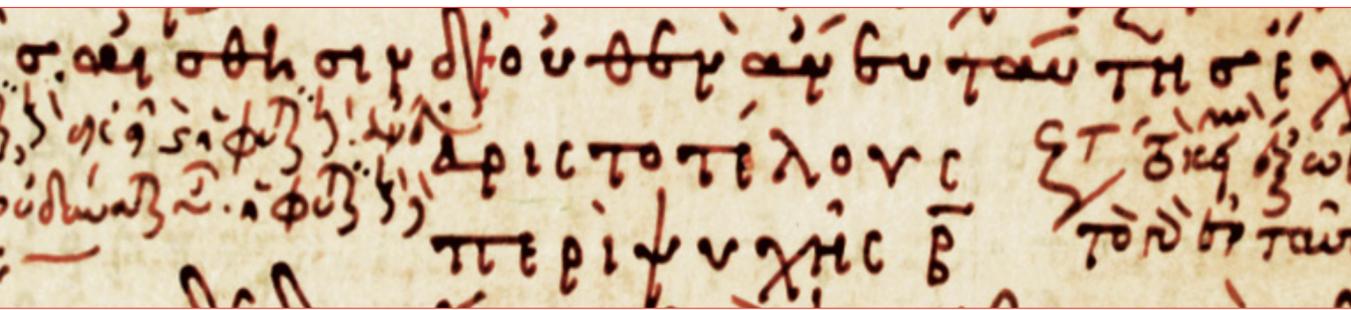
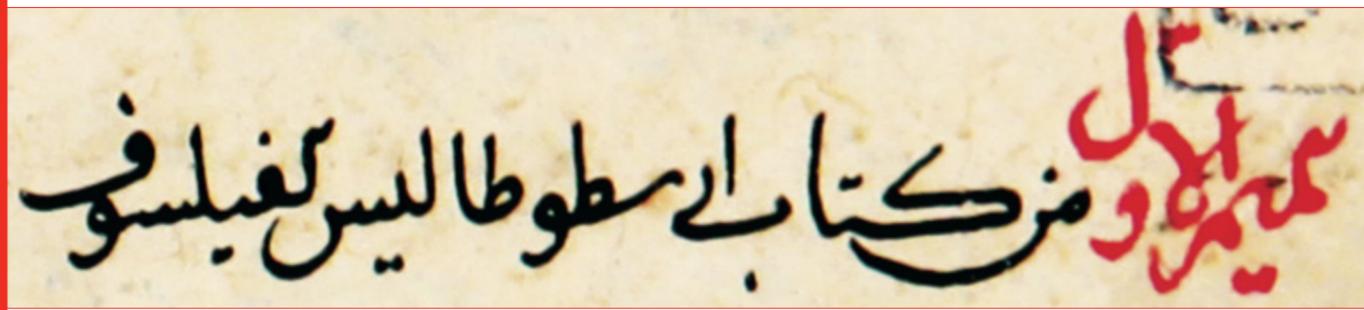


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# *Iwānnīs of Dārā On Soul's Virtues* *About a Late Antiquity Greek Philosophical Work* *among Syrians and Arabs*

Mauro Zonta

## *Abstract*

The Syriac author Iwānnīs of Dārā (first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century), in his still unpublished *Treatise on the Soul*, employed a pseudo-Platonic treatise *On the Subsistence of Soul's Virtues* among his sources: a treatise whose text is lost in Greek, but is preserved in an Arabic version. A comparison of the Arabic version with the Syriac quotations found in Iwānnīs of Dārā's work strongly suggests that the former depends upon a lost Syriac complete version, from which the latter was taken, too. The Syriac version also influenced some passages of Severus bar Šakkō's *Book of Dialogues*, so showing the diffusion of this text by this way in Near East till to 1240. Moreover, there is a still unknown influence of it upon a passage of a work by a Judaeo-Arab author, a contemporary and compatriot of Iwānnīs of Dārā: Dawūd al-Muqammiš's *Twenty Chapters*, where the same Syriac text found in Iwānnīs of Dārā's own work seems to have been used as a source. This passage of Dawūd al-Muqammiš's work might have influenced even a passage of Aḥmad ibn Miskawayh's *Correction of Morals*. In the Appendix, the Syriac terminology of some important passages of Iwānnīs of Dārā's work are compared with the terminology found in the corresponding passages of some Patristic Greek and Arabic texts.

