical" usually means that the deductive steps of the former are a subset of those of the latter, the additional steps being intended to make an argument that was perceived as too concise clearer (a "revision" quite frequently amounts to adding such steps). In the case of I.5, Abū Naṣr also adds an alternative proof by reductio. For Gerard's translation, I always have directly checked the readings on the manuscript Par. lat. 9335.
    ${ }^{11}$ The Basel edition can be found online at http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-13800. Rome's edition iA only contains Pappus in Alm. V-VI and Theon in Alm. I-IV.
    ${ }^{12}$ It corresponds to the "missing case" of equality of triangles: two triangles are equal if they have two sides and any of the angles not contained by them respectively equal, provided that the remaining angles not contained by the selected sides do not sum to two right angles. Proclus, in Eucl., 350.14-351.1, expounds a counterexample to the unrestricted validity of the theorem, ascribing it to Porphyry.

[^4]:    ${ }^{13}$ See Krause 1936, 132-3 and n. 4; Björnbo 1902, 22-3.
    ${ }^{14}$ See Krause 1936, 133-5 and n. 2; Björnbo 1902, 23-5.

[^5]:    ${ }^{15}$ But the formulation is bewildering, since it also specifies that the angles are the one obtuse and the other acute. Maybe for this reason, Rome ( $i A, 275 \mathrm{n} .2$ ) asserts that he does not find the proposition to which the clause is alluding.
    ${ }^{16}$ The "small astronomical corpus" is better known as the "little astronomy". Theodosius' Sphaerica was included in it, Menelaus' was not.
     Spherics, Menelaus calls such a figure "trilateral"". The word is attested with this meaning in Ptolemy, Alm. II.3, II.10, II.11, II. 12 (bis) (at POO I.1, 96.24, 148.3, 155.3, 161.19, 163.19).

[^6]:    ${ }^{18}$ For general orientations on Menelaus and his legacy in the Arabic world see Bulmer-Thomas 1974; Sezgin 1974, 158-64, Fuentes González 2005 (to be used with caution: it is a compilation of ill-digested previous surveys; it contains a number of gross mistakes and does not even offer a complete bibliography).
    ${ }^{19}$ Proclus, in Eucl., 345.13-346.13. For the proof attested in the other Arabic revisions, see Krause, 27-8. See also Björnbo 1902, 45-6, for a discussion.

[^7]:    ${ }^{20}$ But see Tannery $1883-4,16-18$ of the reprint, for a guess. In this connection, one must also record the fact that, in the Verba filiorum, the Banū Mūsā report a solution of the problem of doubling the cube that they ascribe to Menelaus: "Et hec quidem operatio quam narramus est viri ex antiquis qui dicitur Mileus, cui est liber in geometria"; in fact, the method coincides with Archytas' (Clagett 1964, 336-40, quote from Gerard's Latin translation at 336).
    ${ }^{21}$ Here as elsewhere, the noun chords translates $\varepsilon v ่ \theta \varepsilon i ̃ \alpha ~ \varepsilon ̇ v ~ \kappa v ́ \kappa \lambda \omega$, litt. "straight line in a circle".
    ${ }^{22}$ See Fournet, Tihon 2014, 24-5 (text) and 49-51 (discussion); see also the discussion in Jones 2016.

[^8]:    ${ }^{23}$ See also Björnbo 1902, 32-45, for a discussion.
    ${ }^{24}$ Cf. POO I.1, 145.17.23-146.8. Unless otherwise stated, the translations of passages from the Almagest are those of Toomer 1984 (here from page 105).

[^9]:    ${ }^{25}$ Here and in the next line, the abbreviation in the scholium is also compatible with the reading $\dot{\varepsilon} v \sigma \varphi \alpha i \rho \alpha \varsigma$ $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \iota \varphi \alpha v \varepsilon i ́ a ̨ " i n ~ a ~ s u r f a c e ~ o f ~ a ~ s p h e r e " . ~ . ~$
    ${ }^{26}$ See the table in Krause 1936, n. 7 on 119-20; details on the specific recensions are ibid., 27 (al-Māhānī), 36-7 (al-Harawī and al-Ṭūsī), 54-5 (al-Ṭūsī).
    ${ }^{27}$ As said at the beginning, al-Māhānī's revision can only be recovered by means of the Hebrew and Latin translations.
    ${ }^{28}$ Al-Ṭ̂ ūsī completes def. 4 with that of angle greater than another and has two further definitions of "arc of inclination".

