



National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

***Ancient Greek Optical instruments,
Lenses, Mirrors and possibly
Telescopes***

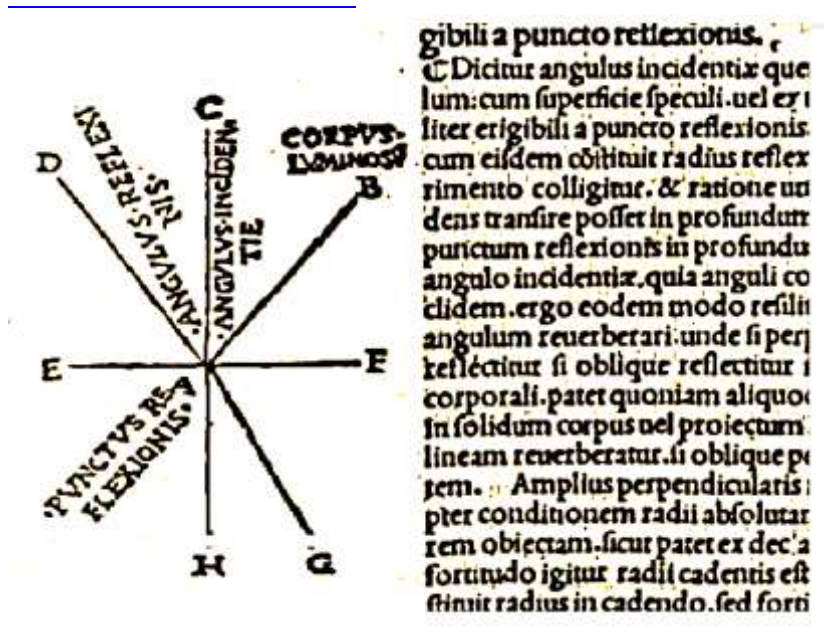


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* Φιλάλαος, ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, ὑπολαβεῖν τὸν ἥλιον, δεχόμενον μὲν τὸν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πυρὸς τὴν ἀνταυγίαν, διηθουτὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ τε φῶς καὶ τὴν ἀλεκτάνην, ὥστε τρεῖς τινὰ διττοὺς ἡλίους γιγνέσθαι, τὸ, τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πυρῶδες, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πυρῶδες κατὰ τὸ ἐσοπτρῶδες, εἰ μὴ τις καὶ τρίτον λιξῇ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνοπτρῶ κατ' ἀσκήλατον διασπειρομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐγὴν.

Abstract

A study of ancient optical instruments mirrors and lenses and combinations of them, which even allowed performing astronomical observations, has been performed and presented. It seems that such optical devices were available and used by philosophers and craftsmen that enable them to perform observations and create miniatures like seals.

Philosophers and scientists observe astronomical and other natural phenomena, like thunders, clouds, and rainbow and perform studies in laboratories. In parallel philosophers like Euclid, Hero and Diocles study in the laboratory and I theory and establish the qualities of the mirrors and possibly lenses.

This study is based on both actual data of existing ancient lenses that are in Greek Museums and Greek, Latin and Arabic literature. Some of them have been measured and their optical characteristics are known. In parallel I this study have been used ancient scientific books by Greek philosophers, with texts referred to optics, lenses, mirrors and multiple refraction instruments. These facts and texts have been neglected or misinterpreted up to now and even some specialists ignore the existence of lenses, spherical mirrors and optical instruments.

The oldest of the lenses that has been measured for this study is probably 4000 years old, from Crete, Greece, while the

others are of various time periods of antiquity. Several other lenses of various focal lengths of the 8th or 7th century BC from Rhodes are also presented. These have several focal lengths and magnifications and are provided with handles to be held by the user, who is probably an artist who designs and manufactures minatures, seals, jewellery.



There are ancient texts referred to complex optical systems made up of more than one mirror or, possibly, lenses from the Greek philosophers and even a theatrical writer like Aristophanes with many detailed descriptions and studies by prominent ones like Euclid and Hero both from Alexandria. Ancient natural philosophers and other authors mention optical systems of two or more mirrors, concave and convex,

that have appropriate qualities that enable the user to create real or imaginary idols, that they call images and spectra respectively. In some of these texts it is evident that they were in use for astronomical purposes to see “stars”, as they write, they name comets, and we can assume they possibly mean planets.

All these prove that humans in Greece have developed complex optical systems, possibly used for observations of objects at the Earth and celestial bodies like comets and the moon.

Introduction to ancient optics

Astronomy is part of our culture from prehistoric times. Humans admire and study the sky initially by unaided eye, they observe the motion of the stars, the Sun, the Moon, the planets, they notice the changes of the season, the yearly change of the altitude of the sun, the changes of the position of sunrise and sunset, and eventually they develop various instruments, poles, simple stelae, buildings and cities of various astronomical orientations, with orientations. These astronomical observations probably lead to the development of reasoning, the notion of causality and with it the laws of physics that are described by appropriate mathematics to describe and even predict properly nature, to “save the

phenomena¹". The mathematical formulation of a law of nature changes with time as more and especially better, more accurate data become available and better mathematical methods are developed or used in purpose.

Our effort to understand the sky, the nature of celestial objects makes us humans, Plato says. Observing the sky and trying to understand the motions and the nature celestial objects humans develop mathematical and physical models and this is the beginning of science and philosophy at the same time. Humanity makes an enormous step with the advent of astrophysics and cosmology, as this effort to understand nature in terms of nature is the beginning of reason, logic, of causality, of the existence of laws of physics, explanation and prediction of some natural phenomena like the phases of the moon, the position of the sun, the beginning of the year, the position of the planets, the eclipses etc. It is a miracle that humans understand the correct nature of the stars that are made of concentrations of hot gasses; they understand the existence of gravitational forces and its

¹ In Heraclides Ponticus (c390–310 BC) τὴν γῆν καὶ κύκλῳ κινουμένην, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ἡρεμεῖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ὑποθέμενος *σώζειν ᾗετο τὰ φαινόμενα*, Eudemus (270-300 BC), the oldest historian of science, mathematician, astronomer and student of Aristotle who edited his teacher's books before been published, writes *σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα* and it is repeated by Plutarch (46-120AD) in his book *On the Face in the Orb of the Moon*, ... φαινόμενα σώζειν...

significance in various cosmic scales, both in the creation of a star, they wonder on the generation of energy, of light. We especially wonder how humans understood all that and if they had means like telescopes, that enable them to observe at least the moon and comets that enabled them to start understanding nature. It is known the Greeks and other people had lenses and mirrors from prehistoric times.

This theoretical scientific method using theory, intellectually, using their brain with reason, and without using material [immaterially, *ἀύλως καὶ νοερῶς*]² to understand what they observe [*τὰ θεωρήματα*], as Hero states³. Theorems and proofs are probably the most important advancement in science and this theoretical method is used to study mirrors and their applications including optical systems with more than one mirrors.

² [Pythagoras] τὴν περὶ αὐτὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς σχῆμα παιδείας ἐλευθέρου μετέστησεν ἄνωθεν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπούμενος καὶ ἀύλως καὶ νοερῶς τὰ θεωρήματα διερευνῶμενος, ὅς δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνὰ λόγον πραγματείαν καὶ τὴν τῶν κοσμικῶν σχημάτων σύστασιν ἀνεῦρεν.

³ Hero *Definitiones* μετὰ δὲ τὸν Θαλῆν Μαμέρτιος ὁ Στησιχόρου ποιητοῦ ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰππίας ὁ Ἡλεῖος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἄνωθεν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπούμενος καὶ ἀύλως καὶ νοερῶς τὰ θεωρήματα διερευνῶμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ ὁ Πλάτων καὶ Οἰνοπίδης ὁ Χῖος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ Ἰπποκράτης πρὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος.



Based on ancient Greek texts and actual finds it is evident that they do not only have lenses and mirrors of various types, but they even studied them with scientific methods, experimental and theoretical as it is described in Euclid of Alexandria's book on Catoptrics. Perhaps the most famous quotation on the use of lenses in antiquity is the one theatrical writer of comedies Aristophanes mentions in one of his comedies that the Greeks have been using lenses that you can buy from a pharmacy to light a fire⁴, or to falsify the minutes of a court from a distance

⁴ ἥδη παρὰ τοῖσι φαρμακοπώλαις τὴν λίθον ταύτην ἐόρακας, τὴν καλήν, τὴν διαφανή, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ πῦρ ἄπτουσι; and also Socrates τὴν ὕαλον λέγεις; Aristophanes, *Clouds*. Strepsiades: Have you seen the transparent stone that you can buy from the pharmacy to light up a fire? Socrates: yes, you mean the glass (lens), you can use it to melt and delete from a distance the writings of your suit in the court.

using a lens. The minutes of proceedings of the court were written on tablets covered with a thin layer of wax that *Strepsades* will delete from a distance focusing sunrays on the layer of wax. For Aristophanes to use lenses in a comedy implies that the use of them is known to the general public. Several lenses and many mirrors are in Greek and other archaeological museums⁵, but there are many more important ancient texts about optics, especially mirrors.

Ancient Optics

Optics, called *catoptrics* by the Greeks, as it was initially the study optics of the mirrors that are called *Katoptra* (Κάτοπτρα) in Greek. Optics becomes a science mainly in Alexandria probably before the time of Euclid. Euclid's *Catoptrics* explains theoretically with theorems reflection, multiple reflection and the formation of images, reversed, magnified etc. Euclid explains why certain mirrors reverse the image, making it left and right handed or inverse, up and down, why images appear diminished and warped in convex mirrors, how can be seen in concave mirrors⁶. Another very important theoretical study is

⁵ Twyman, F. (1942, 1952, 2nd ed.). *Prism and Lens Making*, Hilger.

