On the Early History of the Universal Astrolabe in Islamic Astronomy, and the Origin of the Term "Shakkaziya" in Medieval Scientific Arabic

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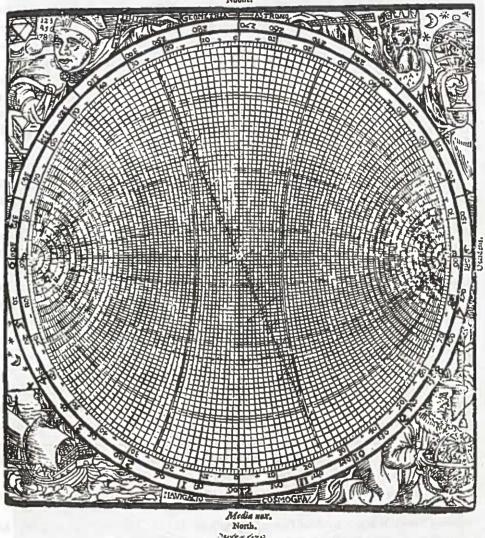
FOR SOME YEARS I have been interested in the origin of the name of a medieval Islamic astronomical instrument, the safiha shakkāziya. My interest was first aroused by a remark of Prof. Willy Hartner, who, in his valuable study of the astrolabe stated: "another early variety of Al-Zarqālī's astrolabe is the safīha shakkāziyya (or shakāriyya), about which we do not yet possess any accurate information."

The term shakkāzīya relates to a grid as shown in Plate 1. The ṣafīḥa of al-Zarqāllu (fl. Toledo and Cordova, died ca. 1090)³ consists of two such grids superimposed on a single plate at an angle equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic: see Plate 2. Al-Zarqāllu is known to have proposed such a double shakkāziya grid with a special alidade, and this is generally accepted as a simplification of the universal astrolabe of the contemporary Toledo scholar Abu'l-Ḥasan cAlī ibn Khalaf ibn Aḥmar (?) al-Ṣaydalānī (= the apothecary). Ibn Khalaf

MARGARITA MATHEMATICA.

Altronomis nobilissimum, Geometris incundissimum, Nauigantibus presartissimum, Cosmographis commodissimum, Philosophis, Medicis, & aliquid sublime afficamtibus gratissimum, Tyronibusqi facilimum.

> The bandle is beste to be fet on. Meridies.



Per Ioannem Blagranum Readingensem, conditum, editum, & Sculptum.

1584.

Plate 1: A shakkāzīya plate illustrated in the treatise of John Blagrave of Reading published in 1584 and dealing with a universal astrolabe of the kind invented by ^cAlī ibo Khalaf.

(Courtesy R. Webster, Adler Planetarium, Chicago)

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^{1.} The research on the history of Islamic science that was conducted at the American Research Center in Egypt from 1972 to 1979 was financed mainly by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C., and also by the American Philosophical Society (1972-74) and the Ford Foundation (1976-79). This support is gratefully acknowledged.

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to the directors of the Municipal Library in Alexandria; the Egyptian National Library in Cairo; the Zāhirīya Library in Damascus; the Biblioteca de El Escorial; the Andra Pradesh State Central Library in Hyderabad; the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul; Istanbul University Library; and the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Leiden for the privilege of working in their manuscript collections. Microfilms of the Madrid manuscript of the Libros del Saber and the published text were kindly provided by the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and Harvard University Library (courtesy of Prof. Owen J. Gingerich), respectively. The photograph of Ibn al-Sarrāj's astrolabe was kindly provided by the Benaki Museum, Athens. My thanks go also to Mr. and Mrs. Roderick Webster of the Adler Planetarium, Chicago, for their generosity in providing me with photographs of medieval instruments and, in particular, with the photograph of Blagrave's "shakkāzīya" plate.

Hartner, p. 317 (reprinted from EI₂, I, p. 727). (Italicized abbreviations are references to the bibliography).

^{3.} On al-Zarqāllu see the article "al-Zarqālī" in DSB by J. Vernet and the references there cited, especially the various studies of J. Millás Vallicrosa.

