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Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's Works on Physiognomy and His Greek, Indian and Old Turkic/Mongol Sources

Johannes Thomann

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Anṣārī al-Ṣūfī al-Dimashqī was known as Shaykh Rabwa. He started his career as a shaykh of a Ṣūfī convent in Ḥiṭṭīn in Palestine. After a murder case at the convent he was dismissed from the position and spent some time in Damascus, where he gained reputation as a versatile scholar after a while. He was regarded as a specialist of theology, sufism, letter magic and alchemy. He restored his status as a shaykh of a Ṣūfī convent, this time in al-Rabwa, a village not far from Damascus. He died in 1327 in Ṣafad at the age of seventy.¹ He became first known to European scholars when his cosmography was published in 1866, and the French translation of this work in 1874.² It is similar to the more famous work of al-Qazwīnī. More recently, a work on theology penned by Dimashqī was edited and published.³ It is a defense of Islam in reaction to a letter

A. ABŪ ZAYD et al., Bayrūt/Dimashq 1998, vol. 4, p. 475–478; D. THOMAS, Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī, in *Christian-Muslim relations: A bibliographical history*, D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds.), Leiden, 2013, vol. 4, pp. 798–801.

ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr = *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui*, ed. by A. F. MEHREN, St. Petersburg, 1866; Dimashqī AL-DIMASHQĪ, MUḤAMMAD IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen age*, ed. by A. F. MEHREN, Copenhagen, 1874.

³ R. EBIED/D. THOMAS, *Muslim-Christian polemic during the Crusades: The letter from the people of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's response*, (The history of Christian-Muslim Relations 2), Leiden, 2005.

written by Christian theologians in Cyprus. This letter was sent to Ibn Taymiyya, who wrote a comprehensive answer, and it was he who sent the letter on to al-Dimashqī.

The most versatile work of al-Dimashqī has the title *al-Maqāmāt al-falsafīyya wa-l-tarjamāt al-ṣāfiyya* and hasn't been edited nor studied. It consists of fifty chapters on a great variety of subjects.⁴ Among them is a treatise on physiognomy.⁵ It opens with a general introduction on which features of the human body have to be consulted in order to judge the inner character of an individual. A description of twenty character types with their bodily features follows. Among these types are the philosopher, the envious and destructive, the effeminate, the fornicator and so on. The chapter finishes with a catalogue of ethnic groups and their social qualities.

All these topics are also found in al-Dimashqī's comprehensive work on physiognomy, the *Kitāb al-Riyāsa fī 'ilm al-firāsa*, but in the details they are not identical. This work was printed in 1882 and historians of physiognomy have paid some attention to it.⁶ It has been noticed by Antonella Ghersetti and Robert Hoyland that the printed text differs considerably from the text found in the manuscripts.⁷ At present, 73 manuscripts are known to exist, which proves the intense circulation of the text, and a closer look at the manuscript tradition has revealed that at least four versions of the text exist.⁸ In its introduction, the work presents

4 MS Cambridge, University Library, Qq 19; E. G. BROWNE, *A hand-list of Muḥammedan manuscripts including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1900: 217–218, no. 1102.

5 Ff. 100r–107r;

6 DUNLOP, D. M. al-Dimashqī, in B. LEWIS, CH. PELLAT and J. SCHACHT (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Islam: New edition* II, p. 291; 1956; Y. MOURAD, *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Collection des écrits médico-psychologiques arabes 1), Paris, 1939, p. 8; M. Fahd, *La divination arabe: études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden, 1966, p. 386.

7 R. HOYLAND, The Islamic Background to Ptolemon's Treatise, in A. SWAIN (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 227–280, p. 265; A. GHERSETTI, Semiotic Paradigm: Physiognomy and Medicine in Islamic Culture, in A. SWAIN (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 281–308, p. 301.

