

**PHYSIOGNOMY: A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF
DISABILITY IN ISLAM
THE DISCUSSIONS OF MUSLIM JURISTS***

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Abstract

Youssef Mourad (1902-1966), 'Abd al-Karîm 'Adî (1917-1985), Robert Hoyland and Antonella Ghersetti are the four main modern researchers who made laudable efforts in studying physiognomy as a topic in Arabic and Islamic literature. Recently Simon Swain also edited an insightful study on Polemon's Physiognomy from classical antiquity to Medieval Islam. Beyond the cursory references in the aforementioned works, studies combining between physiognomy on one hand and the image of people with disabilities in juristic circles on the other hand are, to my knowledge, nonexistent. This study is a bid to open up this new dimension.

The late Youssef Mourad (d. 1902-1966)¹⁾, the late 'Abd al-Karîm 'Adî (1917-1985),²⁾ Robert Hoyland (University of St. Andrews)³⁾ and Antonella Ghersetti (Universita Ca' Foscari, Venice)⁴⁾ are the four main modern researchers who make laudable efforts in studying physiognomy as a topic in Arabic and Islamic literature.⁵⁾ Recently Simon Swain also edited an insightful study on Polemon's Physiognomy from classical antiquity to Medieval Islam.⁶⁾ Beyond the cursory references in the aforementioned works, studies combining between physiognomy on the one hand and the image of people with disabilities in juristic circles on the other hand are, to my knowledge, nonexistent. Thus, this study is a bid to open up this new dimension.

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¹⁾ On him, see 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue 4, pp. 707, 708 & 722-724.

²⁾ He was a member of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Damascus during the period 1979-1985. For more information see Fahhâm, Shâkir al- (1980), vol. 55, issue 3, pp. 580-600; Naffâkh, Aḥmad Râtîb al- (1985), vol. 60, issue 3, pp. 625 & 626. He expressed his views on *firâsa* in his extensive book review of the Arabic translation of Youssef Mourad's *La Physiognomie arabe et le Kitâb al-Firâsa de Fakhr Al-Dîn Al-Râzi*, see 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 1, p. 355.

³⁾ For more information, see <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/history/arabic/staff/hoyland.shtml>.

⁴⁾ For more information, see http://www.unive.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=415&persona=000943&vista=pubb_sir.

⁵⁾ Mourad, Youssef (1939); 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue 4, pp. 707-728, vol. 58, issue 1, pp. 343-365, vol. 58, issue 2, pp. 161-193, vol. 58, issue 3, pp. 570-631; Ghersetti, Antonella (1996); Ghersetti, Antonella (1999); Ghersetti, Antonella & Swain, Simon (2007); Hoyland, Robert (2005); Hoyland, Robert (2007); Hoyland, Robert (1) (2007).

⁶⁾ Swain, Simon (ed.) (2007).

The main Arabic term which conveys the purport of physiognomy is *firâsa*⁷⁾ and, in a lesser degree, *tawassum* which was often used as a synonym of *firâsa*.⁸⁾ Tracing the term *firâsa* in Arabic literature reveals four main meanings each of which can be seen as a distinct category or type of *firâsa*. That *firâsa* was not of a unilateral meaning is clearly stated in modern studies but a clear division and exposition of these four meanings is still missing. Keeping in view that such systematic division is crucial to the argumentation below, an explanatory presentation of these four meanings will be given first.

The first meaning of *firâsa* found in the earliest Arabic lexicons centers on one's sharp-mindedness and astuteness used to disclose mysterious issues.⁹⁾ The active participle (*fâris*) and the comparative adjective (*afras*) would also denote one's adeptness, proficiency and expertise in a specific aspect of life. The expression, *ana afra bi-al-rijâl* means "I am more knowledgeable and more experienced about men."¹⁰⁾ A particularly renowned practitioner of this type of *firâsa* was the judge Iyâs b. Mu'âwiya (appointed in 99/717).¹¹⁾ He was proverbial for his perspicacity and his ability to extract precise informative hints unnoticed by others and his shrewdness are often praised.¹²⁾ This is almost the broadest meaning of *firâsa* which allowed this term to be usable for indicating other meanings as well.

The second meaning for *firâsa* was *qiyâfa*, read sometimes as *qâfa*. *Qiyâfa* was of two types, namely *qiyâfat al-athar* and *qiyâfat al-bashar*. *Qiyâfat al-athar* was to track birds, animals and humans through minute scrutiny of the traces that they leave behind, most obviously foot-prints. *Qiyâfat al-bashar* was to establish the paternity or maternity of a child by careful observation and comparison of the bodily characteristics of it and its alleged parent.¹³⁾ This second type brings *qiyâfa* very close to the fourth meaning of *firâsa* below.¹⁴⁾ The two terms *qiyâfa* and *firâsa* were usually used as synonyms.¹⁵⁾ *Qiyâfa* was presented in Arabic literature as a typically Arab achievement and that it is something to be inherited rather than to be learnt and that is why no books were written on this topic.¹⁶⁾

The third meaning is the illuminative or mystic one. The core of this type of *firâsa* is detaching oneself from the worldly desires by means of seclusion (*khalwa*), austerity (*riyâda*), waking up at night and abandoning eating. A regular practice of such rituals would produce a sort of visionary experiences or unveilings (*mukâshafât*) by which the

practitioner could predict, foresee and tell of unseen objects and unknown future events.¹⁷⁾ Islamic mysticism played a central role in developing this meaning and in a way or another Islamizing it till that it became eventually a typical Islamic type of *firâsa*. This type centers on the pious qualities of the practitioner of *firâsa*. It enables him to receive a light from Allah by which he can penetrate into a person's hidden depths such as his conscience, innermost thoughts and into his past and future.¹⁸⁾ A more detailed definition states, "*Firâsa* is that which God plants in the hearts of his friends (*awliyâ'ih*) so that they may know the internal states of people by a sort of miracle and divination (*bi-naw' min al-karâmât wa-işâbat al-ẓann wa-al-ḥads*) for the heart has an eye just as sight does, and whoever has a sound heart-eye and is supported by God's light may gain confirmation of the true essences of things and understanding of the upper world while he remains in the lower world. He perceives what no eye has seen, no ear heard, and what has never occurred to the heart of any human."¹⁹⁾ This type of *firâsa* was seen as a talent possessed only by few people, namely the most pure of heart.²⁰⁾ This also meant that any figure renowned for his/her piety or devotion must have been in the possession of *firâsa*, a fact immediately patent from Islamic religious literature.²¹⁾ This type was given the name *al-firâsa al-îmâniyya* (intuitive knowledge produced by belief)²²⁾ or *al-firâsa al-ilâhiyya* (intuitive knowledge produced by God)²³⁾ and sometimes in the Sufi literature *al-mukâshafa* (unveiling)²⁴⁾.

This meaning was the product of a religious dimension added to this term by Islam. This sense has gradually been integrated in the denotations of *firâsa* and its main synonym *tawassum*, similarly to many other Arabic words which got new dimensions by Islam such as *ṣalâh*, *zakâh*, *ḥajj* and so forth.

They key-citation in this context was "Beware the *firâsa* of the believer for he sees with the light of God". This adage was classified as a Prophetic tradition by the scholars of Ḥadîth but it does not appear in written form until the time when the great collections of the sayings of the Prophet were being put together in the third/ninth century. It seems to be first noted, very cursorily, by the famous compiler al-Bukhârî (d. 256/870), in his *al-Târikh al-Kabîr* and then by his younger contemporary and fellow compiler al-Tirmidhî (d. 279/892), who appends a few brief thoughts of his own:

The Messenger of God said: "Beware the *firâsa* of the believer, for he sees with the light of God", and then he recited (the Qur'anic verse): "In that are signs for the discerning".

⁷⁾ Porter, Martin (2005), p. 61; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 361.

⁸⁾ See for instance Ibn Sayyidih (1320 A.H.), p. 26; Ibn al-'Arabî, Abû Bakr (n.d.), vol. 3, p. 107; Qurṭubî, Abû 'Abdullâh al- (1372 A.H.), vol. 10, p. 42; Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 46.

⁹⁾ See Farâhîdî, al-Khalîl b. Aḥmad al- (1984), vol. 7, p. 245; Ibn Durayd (1987), vol. 2, p. 717; Ibn Sayyidih (1320 A.H.), p. 26; Râzî, Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr al- (1415/1995), p. 208; Ibn Qutayba (1406/1986), vol. 1, p. 107, vol. 2, p. 237 & 240.

¹⁰⁾ Ibn Manẓûr (n.d.), vol. 6, p. 160; Wazârat al-Awqâf wa-al-Shu'ûn al-Islâmiyya bi-al-Kuwayt (n.d.), vol. 32, p. 77.

¹¹⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 373.

¹²⁾ Pellat, Ch. (2003) (2), vol. IV, p. 291.

¹³⁾ See Fahd, T. (2003); Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 362 & 363.

¹⁴⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 362 & 363.

¹⁵⁾ See for instance, Jâhîz, al- (1356-64/1938-45), vol. 1, p. 123, quoted by Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 363.

¹⁶⁾ Khalîfa, Ḥâjjî (1412-1992), vol. 2, p. 346.

¹⁷⁾ Harawî, 'Abdullâh Al-Anṣârî al- (1408/1988), Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), pp. 6 & 7; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 1, p. 130, vol. 2, pp. 486 & 487; Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 3; A group of scholars (1391 A.H.), vol. 1, p. 563.

¹⁸⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 368.

¹⁹⁾ Minâwî 'Abd al-Ra'ûf al- (1356 A.H.), vol. 2, pp. 414 & 415, quoted by Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 386 & 387.

²⁰⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 368.

²¹⁾ Ibid, p. 387.

²²⁾ Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 1b; Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (2), fol. 1b.

²³⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 368.

²⁴⁾ Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 2b & 3a; Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (2), fol. 2a. For the technical meaning of this term especially in Sufi literature, see Gardet, L. (2003), vol. IV, pp. 696-698.

Abū 'Īsā: This tradition is rare; we only know of it in this context. It is transmitted on the authority of a number of knowledgeable people regarding the exegesis of this verse "In that are signs for the discerning": ("the discerning" means) those who practise *firâsa*."²⁵)

However, though not written down until the mid-ninth century, it is evident from al-Tirmidhî's comment about its explanation by "knowledgeable people" (*ahl al-'ilm*) that the saying was already known in his day.²⁶ This meaning was later integrated as one of the main denotations of the term *firâsa*. For instance, the adage "Beware the *firâsa* of the believer" is also to be found in the Arabic lexical entries on *firâsa* and *tawassum*.²⁷ Additionally, this meaning is included in literally hundreds of legal and theological works, particularly those with Sūfî leanings.²⁸ Actually, within the Sufî milieu, this type of *firâsa* received the most systematic trials of defining it, elaborating the conditions to gain it and also dividing it into different sorts.²⁹

The fourth meaning is almost identical with the Greek concept of physiognomy. Etymologically, the Greek word of physiognomy is derived from three words, viz., *physis* (nature), *nomos* (law) and *gnomon* (judge or interpreter).³⁰ This term conveys the examining of the relationship between physical attributes and personality traits. *Firâsa* in this sense is a tool by which one can determine what the inspection of a person's corporal features might tell us about his or her innate character.³¹ This type was known as *al-firâsa al-tabî'iyya* (natural physiognomy),³² *al-firâsa al-insâniyya* (human physiognomy),³³ or *al-firâsa al-hikmiyya* (judicious physiognomy).³⁴ Unlike Islamic type of *firâsa*, this type is more readily available to all, since it consists simply of an enumeration of the particular characteristics that are associated with specific bodily features.³⁵

The statement mentioned in the article of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* on *firâsa* commenting on this particular meaning, "*Firâsa* is an Islamic science"³⁶ cannot be taken without reservations. It can be accepted only in the sense that it developed to be Islamic at later stages as to be shown below. The only researcher who opines, although with doubts expressed by himself, that physiognomy originated as an Arabic and Islamic science is 'Abd al-Karîm 'Adî (1917-1985). This is despite the fact that he concedes that *firâsa* in early

Arabic lexicons never appears in the Greek sense.³⁷ He goes even further to believe that Greek physiognomy got possibly affected later by this Arabic science and not vice versa. 'Adî bases his opinion on what has been related about al-Shâfi'î's adeptness in this science. At the end he presents his arguments in a question form that still needs confirmation or negation.³⁸ The issue of al-Shâfi'î is to be discussed below in detail and I believe it answers 'Adî's question clearly in the negative.

At any rate, it is clear that this meaning of *firâsa* is neither originally Arabic nor Islamic. Early Arabic lexicons do not give any reference to this sense as one of the meanings of *firâsa*.³⁹ This does not necessarily mean that the idea of a possible link between one's physical appearance and personality traits could have been common among the Arabs before hearing or reading about this type of physiognomy. But the majority of specialists in this field are of the opinion that this type of *firâsa* could have a definable and distinct existence only after and thanks to the translation of the Greek treatises on this science.⁴⁰ However, possible Indian and Persian influences should not be ignored. Cursory reference to the Indian and Persian *firâsa* was made by Ibn Qutayba (213/828-276/871)⁴¹ and in the treatise, attributed to al-Jâhîz (d. 255/868-9), which deals, among other topics, with *firâsa* according to the Persians. The treatise also quotes Jawbar al-Hindî (the Indian) as the author of a work on *firâsa*.⁴² It seems, however, that this initial Indian and Persian influence faded away quickly when the Greek sources were translated.

Three main Greek sources were of crucial importance in this regard, namely two books attributed to Aristotle and one book attributed to Polemon⁴³: The two books attributed to Aristotle were *Sirr al-Asrâr* (secret of secrets)⁴⁴ and *Kitâb Aristâtâlis fî al-Firâsa* (The Book of Aristotle on Physiognomy)⁴⁵.

The first book purports to be the advice given by the famous Greek philosopher to the equally famous general Alexander the Great while the latter was on campaign in Iran.⁴⁶ This book raised a huge number of scholarly questions the most

³⁷ 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 2, pp. 181-183.

³⁸ Ibid, vol. 58, issue, 1, p. 355.

³⁹ For Arabic lexicons, see Farâhidî, al-Khalîl b. Aḥmad al- (1984), vol. 7, p. 245; Ibn Durayd (1987), vol. 2, p. 717; Ibn Sayyidih (1320 A.H.), p. 26; Râzî, Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr al- (1415/1995), p. 208.