⁶ Georgia L. Irby (editor), (2016), *A companion to science, technology, and medicine in ancient Greece and Rome*, 2016 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

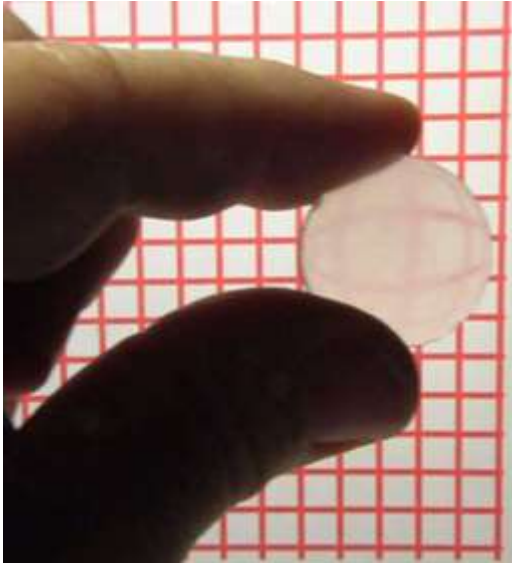
the one on burning mirrors by Diocles (c240–c180 BC)⁷ of which an Arabic translation exists extensively studied by Toomer and proves that they treat optics purely theoretically using geometry without involving the eye of the observer or vision. Diocles was an important mathematician that solved in a way the Delian problem of doubling of the cube volume, introduced the cissoid of Diocles, wrote the book of optics specialized *on Burnig mirrors* has been saved in the book with comments of Archimedes' book (now lost) *On the Sphere and the Cylinder* written by the mathematician Eutocius (480- 540 AD) who has studied and worked in Alexandria with Ammonius.

The usual belief [see for example Neugebauer]⁸ that Greek texts show that Greek philosophers understanding the nature of vision assuming that the human eye emits rays of light is based on a misunderstanding of the Greek texts where the simply mention the mathematical method to draw lines to study and understand vision. The confusion is probably due to the use of term *opsis* (ὄψις) which has three meanings at least

⁷ Toomer, G. J. (2012). Diocles, On Burning Mirrors: The Arabic Translation of the Lost Greek Original (Vol. 1). Springer Science & Business Media.

⁸ O. Neugebauer, (1975) *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy In Three Parts*, Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg

a) the eye, b) the vision, and c) the rays of light and the straight lines used in the theory of optics⁹.



The mere fact that optics, that Greek Philosophers call it catoptrics, is part of geometry, where they do not mention the human eye or vision, but the straight lines they use to study optics, proves that. This is mentioned by Medaglia and Russo¹⁰

⁹ C.f. Thibodeau, P. (2016). *Ancient Optics: Theories and Problems of Vision*, in *A Companion to Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Greece and Rome*, First Edition. edited by Georgia L. Irby. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. pp 130–144.

¹⁰ Medaglia, S. M., & Russo, L. (1995). Sulla prima “definizione” dell’*Optica* di Euclide”. *Bollettino dei classici*, 41-54.

where they present two almost identical sentences from Euclid and Hero¹¹ on the geometry of vision that prove that the notion that all Greek philosophers believe that vision is based on light rays that are emitted from the eye is wrong. Euclid in his *Optica* states *let us draw straight lines form the eye that deviate as the distance increases* and even introduces the solid angle as a cone¹². Geminus and Theon give the same geometrical description, almost the same sentence. Heron in his book *Definitiones*¹³ says that light rays are straight lines that deviate from the eye and the same is repeated by Geminus in his *Fragmenta optica*¹⁴.

¹¹ Hero of Alexandria (1900) *Opera quae supersunt Omnia. Mechanica et catoptrica*, ed. L. Nix and W. Schmidt. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

¹² Euclide *Optica*: Ὑποκείσθω τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμματος ἐξαγομένας εὐθείας γραμμὰς φέρεσθαι διάστημα μεγεθῶν μεγάλων. καὶ τὸ [μὲν] ὑπὸ τῶν ὀψεων περιεχόμενον σχῆμα εἶναι κῶνον τὴν κορυφὴν μὲν ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ ὀμματι τὴν δὲ βάσιν πρὸς τοῖς πέρασι τῶν ὀρωμένων. [solid angle] καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι μὲν ταῦτα, πρὸς ἃ ἂν αἱ ὀψεις προσπίπτωσι, μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι δέ, πρὸς ἃ ἂν μὴ προς-πίπτωσιν αἱ ὀψεις.

¹³ Heron: Ὅτι ὑποτίθεται ἡ ὀπτική τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμματος ὀψεις κατ' εὐθείας γραμμὰς φέρεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ὀμματος περιφερομένου συμπεριφέρεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὀψεις, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ὀμματι διανοιγομένῳ πρὸς τὸ ὀρώμενον γίνεσθαι τὰς ὀψεις

¹⁴ Geminus: ὅτι ὑποτίθεται ἡ ὀπτική τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμματος ὀψεις κατ' εὐθείας γραμμὰς φέρεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ὀμματος συμπεριφερομένου συμπεριφέρεσθαι καὶ τὰς ὀψεις καὶ ἅμα τῷ

Hero and Geminus divide *Optics* in three parts, as (a) *Optic*, (b) *Catoptric* and (c) *Scenographic*¹⁵. **Geometrical optics** is used for reflection of light on reflecting surfaces like water, metallic plates, and also for refraction in crystal and lenses¹⁶.

ὄμματι διανοιγομένῳ πρὸς τὸ ὁρώμενον τὰς ὀψεις γίνεσθαι.
ὑποκείσθω τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμματος ὀψεις κατ'εὐθείας γραμμάς
φέρεσθαι διάστημά τι ποιούσας ἀπ'ἀλλήλων

¹⁵ Geminus and Heron says exactly the same, using the same phrase in fact ὀπτικῆς μέρη λέγοιτο μὲν ἂν κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ὕλας καὶ πλείω, τὰ δὲ γενικώτατα τρία· τὸ μὲν ὁμωνύμως τῷ ὅλῳ καλούμενον ὀπτικόν, τὸ δὲ κατοπτρικόν, τὸ δὲ σκηνογραφικόν. κατοπτρικόν δὲ λέγεται ὁλοσχερέστερον μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀνακλάσεις τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λείων, οὐ μόνον περὶ ἓν κάτοπτρον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ πλείω στρεφόμενον, ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐν ἀέρι δι' ὑγρῶν ἐμφαινόμενα χρώματα, ὅποῃ ἔστι τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἱριδας. ἕτερον δὲ τό τε θεωροῦν τὰ συμβαίνοντα περὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας ἔν τε κλάσει καὶ φωτισμοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ σκιαῖς· οἷον ὅποια τις ἢ διορίζουσα γραμμὴ τὴν σκιὰν ἐν ἐκάστῳ σχήματι γίνεται. ὅποια γὰρ ἢ τῶν ὀψεων πρόπτωσις, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ καταφωτισμὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου γίνεται· καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κατ' εὐθείας ἀκλάστους, τοτὲ δὲ κατὰ διαδυομένας ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑέλων – κατακλῶμεναι γὰρ καὶ εἰς ἓν συννεύουσαι ἐξάπτουσι παρὰ τὰ ποιά σχήματα –τοτὲ δὲ κατὰ ἀνάκλασιν ὥσπερ οἱ ἀχιλλεῖς φαίνονται ἐπὶ τῶν ὀροφῶν· ὥς τ' ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ὀψεως ἢ θεωρία, καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς μέρους τοῦ ἡλίου ὁ φωτισμὸς γίνεται.

¹⁶ ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τῶν ὑμένων τὰ κατὰ διάδυσιν θεωροῦσα ὀπτικὴ ἐλάττω μὲν θεωρίαν ἔχει, αἰτιολογεῖ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὕδασι καὶ ὑμέσι [thin plates of metal] καὶ ὑέλοις [lenses] ὁπότε

Light follows **straight lines or at times refracted as in lenses** [ἀκλάστους, τότε δὲ κατὰ δυομένας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑέλων]. **Spectroscopy (Ἱρις)** is the study of colours that appear in air, water, shadows, around the rays of the sun¹⁷, **Scenography** is part of optics that studies the images of buildings¹⁸ in 3 dimensions, i.e. projective geometry and descriptive geometry, that are suitable and important for design, architecture, engineering and in art with perceptiveness, which is evident already in the frescos of Akrotiri of Thera, at the royal tombs of Philip at Vergina, Roman mural paintings.

διασπαρπτόμενα φαίνεται τὰ ἡνωμένα καὶ σύνθετα τὰ ἀπλᾶ καὶ τὰ ὀρθὰ κεκλασμένα καὶ τὰ μένοντα κινούμενα.

¹⁷ ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐν ἀέριδι ὑγρῶν ἐμφαινόμενα χρώματα, ὅποιά ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὰς Ἱριδας· ἕτερον δὲ τό τε θεωροῦν τὰ συμβαίνοντα περὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας ἔν τε κλάσει καὶ φωτισμοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ σκιαῖς, οἷον ὅποια τις ἡ διορίζουσα γραμμὴ τὴν σκιὰν ἐν ἐκάστω σχήματι γίνεται, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ πυρεῖα προσαγορευόμενον σκοποῦν περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀνά-

κλασιν συνιουσῶν ἀκτίνων, αἱ κατὰ σύννευσιν ἀθρόαν τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀνακλάσεως παρὰ τὴν ποιὰν κατασκευὴν τοῦ κατόπτρου εἰς ἓν συνιοῦσαι ἢ κατὰ γραμμὴν εὐθεῖαν ἢ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκκυροῦσί τινα τόπον. αὗται δ' αἱ θεωρεῖαι τὰς αὐτὰς ὑποθέσεις ἔχουσαι τῇ περὶ τὰς ὄψεις τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνην τρόπον ἐφοδεύονται· ὅποια γὰρ ἡ τῶν ὄψεων πρόπτωσις, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ καταφωτισμὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου γίνεται, καὶ τότε μὲν κατ' εὐθείας

¹⁸ Τί τὸ σκηνογραφικόν; Τὸ σκηνογραφικὸν τῆς ὀπτικῆς μέρος ζητεῖ, πῶς προσήκει γράφειν τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων·

Claudius Ptolemy has written five extensive books about optics¹⁹, on mirrors and reflection and we can conclude that it was a very detailed study of a science that was very advanced at the Hellenistic times.