8 J. THOMANN, A Lost Greek Text on Physiognomy by Archelaos of Alexandria in Arabic Translation transmitted by Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī, in: C.

itself as a compilation of materials from earlier works on the subject. The list of scholars from which the material was borrowed differs in different versions. Version A lists the following authors: Al-Shāfi‘ī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Ibn al-‘Arabī, Aristotle, Polemon of Laodikeia, the Indians Ṭumṭum, Tinkalūshā and Sharāsīm, Hippocrates and Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. Al-Dimashqī used a system of sigla to indicate these sources in the text, as was common in works on Ḥadīth.⁹ In a second version, which is the most frequently copied one, Hippocrates and the Indian authors are left out, and an author called Īlāwūs is mentioned instead. The identity of this author will be discussed later.

The physiognomical statements attributed to Aristotle have been studied by Georg Hoffmann, who cooperated with Richard Foerster in the publication of the Teubner Edition *Scriptores Physiognomnici Graeci et Latini*.¹⁰ While a number of statements ascribed by Dimashqī to Aristotle indeed resemble passages in the Greek text of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, an almost equal number has no parallel in the Greek text. It has already been noticed by Foerster that the Greek text is but an abridged work of a more comprehensive treatise on the subject. Therefore, it has been discussed that the unparalleled material in Dimashqī might have originated in that lost Greek version. Since Foerster's time nobody has tried to substantiate this idea. In the meantime the Arabic translation of the Aristotelian physiognomy made by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq has become available by the critical edition of Antonella Gheretti.¹¹ This allows us to compare material ascribed by al-Dimashqī to Aristotle with parallel passages in Ḥunayn's translation. Two cases seem to confirm

JOHNSON and A. STAVRU (Eds.), *Physiognomy and Ekphrasis: The Mesopotamian Tradition and its Transformation in Graeco-Roman and Semitic Literatures*, Berlin 2019, pp. 443–484.

9 R. QUIRING-ZOCHE, How al-Buḥārī's 'Ṣaḥīḥ' was edited in the Middle Ages: 'Alī al-Yūnīnī and his 'Rumūz', *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 50 (1998), pp. 191–222; on abbreviations in general see A. GACEK, *Arabic manuscripts: A vademecum for readers*, Leiden 2009, pp. 2–6; A. GACEK, Abbreviations, in: K. Versteegh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics 1*, Leiden, 2006 pp. 1–5.

10 R. FOERSTER, *Scriptores physiognomnici Graeci et Latini*, Lipsiae, 1893.

11 G. GHERETTI, *Il Kitāb Aristāṭālīs al-faylasūf fī l-firāsa nella traduzione di Ḥunayn b. Ishāq*, (Quaderni di Studi Arabi. Studi e testi 4) Roma, 1999.

Hoffmann's and Foersters suspicion.¹² In the Greek text there are two features of the extreme positions of the eye ball, one extruding, the other concave. Extruding position of the eye ball occurs as a pathological symptom of Grave's disease. In the Greek text it is said those who have exophthalmic eye to be silly people.¹³ In Hunayn's translation this is almost literally translated as "he who's eyes are exophthalmic, he is stupid" (*wa-man kānat 'aynhu jāhizatayni fa-huwa jāhil*).¹⁴ But Dimashqī's version is longer: "If [the eye] is like the eye of a crayfish in protrusion, it points to stupidity, disorder in [his] conditions and lewdness" (*wa-in kānat ka-a'yuni al-sarṭāni fī l-nutū'i dallat 'alā jahlin wa-dḥirābi l-ahwāli wa-l-shafaqi*).¹⁵ The expression "like the eye of a crayfish" is uncommon in Arabic, while Hunayn's term *jāhiz* is a frequently used word. The comparison of a physiognomical feature of men with bodily features of animals occurs otherwise in the Greek text, as we will see shortly. Therefore, it is likely that the expression "like the eye of a crayfish" goes back to a Greek original that differed from the existing Greek text.