⁴⁰ See Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 1; Ghersetti, Antonella (1996), p. 121; Ghersetti, Antonella (1999), p. iii; Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 361 & 362.

⁴¹ Ibn Qutayba (1406/1986), vol. 1, p. 326.

⁴² K. Inostrantsev (1907-8), p. 120.

⁴³ On him see Stegemann, Willy (1952), col. 1345; Sezgin, Fuat (1970), vol. III, pp. 352 & 353; Witkam, J.J. (1980), pp. 44 & 45. There are many variations for this name. In English it is mostly Polemon (see Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 361ff.; Fahd, T. (2003) (1), vol. II, pp. 916 & 917) but sometimes also Polemo (see for instance Rosenthal, Franz (1965), pp. 37, 43 & 126). In Arabic, there are at least four variations, viz., *Aflimûn* (see Rosenthal, Franz (1965), pp. 37, 43 & 126; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 361, note 3), *Iflimûn*, *Fulaymûn* (Witkam, J.J. (1980), p. 45) & *Flimûn* (Fahd, T. (2003) (1), vol. II, p. 916).

⁴⁴ It was edited by 'Abd al-Rahmân Badawî, see Badawî, 'Abd al-Rahmân (1954), pp. 67-171. The text was also translated into English by a certain Ismail Ali, an Egyptian scholar who had worked upon it as a student at the University of London under the supervision of A.S. Fulton, see Steele, Robert (1920), pp. 176-266; Manzalaoui, Mahmoud (1974), p. 141.

⁴⁵ It was edited and translated into Italian by Antonella Ghersetti, Ghersetti, Antonella (1999), pp. 3-50.

⁴⁶ Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 368.

²⁵ Tirmidhî, Abū 'Īsâ al- (n.d.), Ḥadîth no. 3127, vol. 5, p. 298; Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 364 & 365.

²⁶ Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 364 & 365.

²⁷ See for instance Ibn Sayyidih (1320 A.H.), p. 26; Râzî, Muḥammad b. Abî Bakr al- (1415/1995), p. 208.

²⁸ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 365.

²⁹ Qushayrî, Abū al-Qâsim al- (n.d.), pp. 322-330; Harawî, 'Abdullâh al-Anṣârî al- (1408/1988), vol. 1, pp. 80 & 81; Ibn al-Qayyim (1395/1975), vol. 1, pp. 238-240; Ibn al-Qayyim, (1395/1975) (1), vol. 1, p. 48; Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (1), vol. 1, p. 126; Ibn al-Qayyim (1412/1992), vol. 1, pp. 101 & 102; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 1, pp. 482-495.

³⁰ A. Oommen & Oommen, T., (2003), p. 189, quoting from Percival, Melissa (1999).

³¹ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 361.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 1b; Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (2), fol. 1b.

³⁴ Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 2a & 41a. Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (2), fol. 1b & 8b.

³⁵ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 368.

³⁶ Fahd, T. (2003) (1), vol. II, p. 916.

important of which centered on the origin of the book being Arabic or Greek and the date at which this book was written or translated. Many theories have been presented in a bid to answer these questions and to my mind none of them gives decisive answers to all these questions.⁴⁷⁾ Just two points would concern us in this respect. First, the book contains a section on physiognomy whose concepts, style, and vocabulary employed, if not so much the statements themselves, owe much to Polemon⁴⁸⁾ and thus the Greek origins of this specific part is unquestionable. The second point, which still remains equivocal, is the date in which the Arabic versions of this book appeared. The earliest date suggested was during the Umayyad reign (between 41/661-132/750)⁴⁹⁾ whereas the latest went forward to the 7th/13th century, not before 1220⁵⁰⁾. A proposed date for the text of the section on physiognomy in particular was 330/941.⁵¹⁾ To sum up, in the absence of a definite proof, a wide range of dating possibilities remains open.⁵²⁾

The second book was translated by the well-known physician, philosopher, author and translator Hunayn b. Ishâq (192/808-260/873)⁵³⁾ around the middle of the 3rd/9th century.⁵⁴⁾

Polemon's book *Kitâb al-Firâsa* seems to have been the most influential of all of these books.⁵⁵⁾ The translator of this book and the exact date of translation are unknown.⁵⁶⁾ The well-known historian al-Ya'qûbî (who died in the early 4th/10th century but apparently not before 292/905)⁵⁷⁾ notes that Polemon, "the master of physiognomy" (*afîmûn ṣâhib al-firâsa*), wrote a book in which he explained what physiognomy can tell you of innate disposition, repute, and character, and he gave proofs of that.⁵⁸⁾ But it seems that al-Jâhîz (d. 255/868-9) was the earliest Arabic writer to quote Polemon, in his book *al-Ḥayawân*.⁵⁹⁾ However, al-Jâhîz's quotations were on the physiognomy of the dove (*firâsat al-ḥamâm*) none of which can be found in the extant Arabic version of Polemon's physiognomy.⁶⁰⁾ Accordingly, it seems

that Polemon's book began to circulate around the 3rd/9th century.⁶¹⁾ By time, Polemon's book was widely used and epitomised and subsequently was extremely influential on the development of *firâsa* in the Greek sense.⁶²⁾

Gradually, Greek physiognomy in general could find its way as one of the main meanings of *firâsa* in the Arabic and Islamic culture. One of the main reasons in this regard is that contrary to the Islamic *firâsa* which was exclusive of the pious people, Greek physiognomy was learnable and teachable for almost every one.⁶³⁾ Its practical benefits embraced the common people and political elite as well in different social and economic aspects of life. This science helped common people to choose people of good character to be their intimate friends and spouses without falling into traps.⁶⁴⁾ As for the political elite, physiognomy was an important tool for a king or ruler to make a veracious choice for his retinue.⁶⁵⁾ As for its economic benefits, this type of physiognomy acted also as an important guide when one wanted to buy slaves⁶⁶⁾ or animals, especially horses.⁶⁷⁾

At the literary level, after the cursory quotations of al-Jâhîz, we obtain many hints of the widespread interest in Greek physiognomy. This is clear from the numerous quotations of Polemon's treatise or imitations thereof, both direct and indirect, which started circulating in Islamic literature at the latest around the 5th/11th century as is clear from the works of al-Zamakhsharî (467/1075-538/1144)⁶⁸⁾ and Ibn Ḥamdûn (495/1102-562/1166).⁶⁹⁾

At the scholarly level, Greek physiognomy appeared on the list of recognized Islamic sciences almost at the same time. During the 5th/11th century, the first scientific treatment of Greek physiognomy came from the pen of the litterateur Abû Hayyân al-Tawhîdî (d. 414/1023), recording the academic discussions he had with the great scholar Miskawayh (d. 421/1030).⁷⁰⁾ About the same time, Ibn Sînâ (d. 428/1037), put this type of physiognomy on the list of the Islamic sciences and made it one of the secondary divisions of physics after medicine and astrology.⁷¹⁾

⁴⁷⁾ See Steele, Robert (1920), pp. ix-lxiii; Badawî, 'Abd al-Rahmân (1954), pp. 32-75; Manzalaoui, Mahmoud (1974), pp. 141-257; Koningsveld, P.S. van (1998), pp. 347-349.

⁴⁸⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 368 & 69. It is to be noted that this chapter is sometimes omitted and other times found separate on its own, see Manzalaoui, Mahmoud (1974), pp. 142, 155 & 156.

⁴⁹⁾ Manzalaoui, Mahmoud (1974), pp. 163 & 164; Gutas, Dimitri (1998), pp. 23 & 24.

⁵⁰⁾ See Steele, Robert (1920), p. xv.

⁵¹⁾ Manzalaoui, Mahmoud (1974), p. 157.

⁵²⁾ For an overall idea of this question and the proposed answers, see Steele, Robert (1920), pp. xv & xvi; Badawî, 'Abd al-Rahmân (1954), pp. 36-45; Manzalaoui, Mahmoud (1974), pp. 157-166.

⁵³⁾ On him see Strohmaier, G. (2003), vol. III, pp. 578-581.

⁵⁴⁾ Sa'di, Lutfi M. (1934), p. 435; Ghersetti, Antonella (1999), pp. xvii-xxvii.

⁵⁵⁾ A main witness of this book is the Leiden manuscript Or. 198 (I). It was edited in the nineteenth century by G. Hoffmann in Foerster, R. (1893), vol. I, pp. 98-294. The manuscript has been recently reedited by Robert Hoyland, see Hoyland, Robert (2007), pp. 329-342.

⁵⁶⁾ See Stegemann, Willy (1952), col.; Witkam, J.J. (1980), p. 44.

⁵⁷⁾ On him see Zaman, Muhammad Qasim (2003), pp. 257 & 258.

⁵⁸⁾ Ya'qûbî, Ahmad b. Ya'qûb al- (1883), vol. 1, p. 135, quoted by Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 361, note 3. See also Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), p. 28.

⁵⁹⁾ Jâhîz, al- (1356-64/1938-45), vol. 3, pp. 146, 269-275 & 284.

⁶⁰⁾ Polemon was later on also quoted by other well-known scholars such as Ibn al-Nadîm (d. 377/987), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 413/1022), Ibn al-Qiftî (d. 646/1248) and Ibn Abî Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270), see Witkam, J.J. (1980), p. 45.

⁶¹⁾ See Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 361.

⁶²⁾ See Mourad, Youssef (1939), pp. 384-86; Witkam, J.J. (1980), p. 45; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 361; Ghersetti, Antonella & Swain, Simon (2007), pp. 309 & 310.

⁶³⁾ Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), pp. 6 & 7; Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), pp. 3 & 4.

⁶⁴⁾ Qanwajî, Şiddîq ibn Ḥasan al- (1978), vol. 2, p. 396. For an example on women, see Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 18.

⁶⁵⁾ Qanwajî, Şiddîq ibn Ḥasan al- (1978), vol. 2, p. 396. This was clearly the aim of the chapter on physiognomy in *Sirr al-Asrâr* which purports to be the advice given by the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle, to Alexander the Great, see Badawî, 'Abd al-Rahmân (1954), pp. 117-124; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 368.

⁶⁶⁾ Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), pp. 83 & 84; Qanwajî, Şiddîq ibn Ḥasan al- (1978), vol. 2, p. 396; Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 17.

⁶⁷⁾ Records of manuscripts written on this science provide us with a title dedicated for this specific issue, viz. *Darj al-Siyâsa fî 'Ilm al-Firâsa wa-ma Yadull 'ala al-Khayl min Malâḥa wa Qabâḥa*, see Bâbânî, Ismâ'il Bashâ al- (1364-1945), vol. 1, p. 463.

⁶⁸⁾ Zamakhsharî, al- (1976), vol. 1, p. 866.

⁶⁹⁾ Ibn Ḥamdûn (1996), vol. 8, p. 32. For more examples and quotations in this regard, see Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 367-370.

⁷⁰⁾ Tawhîdî, Abû Ḥayyân al- & Miskawayh (1370/1951), pp. 166-172; Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 391 & 392.

⁷¹⁾ See Ibn Sînâ (1406/1986), p. 88; Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 23; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue 4, pp. 712 & 713; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 391, note 84; Ghersetti, Antonella (2007), p. 285.

All these developments paved the way for another step at the lexicographical level. Gradually, and at the latest around the 6th/12th century, Greek physiognomy was presented in the Arabic lexicons as one of the main meanings of *firâsa* as is clear from the works of Majd al-Dîn Ibn al-Athîr (544/1149-606/1210)⁷²) and Ibn Manzûr (630/1233-711/1312-13).⁷³)

The popularity of Greek physiognomy went beyond this by becoming the main meaning of *firâsa*. In other words, once *firâsa* is mentioned in the absolute form, it would first convey the Greek sense of physiognomy rather than the other three possible meanings. This is clear from a long list of Arabic books written on this science and bearing the word *firâsa* in the title without adding *hikmiyya* (judicious), *ṭabî'yya* (natural) or any other term to avoid what would be a possible misunderstanding or confusion with the other meanings of *firâsa*.⁷⁴)

Among the aforementioned four meanings of *firâsa*, the mystic and Greek ones were the main meanings to receive further theorization and elaboration. Although *firâsa* with mystic sense never became a systematized science with clear and detailed premises and conclusions as was the case with Greek physiognomy, Islamic mystic literature could present at least a theory in this regard. These two developed systems of *firâsa* encompassed contradictory views concerning people with disabilities.

The main concern of the mystic *firâsa* was the practitioner of *firâsa* rather than the targeted person of whom the practitioner wanted to read his/her invisible character. The main component of this *firâsa* was to gain the light of God which enlightens, opens up and thus discloses the hidden sides of people's characters as the aforementioned adage states, "Beware the *firâsa* of the believer for he sees with the light of God". To obtain this light, one must dedicate him/herself to the worship and service of God and fulfill a number of conditions:

"Whoever turns his gaze from forbidden things, restrains himself from desires, and suffuses his inner self with constant vigilance and his outer self with adherence to God's law, and accustoms himself to eating only what is permitted, *firâsa* will not fail him."⁷⁵)

Sufi literature obviously shows that physical build and outward appearance play no role whatsoever whether as a prerequisite to gain this divine light or as a determining factor in judging people's characters. People with different disabilities including blindness, lameness, hemiplegia, paralysis, leprosy, etc. were repeatedly presented in Sufi literature as people with good character and pure hearts which allowed to obtain the ranks of *awliyâ'* (Friends of God) and thus deserve high esteem and appreciation.⁷⁶)

⁷²) Ibn al-Athîr, Majd al-Dîn (1963), vol. 3, p. 428.

⁷³) Ibn Manzûr (n.d.), vol. 6, p. 160.

⁷⁴) To mention the most well-known, see Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939); Anşârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914); Ibn al-Akfânî (n.d.), Zaydân, Jurjî (1423/2003); Witkam, J.J. (1980), p. 45.

⁷⁵) Aşbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 10, p. 237, quoted by Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 387.

⁷⁶) To mention just examples, see Ghazâlî, Abû Hâmid, al- (n.d.), vol. 4, p. 348, 349; Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1410 A. H.), vol. 4, p. 118; Aşbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 2, p. 319, vol. 4, pp. 68, 214 & vol. 6, pp. 156, 286; Ibn al-Jawzî (1399/1979), vol. 2, pp. 193-196, 463-466, 501, 502, vol. 4, pp. 9, 18, 19, 60, 86, 272, 282, 283, 383, 401, 402; Ibn al-Qayyim (n.d.) (2), vol. 1, p. 117.