^{4. &}lt;sup>c</sup>Alī ibn Khalaf's treatise is in *Libros del Saber*, III, pp. 1-132, and has been discussed in *Millás* 1, 2, and 3. On the identity of the author see especially *Millás* 2, pp. 443-446 and 3, pp. xxx-xxxvi, and also *Vera*, pp. 93-95. ^cAlī ibn Khalaf's instrument is generally overlooked in modern studies of the astrolabe: thus, for example, it is not mentioned at all in *Michel*, and the only account of it in

is mentioned along with al-Zarqāllu in the eleventh-century biographical work entitled Tabaqāt al-umam by Ṣācid al-Andalusī (born Almeria, 480/1029, fl. Toledo, died 456/1064). His astrolabe, which is known only from the description in the thirteenth-century Libros del Saber, bears a rete, shown in Plate 3, part of which is a semicircle of shakkāzīya curves. This rotates over a shakkāzīya plate, and with such a device, problems of spherical astronomy, which are essentially problems of conversion of coordinates on the celestial sphere, can be solved with facility for any latitude. Al-Zarqāllu proposed an alidade fitted with a perpendicular rule, shown in Plate 4, to replace the rete of Ibn Khalaf's astrolabe, and both devices can be used toward the same end, namely, the solution of problems of spherical astronomy for all latitudes. Since Ibn Khalaf's rete for his universal astrolabe also included a projection of the ecliptic and the fixed stars, his instrument is superior to al-Zarqāllu's plate and alidade.

In later Islamic astronomy Ibn Khalaf's astrolabe was apparently not known outside Andalusia, but both the safiha shakkāzīya, with one set of shakkāzīya markings, and the safiha zarqāllīya, with two sets, were popular, and there are several later treatises in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, on the use of one or the other. In some recent publications Profs. J. Samsô Moya and M. A. Catalá have drawn attention to a shakkāzīya quadrant, and I have discussed a double shakkāzīya quadrant. All of our studies were based on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Syrian and Egyptian sources. In none of these treatises on the universal astrolabe or quadrant currently known to me is there an indication of the origin of the mysterious word shakkāzīya.

Prof. Samsó has collected various references to the epithet shakkāz, "bleacher of hides", and to a quarter in medieval Toledo where such people worked. One could infer that the originator of the single plate bearing this grid was called al-Shakkāz, so that his plate was called al-safiḥa al-Shakkāzīya and the subsequently-developed quadrant was called al-rubc al-Shakkāzī or rubcal-Shakkāzīya, both of which are attested. This derivation must be considered as a serious possibility. To support Prof. Samsó's thesis I can cite one medieval text which implies that the term shakkāzī relates to the name of the individual who invented the grid. In a treatise on the use of the shakkāzīya grid by an astronomer named 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Tujībī (on whom we have

the recent literature is in Maddison-Turner (preprint), pp. 123-125. Likewise, Alī ibn Khalaf himself is omitted from Suter and Brockelmann.

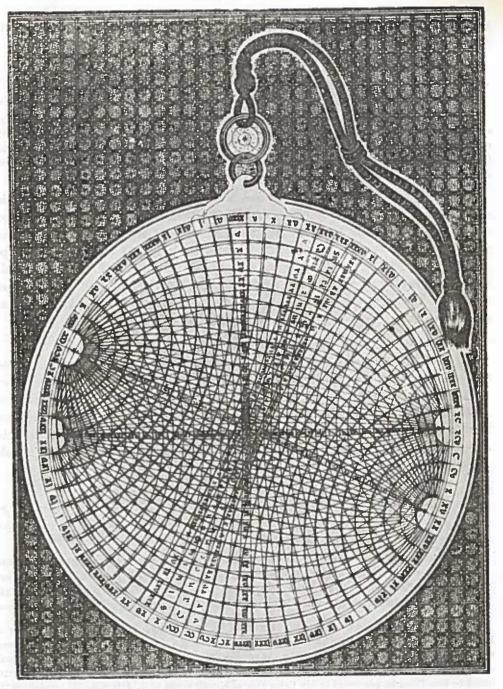


Plate 2: A zarqāllīya plate illustrated in the Libros del Saber.