Ancient lenses

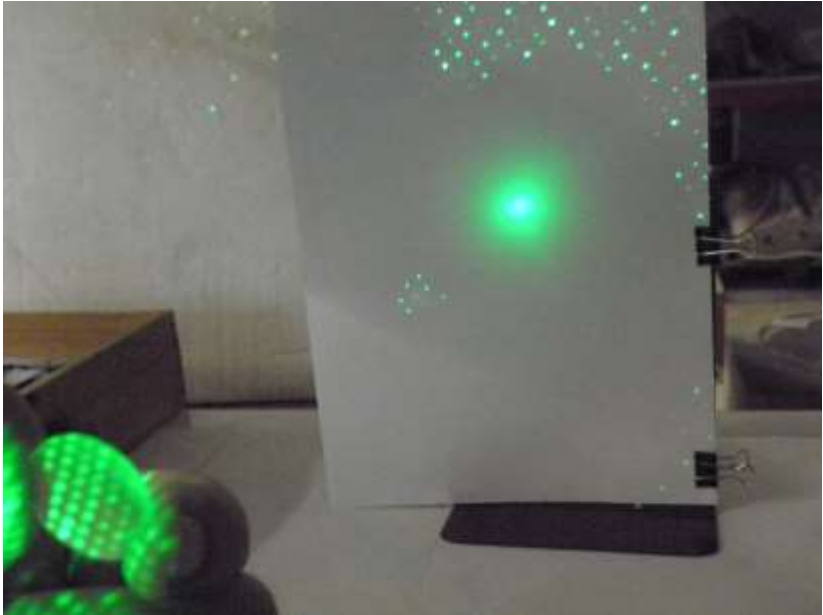
There have been several studies and presentations of ancient lenses mainly by archaeologists. Sines and Sakellarakis (1987) and Sakellarakis, (1999), present lenses from prehistoric Greece, Crete, lenses have been found in Knossos, and Enoch

¹⁹ L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée 5 books edited by Albert Lejeune (1956), version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile, édition critique et exégétique augmentée d'une traduction française et de compléments, Louvain, Bibl. Universitaire.

(1998, 2000) presents a lenticular crystal made object that he considers that it was simply ornamental. Giovanni Pettinato (Willach, 2008) believes that this Assyrian lens discovered by Sir John Layar in 1850, was possibly used for magnification of objects. Ancient lenses are described by Irby-Massie and Keyser (2002) in their book about Greek science of the Hellenistic era and especially by Russo (2013) who is his famous book about the scientific revolution in the Greek World gives an account for ancient lenses from various places. Russo reviews the scientific presentation of lenses in antiquity. Russo discusses the refraction presentation by Ptolemy who gives tables with refraction angles of media. The most beloved pupil of Aristotle and his successor as head in his Philosophical School in Athens, the Peripatetic School or Lyceum, which has been discovered recently in Athens, Theophrastus (~371 BC to 287 BC) discusses on how a lens can be used to light a fire. Russo discusses the possible existence of even telescopes in antiquity. Russo stresses that Hoppe in his book of the history of optics and Giovanni Pettinato based on the accuracy of their astronomical measurements states that telescope were possibly in use by Mesopotamian astronomers during the late Assyrian period.



The Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, Crete, Greece, there are more than 20 lenses some from around 2000 BC, that I have studied some of them that are intact and in good condition. I have measured the quality of several lenses. Their focal lenses range around some tens of cm. The image these lenses produce is reasonable, more than just acceptable. Despite their distortion, the lenses give images that can be useful, suitable for practical purposes. The magnification is suitable for engraving and to work with small objects for the construction of jewels and seals like seal the ones the Greek world produces from prehistoric times.



Another 20 magnifying lenses with handles made of copper are available at the Archeological Museum of Rhodes, which are believed to be of the 8th century BC. Most probably these were lenses used in a workshop, or they were ready for sale from a workshop. I will measure their focal lengths and if more than one or two lenses have the same magnification we can probably conclude that the lenses are meant for sale, possibly even to mitigate presbyopia, the aging eye condition. Around forty lentoid, lens-like crystal objects found by H. Schliemann at Troy are now at the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. These are assumed to be meant probably for decoration of a ceremonial suit of royalty or something equivalent. One of the lenses though is definitely a lens with good quality image. All these lenses are converging lenses with one spherical and a

plane surfaces. Some lens-like objects are real lenses used for magnification²⁰ and perhaps other are perhaps just for decoration²¹



²⁰ Sines, G., & Sakellarakis, Y. A. (1987). Lenses in antiquity. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 191-196., believe that are lenses for magnification.

²¹ Plantzos (1997) suggests that lent-like objects are just for decorative purpose.

At least two or three very impressive lenses that are suitable to mitigate myopia, near-sightedness or short-sightedness, have been on display at the exhibition of objects from Vergina at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, which I have applied to study.

The use of magnifying lenses by ancient people is evident from the details of seals that are numerous from many time periods including the Hellenistic period in Alexandria. A recently discovered seal from a ring of the 15th century BC from Pylos proves that humans managed to construct immaculate details that can be seen in the seal. The fingers of one of the warriors are accurately displayed with an accuracy of 0.2mm, i.e. half the diameter of a human hair, with details that are only visible with special photography techniques like photomicroscopy²².

The theory of optics progresses rapidly and during the Hellenistic period Heron and Ptolemy flourish in Alexandria together with mathematics, astronomy, geography, physics, mechanics, architecture, ship building robotics (automata). Refraction has been studied on a theoretical basis and understood. Heron Heron of Alexandria in his *Definitiones* explains how refraction happens as the rays of light following straight lines enter from one transparent medium to another

²² Davis, Jack L. and Stocker, Sharon R., (2016), *The Lord of the Gold Rings: The Griffin Warrior of Pylos*, Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 85, pp. 627-65.

denser, like water, glass or films or membranes²³. Euclids in his book *Catoptrica* gives the theory of constructin of images from spherical mirrors²⁴ and he gives details on the left handed images and right handed images from spherical mirrors and that the image is smaller and he is referred on the use of more than one spherical mirrors nd he gives mathematical explanation why the image from the smaller spherical mirror will be smaller²⁵.

Diogenes Laertius in his *Vitae philosophorum* and at the *Lexicon Suda* they mention that in philosophical schools they study the physics of the creation of virtual image²⁶.

²³ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τρόπον ὑποτίθεται τὰ μὲν δι' αἰθέρος καὶ ἄερος ὁρώμενα κατ' εὐθείας γραμμὰς ὁρᾶσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν φῶς κατ' εὐθείας γραμμὰς· ὅσα δὲ διαφαίνεται δι' ὑέλων ἢ ὑμένων ἢ ὕδατος, κατὰ κεκλασμένας, τὰ δὲ φαινόμενα ἐν τοῖς κατοπτρίζουσι κατὰ ἀνακλωμένας γωνίας.

²⁴ Ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις ἐνόπτροις ἕκαστον τῶν ὁρωμένων κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρωμένου εἰς τὸ κέντρον τῆς σφαίρας ἀγομένην εὐθεΐαν ὁρᾶται. And φανερόν οὖν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρτοῦ ἐνόπτρου τὸ εἶδωλον ἔλασσον φαίνεται τοῦ ὁρωμένου and Ἐν τοῖς κυρτοῖς ἐνόπτροις τὰ ἀριστερὰ δεξιὰ φαίνεται καὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἀριστερά, καὶ τὸ ἀπόστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόπτρου τὸ εἶδωλον ἔλασσον ἔχει.

²⁵ Ἐν τοῖς κυρτοῖς ἐνόπτροις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἐνόπτρων ἐλάσσονα φαίνεται τὰ εἶδωλα. ἔστω σφαῖρα μείζων μὲν ἢ ΑΓ, ἐλάσσων δὲ ἢ ΕΛ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον τὸ Θ, ὅμμα δὲ τὸ Β ...

²⁶ αἰτία τῆς κατοπτρικῆς φαντασίας

Ancient mirrors

The Greeks use three terms of mirrors: *Κάτοπτρον*, *Ἔσοπτρον* and *Ἐνοπτρον*. In Greek Ἔσ, Ev means inside, *Κάτ* means against, *οπτ* means to look and *-τρον*, means an instrument, so these three terms mean an instrument to look trough or against.

According to Greek mythology the first mirror has been made by god Vulcan for god Dionysus as described Proclus In *Platonis Timaeum commentaria*²⁷. Construction of a convex mirror is described by Agathias in *Historiae* who states that the convex mirror focuses the rays of the sun on a point [αἴγλη, focal point]²⁸.

It is well known that ancient people, even prehistoric people, have and use bronze mirrors in Minoan and Mycenaean times that can be seen at the Archaeological Museums in Crete and the National Archaeological Museum at Athens. There are indications that some terracotta shallow vessels, the so called

²⁷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις τὸ ἔσοπτρον ἐπιτηδειότητος παρείληπται σύμβολον πρὸς τὴν νοερὰν ἀποπλήρωσιν τοῦ παντός· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἔσοπτρόν φασι ποιῆσαι τῷ Διονύσῳ, εἰς ὃ ἐμβλέψας ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἶδωλον ἑαυτοῦ θεασάμενος προῆλθεν εἰς ὅλην τὴν μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν.

²⁸ δίσκον μὲν γάρ τινα ἐσόπτρου δίκην ἐσκευασμένον καὶ ἡρέμα ὑποκοιλαινόμενον ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀντερείδων ἀκτῖσιν ἐνεπίμπλα τῆς αἴγλης·

frying pan vessels of the 4th and 3rd millennium BC, found around the Aegean and mainly in Cyclades, peculiar containers for liquids, painted black inside could have been used as mirrors²⁹. They fill the vessels with water and use them as mirrors. There are references on mirrors in the classical theatrical plays and this means that the spectators must be familiar with the use of mirrors, hence mirrors were not only for the very rich people and everybody is familiar with reflections and on the formation of the image.

Apollonius in his work *Apotelesmata* gives a recipe on how to construct a metallic mirror alloy using copper, mercury, silver, gold, lead, tin and crystal³⁰. Mirrors have many applications.

²⁹ Tsountas, C., 1899, Cycladic, *Κυκλαδικα* II, *ArchEph*, 74–134.; Coleman, J. E., 1985, 'Frying pans' of the Early Bronze Age Aegean, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 89, 191–219.; Papathanassoglou, D. A., & Georgouli, C. A. (2009). The 'frying pans' of the early bronze age aegean: an experimental approach to their possible use as liquid mirrors. *Archaeometry*, 51(4), 658-671.; Tsikritsis, M., Moussas, X., & Tsikritsis, D. (2015). Astronomical and mathematical knowledge and calendars during the early helladic era in aegean" frying pan" vessels. *Mediterranean Archaeology & Archaeometry*, 15(2).