A second example provides an even stronger argument for the same conclusion. It is the physiognomical feature of yellow eyes. The feature does not concern the iris but refers to the surrounding part of the eye ball, which has the color of yellow wine. It is a typical symptom of the yellow fever and jaundice. In the Arabic translation of Hunayn it is described as "with the color of clear wine".¹⁶ The Greek manuscripts have the adjective "like wine" (ὄινωπος), but Richard Foerster decided to make an emendation and to read "like goats" (αἰγωποί) instead. Indeed, the eye ball of goats have a yellow color. The two words ὄινωποι and αἰγωποί can easily be confused in Greek handwriting, and while ὄινωπος is

12 J. THOMANN, Fragments of Aristotle's Lost Original *Physiognōmonikon* in Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's *Kitāb al-Riyāsa fī 'ilm al-firāsa*, in: M. E. Paninconi (ed.), *Tra visibile e l'invisibile. Testi di fisiognomica nella tradizione greco-latina e arabo-islamica*, [Macerata 2019, pp. 157–170](#).

13 FOERSTER, *Scriptores* I p. 70.

14 GHERSETTI, *Aristōtālīs* p. 44.

15 MS Bethesda, National Institute of Health A 58 f. 48r.

16 FOERSTER, *Scriptores* I p. 67.

Gelöscht: [forthcoming]

recorded in many texts,¹⁷ αἰγώπος is a rare word.¹⁸ Five of the only nine occurrences are in Aristotle's works, and two in a commentary on them.¹⁹ Obviously, Foerster's emendation was the choice of a *lectio difficilior*, which not all scholars agreed with.²⁰ But now, through the testimony of Dimashqī, the emendation is perfectly confirmed. At the same time it becomes evident that Dimashqī's source was based on a version of the Greek text which was different from the one which is available today.

There is also some evidence in the ancient Greek tradition that two versions of a physiognomical work existed which were attributed to Aristotle. The list of Aristotle's works by Hesychius, contains the entry "Physiognomonics, in two [books]" (φυσιογνωμονικὰ β), which corresponds well with the existing Greek text in the Aristotelian Corpus.²¹ The catalogue included in the *Lives and sayings of the philosophers* of Diogenes Laertios, which is regarded as the oldest of the three, contains the entry "Physiognomy, one [book]" (φυσιογνωμονικὸν α).²² If one considers that the average size of a book in Aristotle's works is longer than that of the two books of the existing work together, it seems likely that the original version in one book was more comprehensive than

17 113 occurrences in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/csearch.jsp> (2.5.2018).

18 9 occurrences in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/inst/csearch.jsp> (2.5.2018).

19 ARISTOTELES, *Opera*, ed. by I. BEKKER, Berlin, 1831: 779a33, 779b1, 779b14; 492a3; 892a3.

20 Negative: S. VOGT (transl.), *Aristoteles. Physiognomonica*, Berlin, 1999, p. 28. Positive: J. BARNES, *The complete works of Aristotle: the revised Oxford translation*, Princeton, 1984, p. 1247; S. SWAIN, Appendix: Ps.-Aristotle's Physiognomy, in S. SWAIN (ed.), *Seeing the face, seeing the soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from classical antiquity to medieval Islam*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 637–661, 658; Swain defends Foerster's emendations against the consensus of the manuscripts as necessary, WAIN, Appendix 207: 637.

21 T. DORANDI, The "Vita Hesychii" d'Aristote, *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 52 (2006), pp. 87–106, p. 100, no. 119; I. DURING, *Aristotle in the ancient biographical tradition* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 5), Göteborg 1957, p. 86, no. 97.

22 DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Lives of eminent philosophers* (Cambridge classical texts and commentaries 50), ed. by T. DORANDI, Cambridge 2013, p. 360, no. 109; DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Lives of eminent philosophers* (The Loeb classical library 184–185), ed. by R. D. HICKS, London, 1958–1959 I, pp. 470–471.

the actual existing version in two very short books. Sabine Vogt has dated the two-books version to around 300 BC.²³ If the one-book version was an earlier one, it is almost inevitable to conclude that it was written by Aristotle himself, who died in 322 BC. Al-Dimashqī preserves a corpus of 104 fragments of this otherwise lost work.