(Courtesy Harvard University Library and Owen J. Gingerich)

^{5.} Cf. Ṣā id al-Andalusī, ed., p. 75, and trans., pp. 138-139. See also note 16 below.

^{6.} Cf. J. Vernet in his article "al-Zarqāli" in DSB, where it is suggested that al-Zarqāllu's plate is an instrument superior to that of 'Alī ibn Khalaf.

^{7.} A survey of Islamic writings on universal astrolabes and quadrants is in preparation.

^{8.} Cf. Samsó 1, 2, and 3; Samsó-Catalá; and King 1.

^{9.} Samso 3, p. 187.

no biographical information) extant in the unique copy MS Cairo Taymūr riyāḍa 159,1 (pp. 1-61, copied 1320H!), we read:

... وبعد فاني لما رايت الناس في الحديث والقديم قد وضعوا على الالات الاوقاتية رسائل كثيرة لا سيما على الاسطرلاب ولا وضع احد منهم على احد الصفيحتين رسالة اعنى صفيحة الشيخ ابي اسحاق ابراهيم الطليطلى شهر بالزرقالى رحمه أنته والصفيحة المنسوبة للشكازى وهما مع ذلك احسن الالات لعمومهما في جميع العروض ...

... When I saw that people in former times and recently had prepared many treatises on instruments for timekeeping, especially on the astrolabe, but no one had prepared a treatise on either of the two safihas, I mean the safiha of Shaykh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm of Toledo, known as al-Zarqāllu, may God have mercy upon him, and the safīha attributed to al-Shakkāzī, and since these two instruments are nevertheless the best ones because of their universality...

If al-Tujībī thought so much of al-Shakkāzī's safiḥa it is curious that he did not invoke God's mercy on al-Shakkāzī as well as on al-Zarqāllu. I suspect that al-Tujībī was not too sure about the identity of al-Shakkāzī. In the treatise on the single shakkāziya quadrant by the early fourteenth-century Aleppo astronomer 'Alā' al-Dīn Tībughā al-Dawadār al-Baklamshī, extant in MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub mīqāt 774 (14 fols., copied 864H), we find already some confusion between the personal name al-Shakkāzī and the instrument alshakkāzīya: [See the note added in proof on p. 255]

اما بعد فقد تقدم وضع الاصطرلاب المغني في الاعمال النجومية بكل العروضالافاقية المستبط منالزرقالدوالشكازية...

... There has already been made a universal ($mughn\bar{i} = dispensing$ with plates for different latitudes) astrolabe for solving astronomical problems for all latitudes, invented by al-Zarqållu and al-shakkāz $\bar{i}ya$.

I shall now present three new sources which seem to indicate that alshakkāzī(ya) is a corruption of another word. We begin with MS Escorial ar. 962 (82 fols., copied ca. 700H?) of al-Zarqāllu's treatise in 100 chapters on the use of his safīḥa. In the colophon of this particular copy of his treatise (fols. 81v-82r)¹¹ we read the following onte:

... كل كتاب الشيخ الاجل العلامة ابي اسحاق المعروف بالزرقاله في الصفيحة العامة لعروض البلدان والافاق وهي التي صنعها اخرا بعد معارضة ابي الشجار له في الاولى باخرا عملها وصنع فيها شبكة فادى ذلك الى عمل هذه وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد ...

which seems to mean (free translation):

The book of ... al-Zarqāllu of the plate which is universal for all latitudes and horizons is finished. This is the plate which he constructed finally (?) after Abu'l-Shajjār had made another plate similar to al-Zarqāllu's first plate but on which he had constructed a rete. This led to al-Zarqāllu's making the instrument described in this treatise. May God bless and save our Lord Muhammad.

10. On al-Baklamshī see Brockelmann, II, p. 135, and SII, p. 167. Ḥājjī Khalīfa states that al-Baklamshī invented the Shakkāzīya quadrant (see Samsō-Catalā, pp. 7 and 11), by which is meant that he was (perhaps) the first to consider the solution of problems of spherical astronomy approximately using a quadrant of shakkāzīya curves and a thread attached at the centre. The treatise attributed to Ibn Ţībughā preserved in MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub mīqāt 64,4, fols, 63v-73v, copied 803H, which is considered in Samsō-Catalā, may be by ʿAlī ibn Ṭībughā, a muwaqqit of Aleppo who was perhaps the son of al-Baklamshī. Another copy of the treatise by Ṭībughā al-Baklamshī himself is MS Princeton Mach 4912 — Yehuda 373, fols. 149v-157v, copied 1060H.