³⁰ Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἐσόπτρου δι' οὗ ὥς μυστήρια πάντα φαίνεται λαβὲ δὲ παρὰ χαλκοῦ, ὑδραργύρου, ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ, μολίβδου, κασσιτέρου καὶ κρυστάλλου, ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφότερα, καὶ χωνεύσας κατασκεύασον ἐξ αὐτῶν κάτοπτρον οἴου μέτρου βούλει, ὁμοία δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῦ ἡ χροιά κρυστάλλῳ οὗ ἔφυ. See English translation

Naturally they are meant and used for cosmetics, to mirror oneself, but also for reflecting light as in the case of Pharos of Alexandria, to burn the fleet of Marcellus, as Archimedes did, possibly to have images of astronomical objects, as it is presented in the following and even for hunting, trapping animals as Athenaeus in his book *Deipnosophistae* states many times³¹.

According to the literature the first scientists to understand the physics and mathematics of reflection are Pythagoras and his followers, as the so called Pseudo-Galenus (Galen) states in his book on the history of science (*De historia philosophica*)³² and he continues by saying that Democritus and Epicure have studied the formation of images produced by reflection on

³¹ περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν ὀρτύγων θήρας ἰδίως ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος Πολιτείᾳ μαθηματικῶς εἰρημένων γράφων οὕτως οἱ ὀρτυγες περὶ τὸν τῆς ὀχείας καιρὸν, ἐὰν κάτοπτρον ἐξ ἐναντίας τις αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸ τούτου βρόχον θῇ, τρέχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἐμφαινόμενον ἐν τῷ κατόπτρῳ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸν βρόχον a description that Athenaeus repeats three times in his book, information that is repeated by Eustathii archiepiscopi in his book *Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*.

³² Pseudo-Galenus, *De historia philosophica* οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου κατὰ τὰς ἀντανακλάσεις τῆς ὀψεως.

mirrors, plane or spherical and how the images they produced are inverted³³.

Plato [*Theaetetus*] uses such an expression ὥσπερ εἰς κάτοπτρον ἢ ὕδωρ, referred to an image produced by reflection. Aeschylus in a now lost tragedy says that we use mirrors made of copper [κάτοπτρον εἶδους χαλκός], hence mirrors to be used in a theatrical play have to be common place, known to all. It is evident that there are mirrors made of various materials as Aristoteles³⁴ in his treatise on colours refers to various colour of various mirrors, and we can conclude that he has in mind mirrors made of water in a container with black bottom onside, polished black stones, copper, silver, gold even. Apollonius the Philosopher in the book *Apotelesmata* part of *Patrologia Syriaca*³⁵ gives the

³³ Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος τὰς κατοπτρικὰς ἐμφάσεις γίνεσθαι κατ' εἰδώλων ἐπιστάσεις, ἅτινα φέρεσθαι μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν, συνίστασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατόπτρου κατὰ ἀντιστροφήν.

³⁴ Aristoteles *De coloribus* διὸ καὶ καθ' ὕδατος ὕδατοειδῆ μᾶλλον φαίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς κατόπτροις ὁμοίας ἔχοντα χροὰς ταῖς

τῶν κατόπτρων, in water the image is rather water-like, and in mirrors it has the colour of the mirror.

³⁵ Apollonius, *Apotelesmata*, *Patrologia Syriaca* Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἐσόπτρου δι' οὗ ὡς μυστήρια πάντα φαίνεται. Λαβὲ δὲ παρὰ χαλκοῦ, ὕδραργύρου, ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ, μολίβδου, κασσιτέρου καὶ κρυστάλλου, ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφότερα, καὶ χωνεύσας κατασκεύασον ἐξ αὐτῶν κάτοπτρον οἴου μέτρου βούλει, ὁμοία δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῦ ἡ

ingredients necessary to create a mirror, copper, mercury, silver, gold, lead, tin and crystal..

A very important description of astronomical observations with a kind of telescope, a set of mirrors used as a telescope to observe celestial objects is given by Flavius Arrianus (c. 85 to c. 160 AD) who wrote the history of Alexander the Great [*Alexandri anabasis*] in his *Fragmenta de rebus physicis* [about physics] where he is referred to Democritus, the teacher of Hippocrates using this “telescope” to observe planets and the he observed their images³⁶ and he managed to understand the constituents of the comets. Very interesting is the reference to a wrong story about Democritus by Plutarchus in *De curiositate* where is evident that the great scientist uses burning mirrors, but of course not to punish, kill himself or to become blind³⁷. We can infer that Democritus at least

χροιά κρυστάλλῳ οὗ ἔφυ. Θὲς δὲ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ πλάκας μικρὰς διαργυρᾶς καὶ γράψον ταῦτα ἐναργῶς·

³⁶ Δημοκρίτου δὲ ὁ λόγος λεγόμενός ἐστιν, ὡς κατ' ἀντίλαμψιν τῶν πλανωμένων ἀστέρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς οἱ κομῆται ξυνίστασθαι δοκοῦσι, καθάπερ πλειόνων κατόπτρων ἀντίλαμπόντων σφίσιν ἤδη τινὰ ὥφθη ἀστεροειδῆ φαντάσματα.

³⁷ Plutarchus *De curiositate* ὅθεν ἐκεῖνο μὲν ψεῦδός ἐστι, τὸ Δημόκριτον ἐκουσίως σβέσαι τὰς ὀψεις ἀπερειαζόμενον εἰς ἔσοπτρα πυρωθέντα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνάκλασιν δεξάμενον, ὅπως μὴ παρέχῃσι θόρυβον τὴν διάνοιαν ἔξω καλοῦσαι πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἐῷσιν ἔνδον οἰκουρεῖν καὶ διατρίβειν πρὸς τοῖς νοητοῖς, ὥσπερ παρόδιοι θυρίδες ἐμφραγεῖσθαι· τοῦτο μέντοι παντὸς μᾶλλον

observed the Sun using mirrors and that naturally avoided destruction of his vision by looking directly at the sun, as he has studied the possibilities of image formation using concave mirrors and he knew how to project images and the Sun is an excellent example that we use even today for students today. Philosopher Apollonius in his book *Apotelesmata* states that we cannot know everything that happens on the Earth at all latitudes and the sky unless we use a mirror to see clearly³⁸.Te

ἀληθές ἐστιν, ὅτι τὴν αἴσθησιν ὀλίγα κινουῖσιν οἱ πλεῖστα τῇ διανοίᾳ χρώμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ μουσεῖα πορρωτάτῳ τῶν πόλεων ἰδρύσαντο, καὶ τὴν νύκτα προσεῖπον 'εὐφρόνην', μέγα πρὸς εὕρεσιν τῶν ζητουμένων καὶ σκέψιν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τὸ ἀπερίσπαστον. [Moralia, first published in 1939. The Greek text and the English translation (by W. C. Helmbold), pp 469-517 of Vol. VI of the Loeb Classical Library, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/De_curiositate*.html,

Consequently, though that story about Democritus is false, that he deliberately destroyed his sight by fixing his eyes on a red-hot mirror and allowing its heat to be reflected on his sight, in order that his eyes might not repeatedly summon his intellect outside and disturb it, but might allow his mind to remain inside at home and occupy itself with pure thinking, blocking up as it were windows which open on the street; yet nothing is more true than this, that those who make most use of the intellect make fewest calls upon the senses]

³⁸ Apollonius in his book *Apotelesmata* "Ὅτε οὖν βούλει τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κλίμασιν πᾶσιν τῆς γῆς γινόμενα καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ εἰδέναι, βλέψον καθαρῶς καὶ ἱλαρῶς μετὰ τοῦ ἐσόπτρου καὶ βλέπε ταῦτα.

great mathematician and astronomer Eudoxus has written a popular astronomy book entitled *Mirror* (*ENOPTRON* in Greek) where he gives a description of the sky. One can assume that he uses the title mirror for a book that describes the sky, because they use mirrors to observe the sky.

The philosophers observing comets³⁹ realize that they contain gasses, jets of gasses, which they rotate. Perhaps the symbol of swastika is a rotating comet with jets emerging and being bent by a change of the solar wind. The conclusion that comets are made of gasses is generalized and this way the Greeks understood correctly that the stars are concentrations of hot gasses. It seems that Anaxagoras observed carefully comet Halley and understood the nature of stars and for this we suggest that comet Halley to be renamed comet Anaxagoras. Another astronomical use is mentioned by the very influential philosopher Aristoteles⁴⁰ in his book *De Mundo* (Περὶ Κόσμου) when referred to the spectrum of light (ἶρις) writes that iris, the spectrum, appears in the reflection of a part of the Sun or of the Moon when it is in a humid and

³⁹ Moussas, X. (2014). Early Greek astrophysics: the foundations of modern science and technology. *American Journal of Space Science*, 1(2), 129.

⁴⁰ Aristoteles *De mundo* Ἰρις μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἔμφασις ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης, ἐν νέφει νοτερώ καὶ κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ, θεωρουμένη κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν.

hollow cloud⁴¹. The same description of observations of spectra seen with mirror is given by Posidonius in his book *Meteorologica* description given by Diogenes Laertius, as the original book by Posidonius has been lost. It seems that, as Plutarch in the life of Demosthenes describes there were large sized mirrors too.⁴² A similar description of Iris is given by the successor of Hippocrates Galen⁴³. Anaximander explains the spectra of the Halo around the Sun in terms of reflection of the light from the sensed cloud around the Sun⁴⁴.

⁴¹ νοτερῶ καὶ κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ, θεωρουμένη κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν

⁴² Plutarchus, Demosthenes “*Plutarchi vitae parallelae ... εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἶκοι, ... he has a large mirror at home.* Demetrius the historian, mentions a large mirror used at home, and we can conclude that large mirrors were somewhat common εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἶκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἐξ ἐναντίας ἰστάμενον περαίνειν.

⁴³ Galenus in *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, ὅπως ἡ ἴρις γίγνεται καὶ ὅπως ἄλλως ἦτοι περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὴν σελήνην οἱ τ' ἀνθήλιοι καὶ οἱ παρήλιοι καλούμενοι τὰ τε διὰ τῶν κατόπτρων ὁρώμενα διερχόμενος, εἰς ἀνάκλασιν ὅψεως ἀναφέρει πάντα

⁴⁴ Anaximander: περὶ ἱριδος ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ νέφους πυκνοῦ τῆς ἡλιακῆς περιφεγγείας, καταντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ κατοπτρίζοντος αὐτὴν ἀστέρος διὰ παντὸς ἵστασθαι. παραπλησίως δὲ αἰτιολογεῖται τὰ καλούμενα παρήλια, γινόμενα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον.