The Syriac author Iwānnīs of Dārā (first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century), whose life is completely unknown, was apparently a writer of many books.<sup>1</sup> However, the number of his exegetical, theological and philosophical works (most of which are unpublished), the sources and the real influences they exerted on Syriac literature have not yet been examined in detail. Henri Hugonnard-Roche and I have shown elsewhere some different aspects of the relevance of his *Treatise on the Soul* on the history of Medieval Syriac philosophy, particularly about psychology.<sup>2</sup> In the latter, we have shown the importance of Iwānnīs of Dārā's work for the fate of Greek Patristic philosophical literature among Syrians, particularly about that of two works by Gregory of Nyssa: *On Soul and Resurrection* and *Epistle to Letoios*. Moreover, this work had some impact for the reconstruction of a Greek text and its role in the history of Syriac philosophy and philosophical terminology – as we will try to show here below. We have to examine the significance of one of the many philosophical themes dealt with by Iwānnīs of Dārā in his treatise: the soul's virtues. By this way, we will take the opportunity of demonstrating the spreading of this

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent short survey on this author and the relevant bibliography, see S.P. Brock, "Iwannis of Dara", in S.P. Brock - A.M. Butts - G.A. Kiraz - L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, Gorgias Press & Beth Mardutho - The Syriac Institute, Piscataway NJ 2011, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hugonnard-Roche, "La question de l'âme dans la tradition philosophique syriaque (VI<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)", *Studia graeco-arabica* 4 (2014), pp. 17-64, in part. pp. 49-58; M. Zonta, "Iwānnīs of Dārā's *Treatise on the Soul* and its Sources: A New Contribution to the History of Syriac Psychology around 800 AD", in E. Coda - C. Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *De l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge. Études de logique aristotélicienne et de philosophie grecque, syriaque, arabe et latine offertes à Henri Hugonnard-Roche*, Vrin, Paris 2014 (Études Musulmanes, 44), pp. 113-22.



“stupidity” (*paṭ'ūtā*). On the other hand, excess of anger produces “audacity” (*mrāḥūtā*), its deficiency, “timidity” (*dhūltānūtā*), because struggling against inferior adversaries is a wrong thing, just as struggling against superior ones. Excess of desire produces “intemperance” (*šrīḥūtā*), while its deficiency (produces) “motionlessness” (*lā mettzi'ānūtā*), since it is right not only to reject desire towards everyone, but also not to desire the evil of a good man. As for justice, it is placed between two vices: “avarice” (*ālūbūtā*) and “deficiency of property” (*z'ūrūt qanāyūtā*), since, when justice is little, there is avarice; when it is abundant, and (a man) does not even possess what is (necessary) to feed him, there is deficiency of property.

Iwānnīs of Dārā's exposition goes on explaining that every vice is opposed not only to a virtue, but to another vice too. Some men say that, if there are two vices opposite to one virtue, the state of things is not right; according to him, on the contrary, each virtue is the result of the balance of the two vices opposite to it.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, the MS Harvard here employed is quite defective in this point, so it is difficult to establish a sure text. Nevertheless, Iwānnīs of Dārā's general argumentation is clear: all this doctrine lies upon a rather scholastic and rigid classification of virtues and vices that is typical of early Syriac philosophy – one can also compare the various Medieval Syriac “books of definitions and divisions” about these philosophical terms.<sup>7</sup> Anyway, no reference to the above classification is apparently found in any of them.

At a first glance, the Greek origin of such a classification is quite evident. Some terms employed by Iwānnīs of Dārā are patterned after a Greek equivalent word: *lā mettzi'ānūtā*, literally “the fact of not being in motion”, closely corresponds to *δυσκίνησία*, a term to be found in ethical writings too, meaning “sluggishness”;<sup>8</sup> *z'ūrūt qanāyūtā*, literally “smallness of property”, seems to be a substantially literal rendering of the Greek term *ἀκερδία*, literally “lack of benefit”.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, no direct Greek source of this Syriac passage can be pointed out: it is likely found in the wide apocryphal literature ascribed to Plato and Aristotle – actually being late scholastic compilatory writings, which aim to resume a mixed Neoplatonic-Aristotelian doctrine. We should remember the existence of two Arabic translations of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Virtutibus et vitiis*, both of which rely upon a Syriac version from Greek: Theodor Abū Qurrah (first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent.) and Abū l-Faraḡ ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043);<sup>10</sup> however, these versions reproduce a classification of virtues and vices quite different from Iwānnīs of Dārā's one – it is more nuanced, but more confused too.