11. Cf. Renaud, p. 501.

Plate 3: The rete of "Alī ibn Khalaf's universal astrolabe illustrated in MS Madrid Biblioteca Nacional L 97.

(Courtesy Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

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The appellation shajjār is attested in classical Maghribi Arabic and means "botanist" in the modern sense of "herbalist." For reasons which become apparent below, I think that Ibn al-Shajjār is more likely than the Abu'l-Shajjār which occurs in the text. Nevertheless, this text seems to imply that al-Zarqāllu wrote an early treatise on his plate, that Abū/Ibn'l-Shajjār added a rete to this plate, and that al-Zarqāllu was thereby prompted to write his treatise in 100 chapters.

A second source for our study is the unique copy of the Zij of Ibn Isḥāq, an astronomer of thirteenth-century Tunis, recently rediscovered in MS Hyderabad Andra Pradesh State Central Library 298 (440 pp., copied ca. 800H). This work is a valuable new source for the history of astronomy in the Maghrib. In a list of earlier observers Ibn Isḥāq lists two individuals 'Alī al-Shajjār and Ibn Wāfid as astronomers who made observations in Toledo in 477 Hijra (= 1084-85). From this information, we learn that Abū/Ibn al-Shajjār was named 'Alī and that he collaborated with Ibn Wāfid, who is well-known for his work on pharmacology and medicine. However, Ibn Wāfid's date of death is generally accepted as 1075 A. D.

Our third new source is MS Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheck 468 (282 fols., copied ca. 750H), a unique incomplete copy of a treatise on timekeeping by an unidentified early-fourteenth-century Egyptian astronomer. Here the author quotes a version of Sācid al-Andalusī's Tabaqāt al-umam, and mentions (fol. 88r) Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Khalaf ibn Khyr (!) al-Ṣaydalānī (written without diacritical marks) along with al-Zarqāllu as a scholar of Toledo and as a distinguished geometer (here the name is simply al-Ṣaydalānī although actually the manuscript has al-Ṣandalānī). However, later in the text (fol. 90v), our author quotes a different work by Ṣācid al-Andalusī entitled Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-ḥukamā', and states that al-Zarqāllu wrote a treatise in 100 chapters on an instrument called the zarqālliya which he invented around 440 Hijra (=1048-49), and that Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Khalaf ibn Akhyr "whom

- 12. Dozy, I, p. 730.
- 13. On Ihn Ishāq see Suter, no. 356.
- 14. On Ibn Wafid (1008-1075) see the article in DSB by J. Vernet. He was not previously known to have conducted astronomical observations.
- 15. On this manuscript see Voorhoeve, p. 153. The work is based mainly on the treatise of Abū Alī al-Marrākushī (see note 19 below) and the thirteenth-century Egyptian Musicala Zīj, but it also contains interesting historical information.
- 16. On the available works of al-Andalusi see the remarks of R. Blachère in Şācid al-Andalusi, tr., pp. 12-15.

It is of interest that the Egyptian scholar Ibn al-Qifti (on whom see the article "Ibn al-Kifti" in EI_2 by A. Dietrich) used the $Tabaq\bar{a}t$ al-umam of $S\bar{a}^c$ id al-Andalusi, but Ibn al-Qifti's biographical dictionary is extant only in a recension in which "Ali ibn Khalaf is not mentioned. A more careful investigation of the historical and bio-bibliographical material in the Leiden manuscript would be worthwhile, not least because the author adds to his quotes from $S\bar{a}^c$ id al-Andalusi's works some information on several Egyptian scientists from the thirteenth century whose names are new to the modern literature.

Cfraes ell albidada que truc fer puelta en las espaldas Tela Lamina.