Apollonius of Laodicia in his astrological book *Astrologia Apotelesmatica* says that we use mirrors as telescope to see clearly object in the sky and on the ground⁴⁵.

Plutarchus in the book *De facie in orbe lunae* stresses that concave mirrors can be used to lit fire convex mirrors not⁴⁶. Plutarch uses the term concave mirror, in his *moralia* on *De Pythiae oraculis* where he states that one can have distorted images using mirrors plane and concave⁴⁷, in fact the is referred to imaginary images [φασμάτων] and real images [ειδώλων]. An even more interesting observation going back to Thales observing the eclipse using a mirror, i.e. the earliest predicted eclipse according to Greek literature, is given by the so called Pseudo-Plutarchus, in *Placita philosophorum* in the

⁴⁵ Καὶ εἰ τὰ ὑποχθόνια ὁρᾶν θέλεις, βλέψον κάτωθεν τοῦ ἐσόπτρου, καὶ εἰ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ,

θεάσαι εἰς τὸ ἀνώτερον μέρος τοῦ ἐσόπτρου καὶ ἴδοις ἐξαίσια, καὶ εἰ τὴν ὄψιν μὴ ἀπο-

στρέψεις, ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ γενήσῃ.

⁴⁶ καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως τὰ μὲν κοῖλα τῶν ἐσόπτρων εὐτονωτέραν ποιεῖ τῆς προηγουμένης αὐγῆς τὴν ἀνακλω-

μένην, ὥστε καὶ φλόγας ἀναπέμπειν πολλάκις, τὰ δὲ κυρτὰ καὶ τὰ σφαιροειδῆ τῷ μὴ πανταχόθεν ἀντερείδειν ἀσθενῇ καὶ ἀμαυράν

⁴⁷ ἐν κατόπτροις ἐπιπέδοις τε καὶ κοίλοις καὶ περιαγέσι φασμάτων [imaginary image] καὶ ειδώλων [real image] ἀφ' ἐνὸς εἵδους μυρίας παρατυπώσεις

section about eclipses of the Sun⁴⁸, where it is written that Thales first predicted the eclipse of the Sun by the Moon and underlines that during the solar eclipse one can see the earth-like nature of the Moon (as one can see the irregularities of the mountains of the Moon). Albinus in the book *Epitome doctrinae Platonicae* or *Didascalicus*⁴⁹ is referred to plane concave and convex mirrors that define the type of images that can be formed.

The Greeks study methodically the physics and use of mirrors. Lucianus in his book *Hippias*⁵⁰ says that children study the theory of optics concerning the reflections on mirrors and astronomy. Eudoxus has written a treatise on mirrors⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Pseudo-Plutarchus, in *Placita philosophorum* Περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου. Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἥλιον τῆς σελήνης αὐτὸν ὑποτρεχούσης κατὰ κάθετον, οὕσης φύσει γεώδους· βλέπεσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατοπτρικῶς ὑποτιθεμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ.

⁴⁹ Albinus in *Epitome doctrinae Platonicae* or *Didascalicus* κατὰ τῶν κατόπτρων εἰδωλοποιΐας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα διαφανῆ καὶ λεῖα οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ ἀνάκλασιν συντελεῖσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἔχη τὸ κάτοπτρον κυρτότητος ἢ κοιλότητος ἢ μήκους· διάφοροι γὰρ ἔσονται φαντασίαι, ἀνταπωθουμένων τῶν φώτων πρὸς τὰ μέρη τὰ ἕτερα, ἀπολισθαινόντων μὲν τῆς κυρτότητος, εἰς δὲ τὴν κοιλότητα συνιόντων.

⁵⁰ τὴν μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀκτίνων καὶ ἀνακλάσεων καὶ κατόπτρων θεωρίαν, ἔτι δὲ ἀστρονομίαν

⁵¹ Εὐδόξου ἐπιγραφόμενον βιβλίον *Κάτοπτρον* δόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀξιώσαντος τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καταλογάδην λεχθέντα περὶ τῶν

Euclids in *Catoptrica*⁵² describes geometrically the reflection of light on a spherical mirror without the involvement of an eye and this proves that the notion of rays emitted by the eye is a misunderstanding of interpreters. He takes the sun as a source of light to have parallel beams of light and describes the focusing of these lines (rays).

The theory of multiple reflections is studied in Euclids *Catoptrica*. It no surprise that Archimedes⁵³ constructs

φαινομένων μέτρῳ ἐντεῖναι καὶ ἅμα εἰπόντος, ὥς «εὐδοξότερον ποιεῖς τὸν Εὐδοξον ἐντεῖνας τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ κείμενα μέτρῳ.

⁵² Ἐκ τῶν κοίλων ἐνόπτρων πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τεθέντων πῦρ ἐξάπτεται. ἔστω κοῖλον ἔνοπτρον τὸ ΑΒΓ, ἥλιος δὲ ὁ ΕΖ, κέντρον δὲ τοῦ κατόπτρου τὸ Θ, καὶ ἀπὸ τινος σημείου τοῦ Δ ἐπιζευχθεῖσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Θ κέντρον ἢ ΔΘ ἐκβεβλήσθω ἐπὶ τὸ Β, προσπεπτωκέτω δὲ ἡ ΔΓ ἀκτὶς καὶ ἀνακεκλᾶσθω ἐπὶ τὸ Κ. ἀνακλασθήσεται δὴ ἐπάνω τοῦ Θ κέντρου' ...

⁵³ Diodorus Siculus in his, *Bibliotheca historica* ... ὁ γέρων ... ἐξάγωνόν τι κάτοπτρον ἐτέκνηεν ὁ γέρων· ἀπὸ δὲ διαστήματος συμμετρου τοῦ κατόπτρου μικρὰ τοιαῦτα κάτοπτρα θεὶς τετραπλᾶ γωνίαις κινούμενα λεπίσι τε καὶ τισι γιγγλυμίοις, μέσον ἐκεῖνο τέθεικεν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλίου μεσημβρινῆς καὶ θερινῆς καὶ χειμερινῆς.

And Cassius in his book *Historiae Romanae* καὶ τέλος σύμπαν τὸ ναυτικὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραδόξως κατέπρησε. κάτοπτρον γάρ τι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατείνας τὴν τε ἀκτῖνα αὐτοῦ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰσεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ πυκνότητι καὶ τῇ λειότητι τοῦ κατόπτρου πυρώσας φλόγα τε μεγάλην ἐξέκαυσε καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁδὸν ὁρμούσας ἐνέβαλε καὶ πάσας κατέκαυσε.

hexagonal mirrors that he can move (in four variable angles, probably two for every hexagonal mirror and two angles for the system of all mirrors together) remotely and direct them from a distance, regardless of the position of the Sun, using strings to focus at a target in the way we use today, even NASA for the James Webb Space Telescope⁵⁴. Anthemius describes focusing light in burning mirrors, using seven convex mirrors each one with each own fire, like the cluster of mirrors used by Archimedes, possibly similar to the Pharos system of mirrors⁵⁵. Anthemius describes another complex optical

And in another version we read ὡς Μάρκελλος δ' ἀπέστησε βολὴν ἐκείνας τόξου, ἐξάγωνόν τι κάτοπτρον ἐτέκηνεν ὁ γέρων, ἀπὸ δὲ διαστήματος συμμετρου τοῦ κατόπτρου μικρὰ τοιαῦτα κάτοπτρα θεῖς τετραπλᾷ γωνίαις κινούμενα λεπίσι τε καὶ τισι γιγγλυμίσι μέσον ἐκεῖνο τέθεικεν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλίου μεσημβρινῆς καὶ θερινῆς καὶ χειμερινῆς.

⁵⁴ Gardner, J. P., Mather, J. C., Clampin, M., Doyon, R., Greenhouse, M. A., Hammel, H. B., ... and Lunine, J. I. (2006). *The James Webb space telescope. Space Science Reviews*, 123, 485-606.

⁵⁵ κάλλιον δὲ ἢ αὐτὴ ἑξαψις γενήσεται, εἰ τέτρασιν ἢ καὶ πέντε ἐσόπτροις δοθείη τὰ τοιαῦτα πυρία ἀνὰ ἑπτὰ ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἀφεστῶσι σύμμετρον ἀλλήλων διάστημα κατ' ἀναλογίαν τοῦ τῆς ἑξάψεως διαστήματος, ὥστε τὰς ἀκτῖνας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τεμνούσας ἀλλήλας πλέον δύνασθαι ποιεῖν τὴν εἰρημένην ἐκπύρωσιν· ἐν ἐνὶ γὰρ τόπῳ τῶν ἐσόπτρων ὄντων κατ' ὀξυτάτας γωνίας αἱ ἀνακλάσεις ἀλλήλας τέμνουσιν, ὥστε σχεδὸν πάντα τὸν περὶ τὸν ἄξονα τόπον θερμαινόμενον διαπυροῦσθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ δοθὲν καὶ μόνον σημεῖον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν. διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν εἰρημένων ἐσόπτρων ἦτοι πυρίων κατασκευῆς ἢ τε ἑξαψις πρὸς τὸ δοθὲν

system with several mirrors.⁵⁶ Anthemius describes an interesting practice at war with strearable mirrors attached on shields of the soldiers and used to dazzle and blind the army of the opponents by reflecting easily the sunlight to the eyes of the soldiers of the enemy⁵⁷, so it seems that reflecting the sunrays in a coherent way was common practice.

This type of seven hexagonal or more mirrors is in use in modern astronomy and even the *James Webb* new space telescope will be using this technique. The Byzantie hilosopher and historian Michael Psellus (c. 1017 to c. 1096) in the book *Oratoria minora* 1017 or 1018, and is believed to have died in

διάστημα δύναίτο γίνεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ῥηθέντα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ μεμνημένοι περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀρχιμήδους τοῦ θειοτάτου κατασκευασθέντων ἐκκαῦσαι οὐ δι' ἐνὸς ἐμνημόνευσαν πυρίου ἀλλὰ διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ οἶμαι μὴ εἶναι τρόπον ἕτερον τῆς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ διαστήματος ἐκκαύσεως.

