

Content

Preface 9

1 Introduction 23

- 1.1 Research questions 27
- 1.2 Scope 28
- 1.3 Content 29

2 Sources of knowledge 31

- 2.1 Introduction 31
- 2.2 Navigational distribution of literature and knowledge 32
- 2.3 Primary literature 39
 - 2.3.1 The introduction of the cross-staff 42
 - 2.3.1.1 *The kamal* 42
 - 2.3.1.2 *The mariner's cross-staff* 44
 - 2.3.2 The instrument revolution 44
 - 2.3.3 New backstaff instruments 48
 - 2.3.4 New features 56
- 2.4 Contemporary imagery 59
- 2.5 Secondary literature 63
 - 2.5.1 Secondary literature of the period 64
 - 2.5.2 Nineteenth-century revival 64
 - 2.5.3 Twentieth-century standard works 66
 - 2.5.4 Instrumental monographs 69
 - 2.5.5 Other twentieth-century publications 70
 - 2.5.6 Modern works from the Iberian peninsula 71
 - 2.5.7 Modern works on surviving instruments 71
- 2.6 Works assessing the accuracy of instruments 73
 - 2.6.1 Contemporary assessments 73
 - 2.6.2 Modern accuracy assessments 74
 - 2.6.2.1 *Desk studies* 74
 - 2.6.2.2 *Instrumental analysis* 76
 - 2.6.2.3 *Practical tests* 77

- 2.7 Surviving instruments and archaeological artefacts 80
 - 2.7.1 Instruments as a source 80
 - 2.7.2 Survival of the fittest? 81
 - 2.7.3 The most commonly used instruments 84
 - 2.7.3.1 *The influence of prices on use* 85
 - 2.7.3.2 *Most used by survival* 86
 - 2.7.3.3 *Most commonly used according to literature* 92
 - 2.7.3.4 *Most commonly used according to estate inventories* 96
 - 2.7.3.5 *Most commonly used overall* 97
 - 2.7.4 Rare survivors 99
 - 2.7.4.1 *The triangular quadrant* 99
 - 2.7.4.2 *The cross-bow quadrant* 100
 - 2.7.4.3 *The kamal* 100
 - 2.7.4.4 *The hoekboog* 100
 - 2.7.4.5 *The cross-staff with spoon shaped-transoms* 101
- 2.8 Experiments with replicas and reconstructions 102
 - 2.8.1 The instruments 102
 - 2.8.2 Field tests 105
- 2.9 Summary 108
- 3 **The advent of shadow-casting instruments** 113
 - 3.1 Introduction 113
 - 3.2 Geodesy versus navigation 114
 - 3.3 Back to basics 117
 - 3.3.1 Introduction 117
 - 3.3.2 Instruments for celestial navigation predating the mariner's cross-staff 118
 - 3.3.2.1 *The mariner's quadrant* 118
 - 3.3.2.2 *The mariner's astrolabe* 120
 - 3.3.3 The introduction of the mariner's cross-staff 122
 - 3.3.3.1 *The Baculus Jacob or Jacob's staff* 124
 - 3.3.3.2 *The kamal* 129
 - 3.3.3.3 *The mariner's cross-staff* 139
 - 3.3.3.4 *Spoon-shaped transoms on the mariner's cross-staff* 144
 - 3.3.4 Instruments for celestial navigation at the end of the sixteenth century 151
 - 3.3.4.1 *The mariner's quadrant* 152
 - 3.3.4.2 *The mariner's astrolabe* 153
 - 3.3.4.3 *The sea ring* 154
 - 3.3.4.4 *The mariner's cross-staff* 156
 - 3.3.4.5 *The mariner's cross-staff with vanes* 158