Unlike the mystic *firâsa*, the main focus of Greek physiognomy was the person whose character we want to investigate. His physical build was crucial in the physiognomic process. This focus made Greek physiognomy, especially as represented by the aforementioned three Greek works, produce a very negative image about people with disabilities, abnormalities or deformities.⁷⁷) The general principle to be deduced from these works purports that any malformation in one's body indicates a similar one in one's character.⁷⁸) The introductory passages of the chapter on physiognomy in the *Sirr al-Asrâr* are the most obvious in this regard. The author says, "know that the womb is for the embryo like the pot for the food, therefore the whiteness or blueness or extreme redness [of the face] indicates imperfect coction, and if to them is added any physical imperfection (*naqş fi al-khalq*), then it is a clear proof of the nature being imperfect as well. Therefore beware of such people, blue, very red or reckless thin-haired, for they must be shameless, perfidious and sensuous ... and beware of one of a defective make or having some physical imperfection."⁷⁹) In the physiognomic work translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishâq, Aristotle depicts the brave man as one with an almost flawless and well-proportioned body whereas the coward is the one with an ill-proportioned and to some extent malformed body.⁸⁰) The same line is continued in the work of Polemon.⁸¹) This negative image found its way in Arabic literature which made use or was influenced by such works. For instance, Râghib al-Işfahânî (d. 1108) records this statement, "The blind is obstinate (*mukâbir*), the one-eyed is frequently unjust (*zalûm*) and the squint-eyed is regularly arrogant."⁸²) Another good example is a passage which crops up in a number of well-known literary works: "Largeness of the forehead indicates doltishness, breadth of it to poverty of intellect, smallness of it to gracefulness of movement, and roundness of it to anger. If the eyebrows are joined straight across, it indicates effeminacy and slackness. If they are driven downwards to the edge of the nose, it indicates grace and intelligence; and if they are driven towards the temples, it indicates derision and mockery. If the inner corner of the eye is small, it indicates a wicked inner nature and bad character traits. If the eyebrow falls down to the eye, it indicates envy. The medium-sized eye is an indication of acumen, fine character, and valour; the projecting eye of a confused intellect; the hollow eye of sharpness; the eye that stares much of impertinence and stupidity; and the eye that looks long of levity and inconstancy. Hair on the ear indicates a good listener, and a big erect ear indicates stupidity and folly."⁸³)

The ascending popularity of Greek physiognomy did not remain within the boundaries of common people and literary

⁷⁷) For the other positive side in Greek literature on people with disabilities see Garland, Robert (1995), pp. 89, 96-104.

⁷⁸) See Ghersetti, Antonella (1999), p. 29.

⁷⁹) Badawî, 'Abd al-Rahmân (1954), p. 118. The English translation is based on Steele, Robert (1920), pp. 219 & 200. However, I made slight changes which, to my mind, made the English text closer to the Arabic original.

⁸⁰) Ghersetti, Antonella (1999), pp. 20 & 21. For similar Aristotelian quotations see Garland, Robert (1995), p. 90.

⁸¹) See Hoyland, Robert (2007), pp. 444-454.

⁸²) Işfahânî, Râghib al- (1420/1999), vol. 2, p. 314.

⁸³) Nuwayrî, Shihâb al-Dîn al- (1342/1924), vol. 3, p. 149; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 367.

sources. Two main factors pushed it into the realms of Islamic jurisprudence.

First, penetrating many aspects of life in the Muslim community, as mentioned above, an eventual meeting-point between this science and Muslim jurists was only to be expected as the latter are supposed to deal with the common life of people and their daily dealings.

Second, some of the physiognomic statements had religious and legal implications. For instance, Râghib al-Iṣfahânî (d. 1108) quotes Aristotle saying, "The testimony of the humpbacked and the short people should not be accepted even if [their credibility was] recommended because of their maliciousness. He was asked why? He said 'because their heads are close to their hearts'."⁸⁴ Another statement ascribed to al-Shâfi'î states "the little and short palm combined with long and thin fingers indicate theft and treachery."⁸⁵ Such statements have direct relevance to issues discussed extensively in Islamic jurisprudence.

This meeting-point will be traced in two main legal schools, namely, the Shâfi'î and the Ḥanbalî schools. It is just the available information that has imposed this choice. Outside these two schools, pertinent information is scanty and within the Ḥanafî school it is almost absent. Moreover, such information does not make clear what type of *firâsa* is meant in such discussions. However, a note in passing will be given at the end to clarify the standpoint of other schools in the light of available information.

The Shâfi'î School

Available sources indicate clearly that a number of Shâfi'î jurists were impressed by the newly-introduced science of Greek physiognomy and its practical benefits. They were advocates of this new science and wrote important books in this field where they did not fail to find arguments from the Qur'ân and Sunna defending this science or at least its main premise, that is "inference from physical makeup about nature/disposition/character" (*al-istidlâl bi-al-khalq 'alâ al-khuluq*).⁸⁶

One of the early texts, which can be an allusion to this premise, is written by the prolific Shâfi'î scholar, Abû Ḥâmid al-Ghazâlî (d. 505/1111), "The exterior form that is attractive to look at is the surest indication of a virtuous soul, for the light of the soul, when it fully shines, would penetrate the body. That is because the external appearance (*mazhar*) and the inner nature (*makhbar*) are most often inseparable. This is why the authorities on *firâsa* occupy themselves first with the physical form when getting to know the internal states of people."⁸⁷ Another context in which al-Ghazâlî handled *firâsa* was his comments on Muslim philosophers such as Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna), the first to incorporate *firâsa* in the Greek sense in the recognized Islamic

sciences. In his *Maqâsid al-Falâsifa* (Objectives of the Philosophers) al-Ghazâlî mentioned the categorization of Ibn Sînâ but in a different order and with committing some sciences including *al-firâsa*.⁸⁸ In *Tahâfut al-Falâsifa* (Incoherence of the Philosophers), al-Ghazâlî mentioned the categorization of sciences including *firâsa* in the Greek sense. Al-Ghazâlî's comment was, "The Sacred Law does not require a dispute over them except on a few points which we have mentioned."⁸⁹ None of the critical points raised by al-Ghazâlî tackled *firâsa*.⁹⁰

A list of the important names who wrote discrete books or treatises on this science too would include Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (d. 606/1209)⁹¹, Shams al-Dîn al-Dimashqî (d. 727/1327), Ibn al-Durayhim al-Mawṣilî (d. 762/1360)⁹² Zayn al- al-'Âbidîn al-Ghumrî (d.970/1562).⁹³ Such sources played a significant role in diffusing the idea that the founder of their legal school, al-Shâfi'î, was an important authority in this science⁹⁴ and quoted a number of statements to the effect claiming to come from al-Shâfi'î himself.⁹⁵ These physiognomic statements bear the same negative attitude adopted by the aforementioned Greek literature against people with disabilities and they are the topic of the following analysis.

Muḥammad b. Idrîs al-Shâfi'î himself (d. 205/820) is considered as one of the seven main authorities of the science of Greek physiognomy.⁹⁶ This is clear from two main sorts of sources, viz., a) those on the life and especially the virtues (*manâqib*) of al-Shâfi'î and b) those on physiognomy.

As for sources enumerating the virtues of al-Shâfi'î, the available *manâqib* books on al-Shâfi'î have been consulted whether those dedicated to al-Shâfi'î alone⁹⁷ or those discussing the *manâqib* of other scholars as well.⁹⁸ These sources ascribe statements to al-Shâfi'î which fall under the category of *firâsa* in the Greek sense. However, these sources include also other statements which fall under the category of *firâsa* in the first and the third meanings mentioned above.

Robert Hoyland (University of St. Andrews) examined the sources of the second category and found for instance that

⁸⁸ Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid al- (n.d.) (1), pp. 134-140; Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 24; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue, 4, pp. 713 & 725.

⁸⁹ Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid al- (n.d.) (2), p. 232; Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid al- (1958), p. 180.

⁹⁰ Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid al- (n.d.) (2), p. 234; Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid al- (1958), p. 181.

⁹¹ Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939).

⁹² Khalîfa, Ḥâjjî (1412-1992), vol. 2, p. 997.

⁹³ Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1); Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (2).

⁹⁴ Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 2.

⁹⁵ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 367.

⁹⁶ For discussions on the other six authorities and their names, see Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 2; Mourad, Youssef (1939), pp. 31-75; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue, 4, pp. 714-721; Ghergetti, Antonella (1996), p. 121.

⁹⁷ This category includes *Âdâb al-Shâfi'î wa-Manâqibuh* by Ibn Abî Ḥâtim al-Râzî (d. 327 A.H.), *Manâqib al-Shâfi'î* by Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (d. 606 A.H.), *Manâqib al-Shâfi'î* by Ibn Kathîr (d. 774 A.H.) & *Tawâlî al-Ta'sîs li-Ma'âlî Muḥammad b. Idrîs* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalânî (d. 852 A.H.).

⁹⁸ See for instance the biographical notes on al-Shâfi'î in Aṣbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, pp. 63-161; Dhahabî, al- (1419/1998), vol. 14, pp. 304-342; Dhahabî, al- (1413 A.H.), vol. 10, pp. 5-99; Ibn Kathîr (1), vol. 10, pp. 251-254; Ibn al-'Imâd (1), vol. 1, pp. 9-12.

⁸⁴ Iṣfahânî, Râghib al- (1420/1999), vol. 2, p. 311.

⁸⁵ Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 34; Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 41.

⁸⁶ For a detailed presentation of these argumentations, see Mourad, Youssef (1939), Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), pp. 5 & 6; Anṣârî, Abû Ṭâlib al- (1332/1914), pp. 2 & 3; Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 2a-4b; Ibn al-Akfânî (1989), p. 417; Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 363-365.

⁸⁷ Ghazâlî, Abû Ḥâmid, al- (n.d.), vol. 4, p. 105; a slightly different English translation of this passage appears in Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 362.

the comprehensive work on *firâsa* by Shams al-Dîn al-Dimashqî (d. 727/1327), contains sixty-four physiognomical sayings attributed to al-Shâfi'î. Just a few of the sayings ascribed to al-Shâfi'î by al-Dimashqî are reported also by other sources of the same category such as the work of Ibn Zakariyyâ al-Râzî (two sayings); Ibn 'Arabî (six sayings) and Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî (eight sayings).⁹⁹

'Abd al-Karîm 'Adî made two more comparisons. First, between the statements mentioned in the *manâqib* works and the physiognomic sources concluding that similarities are there but still few. Second, between the statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î by Shams al-Dîn al-Dimashqî and those ascribed to the Greek authorities in this science. Here 'Adî found that out of the sixty-four statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î, forty-five are solely Shâfi'ian, one is a statement common with Polemon and two with Aristotle.¹⁰⁰

It is to be noted that people with disabilities in the contemporary sense were included in a broader category in early Arabic and Islamic literature, i.e., among those with any form of physical deformity or abnormality.¹⁰¹ Hence, we will notice that the statements, in the abovementioned sources, mainly tarnishing the image of people with disabilities, come as part of the materials concerning all those belonging to that broad category. For instance, a number of statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î purport "a little and short palm combined with long and thin fingers indicate theft and treachery¹⁰² or indicate bad ethics and beguilement",¹⁰³ "a face with protruding cheeks combined with thick lips indicates fondness of corruption and perversity",¹⁰⁴ "thick lips indicate foolishness and brusqueness"¹⁰⁵ and "a forehead that protrudes in its middle indicates precipitancy and silliness."¹⁰⁶

A large number of these statements deal with physical disabilities as known in our present time. They convey a general message, namely that one should be on guard when dealing with those people. These statements are not all of the same degree of rejection or insinuation. Some of them are mainly warning (mentioned below as "mild" statements) whereas others go further by declaring that these people concerned are malicious and even devilish (mentioned below as "harsh" statements). As we shall see, the purport of these statements implies adopting a negative and sometimes even a discriminatory standpoint against people with disabilities.

a) Mild statements:

1. "Beware of the lame, the cross-eyed, the one-eyed and everyone with physical defect (*bihî 'âha aw nâqîṣ al-khalq*). They are extremely difficult to deal with."¹⁰⁷
2. "If you see a beardless person then beware him. I have never seen anything good from a [person with] blue [eyes] (*azraq*)"¹⁰⁸

⁹⁹ See Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 367.

¹⁰⁰ 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 1, pp. 353 & 354.

¹⁰¹ Ghaly, Mohammad M.I. (2005-2006), p. 10, note 9.

¹⁰² Anṣârî, Abû Tâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 34; Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 41.

¹⁰³ Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 41.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, fol. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, fol. 34.

¹⁰⁶ Anṣârî, Abû Tâlib al- (1332/1914), p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1413/1993), p. 291.

¹⁰⁸ Subkî, Abû Naṣr al- (1992), vol. 2, p. 129.

3. It is related that Al-Shâfi'î once sent a man to buy him perfume. Coming back, al-Shâfi'î asked him, "Did you buy [it] from a beardless person (*kawsaj*) who is fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*)?" Replying in the affirmative, Al-Shâfi'î asked him to return it and he did so.¹⁰⁹ Other versions of this story add al-Shâfi'î's justification for refusal by saying, "I have never seen something good from a person who is fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*)"¹¹⁰

b) Harsh statements

1. "Beware of the one-eyed, the lame, the cross-eyed, the fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*), the beardless (*kawsaj*) and everyone with physical defect (*nâqîṣ al-khalq*). He is a person with cunning and difficult to deal with"¹¹¹
2. "Beware of the one-eyed, the cross-eyed, the lame, the hump-backed, the fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*), the beardless (*kawsaj*) and everyone with a physical defect (*nâqîṣ al-khalq*). Beware of such person because he is a man with cunning and difficult to deal with. On another occasion, he said, 'They are people full of malice'."¹¹²
3. "Beware of everyone with a physical defect because he is a devil. Harmala asked 'who are those?' He [al-Shâfi'î] replied, 'the lame, the cross-eyed, the paralyzed and the like'."¹¹³
4. It is also maintained that al-Shâfi'î composed poetic verses advising people to take their guard against nine sorts of people, namely the cross-eyed, the hunchbacked, the one-eyed, the beardless, a person with a long nose, a man who is fair and ruddy in complexion, a sunk-eyed person, a person with bulging forehead and finally a person with blue eyes.¹¹⁴

These statements also found their way to other sources than the ones quoted above. In the literary circles, we find for instance that Muḥammad Diyâb al-Itlîdî (d. after 1100/1689) concludes his historical book *I'lâm al-Nâs*¹¹⁵ with poetic verses almost identical with those ascribed to al-Shâfi'î. However, the verses have slight changes in the types of physical defects mentioned¹¹⁶ and presenting the composer of the verses as anonymous.¹¹⁷ The poetic verses

¹⁰⁹ Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), vol. 2, p. 133.