Two texts of this kind gained considerable success among the Syrians and the Arabs: pseudo-Gregory the Thaumaturge's *Λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς*,<sup>11</sup> a compendious work about soul, which was widely circulating in Syriac and Arabic versions as attributed to Aristotle,<sup>12</sup> and a pseudo-

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the contents of MS Harvard, Houghton Library, *syriac* 47, folio 14 ra, line 19 - vb, l. 15.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. G. Furlani, “Il libro delle definizioni e divisioni” di Michele l'Interprete”, *Memorie della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* s. 6, vol. 2/1 (1926), pp. 1-194.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. the corresponding Greek term in the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Virtutibus et vitiis*: Arist., *Virt.* 1250 a 4-6; cp. also a rather similar Syriac term (*'asqā'ūt mettzi'*, literally “moving with difficulty”) in correspondence of Greek *δυσκίνητος*, here meaning “sluggish”, in S.P. Brock, “An Abbreviated Syriac Version of Ps.-Aristotle, *De Virtutibus et vitiis* and *Divisiones*”, in Coda-Martini Bonadeo (eds.), *De l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge*, pp. 91-112, on p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> This term is first found as such in Proclus Grammaticus (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD): see F. Montanari, *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, Loescher, Torino 1995, p. 107a.

<sup>10</sup> Both were published and rendered into German by M. Kellermann, *Ein pseudoaristotelischen Traktat über die Tugend*, J. Hög, Erlangen 1965.

<sup>11</sup> See the original Greek text in *PG*, vol. X, cc. 1137-1146 Migne.

<sup>12</sup> See M. Zonta, “Nemesiana Syriaca: New Fragments from the Missing Syriac Version of *De Natura hominis*”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 36 (1991), pp. 223-58, part. on pp. 227-8.

Platonic treatise *On the Subsistence of Soul's Virtues* (in Arabic, *Maqāla fī it̄bāt fadā'il al-nafs*), of which only the Arabic text has been found so far.<sup>13</sup> In particular, the latter includes a classification of the four cardinal virtues as related to the three souls, which, by the way, appears to have influenced a renowned Arab-Islamic philosophical writing on ethics: Aḥmad ibn Miskawayh's *Correction of Customs* (*Tabdīb al-ahlāq*), written around 1000 AD.<sup>14</sup>

This pseudo-Platonic treatise on virtues, if not directly related to Iwānnīs of Dārā's classification of vices, shows to have been well-known by the Syriac author; as a matter of fact, it was employed as a source of a previous passage, that is, the second part of chapter 4, book 5 of his *Treatise on the Soul*. The correspondences run as follows:<sup>15</sup>

Table 1

	Ps-Plato, <i>On the Subsistence of Soul's Virtues</i> , p. 31.46-60 Daiber	Iwānnīs of Dārā, <i>Treatise on the Soul</i> , MS Harvard, Houghton Library, syr. 47, folio 8ra, line 24 - va, line 22	English compared literal version of both sources
1	فأما الفلاسفة وأهل الرواق والمشائين	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	The philosophers and the Stoics and the Peripatetics
2	وجميع الطبيعيين	ܘܗܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	and all the natural <b>philosophers</b>
3		ܘܗܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	<b>among whom (there is) Aristotle, as he is someone whom I do not know who he is,</b>
4	فهم يجعلون	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	<i>put/open the discourse (by saying) that</i>
5	الجسد جزءاً من الإنسان لا أداة له	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	the <b>true</b> body <i>as/is</i> part of man, not <i>as his</i> instrument.
6	فأريهم في هذا الأمر غير رأي أوائل	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	<i>Their/they bring another</i> opinions about <i>this are/is different</i> with respect to the opinion of the best ones.
7	وذلك أنهم قالو <لا> <sup>16</sup> يكفي هذه الأربعة الفضائل	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	In fact, they state that <i>these/the</i> four virtues/ <b>customs</b> are not sufficient
8	التي ذكرناها في استكمال السعادة	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	(i.e.) what <i>we have/ it has been</i> mentioned about the <b>whole</b> perfection of happiness,
9	إذا لم يُعنيها الجسد وما حوله	ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܩܘܠܘܢ	if they are not helped by the body, and by those <b>around it/from outside</b> ;

<sup>13</sup> A first critical edition of the Arabic text, together with a German translation, has been published and studied by H. Daiber, "Ein bisher unbekannter pseudoplatonischer Text über die *Tugenden der Seele* in arabischer Überlieferung", *Der Islam* 47 (1971), pp. 25-42; cp. also Id., "Nachtrag zu Hans Daiber, Ein bisher unbekannter pseudoplatonischer Text über die *Tugenden der Seele* in arabischer Überlieferung", *Der Islam* 49 (1972), pp. 122-3.