⁵⁶ εἰ τοίνυν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιτέδω τοῦ μέσου κατόπτρου ποιήσομεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ περίξ ἔσοπτρα, ἡ ἀνάκλασις δηλονότι ὁμοίως τῇ πάσῃ συνθέσει γενήσεται

⁵⁷ δύναται δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτέδων ἐσόπτρων κατασκευῆς καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαυροῦσθαι ὄψιν, ὡς μὴ καθορᾶν, ὅπου βαδίζουσιν, εἰ ἐπέρχονται τῶν τοιούτων κατόπτρων ἐπιτέδων ἔχοντας κατασκευὰς πηγνυμένων τε ἐν τοῖς ὑπεράνω μέρεσιν τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ ἔσωθέν πως περιανομένων, ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθὰ εἴρηται, τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀνακλάσεις τρέπεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐχερῶς [to reflect easily] δύνασθαι, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῶν καταγωνίζεσθαι

1078, although it has also been maintained that he remained alive until 1096 adds to the description of burning mirrors that Archimedes mirrors can that focus automatically can set fire at a distance⁵⁸ and he adds that [cat]optrician and engineer has not only to follow the appropriate education but theoretical proofs too⁵⁹. Psellus adds that mirrors made of glass with a layer of tin are much better as the anomalies of the surface of glass are very small and tin doubles the reflectability of the mirror and that all smooth bodies reflect light regardless if they are a coin, or image of silver or proper mirrors and this shows that theory of reflection is taught during the Christian times in the Byzantium⁶⁰.

The theory on the applications of hexagonal mirrors is given by Anthemius of Tralles (c. 474 – 533 or 558) an excellent mathematician and renowned architect in Constantinople, the capital of the eastern Roman Empire, the so called Byzantium that with Isidorus of Miletus designed and constructed the

⁵⁸ κάτοπτρόν τέ μοι ἐξείργαστο ἀφ' οὗ δὴ πῦρ αὐτομάτως ἐξαλλόμενον τὸ ἐκ διαστήματος παρατιθέμενον παραδόξως τεφροῖ.

⁵⁹ ὁ δέ γε κατοπτρικός καὶ μηχανικός, ἢ ὅστις ἕτερος ὑπὸ τὰ τέσσαρα τελοίη μαθήματα, πολλοῦ γε δεήσει γινῶναι τὰ ὑποκείμενα μὴ χρησάμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ταῖς ὑπερκειμέναις ἀρχαῖς.

⁶⁰ Michael Psellus *Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica* Πᾶν σῶμα τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς δεχόμενον ἐνέργειαν πέφυκε καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντιτέμπειν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὰ λεῖα, ἀργύριον, ἔσοπτρον, ὕδωρ.

Hagia Sophia (532-537) at the time of emperor Justinian. Anthemius wrote an important work on *On surprising mechanisms* (Περὶ παραδόξων μηχανημάτων) in which he gives theoretical proofs of theorems concerning reflection on mirrors⁶¹. Anthemius describes the burning mirrors of Archimedes (without mentioning the great mathematician) with multiple reflections on many hexagonal mirrors moved remotely with a system of strings and blades used to burn from a distance⁶².

⁶¹ ἐπεξεύχθω γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Α ἐπὶ τὸ Γ εὐθεία, τετμήσθω ἡ ὑπὸ ΒΑΓ γωνία δίχᾳ τῇ ΑΔ εὐθείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Α νοείσθω ἐπίπεδον ἔσοπτρον τὸ ΕΑΖ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τῇ

ΑΔ εὐθείᾳ· δῆλον ἔσται αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῶν προδεδειγμένων, ὥς ἡ ΒΑ ἀκτὶς προσπίπτουσα ἐπὶ τὸ ΕΑΖ ἔσοπτρον ἀνακλασθήσεται ἐπὶ τὸ Γ· ὅπερ ἔδει ποιῆσαι.

⁶² On surprising mechanisms by Anthemius of Tralles, whose manuscript tradition depends entirely on the opening bifolium of the Vat. gr. 218 (critical editions in MGM, 78–87, and CG, 349–59), ἵνα δὲ μὴ δυσχεραίνωμεν πλείοσιν τοῦτο ἐπιτάττοντες εὐρίσκομεν γὰρ, ὥς οὐκ ἔλαττον κδ ἀνακλάσεων χρήζει τὸ ὀφείλον ἐξαφθῆναι· κατασκευάσωμεν οὕτως· ἔστω ἐπίπεδον ἐξαγωνικὸν ἔσοπτρον τὸ ΑΒΓΔΕΖ καὶ τούτῳ παρακείμενα ἕτερα ὅμοια ἔσοπτρα ἐξαγωνικὰ καὶ συνημμένα τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ τὰς εἰρημένας ΑΒ, ΒΓ, ΓΔ, ΔΕ, ΕΖ, ΖΑ εὐθείας ἀπὸ ἡττονος ὀλίγῳ διαμέτρου, δυνάμενα δὲ κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὰς εἰρημένας εὐθείας ἢ λεπίδων συναπτῶν προσκολλιζομένων αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν λεγομένων γιγλυμῖν. ... ἔστω ἐπίπεδον ἐξαγωνικὸν ἔσοπτρον τὸ ΑΒΓΔΕΖ καὶ τούτῳ παρακείμενα ἕτερα ὅμοια ἔσοπτρα ἐξαγωνικὰ καὶ συνημμένα τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ τὰς εἰρημένας ΑΒ, ΒΓ, ΓΔ, ΔΕ, ΕΖ, ΖΑ εὐθείας ἀπὸ ἡττονος ὀλίγῳ

Plutarchus in *De facie in orbe lunae* describes convex mirrors or pairs of mirrors inclined at an angle to give four images, two of them inversed two right handed and two left handed⁶³.

διαμέτρου, δυνάμενα δὲ κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὰς εἰρημένας εὐθείας ἢ λεπίδων συναπτῶν προσκολλιζομένων αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν λεγομένων γιγλυμίων. εἰ τοίνυν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιπέδῳ τοῦ μέσου κατόπτρου ποιήσομεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ περίξ ἔσοπτρα, ἢ ἀνάκλασις δηλονότι ὁμοίως τῇ πάσῃ συνθέσει γενήσεται. εἰ δὲ μένοντος τοῦ μέσου ὥσανεὶ ἀκινήτου διὰ τινος ἐπινοίας εὐχερῶς προστιθεμένης ἅπαντα τὰ περίξ ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον ἐπινεύσομεν, δῆλον, ὥς καὶ αἱ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνακλῶμεναι ἀκτῖνες ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον τόπον τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐσόπτρου παραγίνονται. τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ ποιοῦντες καὶ ἕτερα περίξ περιτιθέντες τῶν εἰρημένων ἔσοπτρα καὶ δυνάμενα νεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀκτῖνας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συναγάγωμεν, ὥστε συναγομένας ἀπάσας κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον τὴν ἑξαψιν ἐν τῷ δοθέντι τόπῳ ποιῆσαι.

see Acerbi, F. (2011). The geometry of burning mirrors in Greek antiquity. Analysis, heuristic, projections, lemmatic fragmentation. Archive for History of Exact Sciences, 65(5), 471–497.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/S00407-010-0076-8>.

⁶³ Plutarchus in *De facie in orbe lunae* ... δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὸ πρὸς ἴσας γίνεσθαι γωνίας ἀνάκλασιν πᾶσαν οὔτε φαινόμενον αὐτόθεν οὔθ' ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ διαβάλλεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρτῶν κατόπτρων [convex mirrors], ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποιῇ μείζονας ἑαυτῶν πρὸς ἓν τὸ τῆς ὀψεως σημείον, διαβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς διπτύχοις κατόπτροις [double mirrors, pair of mirrors], ὧν ἐπικλιθέντων [inclined] πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ γωνίας ἐντὸς γενομένης ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων διττὴν ἔμφασιν ἀποδίδωσι καὶ ποιεῖ τέτταρας εἰκόνας [four images] ἀφ' ἑνὸς προσώπου, δύο μὲν ἀντιστρόφους τοῖς

Plutarch describes multiple reflection o convex mirrors with light rays following straight lines ending in our eyes.

Olympiodorus in his comment on Aristotle's *meteora*⁶⁴ says that we should not observe the Sun with a mirror, as we can do observing thw iris (spectrum) of a cloud.

There are around 1000 references to mirrors in religious texts, the New Testament by Paul the Apostle in his First Epistle to the Corinthians and numerous more by prominent theologians, like Basilius, Joannes Chrysostomus, Gregorius Nyssenusm, Gregorius Nazianzen, wich probably means that all the common people know very well the use of mirrors, as they are frequently referred to the qualities of the image for example,

ἔξωθεν ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι, δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς ἀλλ' ἀμαυρὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων, and repeats διαβάλλεται μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν κυρτῶν κατόπτρων, ὅταν ἐμφάσεις ποιῇ μείζονας ἑαυτῶν πρὸς ἐν τὸ τῆς ὀψεως σημεῖον, διαβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς διπτύχοις κατόπτροις, ὧν ἐπικλιθέντων πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ γωνίας ἐντὸς γενομένης ἐκάτερον τῶν ἐπιπέδων διττὴν ἔμφασιν ἀποδίδωσι καὶ ποιεῖ τέτταρας εἰκόνας ἀφ' ἐνὸς προσώπου, δύο μὲν ἀντιστρόφους τοῖς ἔξωθεν [ἀριστεροῖς] μέρεσι, δύο δὲ δύο δὲ δεξιοφανεῖς ἀλλ' ἀμαυρὰς ἐν βάθει τῶν κατόπτρων. ὧν τῆς γενέσεως τὴν αἰτίαν Πλάτων εἴρηκε γὰρ ὅτι τοῦ κατόπτρου ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὕψος λαβόντος ὑπαλλάττουσιν αἱ ὀψεις τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπὶ θάτερα μεταπίπτουσιν. εἶπερ οὖν τῶν ὀψεων εὐθύς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ...

⁶⁴ Olympiodorus in Aristotelis *meteora* commentaria
ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ νέφει ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν κατόπτρων, καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὴν ἴριν.

that depends upon the anomalies of the surface and to the reflection of the Sun on a mirror that they compare with the image of God or Jesus that we perceive. Almost all comments are referred to the Apostle Paul epistle to the Corinthians sentence on mirror « now we see as in a dazzled, blurred mirror and we have unexplained riddles ».

Complex ancient optical instruments, multiple reflections, possibly telescopes

The use of multiple mirrors is mentioned by many philosophers. The Astronomer Geminus in his *Fragmenta optica* defines catoptrics as the science that studies multiple reflections⁶⁵, even around turning mirrors.