¹¹⁰ Râzî, Ibn Abî Hâtîm al- (1372/1953), p. 131. Refusing to buy something from people with disabilities has been mentioned in more than one place with slight differences, see Râzî, Ibn Abî Hâtîm al- (1372/1953), p. 131; Dhahabî, al- (1413 A.H.), vol. 10, p. 39; Aṣbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, pp. 140 & 141; Sakhâwî, al- (1399/1979), p. 136; Ibn Fahd, Jâr Allâh (950 A.H.), folios 5b & 6a.

¹¹¹ Dhahabî, al- (1413 A.H.), vol. 10, p. 40.

¹¹² Râzî, Ibn Abî Hâtîm al- (1372/1953), pp. 131 & 132; Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), vol. 2, p. 132; Aṣbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, p. 144.

¹¹³ Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, p. 222.

¹¹⁴ See Ibn Fahd, Jâr Allâh (950 A.H.), folio 6b.

¹¹⁵ This book retells the tales and anecdotes of the Khalifs in the Islamic history with special focus on those in the Abbasid period. A part of the book was translated into English by Godfrey Clerk, see Clerk, Godfrey (1873).

¹¹⁶ The lame instead of the one-eyed, the yellow person (*aṣfar*) instead of one who is fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*) and one with sunk temples (*ghâ'ir al-ṣudghayn*) in place of sunk eyes (*ghâ'ir al-'aynayn*), see Itlîdî, al- (1998), p. 137.

¹¹⁷ Itlîdî, al- (1998), p. 137.

appear also on the cover of a manuscript of this work completed in 1238/1822, a fact which would suggest that these verses got the position of a sage-advice.¹¹⁸⁾

However, these statements seem to have become much more widespread among the common people than in literary circles and sometimes were even elevated to the rank of Prophetic traditions. One example, which touches people with a physical feature depicted in Arabic literature as one of the defects (*âhât*), is the negative statement on a person who is fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*) and with blue eyes "*azraq*". The statement appears as a Prophetic tradition in the *ḥadīth* collection, *Firdaws al-Akḥbâr* (Paradise of Traditions), by Abū Shujā' al-Daylamī (d. 558/1115).¹¹⁹⁾ Another statement, which touches people with disabilities and those with physical defects in general, purports, "Beware those with physical defects (*ittaqū dhawī al-âhât*)". This statement became to be known among the public as a Prophetic tradition and thus appeared regularly in the compilations belonging to the genre of *al-aḥādīth al-mushtahara* (lit. "well-known Prophetic Traditions"). In such writings, scholars of *ḥadīth* collected those well-circulated traditions among the Muslim masses in order to examine their authenticity according to the norms of *ḥadīth* criticism.¹²⁰⁾ These scholars questioned the authenticity of these statements and inclined to qualify them as non-prophetic statements.¹²¹⁾ In a bid to fathom out the origin of such statements, they refer to al-Shāfi'ī as an eventual source and quote some of the statements mentioned above. These scholars, however, did not question the authenticity of the ascription of the statements to al-Shāfi'ī.¹²²⁾ In the light of the information available, a critical study of this ascription is due.

To my knowledge, only three modern authors studied, although incidentally, the aforementioned statements. Youssef Mourad (d. 1902-1966)¹²³⁾ and 'Abd al-Karīm 'Adī (1917-1985), did not raise doubts about their authenticity.¹²⁴⁾ The only one who raised prudently doubts about the statements' authenticity is Robert Hoyland (University of St. Andrews). After speaking about the statements ascribed to al-Shāfi'ī as mentioned by the sources of *firâsa*, he said, "...without knowing anything about their transmission, it is difficult to say anything secure about their provenance".¹²⁵⁾ In this regard, Hoyland is speaking about one type of sources,

¹¹⁸⁾ See Itfidī, al- (n.d.), cover.

¹¹⁹⁾ Daylamī, al- (1407/1987), vol. 1, p. 473.

¹²⁰⁾ See for instance Sakhāwī, al- (1399/1979), p. 18; Qārī, 'Alī b. Sulṭān al-Harawī al- (1404 A.H.), p. 46; 'Ajlūnī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 40 & 41; Shaybānī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Dayba' al- (1324 A.H.), pp. 6 & 7, Darwīsh, Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid (n.d.), p. 17.

¹²¹⁾ Sakhāwī, al- (1399/1979), p. 18; Shaybānī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Dayba' al- (1324 A.H.), pp. 6, 7 & 61; Qārī, 'Alī b. Sulṭān al-Harawī al- (1404 A.H.), p. 46; 'Ajlūnī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 40 & 41; Fattānī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir al- (1343 A.H.), p. 195; 'Amirī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al- (1413/1992), vol. 1, p. 38; Darwīsh, Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid (n.d.), pp. 17 & 76.

¹²²⁾ See for instance, Sakhāwī, al- (1399/1979), pp. 18, 136 & 137; 'Ajlūnī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 40 & 41; Fattānī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir al- (1343 A.H.), pp. 195 & 196.

¹²³⁾ On him see 'Adī, 'Abd al-Karīm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue 4, pp. 707, 708 & 722-724.

¹²⁴⁾ Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 61; 'Adī, 'Abd al-Karīm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 1, pp. 343-355.

¹²⁵⁾ Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 367.

namely those written on *firâsa* and it is true that the statements are mentioned there without chains of transmission. However, as shown above, sources speaking about the *manâqib* of al-Shāfi'ī mentioned similar statements with almost the same purport and sometimes even harder. Chains of transmitters narrating these statements are usually mentioned. The main question to be tackled here is whether these statements were really made by al-Shāfi'ī or are just ascribed to him for specific ends and if so, what are these ends? For a balanced analysis of this highly complicated issue, factors advocating the authenticity of the statements as well as those opposing this will be both presented.

Materials that seem to advocate the authenticity

The statements mentioned above were quoted in the context of commending al-Shāfi'ī rather than defaming him. Thus one would not think of deliberate fabrication to tarnish the image of al-Shāfi'ī. The earliest written source in which these statements appear is the book of the traditionist Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/ 938) on al-Shāfi'ī's virtues (*Ādâb al-Shāfi'ī wa Manâqibuh*).¹²⁶⁾ Ibn Abī Ḥātim placed the statements ascribed to al-Shāfi'ī in a chapter entitled, "A chapter on what has been mentioned about al-Shāfi'ī's *firâsa* and intelligence (*fitna*), may Allah have mercy with him!"¹²⁷⁾ As mentioned before, the Shāfi'ī scholar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) in his book about the virtues (*manâqib*) of al-Shāfi'ī mentioned the abovementioned second harsh statement, and then commented, "Know that what he said is based on solid grounds in the science of physiognomy (*ilm al-firâsa*)." He then went on explaining the nature and logic of this science.¹²⁸⁾ Another example comes from the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751/1350) who, in the context of refuting what he considered defamatory information about al-Shāfi'ī, quoted most of the aforementioned statements. He said that such statements indicate al-Shāfi'ī's knowledge of *firâsa* and "this is what befits his solemnity and high position."¹²⁹⁾

Identical views were also adopted by almost all those who wrote on the virtues of al-Shāfi'ī and those who wrote on *firâsa*. This produced by time such a great popularity for these statements that they were taken by default as statements of al-Shāfi'ī. For instance, when Jurjī Zaydān (1278/1861-1332/1914) wrote in the beginning of the twentieth century on the science of modern physiognomy, he mentioned al-Shāfi'ī as one of the main early authorities in this science.¹³⁰⁾ The same is the case also with 'Abd al-Karīm 'Adī.¹³¹⁾

A trawl throughout the above mentioned two categories of sources, especially through those on his virtues, gives one the impression of al-Shāfi'ī as an encyclopedic scholarly figure who mastered almost every science including physiognomy and not only Islamic jurisprudence.¹³²⁾ This is true especially when we see that al-Shāfi'ī was also known as expert in the fields covered by the other three meanings of *firâsa* mentioned above.

The multitude of narrations regarding al-Shāfi'ī's intelligence and quick-wittedness depict an image of a legendary

¹²⁶⁾ Rāzī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al- (1372/1953), pp. 129-132.

¹²⁷⁾ Ibid, p. 129.

¹²⁸⁾ Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn al- (1413/1993), p. 291.

¹²⁹⁾ Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, p. 223.

¹³⁰⁾ Zaydān, Jurjī (1423/2003), p. 5.

¹³¹⁾ 'Adī, 'Abd al-Karīm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 1, pp. 343-355.

¹³²⁾ See for instance Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn al- (1413/1993), p. 323.

person. In *al-manâqib* works, we find a separate chapter dedicated to this side of al-Shâfi'î's character. Many statements recorded in this chapter state that al-Shâfi'î's mind was matchless.¹³³) Under the heading *al-firâsa*, we find also statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î which indicate his astuteness. Once, while al-Shâfi'î was issuing fatwa's in the mosque of Baghdad, a man came in and asked him, "What do you say about a person who castrated a turkey?". On the basis of the question, Al-Shâfi'î could immediately identify the questioner and knew that he was no one else than the well-known man of letters al-Jâhiz, although, according to the anecdote, al-Shâfi'î never saw al-Jâhiz before. In another anecdote, the shrewdness of al-Shâfi'î was more visible and more complex. While sitting in the Holy Mosque with his disciple al-Rabî' b. Sulaymân, a man came in and started wandering among the sleeping people. On seeing the man and observing his movements, Al-Shâfi'î could conclude that he was looking for a black slave with a defect in one of his eyes! Ultimately, al-Shâfi'î's guess came to be true and was confirmed by the man himself.¹³⁴)

As for *qiyâfa*, it was no unfamiliar science for al-Shâfi'î either. As a jurist, he is an advocate of the validity of this science. Different to Abû Ḥanîfa, al-Shâfi'î opined that *qiyâfa* can produce legitimate and valid evidence for establishing one's lineage.¹³⁵) Additionally, reports ascribe a treatise on this science (*Al-Tanqîḥ fî 'Ilm al-Qiyâfa*) to al-Shâfi'î.¹³⁶)

Al-Shâfi'î's adeptness concerning the mystic *firâsa* was also clearly demonstrated by the anecdotes related about him under the heading *firâsa*. While al-Shâfi'î was on his deathbed, four of his disciples came in. Scrutinizing the four persons for a while, he said to the first, "you will die in your iron fetters"; to the second he said, "you will have failings after failings in Egypt and one day you will be the best [jurist] of your time practicing *qiyâs* (analogy)", to the third, "you will return back to the [juristic] School of your ancestor [the Mâlikî School]", to the fourth, "you will be the most beneficial for me in publicising my books". All what he said took place accordingly in reality.¹³⁷)

Naturally, no observer of a later period would dare to think of an equal expertise in the fourth meaning of *firâsa* (Greek physiognomy) in anyone else but al-Shâfi'î. This possibility was enhanced by the claim that al-Shâfi'î knew Greek medicine and philosophy in their original language.¹³⁸) What would have prevented him from mastering Greek physiognomy as well?!

Materials that seem to oppose the authenticity

Initially speaking, the fact that the statements are mentioned by pro-Shâfi'ian sources does not mean that these statements are authentic by default. As for sources on *firâsa*, it is known that whole books, not to mention just statements, were falsely attributed to people who did not write them.¹³⁹)

Furthermore, none of the statements attributed to al-Shâfi'î in these sources is accompanied by a chain of transmitters.¹⁴⁰)

The other sources are those on the virtues (*manâqib*) of al-Shâfi'î. For a better understanding of this issue, we would say something about this genre in Islamic literature. The plural substantive, *al-Manâqib* (sing. *manqaba*) features in titles of a quite considerable number of biographical works of a laudatory nature, which have eventually become part of a corpus of hagiographical literature. Works belonging to the *manâqib* genre give prominence to the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the individual concerned.¹⁴¹) A great number of books belonging to this category were dedicated to the founders of the juristic schools (*madhâhib*). The main target of such works is to present the *manâqib*, the qualities (*shamâ'il*) and the virtues (*faḍâ'il*) of the founders of these schools so that the disciples can take them as a model and imitate their ideas.¹⁴²) Al-Shâfi'î alone benefited more than thirteen collections on his *manâqib*.¹⁴³) Such books have already been criticized for including unauthentic information. The main example was the claim that al-Shâfi'î was expert in astrology, Greek medicine and the Greek language. This claim was refuted by Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751/1350)¹⁴⁴) and refused also by the late Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Abû Zahra (d. 1974).¹⁴⁵)

Greek Sources

As stated above, *firâsa* in the fourth sense (the relationship between immutable physical attributes and inherent personality traits) owes to Greek origins and was never developed into an independent science in Arabic before the translation of the Greek sources.¹⁴⁶) Thus one would think that the adeptness of al-Shâfi'î in this respect should be based on these sources, something that would clarify the similarity in approach and also in wording between the statements ascribed to him and those ascribed to the Greek authorities in this science such as Aristotle and Polemon. The question then, is, did al-Shâfi'î have access to the main Greek sources translated into Arabic in this science?

As mentioned earlier, three main sources were of central importance, two attributed to Aristotle, and one to Polemon. The dating of the book entitled, *Sirr al-Asrâr*, falsely attributed to Aristotle as discussed above, is too controversial to give us precise information about its translation or dissemination. As for the second book, namely, *Kitâb Aristâtâlîs fî al-Firâsa* (the book of Aristotle on physiognomy), was translated by Hunayn b. Ishâq (192/808-260/873) who was twelve years old when al-Shâfi'î died. Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems to have come too late for al-Shâfi'î (d. 205/820) as the earliest date attributed to it lies in the 3rd/9th century.

The third book which was the most influential one in this field was that of Polemon, entitled *Kitâb al-Firâsa*. As stated above, neither the translator nor the date of translation is precisely known.¹⁴⁷) The only possible indication in this respect

¹³³) See for instance, Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), vol. 2, pp. 185-219.

¹³⁴) Ibid, vol. 2, p. 135.

¹³⁵) Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1410/1990), vol. 5, p. 23 & vol. 8, p. 426ff; Hilâlî, Sa'd al-Dîn al- (1421/2001), pp. 197ff.