Plate 4: The alidade to be used with al-Zarqallu's plate, illustrated in the Libros des Saber

(Courtesy Harvard University Library and Owen J. Gingerich)

we have mentioned before and who was known as al-Sh'wy' had made an instrument in 464 Hijra (= 1071-72) for al-Ma'mūn, amīr of Toledo, which he had called al-asṭurlāb al-Ma'mūnī, and which had a universal (set of) horizon(s). The orthography al-Sh'wy is easily conceived as a corruption of al-Shajjār, especially by an Egyptian who might have been influenced by a well-attested name like al-Sakhāwī. The Arabic text reads as follows:

ق ٨٨ و : ... مهم من سكان طليطلة وجهاتها ابو الحسن على بن خلف بن اخير [!] الصيدلاني وابو اسحق ابرهيم بن يحيى النقاش المعروف بولد الزرقاد [!] وابرعهم في الهندسة الصندلاني [!] ...

ق ٩٠ ظ : ... ومنهم الفاضل النحرير المتقدم ذكره ابسو اسحق ابرهيم الاندلسي الملقب بالزرقالي الذي استنبط الزرقاله [اقرأ : الزرقالية] وصنف في العمل بها ماية باب في حدود سنة اربعين واربع ماية ومنهم ابو الحسن على بن خلف بن اخير [!] المتقدم ذكره ويعرف بالسحاوى صنع الة للمامون ذي المحدى [؟] ابي الحسن يحيى بن ذي النون الامير بطليطلة من الاندلس بعد انقراض الدولة الاموية ولقبها بالاسطرلاب الماموني ذات الافق الشامل سنة اربع وستين واربع ماية هجرية ...

Compare the published text of Ṣācid al-Andalusī:

ص ٧٥ : ... فمنهم من سكان طليطلة وجهاتها ابو الحسن على بن خلف بن احمر وابو اسحق ابرهيم بن يحيى النقاش المعروف بولد الزرقيال وابرع هؤلاء في الهندسة على بن احمر الصيدلاني [انظر ص ١٢٤]

From these sources preserved in El Escorial, Hyderabad, and Leiden, we might perhaps conclude that $shakk\bar{a}z$ is a corruption of $shajj\bar{a}r$, "herbalist". The confusion of a Maghribi j for a k by a non-Maghribi copyist is conceivable, and the change from r to z in Arabic requires only a dot. The Hyderabad manuscript informs us that the astronomer al-Shajjār bore the name 'Alī. The Leiden manuscript informs us that al-Shajjār (written al-Shivy) was none other than 'Alī ibn Khalaf himself. Since the Escorial manuscript refers to this individual as Abu'l-Shajjār it might be that we should read Ibn al-Shajjār and consider the epithet al-Shajjār as referring to 'Alī's father Khalaf. 'Alī himself is referred to by Ṣā'id al-Andalusī as al-Ṣaydalānī, "the apothecary". On the other hand there is no reason why 'Alī ibn Khalaf could not have been both a herbalist and an apothecary.

The fact that some medieval authors, or at least copyists, were uneasy about the orthography of al-shakkāz is indicated by the existence of an anonymous treatise on the safiḥa shakkāziya entitled al-Sakkājiya, 17 and by the fact that in a treatise by an individual named Abu'l-Fatḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Danūshirī, the shakkāzī quadrant is called rub' al-shankāzīya. 18 But even Abū 'Alī al-Marrākushī, an astronomer of Moroccan origin who worked in Cairo in the late thirteenth century, used the term shakkāzīya, 19 which was

used in all of the known treatises on the instrument thereafter, except for those noted above. When the universal astrolabe was invented again in Aleppo in the early fourteenth century by the astronomer Ibn al-Sarrāj,²⁰ who says he hit upon the idea after contemplating the solution of the problem of determining the hour angle from a celestial altitude with a shakkāzīya plate, he called the instrument al-Sarrājīya after himself. Nevertheless, the idea behind his instrument, illustrated in Plate 5, goes back at least to a herbalist of eleventh-century Toledo.