Is it really possible that ancient people, philosophers and scientists constructed complex optical systems, instruments and even telescopes? We tend to belittle, to underestimate, the ancient people, despite the fact that all the foundations of our present day civilization have been prepared very carefully by the ancient philosophers and scientists, we tend to forget that today's philosophy, technology, science, medicine, architecture and everything are just the continuation of the ancient. We do not expect the ancient people to have

⁶⁵ κατοπτρικὸν δὲ λέγεται ὁλοσχερέστερον μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀνακλάσεις τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λείων, οὐ μόνον περὶ ἓν κάτοπτρον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ πλείω στρεφόμενον

developed optics either. Alexandrian philosophers and scientists in fact have developed all the means, theoretical and practical in optics. In ancient Greece they use the term catoptrics for optics of today, as they mainly deal with mirrors. The wealth of scientific and philosophical terminology proves the advancement of science and philosophy. Hesychius of Alexandria, who lived during the 5th or 6th century AD has written an old Encyclopaedia⁶⁶ based on previous similar work by Aristarchus of Samothrace, Apion of Alexandria and Heliodorus of Alexandria, where he defines of 50,000 rare Greek terms that he has prepared using the Library of Alexandria, many of them of philosophy, science and technology. Hesychius gives an account of spectacles, in his lexicon that describes a scientific instrument called *astravister* (ἀστραβιστήρ), the etymology means an instrument that makes it right, or that it corrects the vision, usually assumed to be an instrument used in levelling for architecture and surveying and opening tunnels. Hesychius explains that it is an instrument like dioptron⁶⁷. He also describes the *diaetron*

⁶⁶ called Συναγωγή Πασῶν Λέξεων κατὰ Στοιχεῖον ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Ἀπίωνος καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου

⁶⁷ Hesychius, *Lexicon* [Συναγωγή Πασῶν Λέξεων κατὰ Στοιχεῖον], entry 7886: ἀστραβιστήρ ὄργανόν τι, ὡς δίοπτρον and he writes in entry δίαιτρον (something that consists of two items, that it is a dioptron [δίοπτρον] that is transparent [διαφανές] and for the term κάτοπτρα [assumed to be mirrors in plural, he explains that it is a dioptron δίοπτρον.

(δίαιτρον) which is another optical instrument that consists of two items, possibly lenses, which it is a dioptron [δίοπτρον] that is transparent [διαφανές] and for the term catoptra (κάτοπτρα), assumed to be mirrors in plural, he explains that it is a dioptron δίοπτρον.

In another lexicon, an encyclopaedia by Pseudo-Zonaras we learn that *dioptra*⁶⁸ is an instrument with a mirror. Dioptra in Modern Greek means telescope and perhaps Zonaras is referred to an instrument that enables to see from a distance. It is a geodetic instrument too that enables to measure the height of the walls of the enemy from a distance⁶⁹ and used in constructions too.

It is believed that Nero⁷⁰ had myopia and had to use a lens made of emerald⁷¹ to see the games, the gladiators fighting.

⁶⁸ Δίοπτρα κάτοπτρον.

⁶⁹ ἢ μηχανικὸν τεχνούργημα, δι' οὗ οἱ γεωμέτραι ἀπεκρίβουν τὴν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκ διαστήματος ἀναμέτρησιν

⁷⁰ lidem," (Smaragdi) " plerumque et concavi, tit visum eolligant, Quapropter decreto hominum, its parcutur, scalpi vetitis. Quorum vero corpus externum est, eadem qua specula ratione, supini, imagines rerum reddunt. Emeralds are mostly concave, that they may collect the sight. Hence, by the common consent of men, they ...

⁷¹Nero's Emerald (1926)The British Journal of Ophthalmology 10.9: 489–494; Esser A. (1951) Nero's emerald glass, Klin Monbl Augenheilkd Augenarztl Fortbild.;118(2):185-7.; Markovic A., (1954)

The Greeks used spherical water containers made of glass for magnification⁷². Russo discusses the possible use of telescopes. Russo noticed that the term αὐλός, tube, that might be a misprint of the term ὕαλος (glass, and hence lens), to mean a telescope made with two lenses at the end of a tube.

Philolaus (probably c. 470 – c. 385 BC), the well-known Pythagorean philosopher that mentions a non-geocentric Cosmos, introducing a quasi-heliocentric system, discussing the nature of the Sun⁷³ states that the local star is made of a substance that is glass-like, that focuses the light of the cosmos and like a concave mirror. Hence we can conclude that at the time of Pythagoras the focusing qualities of both lenses and concave mirrors were well known to the scientific and philosophical community.

The question of Nero's emerald representing a dioptric or a catoptric object, Wien Klin Wochenschr. 66(42):811-4. In German.;

⁷² Rubin, M. L. (1986). Spectacles: Past, present, and future. Survey of Ophthalmology, 30(5), 321-327.

⁷³ Pseudo-Plutarchus, *Placita philosophorum*: Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ὕαλοειδῆ, δεχόμενον μὲν τοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πυρὸς τὴν ἀνταύγειαν, διηθοῦντα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς, ὥστε προσοικέναι ἡλίῳ τὸ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πυρῶδες τό τε δὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσοπτροειδές, καὶ τρίτον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσόπτρου κατ' ἀνάκλασιν διασπειρομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐγὴν· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προσονομάζομεν ἥλιον οἶονεὶ εἰδῶλον εἰδώλου.

The great philosopher and statesman Posidonius that was an important astronomer and physicist with good knowledge of mathematics, who had a Philosophical School (University) at Rhodes, with many important students including Cicero informs us that Democritus⁷⁴ has observed stars and comets with complex astronomical instruments made with multiple reflections and concluded that the comets are made of many stars together. It seems that Democritus probably has observed a fragmented comet that passed near the Earth. Democritus and Anaxagoras in *Scholia In Aratum* are said to have used mirrors (in plural) to observe comets⁷⁵ that are made of two planets (movingbodies).

Posidonius in another fragment says that mirror observations and images include clouds, spectra (iris), halos, comets etc⁷⁶. Posidonius trying to explain the phenomenon of coloured halo around the Sun or the Moon suggests a circular arrangement

⁷⁴ Posidonius: Δημοκρίτου δὲ ὁ λόγος λεγόμενός ἐστιν, ὡς κατ' ἀντίλαμψιν τῶν πλανωμένων ἀστέρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς οἱ κομῆται ξυνίστασθαι δοκοῦσι, καθάπερ πλειόνων κατοπτρῶν ἀντιλαμπόντων σφίσιν ἤδη τινὰ ὥφθη ἀστεροειδῆ φαντάσματα.

⁷⁵ Δημόκριτος δὲ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας κατὰ σύλληψιν δύο πλανωμένων ἡνίκα πλησίον ἀλλήλων γένωνται καθάπερ ἐσόπτρῶν ἀντιλαμπόντων ἀλλήλοις τοὺς κομήτας συνίστασθαι λέγουσι.

⁷⁶ αἰτία τῆς κατοπτρικῆς φαντασίας, ὅπως νέφη συνίσταται, βρονταὶ καὶ ἱριδες καὶ ἄλλως καὶ κομῆται καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια

of many small mirrors that construct a big circular mirror around the celestial object⁷⁷ and as they are very small all one can observe is the colour⁷⁸.

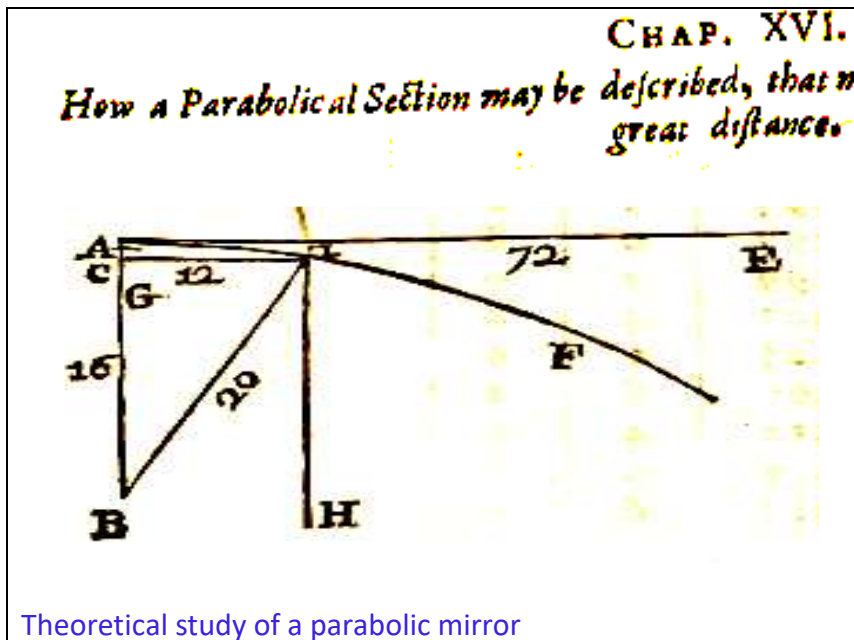
An interesting reference to a mirror and a dioptra made by the theologian Gregorius Nyssenus in the book *Adversus Arium et Sabellium de patre et filio* where he states that as we see our image in a mirror we can see too the Father with a dioptra⁷⁹.

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⁷⁷ ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἐπέκεινα πάλιν μᾶλλον μὲν συνέστηκεν, ὁμαλὲς δ' ὄν καὶ μικρομερὲς συνεχὴ καὶ μικρὰ κάτοπτρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κύκλου περιφέρειαν ἴσχει, πρὸς ἃ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς τὴν τῆς ὀψεως ἀνάκλασιν αἰτιωμένους ἢ ὄψιν προσπεσοῦσα ἀνακλασθεῖσα πρὸς τὸ ἄστρον τὴν τῆς ἄλλω φαντασίαν ποιεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς τὸ φῶς τὸ τοῦ ἄστρου προσπίπτον τοῖς προειρημένοις κατόπτροις, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὴν ὄψιν τὴν ὀρῶσαν ἀνακλασθέν τε καὶ διαδοθέν ποιεῖ τὴν φαντασίαν τῆς ἄλλω.