Polemon

The second Greek author used by al-Dimashqī is Polemon of Laodikeia (2nd century AD). An Arabic translation was edited by Georg Hoffmann and re-edited by Robert Hoyland.²⁴ But according to Antonella Ghersetti, al-Dimashqī used a different version which exists in an Istanbul manuscript.²⁵

ʿĪlāwūs

The third Greek author mentioned by al-Dimashqī has the name ʿĪlāwūs, or ʿĪlāʿūs. Many attempts have been made to identify it, but none of them leads to an author who is likely to have written a Greek work on physiognomy. The best starting point is to identify the second part of the name -lāwūs or -lāʿūs as a faithful transliteration of Greek -laos, a frequent second element in typically two-part Greek personal names.²⁶ The most frequent name with this ending in antiquity was Archelaos, followed by Nikolaos and Menelaos. Archelaos seems the most promising candidate, since it has an ἄ (pronounced /ʾa/) at the beginning, an ε (pronounced /i/) in the second syllable. This corresponds well with the first two Arabic letters ʿ and Y. From an original form ʿRḤYLʿWS (pronounced /ʾarḥīlaʿūs/) a shortened

23

VOGT, *Physiognomonica* pp. 192–197.

24

FOERSTER, *Scriptores* I pp. 98–294; R. HOYLAND, (ed. and transl.), The Leiden Polemon, in: A. SWAIN (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 334–463.

25

GHERSETTI, *Semiotic Paradigm* p. 301 n. 100.

26

For a more detailed explanation of this and the following see

THOMANN *Lost Greek Text*.

form ʾYLʾWS could have been derived, pronounced as /ʾaʾilaʾūs/, and later on read as /ʾīlaʾūs/. This leads to one of the authors of the *Summāria Alexandrinorum* Archelaos of Alexandria, who lived in the sixth century AD.²⁷ One could also consider a scribal error in the Syriac script where Resh and connected Kaf are similar, and the drop of the Resh could be a case of haplography.²⁸

Until recently, the work referred to ʾĪlāʾūs or Archelaos by al-Dimashqī in his introduction as the author with the siglum Sīn remained mysterious, since the printed editions and manuscripts used so far did not contain a single quotation attributed to him. However, in the Manuscript Sprenger 1930 in Berlin his mark, the letter Sīn is found in the catalogue of the physiognomical signs in the parts of the human body. In a number of cases, Archelaos is mentioned as the only source. Altogether there are 61 physiognomical statements attributed to him. They form a substantial corpus of fragments of the lost Greek physiognomical work attributed to Archelaos of Alexandria.²⁹

Indian palmistry

In one version of the *Riyāsa* one reads in the list of authors the following entry: “..., and the *dal* stands for the Indian Ṭumṭum, and Tinkalūshā, and the Indian [lady] Sharānīm.”³⁰ In other versions the same names appear at the end of the work in the section on palmistry. The names appear often in Arabic alchemical and magical texts. In most cases it remains doubtful if the material attributed to them represents an Indian tradition. But in the case of al-Dimashqī this is different. Palmistry, that is the discipline which draws conclusions from

27 G. FLÜGEL et al. *Ibn al-Nadīm. Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Leipzig, 1871–1872, vol. 2, p. 139, no. 7; Touwaide, A. Arkhelaos (Med.), in P. T. Keyser and G. L. Irby-Massie (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists: The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, London, 2008, pp. 155–156.