¹³⁶) Khalîfa, Ḥâjjî (1412-1992), vol. 1, p. 500 & vol. 2, p. 1367; Brockelmann, Carl (1937-42), S. I, p. 305.

¹³⁷) Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), vol. 2, p. 136.

¹³⁸) Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1413/1993), pp. 73 & 74; Abû Zahra, Muḥammad (1948), pp. 46 & 47.

¹³⁹) Ghersetti, Antonella (1999), pp. xiv & vi.

¹⁴⁰) See Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 367.

¹⁴¹) Pellat, Ch. (2003) (1), vol. VI, p. 349.

¹⁴²) See Ibid, vol. VI, p. 352; Tawfiq, Aḥmad al- (1988), p. 82.

¹⁴³) See Pellat, Ch. (2003) (1), vol. VI, p. 353.

¹⁴⁴) See Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, pp. 219-221.

¹⁴⁵) See Abû Zahra, Muḥammad (1948), pp. 46-48.

¹⁴⁶) Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 362.

¹⁴⁷) See Stegemann, Willy (1952), col.; Witkam, J.J. (1980), p. 44.

is that the literary author al-Jâhîz (d. 255/868-9) cites a certain Polemon, 'the master of physiognomy' (*Aflîmûn sâhib al-firâsa*) on matters relating to pigeons. It is usually assumed on this basis that Polemon's treatise must have been translated before the mid-ninth century.¹⁴⁸) However, this supposition is not above criticism. First of all, al-Jâhîz's quotations from Polemon on pigeons have a zoological rather than a physiological character and this does not accord with any of the known versions of Polemon's *Physiognomy*. Besides the possibility that al-Jâhîz would have used a recension of the work of Polemon which has not been preserved, it could also indicate that that work was not yet available and that al-Jâhîz depended on oral anecdotes about the tradition of the Greek sages (*hukamâ*).¹⁴⁹) This possibility seems to be enhanced by the fact that when al-Jâhîz wrote an independent treatise on the topic of physiognomy, if we assume that it is not pseudonymous attribution,¹⁵⁰) and spoke about the Greek side of this science, he made use of a source attributed to Hippocrates and translated by Hunayn b. Ishâq (d. 260/873) but made no mention of Polemon's *Physiognomy*.¹⁵¹) The fact that Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/871) did not make any reference to Greek sources when speaking about *firâsa* although making reference to an Indian source¹⁵²) also raises doubts about the spread of Greek physiognomy at this time, including that book of Polemon. Thus, the possibility that al-Shâfi'î could have made use of any of these three Greek works is highly improbable.

But suppose that there would be a little possibility, in the light of the aforementioned information, then the translated Greek sources would have been available in the capital of the Islamic state, viz., Baghdad or any of the nearby cities such as Basra for instance where also al-Jâhîz lived. In that case one should keep in mind that the only explicit reference to al-Shâfi'î's acquaintance with physiognomy in the Greek sense speak about a trip he made to Yemen in search of books on *firâsa* where he copied and collected them.¹⁵³) The question now, why Yemen and not Baghdad which would be more logical, and what kind of books on *firâsa* were there? Why were they not mentioned by others? This story might, however, be interpreted as a counterpart of the numerous stories relating the quest by the Abbasid Caliph, al-Ma'mûn, and others for Greek books among the Christians in Byzantium. It seems that the story of al-Shâfi'î's quest for books in Yemen underlines that he was *not* looking for Greek books or was using books of Greek origin but for Arabic and Islamic materials.¹⁵⁴)

¹⁴⁸) Fahd, T. (1966), p. 385; Hoyland, Robert (1) (2007), pp. 235 & 236. For a detailed study of passages written by al-Jâhîz with relevance to *firâsa*, see 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 3, pp. 570-631. However, one should keep in mind that the author is unaware of the different categories of *firâsa* and thus mix them together.

¹⁴⁹) Ghersetti, Antonella & Swain Simon (2007), p. 309 & note 2.

¹⁵⁰) More than one researcher are inclined that it is apocryphal, see Brockelmann, Carl (1937-42), vol. 1, p. 152; Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 36; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue, 3, pp. 618 & 619; Ghersetti, Antonella (1996), p. 126.

¹⁵¹) K. Inostrantsev (1907-8), p. 136.

¹⁵²) Ibn Qutayba (1406/1986), vol. 1, p. 326.

¹⁵³) Râzî, Ibn Abî Hâtîm al- (1372/1953), p. 35; Aşbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, pp. 78 & 144; Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, pp. 221 & 222; 'Ajlûnî, Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 322 & 323; Sakhâwî, al- (1399/1979), vol. 136 & 137.

¹⁵⁴) For an overview of other legends in this regard, see Koningsveld, P.S. van (1998). I hereby express my thanks to Prof. Van Koningsveld for drawing my attention to this possible interpretation.

At the other hand, writings coming from the hand of al-Shâfi'î himself do not contain any reference to his adeptness in Greek physiognomy or to the depreciatory statements quoted earlier. On the contrary, al-Shâfi'î's writings indicate a completely different standpoint towards people with disabilities.

To start with, we find that the poetic verses attributed to al-Shâfi'î have left no trace in the known collection of poems (*dîwân*) attributed to him or any of the available sources that record passages of al-Shâfi'î's poetry.¹⁵⁵) Hence, that al-Shâfi'î composed poetry against people with disabilities is by no means a historical fact.

Checking the monumental work of al-Shâfi'î, *al-Umm*¹⁵⁶), would be highly expressive of al-Shâfi'î's standpoint in this respect.¹⁵⁷) First of all the term *firâsa*, its derivatives or the synonym *tawassum* and its derivatives do not appear in the text at all. On the contrary, the term *qâfâ* (another formula for *qiyâfa*) appears sixty-four times in the context of using it as valid evidence to prove one's lineage.¹⁵⁸)

Examining all terms used in the aforementioned statements, along with their derivatives, shows that initially none of the depreciatory statements appear in the text. This is despite the fact that such terms have been extensively used throughout the book. For instance, *aḥwal* (squint-eyed) appears 12 times,¹⁵⁹) *a'raj* (lame) 86 times¹⁶⁰) and *a'war* (a person with one eye) 17 times.¹⁶¹) Moreover, the contexts in which these terms were used give a positive rather than a negative image. For instance, words like *al-aḥwal* (12 times)¹⁶²) *al-a'raj* (65 times)¹⁶³) and *al-a'war* (2 times)¹⁶⁴) are used as

¹⁵⁵) See Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), vol. 2, pp. 60-113; Bâsâlâma, Ḥusayn b. 'Abdullâh (1326 A.H.); 'Asqalânî, Ahmad b. 'Alî b. Ḥajar al- (1301 A.H.), pp. 72-75; Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1988).

¹⁵⁶) Some researchers cast doubts on the authenticity of this book and regard it as one of the writing of al-Shâfi'î's disciple, al-Buwayḥî (d. 231/486), see Mubârak, Zakî (1934); Chaumont, E. (2003) (1), vol. IX, p. 186. However, the arguments mentioned by this group were refuted by others and the authenticity of the book was well-established, see Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), pp. 33-42.

¹⁵⁷) The content of this work is expressive of the opinions adopted by al-Shâfi'î during his last years in Egypt besides other numerous texts, some of which according to J. Schacht dating from the the period al-Shâfi'î spent in Iraq. Additionally, many other works done by al-Shâfi'î are also included in *al-Umm*, see Schacht, J. (1950), p. 330; Chaumont, E. (2003), vol. IX, p. 184.

¹⁵⁸) See Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1410/1990), vol. 5, pp. 18, 23, 32, 249, 250, 256, vol. 6, pp. 36, 213, 265-268, vol. 7, pp. 138, 187, 242, vol. 8, pp. 64, 213, 237, 324, 329, 330, 334, 426 & 436.

¹⁵⁹) Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1410/1990), vol. 2, pp. 196, 237, vol. 4, pp. 104, 114, 117, vol., 5, p. 186, vol. 6, p. 194, vol. 7, pp. 1, 167 & 177, vol. 8, p. 276 & 639.

¹⁶⁰) Ibid, vol. 1, pp. 19, 26, 31, 38, 39, 65, 68, 91, 109, 128, 131, 133, 142, 152, 162, 172, 179, 180, 187, 188, 189, 217, 233, 240, vol. 2, 47, 65, 169, 170, 209, 220, 221, 229, 233, 283, vol. 3, p. 94, vol. 4, pp. 50, 147, 150, 171, 173, vol. 5, pp. 41, 109, 153, 161, 174, vol. 6, pp. 34, 77, 86, vol. 7, pp. 25, 74, 175, 202, 204, 212, 221, 232, 244, vol. 8, pp. 112, 180, 169, 205, 352, 376, 608, 611, 615, 628, 629, 650, 656, 665.

¹⁶¹) Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 189, 221, 227, vol. 3, p. 254, vol. 7, pp. 14, 153, vol. 5, pp. 67, 108, 221, 300, vol. 6, pp. 70, 132, vol. 7, pp. 259, 332, 333 & vol. 8, pp. 168, 292, 352.

¹⁶²) Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 196, 237, vol. 4, pp. 104, 114, 117, vol. 5, p. 186, vol. 6, p. 194, vol. 7, pp. 1, 167, 177, vol. 8, pp. 276, 639.

¹⁶³) Ibid, vol. 1, pp. 19, 26, 31, 38, 39, 65, 68, 91, 109, 128, 131, 133, 142, 152, 162, 172, 179, 180, 187, 188, 189, 217, 233, 240, vol. 2, 47, 65, 169, 170, 209, 229, 233, vol. 3, p. 94, vol. 4, pp. 50, 147, 150, vol. 5, pp. 41, 109, 153, 161, 174, vol. 6, pp. 34, vol. 7, pp. 25, 175, 202, 204, 212, 221, 232, 244, vol. 8, pp. 112, 180, 205, 608, 611, 615, 628, 629, 650, 656, 665.

¹⁶⁴) Ibid, vol. 2, p. 189 & vol. 7, p. 14.

the epithet of a narrator of a Prophetic tradition, a traditionist or religious scholar who all have been used as authorities in the book.¹⁶⁵) This indicates that people with such disabilities were seen by al-Shâfi'î as trustworthy authorities rather than as people whose evil character should be avoided.

Now, one question remains in the context of our sources. What about the book on *firâsa* said to have been written by al-Shâfi'î himself?¹⁶⁶) First of all, earlier authorities, such as Ibn al-Nadîm, do not mention this book among the works written by al-Shâfi'î¹⁶⁷) and so modern scholars tend to be skeptical.¹⁶⁸) Furthermore, the scientific bibliographer Hâjjî Khalîfa (d. 1067/1657) in whose time a clear distinction was made between *qiyâfa* and *firâsa* as clear from his *Kashf al-Zunûn*, spoke about a book on *qiyâfa* rather than on *firâsa*.¹⁶⁹) Keeping in mind that *qiyâfa* was never developed into a systematic science and thus never become the topic of separate books,¹⁷⁰) one would think of a juristic treatise in which al-Shâfi'î presents and defends his opinion that *qiyâfa* can produce a valid evidence. This is especially when we know that al-Shâfi'î, as a jurist, was an advocate of the legitimacy of *qiyâfa* for establishing one's lineage, different to Abû Ḥanîfa for instance.¹⁷¹) At the end, checking the manuscript of this work available in Mûsil (Iraq) can clarify a lot of these ambiguities.¹⁷²)

Besides the sources written by or about al-Shâfi'î, many aspects of his life as a person and his career as a jurist and scholar stand against the possibility that he adopted such a negative attitude towards people with disabilities.

We find among circles of al-Shâfi'î's teachers and students a number of figures who had disabilities. The most indicative example among al-Shâfi'î's teachers is Yaḥyâ b. Sa'îd al-Qaṭṭân¹⁷³) who was squint-eyed.¹⁷⁴) Al-Shâfi'î learnt Hadîth from Yaḥyâ although he was younger than al-Shâfi'î.¹⁷⁵) Besides this, we have Ḥammâd b. Zayd al-Baṣrî who was blind¹⁷⁶) and Ḥusayn al-Ālthagh who, as his nickname indicates, a lisper (*althagh*).¹⁷⁷) Among the students, no example would be better than al-Rabî' b. Sulaymân al-Azdî who was lame,¹⁷⁸) while according to some reports his

father was lame as well.¹⁷⁹) Al-Rabî' was Egyptian and thus came in contact with al-Shâfi'î during the last period of his life. In fact, we find also that al-Shâfi'î was mixing with those people in his daily life as well. For instance, it is reported that he had a female and a male slave who were both fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*),¹⁸⁰) an attribute which is abhorred in the aforementioned statements. Additionally, the word *al-du'afâ*' (lit. weak people) according to the language used by al-Shâfi'î himself would also include those with disabilities such as the lame.¹⁸¹) It is reported that al-Shâfi'î was very friendly with this category of people, viz., the weak (*al-du'afâ*') and he used to give them charity every day.¹⁸²)

Origin of the Statements

It is almost clear now that these statements were ascribed to al-Shâfi'î out of love and glorification rather than enmity or malice. The process of ascribing them to al-Shâfi'î started within Shâfi'î circles in the context of *firâsa*. The ascription appeared in written form for the first time in the 4th/10th century through the work of Ibn Abî Ḥatîm al-Râzî (d. 327/938) on al-Shâfi'î's virtues (*Adâb al-Shâfi'î wa-Manâqibuh*).¹⁸³) As illustrated above, Greek physiognomy was gaining an ascending reputation among the public as well as the scholarly elite. Thus depicting al-Shâfi'î as a specialist in this science would be in favor of his scholarly image at this time. Two main factors made al-Shâfi'î a good candidate to be specialist in Greek physiognomy. First, his fame for being a good practitioner of *firâsa* (*mutafarris*) in the other three meanings of *firâsa*, viz., sharp-mindedness, *qiyâfa* and the mystic *firâsa*. Second, they are in line with related stories painting al-Shâfi'î as an encyclopedic figure mastering Greek medicine and philosophy in their own language.¹⁸⁴)

It is clear that the statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î were double-sided. At one side, they indicate his adeptness in physiognomy but at the other side they convey a negative attitude towards people with physical defects. The double-sided character of these statements divided the Shâfi'î scholars into two main groups. The first group welcomed the science of physiognomy and made use of such statements to depict al-Shâfi'î as an important authority in this science.