⁷⁸ Ἴριν δὲ εἶναι αὐγὰς ἀφ' ὑγρῶν νεφῶν ἀνακεκλασμένας ἦ, ὡς Ποσειδωνιὸς φησιν ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ, ἔμφασιν ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης ἐν νέφει δεδροσισμένῳ, κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ φανταζομένην κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν

⁷⁹ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὥπερ δι' ἐσόπτρου τὸ ὅλον ἡμῖν μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ παραφήνας, ἵν' ὥπερ διόπτρα τοῦτ' χρησάμενοι καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς θεαταὶ γενώμεθα



Optical systems at Pharos?

The renowned lighthouse of Alexandria, the Pharos, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, has been shedding light 50 km, some even say 300 km, to the sea guiding sailors in southern Mediterranean sea. This remarkable building has been standing from 280 B.C. until 1350 A.D., when it has been

demolished by a serious earthquake⁸⁰. There are some references and indications concerning possible optical systems used at the Pharos. An ancient Arab scholar, the geographer Al Muqaddisi (also el-Mukaddasi or al-Maqdisī, 945/946 - 991)), in his book “Guide for Alexandria” [p. 104] states that a mirror was used as a telescope at the top of the Pharos with which they could see every ship passing by at a distance. Here we have a similar detailed description of telescope made of a mirror of glass from another book *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*⁸¹, a Jewish geographer (born at Tudela, Kingdom of Navarre, 1130 – Castile, 1173) *On the top of the tower there is a glass mirror. Any ships that attempted to attack or molest the city, coming from Greece or from the Western lands, could be seen by means of this mirror of glass at a distance of twenty days' journey, and the inhabitants could thereupon put themselves on their guard.* Benjamin continues describing how a Greek captain destroyed the telescope so that they could not see the Greek and other boats travelling in the Mediterranean and thereafter the Greeks could recapture Crete and Cyprus.

⁸⁰ H. Thiersch, (1909), Pharos, Antike Islam und Occident – Ein Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte;B. G. Teubner, Leipzig und Berlin 1909.

⁸¹ The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, by Benjamin of Tudela, The Project Gutenberg EBook, Critical text, translation and commentary, By Marcus Nathan Adler, first published by Philipp Feldheim, Inc. The House of the Jewish book, New York, First edition: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, London, 1907

Al-Hassan al-Heitham⁸², called Ptolemaeus Secundus (965 - 1040) has studied optics at Cairo, the eye the lenses as well as mirror focusing of convex, concave and especially cylindrical mirrors. It is very probable that the Pharos had a “cylindrical” mirror used as a telescope, based on the works of Archmedes. This type of cylindrical mirror at the top of the Pharos could have been a paraboloidal mirror probably combined with a hyperboloidal mirror. This hypothesis is based on the work of Archimedes that survived in Arabic translation by Thābit ibn Qurra (836–901) and into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187).

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham usually named Al-Hassan al-Heitham has written four books of which only one survived. One book summarizing Optics based on the two books of Euclid and Ptolemy, with he has added the notions, one book *Treatise on Burning Mirrors* and one more on the *Nature of Sight and How Vision is Achieved*⁸³, and three more

⁸² Rashed, Roshdi (2007), *The Celestial Kinematics of Ibn al-Haytham*, Arabic Sciences and Philosophy, Cambridge University Press, R. Rashed (1968), *Le Discours de la lumière d'Ibn al-Haytham* (Alhazen), Traduction française critique, *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*. 21, 3.

⁸³ Alhacen's theory of visual perception: a critical edition, with English translation and commentary, of the first three books of Alhacen's *De aspectibus*, the medieval Latin version of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitab al-Manazir*, edited by A. Mark Smith (2001), *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*; 91, 4 and 5, 14.

treatises entitled *Treatise on Spherical Burning Mirrors*, *Treatise on Parabolic Burning Mirrors* and *Treatise on the Burning Sphere*.

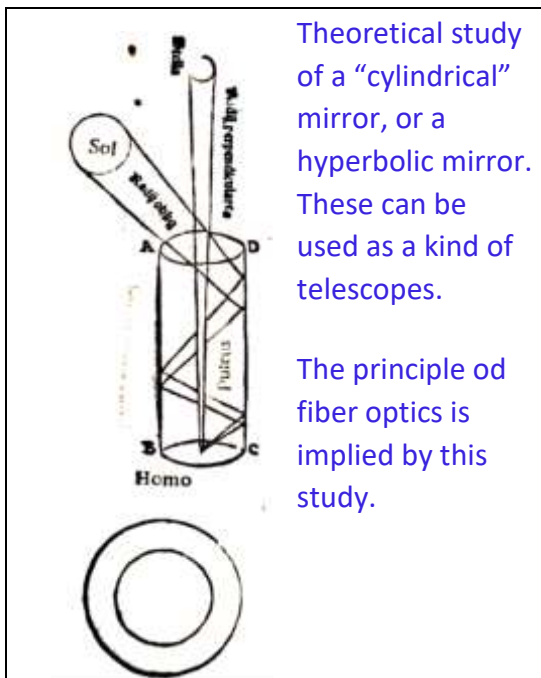
/These medieval scientific books on optics are very important and they show that based on Alexandrian philosophers works, most of them now lost, of Euclide, Diocles, Apollonius, Archimedes, Heron, Ptolemy and other, medieval, mainly Islamic Arabic scientific texts continue developing optics and that there is continuation in science. In some of these books optical systems of the pharos are mentioned and this proves that there were advanced optical systems at the Pharos, for observing the ships at sea and to direct the light towards the Mediterranean.

The polymath Giambattista Della Porta⁸⁴ (1535 – 1615) in the book *Natural Magic* (1589) describes the telescope of the Pharos as reported by Reeves⁸⁵ in her book *Galileo's Glassworks: the Telescope and the Mirror* presents the possible

⁸⁴ Giambattista della Porta, *Magiae naturalis libri XX in quibus scientiarum naturalium, divitiae et deliciae demonstrantur*, Napoli: Horatium Salvianum, 1589; 1658 English version, *Natural Magick* by John Baptista Porta a neapolitane in twenty books, London; Della Porta, G. (1957) *Natural Magick*, Basic Books. See also Della Porta, G. (1999). *De refractione optices parte: libri novem...* Ex officina Horatii Salviani, apud Jo. Jacobum Carlinum, & Antonium Pacem.

⁸⁵ Reeves, E. A. (2009) *Galileo's Glassworks: the Telescope and the Mirror*, Harvard University Press.

use of a telescope at the top of the Pharos, perhaps made with the combination of a mirror and a lens. In an English version of Della Porta *Natural Magic* has a chapter on how to use lights at a very large distance using a parabolic mirror obliquely (7th book, chapter XVI, On strange glasses).

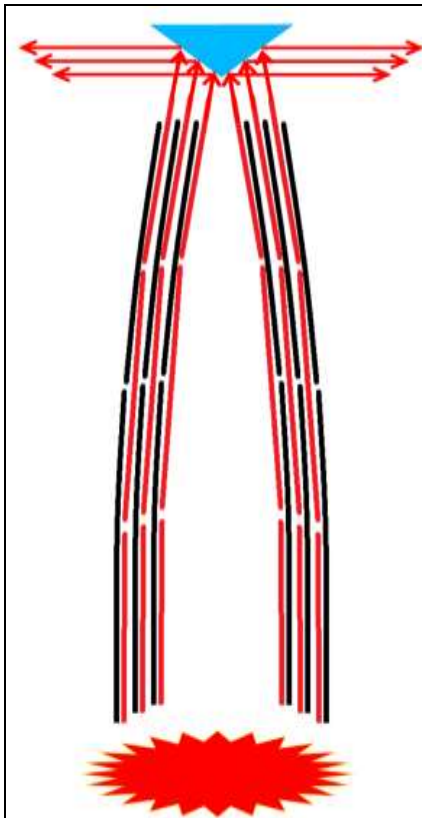


The “telescope” at the top of the Pharos could have been constructed by a mirror, a parabolic mirror, a hyperbolic cylindrical mirror, as there are scientific texts studying this

type of optical instruments. Another optical system has been in use probably to direct the light at the appropriate directions. A simple and effective system based on the theoretical knowledge of conical mirrors, parabolic and hyperbolic and experience they could construct two cylindrical mirrors, one parabolic and one hyperbolic, with other possible variations. The reason to use cylindrical mirror is that the quality of reflection at very large reflection angles is better than at small angles, especially if the anomalies of the metallic mirror are large. This type of reflection is in use at space telescopes working at very small wavelengths, for X-rays. They have been used for the first time by ROSAT⁸⁶ to observe the Cosmos in X rays. A similar system of mirrors is suitable the Pharos to focus the light from the fire at the base to the top to be redirected with a system of mirrors perhaps conical like the one suggested by H. Thiersch in 1909 and ancillary mirrors for the direction of beams along the surface of the sea. In fact if the beams of light are directed towards the smoke above the Pharos or even better towards some nearby clouds then the lighthouse light becomes visible at much larger distances than the actual height of the building permits. This type of reflection of light at a height makes the lighthouse visible at very large distances, as much as 300 km that are mentioned by some authors that otherwise seems more as an exaggeration.

⁸⁶ Sumner, T. J., J. J. Quenby, R. Lieu, J. Daniels, R. Willingale, X. Moussas (1989), Susceptibility of soft X-ray grazing incidence telescopes to low energy electrons, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 238, 1047–1054.

Multiple reflections in cylindrical mirrors, parabolic and hyperbolic, like the ones suggested in this study, have been in use in antiquity as the book by the Archbishop of Canterbury and important scholar proves. Johannes Peckham, who taught at Oxford, in his book, published two centuries after his death in Venice, entitled *Perspectiua communis* (Common Optics [*Perspectivness*]), contains the study of multiple reflections of light inside a cylinder, a precursor of fiber optics, in fact.



Hypothetical mirror system of the Pharos.

It consists of two sets of concentric mirrors. One set parabolic mirrors and one set of hyperbolic mirrors. The use of a quasi-cylindrical mirror (hyperbolic or parabolic) gives better reflection for a given quality of the mirror surface. The combination of a parabolic and a hyperbolic mirror gives better focusing. The fire is at the bottom. The light is guided to the top. A conical mirror can shed the light parallel to the sea.

The conical mirror can be shaped so that it directs the light in some directions only, not 360 degrees around. An angle of some 200 degrees is sufficient to direct the light to the sea all around Alexandria, taking into account the shape of the coast of Egypt. **If the light is sufficient it can be visible to 300 km, with appropriate conditions of temperature and humidity.**

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