According to the dates given in the Leiden manuscript al-Zarqāllu wrote his treatise on the safiha zarqāllīya almost twenty-five years before Ibn Khalaf made his universal astrolabe for al-Ma'mūn. Our source states that Ibn Khalaf actually made an instrument for al-Ma'mūn, but his treatise on its use in the Libros del Saber is also dedicated to al-Ma'mūn. Now al-Zarqāllu wrote three separate treatises on his instrument, rather than two as is generally acknowledged. Those in 100 and 60 chapters are well known, and are both now available in the original Arabic; also, a unique copy of a treatise in 80 chapters by al-Zarqāllu, dedicated to a ruler whose name is not specifically mentioned, has recently been identified in Istanbul.²¹ This treatise contains a star catalogue for the year 459 Hijra (= 1067) and thus postdates his treatise in 100 chapters, if this was indeed compiled about 440 Hijra. The treatise in 60 chapters is in some versions dedicated to the amīr al-Mu^ctamid ibn ^cAbbād, who came to power in 461 Hijra (= 1069) when al-Ma'mūn was still in power in Toledo, and who finally wrested Cordova from al-Ma'mūn in 471 Hijra (= 1078). We

20. On Ibn al-Sarrāj see Suter, no. 508 (confused), and on his astrolabe see Gunther, I, pp. 284-285 and Maddison-Turner, no. 61. I have prepared a detailed analysis of this instrument using some medieval treatises on its use: see King 2 for a summary.

21. A unique copy of a treatise in 80 chapters dedicated to a ruler who is not named (probably the Caliph al-Ma'mūn of Toledo) is MS Istanbul Aya Sofia 2671,1 (fols. 1r-75r, 621H). This manuscript, listed in *Krause*, p. 482, has not been previously identified as a copy of a treatise distinct from the other two (see below). The same Istanbul manuscript contains (fols. 133v-151v, cf. Krause, p. 525, no. 15) a treatise on the planispheric astrolabe which can from internal evidence also be attributed to al-Zarqāllu. See the first note added in proof on p. 255.

The treatise in 100 chapters is extant in several manuscripts, including MSS Escorial 962 (cf. Renaud, p. 101), Istanbul Esat 3804,3 (fols. 123-146, 665H – listed as anonymous in Krause, p. 526), and Cairo Dār al-Kutub mīqāt 647 (61 fols., ca. 600H). It was translated into Castilian and included in the Libros del Saber (III, pp. 135-237).

Al-Zarqāllu's treatise in 61 chapters is extant in MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub hay'a 40 (54 fols., ca. 950H, anonymous). Two later copies of the same treatise (both entitled al-Shakkāzīya – cf. King 1, p. 219, note 1) arranged in 60 chapters are MSS Istanbul University Library A4800 and Cairo Taymūr riyāḍa 131,4. This treatise was translated into Hebrew and Latin (both published in Millás 3) and exerted considerable influence in Europe (cf. Poulle).

Also related to these is an anonymous treatise in 130 chapters extant in MS Leipzig Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek 800 (cf. Millás 2, pp· 447-448). This was either incorporated into or taken from the Kitāb Jāmic al-mabādi' wa'l-ghāyāt of Abū 'Alī al-Marrā kushī, a compendium on astronomical instruments compiled in Cairo in the late thirteenth century (cf. Sédillot-fils, especially p. 183-184).

^{17.} Extant in MSS Cairo Dâr al-Kutub Zakīya 706,1 (fels. lv-8v, ca. 1100H) and Alexandria Municipal Library D 2052, 1 (fols. lv-14r, ca. 1150H).

^{18.} Extant in MS Tunis Şadiqiya Ridwan 108 (not examined): cf. Samso 1, p. 391, and 3, p. 183.

^{19.} Cf. Sédillot-fils, p. 183. On Abū "Alī al-Marrākushī sec Suter, no. 363.