The other group felt the negative side of these statements. In a bid to wipe away or at least minimize the severity of these statements, a number of Shâfi'î scholars added their own comments and clarifications but available information shows that they were very scarce.

The earliest explanation comes from the author of the earliest written source in this respect, Ibn Abî Ḥatîm al-Râzî (d. 327/938). Commenting on the pseudo-Shâfi'î statement "Beware of the one-eyed, the cross-eyed, the lame, the hump-backed, the fair and ruddy in complexion (*ashqar*), the beardless (*kawsaj*) and everyone with a physical defect (*nâqîṣ al-khalq*). Beware of such person because he is a man with cunning and difficult to deal with. On another occasion, he

¹⁶⁵) It is to be noted that it is a well-known phenomenon in Islamic history that some scholars were known for their disabilities and the disability of each was the epithet he was known for. For more examples in this respect see Abû Jayb, Sa'îd (1402/1982), pp. 32 & 33.

¹⁶⁶) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, p. 489.

¹⁶⁷) Ibn al-Nadîm (1398/1978), vol. 1, pp. 295 & 296.

¹⁶⁸) Brockelmann, Carl (1937-42), S. I, p. 305; Mourad, Youssef (1939), pp. 57-61; Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 366 & 367, n. 18. Compare 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 58, issue 1, pp. 352-355.

¹⁶⁹) Khalîfa, Hâjjî (1412-1992), vol. 1, p. 500 & vol. 2, p. 1367.

¹⁷⁰) Khalîfa, Hâjjî (1412-1992), vol. 2, p. 346.

¹⁷¹) Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1410/1990), vol. 5, p. 23 & vol. 8, p. 426ff; Hilâlî, Sa'd al-Dîn al- (1421/2001), pp. 197ff.

¹⁷²) Brockelmann, Carl (1937-42), S. I, p. 305. Youssef Mourad opines that this manuscript is available in *Maktabat al-Madrasa al-Islâmiyya* (Library of the Islamic School) in *al-Jâmi' al-Kabîr* (The Grand Mosque). It is highly possible, Mourad adds, that it is not written by al-Shâfi'î and that some of his disciples collected his sayings, see Mourad, Youssef (1939), pp. 57 & 58. Mourad was unable to get a photocopy of the manuscript and in the current affairs of Iraq, it seems unimaginable to have access to the manuscript.

¹⁷³) On him, see Dhahabî, al- (1413 A.H.), vol. 9, pp. 175-191.

¹⁷⁴) Ibid, vol. 9, p. 180.

¹⁷⁵) Aṣbahânî, Abû Nu'aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, p. 78.

¹⁷⁶) On him, see Dhahabî, al- (1413 A.H.), vol. 7, pp. 456-466.

¹⁷⁷) Bâsalâma, Ḥusayn b. 'Abdullâh (1326 A.H.), p. 28.

¹⁷⁸) Dhahabî, al- (1413 A.H.), vol. 12, pp. 591 & 592.

¹⁷⁹) Subkî, Abû Naṣr al- (1992), vol. 2, p. 131.

¹⁸⁰) Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1410/1990), vol. 6, p. 197.

¹⁸¹) Ibid, vol. 4, p. 171; Shâfi'î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs al- (1412/1991), vol. 2, pp. 23 & 24.

¹⁸²) 'Asqalânî, Aḥmad b. 'Alî b. Ḥajar al- (1301 A.H.), p. 68.

¹⁸³) Râzî, Ibn Abî Ḥatîm al- (1372/1953), pp. 129-132.

¹⁸⁴) Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1413/1993), pp. 73 & 74; Abû Zahra, Muḥammad (1948), pp. 46 & 47; Khadduri, Majid (1961), p. 17.

said, ‘They are people full of malice’.¹⁸⁵), Ibn Abî Hâtim says, “This holds true for people born with disabilities. There is no harm, however, to mingle with those born without disabilities and then later afflicted with them.”¹⁸⁶) Ibn Abî Hâtim just minimized the severity of the statement by restricting its purport, though without any clear evidence. Ibn Abî Hâtim’s explanation again enforces the Greek influence which also made a difference between congenital disabilities and those acquired in later life through disease, accident, warfare or debauchery. Congenital disability was not interpreted as divine punishment and thus should be treated with compassion when the responsibility did not lie at the sufferer’s door. However, acquiring disabilities in later life was regarded as shameful.¹⁸⁷)

After a long span of time, other scholars such as al-Sakhâwî (d. 1497) and Ibn Fahd al-Makkî (d. 1547) tried to place the statements within the broader context of Islamic teachings.

In a bid to reach a better reading, al-Sakhâwî and those who agreed with his reading quoted a well-known Prophetic tradition; “Run away from the leper as you run away from the lion!”¹⁸⁸) That is, they add, for those who fear being infected and it does not indicate any negative image about people with physical defects as common people may think.¹⁸⁹) However, one would still wonder, what has lameness or strabismus to do with infection?!

Ibn Fahd was more to the point by clearly refusing the idea that people with physical defects are in principle bad. On the contrary, he said, being afflicted with such calamities is an indication of man’s firm belief. As a supporting argument, he quotes the Prophetic tradition retelling when the Prophet—peace be upon him—was asked, “O Messenger of God, who among men are visited with the greatest affliction?” The Prophet said, “The Prophets, then those with the most exemplary character and so forth. A man gets visited with affliction in accordance with his faith (*dîn*). If his faith is durable, his affliction gets harder but if his faith is fragile, then his affliction is lightened accordingly. Calamity continues to afflict the servant until he walks on earth without any sin cleaving to him.”¹⁹⁰)

Ibn Fahd al-Makkî adds another historical argument. He states that God’s Messengers and Prophets, who are placed in the highest ranks of humanity, are living examples in this regard. Their afflictions did not lower their status but rather elevated it. The main example presented by Ibn Fahd was the Prophet Job (Ayyûb). All parts of this Prophet’s body were heavily afflicted with the exception of his heart and tongue by which he could practice *dhikr* (remembrance of God).¹⁹¹)

At any rate, it is clear that the statements did not influence the juristic trend of the Shâfi‘î school. This is evidenced by three main points.

¹⁸⁵) Râzî, Ibn Abî Hâtim al- (1372/1953), pp. 131 & 132; Bayhaqî, Abû Bakr al- (1390/1970), vol. 2, p. 132; Aşbahânî, Abû Nu‘aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, p. 144.

¹⁸⁶) Râzî, Ibn Abî Hâtim al- (1372/1953), p. 132; Aşbahânî, Abû Nu‘aym al- (1405 A.H.), vol. 9, p. 144.

¹⁸⁷) Garland, Robert (1995), p. 2.

¹⁸⁸) Sakhâwî, al- (1399/1979), p. 18; Shaybânî, Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Dayba‘ al- (1324 A.H.), pp. 6 & 7.

¹⁸⁹) Sakhâwî, al- (1399/1979), p. 18; Ibn Fahd, Jâr Allâh (950 A.H.), folios 4b-5a.

¹⁹⁰) Ibn Fahd, Jâr Allâh (950 A.H.), folios 6b.

¹⁹¹) Ibid, folios 7a-8b.

First, the Shâfi‘î School continued to include jurists with disabilities, a fact that indicates that this category of people did not meet with any contempt against them within this school. This group of Shâfi‘î jurists included for instance a long list of people with blindness,¹⁹²) lameness,¹⁹³) kypphosis¹⁹⁴) and hemiplegia.¹⁹⁵)

Second, the juristic production of the Shâfi‘î School remained free from prejudices against people with disabilities. On the contrary, a trawl through the Shâfi‘î texts, to be elaborated in the next chapter, in fact shows a rather positive attitude towards people with disabilities. Not to mention that the first attempt in the history of Islamic Jurisprudence to dedicate a specific chapter on blind people took place in the Shâfi‘î School through al-Ghazâlî (d. 505/1111) in a book ascribed to him entitled *Al-Rawnaq* (glamour).¹⁹⁶)

Third, *firâsa* in general, let alone Greek physiognomy, did not attain any legitimacy as valid evidence within the Shâfi‘ite works. We know, through the Mâlikî jurist Ibn al-‘Arabî, that the well-known Shâfi‘î jurist Abû Bakr al-Shâshî (d. 507/1114)¹⁹⁷) wrote a treatise against the use of *firâsa*, to conclude a legal judgment.¹⁹⁸) Priority was always given to *qiyâfa* rather than *firâsa*,¹⁹⁹) a mere continuation of what al-Shâfi‘î started in this regard.

A single passage (of about 150 words) with relevance to Greek physiognomy appears in the juristic work of the Egyptian Shâfi‘î jurist Sulaymân al-Bujayramî (d. 1221/1806). This passage comes in the chapter on marriage and within the context of the parts of the body that a man is allowed to see from a woman when he decides to marry with her, viz., her face and hands. Giving his reader an advice of how to use these two parts in order to deduce information about the parts he cannot see, al-Bujayramî quotes masters of physiognomy and expertise with women (*ahl al-firâsa wa-al-khibra bi-al-nisâ*). For instance, the breadth of a woman’s mouth would indicate a similar breadth in her vagina and vice versa, the thinness of the lower lip would indicate a small vagina and so forth.²⁰⁰) The passage is, however, free from any reference to people with disabilities. Passages of the same work indicate that the author adopts a positive attitude towards people with disabilities. For instance, speaking about blindness afflicting one’s eyes, al-Bujayramî states that blindness does not cause any harm for one’s religion. What

¹⁹²) Subkî, Abû Naşr al- (1992), vol. 3, pp. 295-297, vol. 3, pp. 478-483, vol. 4, pp. 83, 84, vol. 7, pp. 82, 99, 301, 338, 339, vol. 8, pp. 148, 151, 152, 294, 345, 346, 354, 371, 372 & vol. 10, pp. 95 & 96; Ibn Qâđî Shuhba (1407 A.H.), vol. 2, pp. 35, 36, 93, 94, 103, 104, 206, 224.

¹⁹³) Subkî, Abû Naşr al- (1992), vol. 5, pp. 300 & 301.

¹⁹⁴) Ibid, vol. 7, pp. 166 & 167.

¹⁹⁵) Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 270, 271, 286, 287, 288 & vol. 3, p. 222.

¹⁹⁶) This has been stated by those who quoted him and elaborated this chapter such as al-Nawawî, see Nawawî, Yaḥyâ b. Sharaf al- (n.d.), vol. 9, p. 368 and al-Suyûtî, see Suyûtî, Jalâl al-Dîn al- (1403/1983), p. 251. However, I could not trace this book whether in a manuscript or in an edited form.

¹⁹⁷) On him, see Subkî, Abû Naşr al- (1992), vol. 6, pp. 70-78; Ibn Qâđî Shuhba (1407 A.H.), vol. 2, pp. 290 & 291. However, I could not trace this treatise.

¹⁹⁸) Ibn al-‘Arabî, Abû Bakr (n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 106 & 107; Qurṭubî, Abû ‘Abdullâh al- (1372 A.H.), vol. 10, pp. 44 & 45; Shâṭibî, Abû Ishâq al- (n.d.), vol. 2, p. 229.

¹⁹⁹) Haytamî, Ibn Ḥajar al- (n.d.), vol. 10, p. 348; Khaṭīb, Muḥammad b. Ahmad Shîrbînî al- (1415/1994), vol. 6, p. 439.

²⁰⁰) Bujayramî, Sulaymân b. Muḥammad al- (1415/1995), vol. 6, p. 439.

is harmful, he adds, is blindness befalling one's heart that moves the person away from God. The author then quotes,

أَفَلَمْ يَسِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَتَكُونَ لَهُمْ قُلُوبٌ يَعْقِلُونَ بِهَا أَوْ آذَانٌ يَسْمَعُونَ بِهَا
فَأَيُّهَا لَا تَعْمَى الْأَبْصَارُ وَلَكِنْ تَعْمَى الْقُلُوبُ الَّتِي فِي الصُّدُورِ

– Do they not travel through the land, so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear? Truly it is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts which are in their breasts. Al-Ḥajj 22:46.²⁰¹⁾

To conclude, the aforementioned depreciatory statements ascribed to al-Shāfi'ī remained, at least within the Shāfi'ī circle in which the statements were originated, at best personal inclinations without claiming any juridical authority. However, further discussions on these statements and on making use of *firāsa* as a valid tool in Islamic jurisprudence took place in the Ḥanbalī School. This will be the focus of the section below.

The Ḥanbalī School

The Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Muflīḥ (d. 763/1361) made reference to the pseudo-Shāfi'ī statements. He quoted the first harsh statement and also an abridged version of the alleged trip of Shāfi'ī to Yemen when he encountered a person with physical defects whose mean behaviour was said to have corroborated his convictions about physiognomy.²⁰²⁾ The context of Ibn Muflīḥ's quotations was typically physiological, namely, how to choose your friend and which person to choose or avoid. This was exactly one of the main benefits attached to physiognomy.²⁰³⁾ However, the context gives the statements an advisory rather than a legally binding character. Ibn Muflīḥ may have been the only Ḥanbalī jurist who incorporated the pseudo-Shāfi'ī statements into the legal texts of the School. But surely he was not the only who discussed these statements, or *firāsa* in general, outside the Ḥanbalī juristic sources. In this regard, viewpoints and relevant discussions of four well-known Ḥanbalī jurists will be presented under two main headings, namely, paradoxical standpoints as adopted by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200)²⁰⁴⁾ and Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 751/1350)²⁰⁵⁾ followed by what can be termed as counterpoise-trials made by Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328)²⁰⁶⁾ and Zayn al-Dīn ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393).²⁰⁷⁾

Paradoxical Standpoints

To start with Ibn al-Jawzī, his standpoint in this regard is highly paradoxical and confusing. On one side he unequivocally supports the main premise of Greek physiognomy and comes up with statements of almost the same purport as those ascribed to al-Shāfi'ī. On the other side, he stresses the triviality of outward physical appearance and attaches great importance to one's soul.