28 For Details see see THOMANN Lost Greek Text..

29 Edition and translation of these fragments in THOMANN, Lost Greek Text.

30 MS Çorum, Hasan Paşa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 3095 f. 2r.

the marks and lines in the palm concerning the person's character and destiny, is not attested in classical antiquity, but it is well present in Sanskrit texts from at least the sixth century AD onwards.³¹ The *Brhatsamhita* of Varāhamihira contains passages on the signs in the hands of both men and women.³² The signs can be abstract, as the following: "Three lines starting from the wrist and going towards the palm make one a king."³³ Three lines as a positive sign is also found in al-Dimashqī: "One who has in the middle of his palm three extended lines, is good, noble, of little wealth, rich in the soul and loving commendable acts and praise".³⁴ But in most cases, the Sanskrit text describes the form of the marks with concrete objects. Some of them were easily understandable in a non-Indian context, such as a fish's tail, but others were not, such as an altar. However, in al-Dimashqī's text, the more complex marks are not described in words at all, but only drawn.

In two manuscripts, a set of drawings can also be observed in the previous sections on head and shoulders.³⁵ They seem to go back to al-Dimashqī, because the two manuscripts represent the different versions A and B.

The topics in palmistry are partly the same in Varāhamihira and al-Dimashqī. They include wealth, length of life, social status, intelligence, offspring and the like. Others are only found in the Sanskrit text, as for example 'someone who takes care of the sacrifices.'³⁶ The text of al-Dimashqī contains a detailed description how to measure with a cord the length of the

31 K. G. ZYSK, K. G. *The Indian system of human marks* (Sir Henry Wellcome Asian series ; 15), Leiden: Brill, 2015.

32 V. S. SASTRI V. S. *Varahamihira's Brihat Samhita with an English Translation and Notes*, Bangalore, 1946, pp. 551–553, 580–582.

33 तिसे रेखा मण मणबन्धनोत्थिताः करतलोपगा नृपतेः।
मोनयुगाङ्कितयाणिर्नित्यं सन्नप्रदो भवति ||४४|| *tisro reravā maṇabandhanotthitāḥ karatalopagā nṛpateḥ* | *m īnayugāṅkita pānirniyam saṅnprado bhavati* ||44|| SASTRI *Brihat Samhita* p. 552.

34 MS ومن كان في وسط كفه أساور ثلاث ممتدة كان جواد قليل المال غني النفس محبا للمحبة London, Wellcome Library, Arabic 120 f. 18v.

35 Version A: Bursa, Yazma ve eski basma eserler kütüphanesi, Hüseyin Celebi 885; Version B: MS Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 66 (T.3.4).

36 SASTRI *Brihat Samhita* p. 552.

Gelöscht: o

Gelöscht: y

Gelöscht: n

five fingers and then to measure the same length from the elbow in the direction of the little finger.³⁷ Depending on the place where the measuring cord ends, the individual's capacity to earn money and his ability to keep it is predicted. There seems to be no parallel to this procedure. Nevertheless, the proportion of the limbs of the human body is a major topic in Sanskrit literature, particularly in connection to sculptures, while it was absent in the Islamic world, most likely because of the general lack of human statues.

Even if there are no literal parallels to Sanskrit texts in the palmistry chapter of al-Dimashqī, its general character points clearly to an Indian origin. Furthermore, the author names mentioned could well have been derived by Sanskrit personal names. In the case of Ṭumṭum, the vowel pattern is not definite and varies in the manuscripts. Arabic emphatic *ṭā* could well represent the retroflex Sanskrit dental *ḍhā*. There exists an author of Sanskrit astrological works with the name Ḍhuṇḍhin.³⁸ An alternative is Daṇḍin, the name of a well-known author, which has also a retroflex consonant in the middle.³⁹ The name Tinkalūshā could contain the Sanskrit words *tan-* and *kaluṣa*, ('prepare the impure'), and the name Sharāsīm the word *śaraṇa-*, or *śaraṇya-*, or *śaraṇaiṣin* ('protector'), or *śaraṇaiṣin* ('to be protected').⁴⁰ The purpose of these propositions is only to show, that the names *can* have an Indian origin.