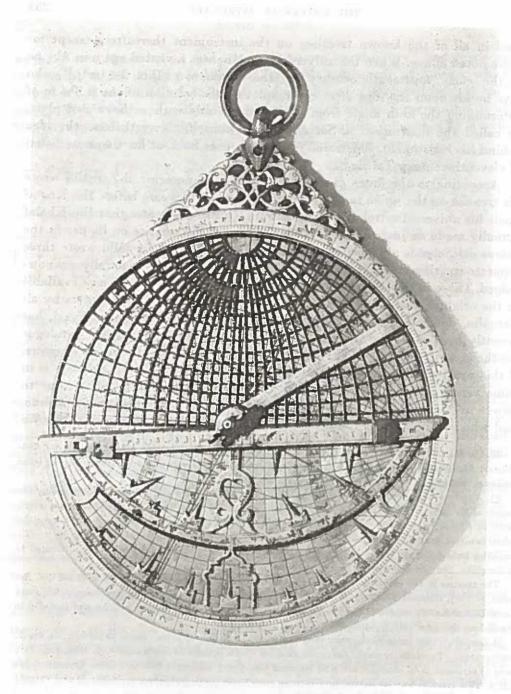


Plate 5: The universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrāj preserved in the Benaki Museum in Athens. This instrument differs from that of "Alī ibn Khalaf in that it contains a series of plates and a special trigonometric grid on the back; it is in fact an astrolabe which can be used universally in four different ways.

(Courtesy Benaki Museum, Athens)

may presume that shortly thereafter al-Zarqāllu moved from troubled Toledo to Cordova, and that he wrote a new treatise for al-Mu^ctamid to compensate for the fact that he had previously written one, or maybe even two, for al-Mu^ctamid's rival al-Ma'mūn.

Now that all of al-Zarqāllu's treatises on his safiha, as well as a treatise by him on the planisphaeric astrolabe, are known to exist in the original Arabic, a closer investigation of his works on instruments would be worthwhile. In such an investigation it should be borne in mind that the available evidence does not indicate that the astronomers of Muslim Spain contributed much that was original, and the extent to which al-Zarqallu might have been influenced by earlier Eastern Arabic sources must remain a matter of speculation. The early ninth-century Damascus astronomer Habash is known to have written on the plate of horizons, to which the single shakkāzīya plate is closely related.22 His treatise is lost, but another was written by the mid-tenth century scholar of Shiraz, al-Sijzī, and this has recently been located in a unique copy in Damascus.23 It may eventually be possible to prove that the shakkāziya grid is of Greek origin:24 I find it curious that the European name for this plate was "meteoroscope".25 Ptolemy used the terms astrolabe and meteoroscope, the first referring to both spherical and planisphaeric instruments, and the second, known only from the commentary of Pappus to Book V of the Almagest, referring to a related spherical instrument.26

- 22. The evidence for this is a remark by a later Maghribi astronomer al-Thaqasī, recorded by Morley in Gunther, I, p. 7, note 12. (For Morley's "Hanash" read "Habash".)
- 23. MS Damascus Zāhirīya 9255, copied ca. 1500 AD. On al-Sijzī see the article in DSB by Y. Dold-Samplonius.
 - 24. See Samsô 4, p. 2.
 - 25. See for example, North.
 - 26. See Rome and Neugebauer, 11, p. 941.

Notes added in proof

- 1. The Aya Sofia manuscript of the treatise in 80 chapters mentioned in note 21 is in fact anonymous. However, another copy of what appears to be the same work, now arranged in 79 chapters and attributed to al-Zarqāllu, has come to light in MS Istanbul Nurosmaniye 2926,6 (fols. 118r-150r, late copy in two different hands).
- 2. Prof. Franz Rosenthal of Yale University kindly suggested to me various minor corrections to my readings of difficult passages and I have incorporated these into the text of the article. In particular Prof. Rosenthal noted that in the extract from al-Baklamshī presented on p. 248 we should perhaps read al-asturlāb al-mughnī... al-mustanbat min al-zarkālīya wa-l-shakkāzīya, which would mean "the universal astrolabe... derived from the zarqāllīya and the shakkāzīya (plates)". This not only makes better sense but also accords with the fact that one of al-Baklamshī's predecessors in Syria in the fourteenth century had compiled a treatise on a universal instrument which he labelled al-astarlāb al-mughnī. A translation of this treatise is contained in my forthcoming monograph on the instruments of Ibn al-Sarrāj (see note 20 above), which is to be published by the Benaki Museum.

Bibliography and Bibliographical Abbreviations

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