Although Ibn al-Jawzī does not quote verbatim the pseudo-Shāfi'ī statements,²⁰⁸⁾ he clearly shows his belief in the validity of their purport for instance by saying himself, “Beware everyone with a physical defect such as the bald, the blind and the like because their souls are evil”. This statement comes in a context known to be typical of Greek physiognomy. Ibn al-Jawzī is stressing the importance of one's lineage (*asl*) and outward physical appearance (*ṣūra*) as determining factors to judge one's character. His advice is to check these two points before mixing with people as friends, husbands or wives. A strong and well-proportioned figure indicates in most cases a good character and vice versa.²⁰⁹⁾ Keeping in mind that such rules still could have exceptions, Ibn al-Jawzī requires testing people before mixing with them even after checking these two points.²¹⁰⁾ Stressing the importance of that well-proportioned figure, Ibn al-Jawzī opines that God chooses his Friends (*Awliyā'*)²¹¹⁾ only among those who have such a well-proportioned body free from physical defects.²¹²⁾

On the other side, Ibn al-Jawzī severely criticizes those who boast the beauty of their figure (*ṣūra*) and forget that the goodness of the soul (*rūḥ*) is the determining factor. He explains, “If the soul got jewelled by etiquette (*adab*), disciplined by knowledge, knew the Creator and fulfilled the duties [imposed] by him, then it will not be harmed by a defect in the structure [in reference to physical defects]. But if it remained ignorant, then it will resemble the mud but may get even lower.”²¹³⁾

This paradoxical standpoint of Ibn al-Jawzī is not unique. He has been known as a scholar who sometimes adopts inconsistent and contradictory standpoints on one topic. He would even forget that he said or adopted such contradictory standpoints because he does not revise what he writes.²¹⁴⁾ This can be traced back to Ibn al-Jawzī's extreme thirst for learning and mastering every branch of knowledge.²¹⁵⁾ It seems that Ibn al-Jawzī could not always detach himself from these different branches of knowledge or at least come up with a coherent conclusion when such branches give contrary or inconsistent information. Thus one should not exclude this possibility regarding his discussions on *firāsa*.

The first side of his approach stands under the influence of Greek physiognomy. This influence gets clear in Ibn al-Jawzī's literary works on the intelligent (*adhkiyā'*) and the fools (*ḥamqā'*) which call in clear Greek physiognomic notions.²¹⁶⁾ For instance, the physical type of the intelligent

²⁰¹⁾ See Bujayramī, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al- (1415/1995), vol. 4, p. 443.

²⁰²⁾ Maqdisī, Muḥammad b. Muflīḥ al- (n.d.), vol. 3, p. 574.

²⁰³⁾ Qanwajī, Ṣiddīq ibn Ḥasan al- (1978), vol. 2, p. 396.

²⁰⁴⁾ On him see Laoust, H. (2003) (3), vol. III, pp. 751 & 752.

²⁰⁵⁾ Ibid, vol. III, pp. 821 & 822.

²⁰⁶⁾ On him see Bazzār, Abū Ḥafṣ al- (1400 A.H.); Laoust, H. (2003) (1).

²⁰⁷⁾ He is known to be the last great representative of medieval Ḥanbalism, see Laoust, H. (2003), vol. III, p. 822; Laoust, H. (2003) (2), vol. III, p. 161.

²⁰⁸⁾ It is possible that he did so in his laudatory biography on the virtues of al-Shāfi'ī (*Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī*), see Ibn al-Jawzī (n.d.), p. 227; Laoust, H. (2003) (3), vol. III, p. 752. Unfortunately, the book is missing.

²⁰⁹⁾ Ibn al-Jawzī (n.d.), p. 227.

²¹⁰⁾ Ibid, p. 228.

²¹¹⁾ On this term, see Radtke, B. et al (2003), vol. IX, pp. 109-124.

²¹²⁾ Ibn al-Jawzī (n.d.), p. 311.

²¹³⁾ Ibid, pp. 308 & 309.

²¹⁴⁾ Ibn al-Jawzī (n.d.) (1), p. 11.

²¹⁵⁾ Ibn al-Jawzī (n.d.), p. 211.

²¹⁶⁾ Observations of physiognomic nature are also to be found in Ibn al-Jawzī's medical treatise *Luqāṭ al-Manāfi' fī al-Tibb* (Useful Gleanings of Medicine), see Ibn al-Jawzī (1987); Brockelmann, Carl (1937-42), vol. I, p. 505, S. I 921; Ghersetti, Antonella (1996), p. 122, note 11; Ghersetti, Antonella (2007), p. 292.

person (*al-rajul al-fâhim*) reflects more or less faithfully the Aristotelian concept of the proper man, the Greek *mesotes*, an expression of ethical virtue. The physical characteristics of the man gifted with a good intelligence and a good nature refer also to the concept of measures and balance between the two extremes which is surely Aristotelian.²¹⁷) The Aristotelian concept of a link between the physical build and the moral traits was duly elaborated and systematically set out by Galen.²¹⁸) When Ibn al-Jawzî gives a catalogue of the signs of stupidity, he bases his arguments on Galen, "Galen says that smallness of head never fails to be a sign of bad conformation of the brain. If the neck is short, this is a sign of a weak and scarce brain. Whoever has a disproportionate physical build is one of little value both in his intentions and his intellect."²¹⁹)

For the second side of Ibn al-Jawzî's analysis, the mystic influence is indisputable. For instance, it is known that Ibn al-Jawzî was strongly influenced by the Shâfi'î mystic Abû Nu'aym al-Isfahânî (d. 430/1038/9)²²⁰) as is clear from Ibn al-Jawzî's mystic historical work *Şifat al-Şafwa* (The Character of the Elite).²²¹) In this book, Ibn al-Jawzî presents a list of those he considered *şafwa* (elite, chosen and purified by God) although they clearly do not meet the requirement of having a well-proportioned body or beautiful physical appearance. At the contrary, they suffered different sorts of disabilities such as lameness, leprosy, blindness and the like but they could still belong to the rank of *awliyâ'* as stated by Ibn al-Jawzî himself.²²²) To sum up, Ibn al-Jawzî's acquaintance with *firâsa* in the Greek and the Islamic sense are clearly touchable. However, it seems that he could live with both senses despite their contradictory images about people with disabilities.

Ibn al-Qayyim's contribution in this respect was much more detailed than that of Ibn al-Jawzî. A trawl through Ibn al-Qayyim's available works show that he handled, in varying degrees, *firâsa* in the four senses mentioned above.

Firâsa in the aforementioned first meaning occupied the greatest part of Ibn al-Qayyim's discussions on this topic. The main body of his contribution was recorded mainly in two books, viz., *Al-Fawâ'id* (Benefits)²²³) and *Al-Turuq al-Hukmiyya fî al-Siyâsa al-Shar'iyya* (Means of Governing according to the Religious Policy).²²⁴) Discussing *firâsa* was the main focus of the second book and occupied a substantial part of it to the extent that the book is also known as *Al-Firâsa al-Marđiyya fî al-Ahkâm al-Shar'iyya* (The Accepted *Firâsa*

in Religious Rulings). The main target of Ibn al-Qayyim in these two books is to broaden the traditional concept of proof that can serve as the basis of a valid judgment. Basically, there are three types of proof: confession, testimony and the defendant's refusal to take an oath to affirm his denial of the plaintiff's claim.²²⁵) Ibn al-Qayyim aspires to integrate *firâsa* as a fourth type of proof that can be used by the judge to underpin his judiciary decrees. By *firâsa* here Ibn al-Qayyim means that the judge would use his mental and perspicacious faculties to discover, produce and interpret signs and circumstantial evidences (*al-amarât wa-al-qarâ'in*) so that he can reach a sound judgment.²²⁶) Ibn al-Qayyim opines that this *firâsa* should top the qualifications of the judges in order to practice their judiciary activities.²²⁷) Those who neglect this *firâsa*, Ibn al-Qayyim adds, paralyze many legal norms and cause legal claims to perish.²²⁸) At the same time, he warns against the negative repercussions of using this *firâsa* excessively.²²⁹) The synonymous sense of *firâsa*, viz. *qiyâfa* considered as eventual legal evidence in specific cases was used by Ibn al-Qayyim as a supportive argument.²³⁰) He mentioned more than once that this opinion of him is also shared by the Hanbalî jurist Abû al-Wafâ' ibn 'Aqîl (d. 513/1119). Whereas Ibn 'Aqîl does not name it *firâsa*, Ibn al-Qayyim does not see any harm in using this term.²³¹)

Firâsa in the Islamic sense was handled by Ibn al-Qayyim in a number of his books²³²) the most important of which is *Madârij al-Sâlikîn* (Grades of the Walkers) considered to be the masterpiece of Hanbalî mystical literature.²³³) *Firâsa* was presented in this book as one of the grades that the walker has to pass by in his traveling to God.²³⁴) The same sense of *firâsa* was elaborated in a concise commentary on the same theme by the earlier Hanbalî scholar, 'Abdullâh al-Anşârî al-Harawî (d. 481/1089)²³⁵) in his celebrated Sûfî treatise, *Manâzil al-Sâ'irîn* (Stations of the Wayfarers).²³⁶) According to Ibn al-Qayyim this type of *firâsa* is the most honourable and the most beneficial for one's life and for the Hereafter.²³⁷) He opines also that the Companions of the Prophet stand in the first rank of the practitioners of this type of *firâsa*.²³⁸)

Ibn al-Qayyim advocates the Greek sense of *firâsa* as well. He believes at least in its main premise, viz., that

²²⁵) Johansen, Baber (2002), pp. 169 & 170.

²²⁶) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (4), p. 3; Johansen, Baber (2002), p. 188.

²²⁷) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (4), p. 3; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 3, p. 634.

²²⁸) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (4), p. 33; Johansen, Baber (2002), p. 188.

²²⁹) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (4), pp. 3 & 13.

²³⁰) Ibid, pp. 3 & 10; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 3, p. 636; Johansen, Baber (2002), p. 189.

²³¹) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (4), pp. 3, 12; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol.3, p. 634 & 636. Ibn al-Qayyim's theory did not die out but was, rather, adopted by later scholars, see for instance Zuhaylî, Wahba al- (1414/1994), vol. 2, pp. 553-557; Haven, E.C. van der (2006), pp. 146-155.

²³²) Ibn al-Qayyim (1395/1975), vol. 1, pp. 238-240; Ibn al-Qayyim, (1395/1975) (1), vol. 1, p. 48; Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (1), vol. 1, p. 126; Ibn al-Qayyim (1412/1992), vol. 1, pp. 101 & 102.

²³³) Laoust, H. (2003), vol. III, p. 822.

²³⁴) Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 1, pp. 482-495.

²³⁵) On him, see Beaurecueil, S. de (1965); Farhadi, Ravan (1996); Beaurecueil, S. de (2003), vol. I, pp. 515 & 516;

²³⁶) Harawî, 'Abdullâh al-Anşârî al- (1408/1988), vol. 1, pp. 80 & 81.

²³⁷) Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 1, p. 131.

²³⁸) Ibid, vol. 2, p. 486.

²¹⁷) Ghersetti, Antonella (1996), p. 123.

²¹⁸) Badawî, 'Abd al-Rahmân (1954), pp. 182-186; Ghersetti, Antonella (1996), p. 124.

²¹⁹) Ibn al-Jawzî (1990), p. 23; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 371; Ghersetti, Antonella (1996), p. 126.

²²⁰) Laoust, H. (2003) (2), vol. III, p. 161; Laoust, H. (2003) (3), vol. III, p. 751. On Abû Nu'aym al-Isfahânî, see Pedersen, J. (2003), vol. I, pp. 142 & 143.

²²¹) Ibn al-Jawzî, (1399/1979), vol. 1, pp. 20-32.

²²²) See for instance, Ibn al-Jawzî, (1399/1979), vol. 1, pp. 350, 501, 502, 583, 645, vol. 2, pp. 193-196, vol. 4, pp. 383, 401 & 402. In his historical work *Talqîh Fuhûm Ahl al-Athar fî 'Uyûn al-Târîkh wa-al-Siyar* (Fertilizing the Perceptions of the Traditionists Concerning the Fountains of History and Biographies) Ibn al-Jawzî enlisted also those luminaries (*ashrâf*) afflicted with different sorts of disabilities, see Ibn al-Jawzî, (n.d.) (2), pp. 229-231.

²²³) Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 3, pp. 634-636.

²²⁴) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (4), pp. 3-76.

malformation in one's body indicates a similar defect in one's character and spirit.²³⁹) However, Ibn al-Qayyim makes two main reservations. First, this premise should not be taken as an unbroken rule and thus possible exceptions should be taken into consideration.²⁴⁰) Second, the negative effect of physical defects on one's soul and character are curable and recoverable by means of education, training and habituation.²⁴¹) Thus, Ibn al-Qayyim warns, one should pay attention to this point otherwise practitioners of *firâsa* can make numerous misjudgements.²⁴²) Al-Shâfi'î was for Ibn al-Qayyim one of the main proficient practitioners of this type of *firâsa* and he says that miracles were related about him in this regard.²⁴³) Besides being a proficient practitioner, Ibn al-Qayyim adds, al-Shâfi'î was also one of the main theorists who wrote books on this science.²⁴⁴) Ibn al-Qayyim was aware of the statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î and he did not cast any doubt about their authenticity. He even commended their purport and considered them as evidence of al-Shâfi'î's shrewdness and adeptness in this type of *firâsa*.²⁴⁵)

Although the two reservations mentioned by Ibn al-Qayyim for making use of *firâsa* in the Greek sense would balance the would-be negative attitude against people with disabilities, Ibn al-Qayyim's standpoint in this regard remains highly controversial.

First of all, he advocates two types of *firâsa*, viz. the mystic and the Greek, which stand at opposite poles concerning their view on physical disabilities.

Second, Ibn al-Qayyim's applauding al-Shâfi'î's adeptness in the Greek type of *firâsa* comes in the context of his long refutation and comprehensive attack on astrology, is considered as the culminating point in the history of systematic religious attacks on astrology in Islam.²⁴⁶) In this context Ibn al-Qayyim refuted what he considered spurious information about al-Shâfi'î's knowledge of astrology as recorded in the *manâqib* works. Ibn al-Qayyim made a highly critical study on reports mentioned in these works, concerning both the chain of transmission (*isnâd*) or the text (*matn*), concluding that such reports present unauthentic information.²⁴⁷) This critical approach is completely missing in his study of the statements ascribed to al-Shâfi'î concerning Greek physiognomy or his alleged adeptness in that field. At any rate, Ibn al-Qayyim's critique of astrology comes as part of his violent opposition to and refusal of the occult sciences constituting part of the sciences inherited by Islam particularly from the Greeks known as the rational sciences (*al-'ulûm al-'aqliyya*) or sciences of the ancients (*'ulûm al-awâ'il*).²⁴⁸) The popular belief of these occult sciences was seen to endanger the religious basis of Islamic society.²⁴⁹) Strikingly enough,

a strong link was always claimed to exist between astrology and Greek physiognomy. For instance, when physiognomy was incorporated into the list of the recognized sciences by Muslim scholars, it was put together with astrology in the same category. This was already done before Ibn al-Qayyim by Ibn Sînâ,²⁵⁰) al-Ghazâlî²⁵¹) and Ibn Rushd.²⁵²) Furthermore, the two sciences share the idea that the formation of heavenly bodies influences the formation of elemental traits shaping human character.²⁵³) Additionally, Arabic works on Greek physiognomy, before and also after the time of Ibn al-Qayyim show that *firâsa* was known in Greek literature as *'ilm al-nujûm* (lit. science of the stars or astrology).²⁵⁴) That is why attacking astrology and simultaneously praising physiognomy without any further explanation remains almost an unexplainable quiz.