- 3.4 Instruments that define the change 161
 - 3.4.1 Introduction 161
 - 3.4.2 The instruments 164
 - 3.4.2.1 *Master Hood's Cross-staff* 164
 - 3.4.2.2 *Harriot's back-staffs* 176
 - 3.4.2.3 *John Davis' back-staffs* 182
- 3.5 Summary 192
- 4 **New Instruments following the change** 195
 - 4.1 Introduction 195
 - 4.2 The seventeenth-century mariner's cross-staff 196
 - 4.3 The newly invented instruments 206
 - 4.3.1 The *knipboogh* and *cromme boogh* (f.l. 1600) 207
 - 4.3.2 The Davis quadrant (f.l. 1604) 209
 - 4.3.3 The removing quadrant (f.l. 1604) 250
 - 4.3.4 The cross-bow quadrant (f.l. 1604) 257
 - 4.3.5 The demi-cross (f.l. 1618) 279
 - 4.3.6 The *hoekboog* (f.l. 1623) 293
 - 4.3.7 The *spiegelboog* (f.l. 1660) 312
 - 4.3.8 The triangular quadrant (f.l. 1662) 337
 - 4.3.9 The plow (f.l. 1669) 352
 - 4.3.10 The almacanter's staff (f.l. 1672) 365
 - 4.3.11 The improved Davis quadrant (f.l. 1677) 371
 - 4.3.12 The demi-quadrant (c.1750) 376
 - 4.4 The end of an era 383
 - 4.4.1 Introduction 383
 - 4.4.2 The octant 384
 - 4.5 Summary 391
- 5 **The instrument as a concept** 399
 - 5.1 Introduction 399
 - 5.2 Instrumental design 401
 - 5.2.1 The datum line 401
 - 5.2.2 Construction methods 404
 - 5.2.2.1 *Monoxyulous frames* 404
 - 5.2.2.2 *Polyxyulous frames* 407
 - 5.2.2.3 *Transoms and vanes* 408
 - 5.2.2.4 *Scales* 410
 - 5.2.3 Dividing methods 314
 - 5.3 In the shadow of Hood and Harriot 437
 - 5.3.1 Hood's shadow-casting method 437
 - 5.3.2 Harriot's shadow-casting method 438
 - 5.3.3 Hood vs Harriot 439

- 5.4 Observational reference 451
 - 5.4.1 Instruments relying on gravity 451
 - 5.4.1.1 *The mariner's astrolabe versus the mariner's quadrant* 451
 - 5.4.1.2 *Other suspended instruments* 454
 - 5.4.2 Instruments relying on a visible horizon 455
 - 5.4.2.1 *The forward method* 455
 - 5.4.2.2 *The sideways method* 456
 - 5.4.2.3 *The backward method* 458
 - 5.4.3 Instruments combining gravity and a visible horizon 479
- 5.5 Concept based diffusion 481
- 5.6 Biased observations 488
 - 5.6.1 The mounting-hole of transoms and vanes 488
 - 5.6.2 The hole in the mariner's astrolabe 490
 - 5.6.3 The pinnules of the mariner's astrolabe 491
 - 5.6.4 The procedure for the mariner's astrolabe 493
 - 5.6.5 The eye-end error of the mariner's cross-staff 494
 - 5.6.6 The mirror of the *spiegelboog* 501
 - 5.6.7 The transom length 504
 - 5.6.8 The shadow vane position 506
 - 5.6.9 Deformation of the instrument 507
- 5.7 Mathematics of noon 509
- 5.8 Instrumental rhetoric 512
- 5.9 Summary 518
- 6 **Scale analysis** 523
 - 6.1 Introduction 523
 - 6.2 Resolution versus accuracy 523
 - 6.3 Relative versus absolute scale errors 526
 - 6.4 Research methods 530
 - 6.4.1 Photo-analysis 530
 - 6.4.2 Photogrammetry 533
 - 6.5 The analysed instruments 536
 - 6.5.1 The geometrical cross-staff 536
 - 6.5.2 The mariner's cross-staff 540
 - 6.5.3 The cross-bow quadrant 550
 - 6.5.4 The Davis quadrant 552
 - 6.5.5 The *hoekboog* 565
 - 6.5.6 The plow 567
 - 6.5.7 The demi-quadrant 569
 - 6.6 Summary 571

7	Replicas and reconstructions	573
7.1	Introduction	573
7.2	What is the use of replicas and reconstructions?	574
7.3	Studies assessing the accuracy of early modern instruments	579
7.3.1	Contemporary studies	582
7.3.1.1	<i>The 1538 journal of D. João de Castro</i>	583
7.3.1.2	<i>Joost van Breen's 1661 spiegelboog trials</i>	586
7.3.2	Modern studies	588
7.4	Handling characteristics	607
7.5	The ideal instrument	609
7.6	Summary	612
8	Conclusion	615
8.1	Introduction	615
8.2	Research questions	616
8.2.1	Which instruments were created in the research period?	616
8.2.2	Which instrument(s) became most widely used?	617
8.2.3	Which factors dictate the accuracy of observations taken with them?	618
8.2.4	Did design features diffuse?	623
8.2.5	How do replicas and reconstructions add to our understanding of the instruments?	624
8.2.6	Answering the main research question	624
8.3	Other findings	626
8.4	Epilogue	627
9	Summary	631
	Bibliography	635
	A. Primary sources	635
	B. Secondary sources	653

Appendices

Appendix A

Introduction to the instruments 669

Appendix B

Observational corrections 693

Appendix C

Davis quadrants around the world 703

Appendix D

'The Doctrine of Nauticall Triangles Compendious' 719

Appendix E

Harriot's manuscript BL, Add MS 6788 722

Appendix F

The Jewell of Artes 730

Appendix G

Instruments made by N. de Hilster 743

Appendix H

Data 766

Indexes

Index of instruments 801

Index of personal names 807

Index of regions and places 810

General index 813