Scapulomancy

37 MS Bethesda, National Institute of Health A 58 f. 88v–90r.
 38 D.
 PINGREE *Census of the exact sciences in Sanskrit* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society; vols. 81, 86, 111, 146, 213), Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970–1994 vol. 3, p. 78.
 39 I. ONIANS,
What Ten Young Men Did by Daṇḍin, New York, 2005.
 40 M. MONIER-WILLIAMS *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New
 edition greatly enlarged and improved, Oxford, 1899, pp. 435, 262, 1057.

The final chapter in al-Dimashqī's *Riyāsa* deals with scapulomancy, the *'ilm al-aktāf*.⁴¹ In the text this discipline is ascribed to the 'Turks'. The use of shoulder-blades of sheep for divinatory purposes in East and Central Asia is well attested. In al-Kashgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (11th century AD) a proverb is quoted in which the form of a sheep's shoulder-blade is mentioned as a sign for the destiny of the land: *yarīn bulğansa el bulğānūr* ("When the shoulder blade is impaired, the state will suffer impairment").⁴² Cengiz Khan and his successors are said to have consulted the shoulder blade oracle before every campaign with the army.⁴³ The text in al-Dimashqī's *Riyāsa* fits very well in this military context. The only topic is the march direction of two hostile armies. In that regard, it differs significantly from other Arabic texts on scapulomancy, in which individual private affairs are the preferred topics. Again, al-Dimashqī seems to have preserved valuable original material, which otherwise seems to be lost.

Final remarks

One could raise doubts about the possibility that such precious material was only preserved in a single collection made in 14th century Syria, and in no earlier source. Such cases occur in the history of knowledge. One of the most spectacular examples is the *Anthologion* by Ioannes Stobaios, a collection of excerpts from scientific and philosophical writings.⁴⁴ It provides most of what we know today of such authors as Thales, Pythagoras, Herakleitos, Empedocles, Democritos, Epicuros and the Stoics, whose works were lost in the following centuries. In the case of Thales, the material Stobaios collected was a thousand years old. This is topped by the compilation of the Imperial Encyclopedia, the *Gūjīn Túshū Jíchéng*,

41 MS Bethesda, National Institute of Health A 58 f. 92v–93v.
 42 DANKOFF, R. Kāshgarī on the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Turks, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 95, 1 (1975), pp. 68–80, see p. 73..
 43 BAWDEN, C. R. On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 4, 1 (1958), pp. 1–44, see p. 4 .
 44 R. M. PICCIONE, Stobaios. I. Werk: Inhalt und Aufbau, in: *Der neue Pauli. Sam-Tal*, Stuttgart, 2001, pp. 1006–1009.

finished in 1725 CE, which contains numerous ancient texts, easily two thousand years old, which otherwise would not have been preserved.⁴⁵ In both cases the stability of institutions was of crucial importance. Considering the stability of libraries in Damascus up to the fourteenth century, the availability of old texts is not too astonishing.⁴⁶

Al-Dimashqī's compilation on physiognomy is a treasure of material for otherwise lost works. These originated from Athens in the classical age, from Alexandria in late antiquity, from India in the sixth or seventh centuries and from Central Asia. The presence of this foreign intellectual heritage side by side with the teaching of the most prominent intellectual exponents of the Islamicate world is a fine example of cultural coexistence and deserves to be studied in depth.

45 DRÈGE, J.-P. Des ouvrages classés par catégories: les encyclopédies chinoises, *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident*, hors série (2007), pp. 19–38, see p. 32–33; WILKINSON, E. *Chinese History. A Manual. Revised and Enlarged* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series; vol. 52), Cambridge (Mass.) , 2000, pp- 605–607.

46 K.HIRSCHLER *Medieval Damascus: plurality and diversity in an arabic library : plurality and diversity in an Arabic library : the Ashrafiya library catalogue* (Edinburgh studies in classical Islamic history and culture), Edinburgh, 2016.