[^10]:    ${ }^{29}$ This is the arc cut off by the semicircles that contain the arcs from the great circle passing through the poles of these semicircles. This addition entailed completing "inclination of the semicircles" to "arcs of the inclination of the semicircles" in the previous sentence.
    ${ }^{30}$ The addition in Abū Naṣr's version must be connected with the very convoluted proofs of Sph. I. 1 we read both in Abū Naṣr's version and in Gerard's translation (= al-Māhān̄̄). These proofs surely are the result of radical, and to some extent independent, rewritings. Such rewritings involve constructions of solid geometry, whereas to "cut and paste" an angle on the surface of a sphere it is enough to "cut and paste" two suitable

[^11]:    arcs, and this can be done under the sole assumption that any circle can be traced on a sphere with given pole and "radius" less than the chord subtending half a great circle of the sphere. On the issue see Gori 2002, 1679 . On the "radius" involved in the previous construction, and on the construction itself, a tacit postulate in Theodosius' and Menelaus' Sphaerica, see Sidoli 2004.
    ${ }^{31}$ On the several genera ancient exegesis made angles a species of, see Acerbi 2010, 161-2.
    ${ }^{32}$ See Vitrac 2001, 77-9, for a discussion. Definition 6 is not well-founded since one must prove that the angle in the definiens is univocally defined by the construction identifying it. This is obvious if one uses orthogonal circles instead of the construction of El. XI.def.6.
    ${ }^{33}$ Heiberg 1927, 2.13-16. A quotation of this definition is also added in the proof of Sph. II.21, ibid., 98.2-5.

[^12]:    ${ }^{34}$ This happens in Alm I.14, 16, II.2, 3 (ter), 7 (bis), 10, 11, 12 (bis), VIII. 5 (ter), 6 (bis).
    ${ }^{35}$ See Neugebauer 1975, 26-30, for a clear exposition of the mathematics involved, Björnbo 1902, 88-92, Rome 1933, 49-50, and Sidoli 2006 for discussions of the issue of authenticity. Note that, at in Alm. VIII.5, Theon offers again a proof of a particular of the Theorem: see pp. 365-6 of the Basel edition.
    ${ }^{36}$ The sign - stands for "composition" of ratios (see Acerbi 2016 for a survey of all Greek and Byzantine sources). The two compounding ratios, in fact, are not "multiplied": what is multiplied, iuxta El. VI.def.5, are the $\pi \eta \lambda \ldots \kappa o ́ \tau \eta \tau \varepsilon \varsigma$ "<numerical> values" of the two ratios, namely, the fractions corresponding to them: "A ratio is said to be compounded of ratios when the <numerical> values of the ratios multiplied by one another make some <numerical value of a ratio>" (EOO II, 72.13-15). My translation of El. VI.def. 5 includes a final integration based on Theon in Alm. I.13, in iA, 533.1-2, who is our sole independent source completing the final $\tau 1 v \alpha$ of $E l$. VI.def. 5 with $\pi \eta \lambda_{1} \kappa o ́ \tau \eta \tau \alpha$ $\lambda o ́ \gamma o v$. One must note that the sign " $=$ " is also misleading: a ratio is said to be "compounded" of two or more ratios, it is never said to be "equal to" or "the same as" something like their "composition".

[^13]:    ${ }^{37}$ On the issue of "validation", see Acerbi 2011, 141-6, Acerbi 2012, 199-211, and Acerbi, Vitrac 2014, Étude complémentaire I.
    ${ }^{38}$ At in Alm. V.13, in iA, 84.3-85.22, in Alm. V.14, in iA, 102.16-103.11, in Alm. VI.5, in iA, 186.1-187.5. The fourth cyclic lemma is always at issue. Pappus identifies it by the expression $\delta \iota \alpha$ coṽ $\gamma^{\prime} \theta \varepsilon \omega \rho \eta ́ \mu \alpha \tau o \varsigma$
     102.16, 186.1).
    ${ }^{39}$ One must keep separated the several relations already associated with one and the same rectilinear supine configuration from the cases (among which the "parallel" case) arising in the process of "lifting" each rectilinear relation to a Menelaus relation. Theon is quite effective in keeping these issues apart: a choice of the combinatorics issuing from the former issue is presented at in Alm. I.13, iA, 538.4-545.11, the latter issue being partly tackled at in Alm. I.13, iA, 557.27-566.13. Rome is quite clear on this in his notes: see $i A, 535-7$ n. $1,539-40$ n. $1,560-1$ n. 2,564 n. 1.
    ${ }^{40}$ It is easy to see that, in every possible Menelaus relation associated with an assigned spherical supine configuration, there is at least one ratio whose terms contain partly overlapping arcs [just one ratio-in our example $\operatorname{ch}(2 \Delta \mathrm{~B}): \operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{BA})$-in a relation "by separation" (actually, a ratio associated with an outer arc) and all ratios in a relation "by composition"]. The third cyclic lemma has the function to "lift" each ratio of partly overlapping segments in the rectilinear relation associated with the rectilinear supine configuration corresponding to the assigned spherical supine configuration, to a ratio of partly overlapping chords in the Menelaus relation associated with the spherical supine configuration.
    ${ }^{41}$ Contrary to what Ptolemy appears to imply (namely, that the theorem "by composition" requires a proof independent from that of the theorem "by separation"), both Theon (at in Alm. I.13, iA, 568.1-570.12) and