One could think of the social dimension that can unravel this quiz or at least minimize its mysteriousness. Attacking astrology that severely, Ibn al-Qayyim was occupied in the first place with a social phenomenon that he saw as a danger for people's religion. In Mamluk society, where Ibn al-Qayyim lived, astrology was almost completely distanced from the scientific field and got closer than ever to magic, divination and charlatanry. Such astrology could penetrate the different aspect of the Mamluk society and astrologers had clients not only in the streets but also sometimes in the citadels of the military class.²⁵⁵) Keeping this in mind, one would imagine that the influence of physiognomy by creating a bad image about people with disabilities was not that popular or penetrative as the bad effects of astrology in Mamluk society. In other words, people would not have made use of this type of *firâsa*, at the time of Ibn al-Qayyim, to degrade or demean people with disabilities and thus this might not have attracted his attention while dealing with this science. This would be true especially when we keep in view the two reservations he made for the applicability of this science, thus keeping the door open that people with disabilities could possess or develop a good character.

Counterpoise-Trials

Two main Ḥanbalî scholars brought a clear equilibrium in the image of people with disabilities, namely Ibn al-Qayyim's main master Ahmad ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328)²⁵⁶) and his main disciple Zayn al-Dîn ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393).²⁵⁷)

²³⁹) Ibn al-Qayyim (1395/1975), vol. 1, p. 40; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 2, pp. 487 & 488.

²⁴⁰) Ibid, vol. 1, p. 40.

²⁴¹) Ibn al-Qayyim (1395/1975), vol. 1, p. 40; Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 2, p. 488.

²⁴²) Ibn al-Qayyim (1393/1973), vol. 2, p. 488.

²⁴³) Ibn al-Qayyim (1395/1975), vol. 1, p. 40.

²⁴⁴) Ibid, vol. 2, p. 43.

²⁴⁵) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, pp. 221-223.

²⁴⁶) Michot, Yahya J. (2000), p. 152.

²⁴⁷) Ibn al-Qayyim, (n.d.) (3), vol. 2, pp. 219-221.

²⁴⁸) Goldziher, I. (1981), p. 185; Livingston, John (1971), pp. 96, note 1 & 97; Livingston, John (1992), p. 598.

²⁴⁹) Livingston, John (1992), p. 598.

²⁵⁰) See Ibn Sînâ (1406/1986), p. 88; Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 23; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue 4, 712 & 713; Hoyland, Robert (2005), p. 391, note 84; Ghersetti, Antonella (2007), p. 285.

²⁵¹) Ghazâlî, Abû Hâmid al- (n.d.) (2), p. 233; Ghazâlî, Abû Hâmid al- (1958), p. 181; Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 24; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue, 4, pp. 713 & 725.

²⁵²) Ibn Rushd (1965), pp. 767-769; Mourad, Youssef (1939), p. 24; 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, issue, 4, pp. 713 & 725.

²⁵³) Ghumrî, Zayn al-'Âbidîn al- (n.d.) (1), fol. 14a-15b; Livingston, John (1992), p. 599.

²⁵⁴) Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), pp. 6 & 7; Anşârî, Abû Tâlib al- (1332/1914), pp. 3 & 4; Michot, Yahya J. (2000), p. 147; For further comments on relations and common elements between Greek physiognomy and divinatory arts, esp. astrology, see 'Adî, 'Abd al-Karîm (1982-1983), vol. 57, pp. 710-711; Ghersetti, Antonella (2007), pp. 296 & 297.

²⁵⁵) Michot, Yahya J. (2000), p. 149.

²⁵⁶) On him see Bazzâr, Abû Hafş al- (1400 A.H.); Laoust, H. (2003) (1).

²⁵⁷) He is known to be the last great representative of medieval Ḥanbalism, see Laoust, H. (2003), vol. III, p. 822; Laoust, H. (2003) (2), vol. III, p. 161.

Initially, Ibn Taymiyya shared Ibn al-Qayyim's three main views with relevance to this topic. First, the aforementioned first meaning of *firâsa* developed by Ibn al-Qayyim comes originally from Ibn Taymiyya. However, Ibn Taymiyya just focuses on developing the theory of evidences and proofs and does not make use of the term *firâsa*.²⁵⁸ Second, Ibn Taymiyya conceded the validity of the mystic *firâsa* and condemned those who refuse using it as eventual evidence in case other clear and authentic evidences are absent. By the same token, Ibn Taymiyya blames those who would overuse or misuse it as evidence all the time.²⁵⁹ Finally, Ibn Taymiyya also expressed his anti-astrological standpoint as issued in a number of his fatwas.²⁶⁰

The main divergence between the master and his disciple lies in their standpoints concerning Greek physiognomy or its premise at least. Although Ibn Taymiyya does not handle Greek physiognomy as detailed as his disciple, the available cursory references indicate that he was in the first place skeptic about the validity of Greek physiognomy which he names *al-firâsa al-badaniyya* (lit. physical physiognomy) because it lacks solid scientific basis.²⁶¹ As for the main premise of the Greek physiognomy, viz. judging people's characters on the basis of their physical form, Ibn Taymiyya was much more critical. In one place he severely attacks those who judge people and claim to know their ranks and positions by God in any way other than that revealed to the Prophet of Islam. Practicing such judgment would place the person beyond the folds of Islam. One who also claims, Ibn Taymiyya adds, to know people's ultimate destinies without supporting his claim with God's statement or a statement of his Messenger would incur God's wrath.²⁶² It is clear that such statements subvert the premise of physiognomy and its related sciences which judges one's character on the basis of, for instance, bodily marks and movements and lines on the hands and feet.²⁶³ *Al-firâsa* which avoids such pitfalls, Ibn Taymiyya adds in an indirect reference to the mystic concept of *al-firâsa*, is true and acceptable.²⁶⁴

In another place, Ibn Taymiyya elaborates more on the Islamic criterion by which people's ranks and grades are to be measured. He says, "Texts available in the Qur'an and the Sunna judge justly. Allah favours, in the Qur'an, nobody on the basis of poverty or richness, health or sickness, residence or travel, the position of governor or governed, the position of imam or that of a follower. On the contrary, He said 'The most honourable among you is the most pious' and thus he favours them on the basis of good deeds (*al-a'mâl al-ṣâliḥa*) including belief, its pillars and branches such as certainty (*al-yaqîn*), spiritual knowledge (*ma'rifa*), love for God, returning to Him, dependence on Him, hoping Him, fearing Him, thanking Him and [practising] patience for the sake of Him"²⁶⁵ Two main Qur'anic verses and one Prophetic tradition supporting this viewpoint were quoted by him.²⁶⁶ The first verse says concerning the hypocrites,

²⁵⁸ Ibn Taymiyya (n.d.); Johansen, Baber (2002), esp. pp. 168, 181, 186, 187, 192.

²⁵⁹ Ibn Taymiyya (n.d.) (1), vol. 10, p. 473.

²⁶⁰ See Michot, Yahya J. (2000).

²⁶¹ Ibn Taymiyya (n.d.) (1), vol. 7, p. 199.

²⁶² Ibid, vol. 5, p. 82.

²⁶³ Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn al- (1939), pp. 10 & 11.

²⁶⁴ Ibn Taymiyya (n.d.) (1), vol. 5, p. 82.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, vol. 11, p. 125. The italics are mine.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, vol. 15, p. 416 & vol. 22, p. 126.

وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَهُمْ تُعْجِبُكَ أَجْسَامُهُمْ

"And when you see them, their figures (*ajsâm*, lit. bodies) will please you" (*Sûrat al-Munâfiqûn* 63:04)

The second verse states,

وَكَرَّ أَهْلَكَا قَبْلَهُمْ مِّن قَرْنٍ هُمْ أَحْسَنُ أُنثَىٰ وَرِثَىٰ

"And how many of the generations have We destroyed before them who were better in respect of goods and outward appearance (*ri'ya*)!" (*Sûrat Maryam* 19:74).

The two verses show examples of people who look very good because their bodies are free from physical defects. However, this outward physical perfection did not avail them from God's wrath because they had a bad character. The Prophetic tradition reads, "Allah does not look at your figures (*ṣuwar*) or your properties (*amwâl*) but He looks at your hearts and deeds". Thus the main criterion of favoring someone over the other is what he has in his heart and what he does rather than how his body looks like.²⁶⁷

Available works of Ibn Rajab do not provide us with any discussions on *firâsa* in whatever sense. However, some passages from his hand develop and elaborate the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya concerning the disconnection between one's physical appearance and character and the conviction that *taqwâ* (piety) is the main criterion by which people's dignity can be measured. Commenting on the aforementioned ḥadîth by Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Rajab says, "Thus it could happen that many of the hearts of those who have a good figure (*ṣûra ḥasana*), property (*mâl*), prestige (*jâh*) or a governing position (*riyâsa*) in this life could be void of *taqwâ*, and it could happen that the heart of someone who possesses nothing of such things be full of *taqwâ* and thus more dignified by God. Actually this is what in reality happens in most cases."²⁶⁸ Ibn Rajab supported his argument by quoting four Prophetic traditions purporting that people of Paradise in the Hereafter are mainly those who are physically and socially not powerful but even weak (*du'afâ'*) in this life, whereas powerful people, in the physical and social sense, are usually to end up in the Hellfire.²⁶⁹

Other Schools

Beyond the detailed information given in the Shâfi'î and Ḥanbalî schools, it is generally agreed upon that the believer can make use of his own *firâsa* in his own private affairs as long as this does not lead to an illegal act (*maḥzûr shar'î*).²⁷⁰ The main disagreement is whether *firâsa* can be a legal proof used by the judge (*qâdî*). The most well-known judge who made use of *firâsa*, in the first meaning, to conclude his legal judgments, is Iyâs b. Mu'âwiya (d.121/739) who was appointed in 99/717 as the judge of Basra during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz and

²⁶⁷ Ibid, vol. 22, p. 126.

²⁶⁸ Ḥanbalî, Ibn Rajab al- (1408 A.H.), vol. 1, pp. 333 & 334.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, vol. 1, p. 334.

²⁷⁰ Wazârat al-Awqâf wa-al-Shu'ûn al-Islâmiyya bi-al-Kuwayt (n.d.), vol. 32, p. 78. For the Shî'î Zaydî School, see Murtaḍâ, Aḥmad b. Yahyâ al- (n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 39 & 40.

thus before the establishment juristic legal schools (*mad-hâhib*).²⁷¹)

As for the Sunni legal schools, the Ḥanafî jurist, Burhân al-Dîn al-Ṭarabulsî (d. 922/1516) as well as the two Mâlikî jurists, Abû Bakr ibn al-‘Arabî (d. 543/1148) and Ibn Farḥûn (d. 799/1397) reject considering *firâsa*, the context suggests in the first meaning, a valid tool to conclude a legal judgment.²⁷²) Ibn al-‘Arabî supports his argument by quoting a treatise elaborating this point written by the Shâfi‘î jurist, Abû Bakr al-Shâshî (d. 507/1114).²⁷³) The same opinion is also advocated by the well-known mystic Muḥyî al-Dîn ibn al-‘Arabî (d. 638/1240) concerning the mystic *firâsa*.²⁷⁴) Another Mâlikî jurist, al-Shâṭibî (d. 709/1388) states that mystic *firâsa* can be valid evidence and one can behave accordingly provided that this will not violate any of the established Islamic regulations.²⁷⁵) A certain al-Shâmî al-Mâlikî who was the chief judge of Baghdad and a contemporary of Abû Bakr al-Shâshî (d.507/1114) adopted a counterstandpoint to that advocated by Abû Bakr ibn al-‘Arabî and the others. He made use of *firâsa* to reach his legal judgments the same as the earlier judge of Basra Iyâs b. Mu‘âwiya (d. 121/739).²⁷⁶)

Outside the Sunni legal schools, the Ibâdî School is also against using *firâsa* as legal evidence.²⁷⁷)

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²⁷¹) Ibn al-‘Arabî, Abû Bakr (n.d.), vol. 3, p. 107; Ya‘murî, Ibn Farḥûn al- (1406/1986), vol. 2, p. 235; Shâṭibî, Abû Ishâq al- (n.d.), vol. 2, p. 229; Pellat, Ch. (2003) (2), vol. IV, p. 291; Hoyland, Robert (2005), pp. 372-274.

²⁷²) Ya‘murî, Ibn Farḥûn al- (1406/1986), vol. 2, p. 235; Wazârat al-Awqâf wa-al-Shu‘ûn al-Islâmiyya bi-al-Kuwayt (n.d.), vol. 32, pp. 78 & 79.

²⁷³) Ibn al-‘Arabî, Abû Bakr (n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 106 & 107; Qurtubî, Abû ‘Abdullâh al- (1372 A.H.), vol. 10, pp. 44 & 45; Shâṭibî, Abû Ishâq al- (n.d.), vol. 2, p. 229.

²⁷⁴) Ibn ‘Arabî, Muḥyî al-Dîn (1418/1997), p. 148. On al-Shâshî, see Subkî, Abû Naṣr al- (1992), vol. 6, pp. 70-78; Ibn Qâḍî Shuhba (1407 A.H.), vol. 2, pp. 290 & 291.

²⁷⁵) Shâṭibî, Abû Ishâq al- (n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 225-232.

²⁷⁶) Ibn al-‘Arabî, Abû Bakr (n.d.), vol. 3, p. 107; Ya‘murî, Ibn Farḥûn al- (1406/1986), vol. 2, p. 235; Shâṭibî, Abû Ishâq al- (n.d.), vol. 2, p. 229.

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