[^14]:    Sph. III. 1 derive the theorem "by composition" from that "by separation"; they use the obvious fact that the same chord subtends the arc double of a given arc and the arc double of its complement to a semicircle. In Fig. 3 above, if we call $K$ the other end-point of diameter $B \Delta$, this amounts to the obvious equalities $\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AB})=2 \mathrm{AZ}=\operatorname{ch}(2 \mathrm{AK}): \mathrm{cf}$. Theon in Alm. I.13, iA, 567.1-10.
    ${ }^{42}$ As we shall see, the first mention of the "parallel" case will in fact occur in a scholium to the fourth cyclic lemma.
    ${ }^{43}$ It is not immediately clear what "non-constructible" means in this case. Maybe Theon really thought that the "parallel" case was impossible. In the same paragraph, he lists in fact two other non-constructible cases: when arc $\mathrm{A} \Gamma$ is greater than a semicircle, or equal to it $(i A, 554.11-15)$. The plural $\tau \alpha i \varsigma_{\varsigma}[\ldots] \pi$ oıov́ $\alpha<1 \varsigma$ in the clause at $i A, 554.16$ refers to these three cases. But maybe Theon simply remarked that it does not give rise to a compounded ratio, as we shall presently see. At any rate, Theon appears to perceive the "parallel" case as unproven (see the discussion in Rome 1933, 45 n .1 , who translates $\dot{\alpha} \sigma v ́ \sigma \tau \alpha \tau o v$ by "n'a pas lieu").

[^15]:    ${ }^{44}$ The following sigla will be employed: $\mathbf{B}=$ Vat. gr. 1594; $\mathbf{C}=$ Marc. gr. 313; $\mathbf{K}=$ Vat. gr. 184. Since $\mathbf{K}$ is a copy of $\mathbf{B}$, its readings should in principle be eliminated; I keep them since they give interesting information about the errors originating in the act of copying. The commentary provides the following information. a) Exact location of the scholium in the manuscripts. b) Transcription and translation of the passage of Alm. to which the scholium refers (called "the relatum"); the indication "POO I.1" is understood. In case it is possible to exactly identify the terms to which the scholium refers, or if the scholium is purposely (for instance, by means of a marginal sign) located beside a line of the text in $\mathbf{B}$, the terms or the line are underlined. c) Discussion of textual issues and of the mathematical context, with identification of likely sources or of similar passages in other authors. $d$ ) Graphic and codicological features. e) Lexical and syntactical remarks.

[^16]:    ${ }^{45}$ See Lorch 2001, 328, on this feature of Gerard's version.
    ${ }^{46}$ Abū Naṣr simply forgets here that parallelism in space is transitive.

[^17]:    ${ }^{47}$ Quite a strong case for severing the link between Menelaus and the Theorem, still holding that it was present in the Sphaerica, with many circumstantial and substantial arguments, is made in Sidoli 2004a. See Sidoli 2006, section V, for the presence of the Theorem in Menelaus' exposition on rising and setting times.
    ${ }^{48}$ Ptolemy never mentions Euclid even if, for instance, he refers to the enunciations of El. XIII. 9 and 10 in Alm. I.10, POO I.1, 33.12-15 and 33.18-20. Of course, one might also be to some extent entitled to entertain the hypothesis that Ptolemy did not know the Sphaerica.

[^18]:    ${ }^{49}$ This conclusion is virtually endorsed in Lorch 2001, 335.
    ${ }^{50}$ This was argued by N. Sidoli in a private communication. I hope he will fully develop his point.

[^19]:    ${ }^{51}$ I thank Nathan Sidoli for his critical remarks and Ramon Masiá for helping me with the diagrams. This research was supported in part by the project FFI2015-65118-C2-2-P "El autor bizantino II: Transmisión de los textos y bibliotecas" of the Spanish government, Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad.

[^20]:    
    
    

[^21]:     ú $\pi$ ò ВАГ.
    
    
    