<sup>14</sup> Cp. Daiber, "Ein bisher unbekannter pseudoplatonischer Text", p. 30.31-37 (Arabic text); p. 33 (German translation); pp. 37-39 (commentary), where some references of Greek sources of this doctrine are given.

<sup>15</sup> Column 1 of the table includes the Arabic text. Column 2 includes the corresponding Syriac passage, where the abbreviations are spelled out, and some words, which cannot be read in the MS Harvard and were probably found in the original text, are put between angle brackets; where the reconstruction of these lost words is impossible, there is the following sign: (...). Column 3 includes an English literal version of each Arabic and Syriac corresponding passage: if Arabic and Syriac are in agreement, the English version is put in normal letters; the differences between Arabic and Syriac terms or phrases are put in italics and bold respectively.

<sup>16</sup> *Lā add. Rosenthal] om. Daiber.*





wide work has been published so far;<sup>24</sup> most of its philosophical section, found in book 2, discourse 2 of it, is still in manuscript. In particular, the tenth question (*šūlā*) of the second part (*adšā*) of the above discourse (*memrā*), about “practical philosophy” (ethics, economics, and politics),<sup>25</sup> includes a classification of virtues and vices related to the three parts of soul, which, at a first glance, appears to be almost identical to that found in Iwānnīs of Dārā, except from some terminological differences. The contents of this classification and their comparison to those of Iwānnīs of Dārā (see the above passage) are put in the following table.

Table 2

	Severus bar Šakkō, <i>Book of Dialogues</i> , book 2, discourse 2, part 2, question 10		Iwānnīs of Dārā, <i>Treatise on the Soul</i> , book 5, chapter 5
1	<i>ḥušbā</i> , “rationality”:	1	<i>mlūlūtā</i> , “rationality”:
1.1	its virtues are <i>ḥakīmūtā</i> , “wisdom”, and <i>mḥawnūtā</i> , “intellection”; they are placed between two opposite vices:	1.1	its virtue is <i>ḥakīmūtā</i> , “wisdom”; it is placed between two opposite vices:
1.2	<i>mdarmūtā</i> , “slyness” (an excess of rationality);	1.2	<i>mdarmūtā</i> , “slyness”;
1.3	<i>paṭ’ūtā</i> , “stupidity” (a deficiency of rationality).	1.3	<i>paṭ’ūtā</i> , “stupidity”.
2	<i>ḥemtā</i> , “anger”:	2	<i>ḥemtā</i> , “anger”:
2.1	its virtues are <i>ḥlīšūtā</i> , “fortitude”, and <i>lbībūtā</i> , “courage”; they are placed between two opposite vices:	2	its virtue is <i>ḥayltānūtā</i> , “strength”; it is placed between two opposite vices:
2.2	<i>marḥūtā</i> (sic), “audacity”;	2.2	<i>mrāḥūtā</i> , “audacity”;
2.3	<i>dhūltānūtā</i> , “timidity”.	2.3	<i>dhūltānūtā</i> , “timidity”.
3	<i>regtā</i> , “desire”:	3	<i>regtā</i> , “desire”:
3.1	its virtues are <i>knīkūtā</i> , “decency”, and <i>sāpquūtā</i> , “continence”; they are placed between two vices:	3.1	its virtue is <i>knīkūtā</i> , “decency”; it is placed between two vices:
3.2	<i>šriḥūtā</i> , “intemperance”, and <i>ya’nūtā</i> , “cupidity”;	3.2	<i>šriḥūtā</i> , “intemperance”;
3.3	<i>šahyūt regtā</i> , “emptiness of desire”.	3.3	<i>lā mettzī’anūtā</i> , “sluggishness, motionlessness”.
4	<i>kinūtā</i> , “justice”; this virtue is placed between two vices:	4	<i>kinūtā</i> , “justice”; this virtue is placed between two vices:
4.1	<i>‘ālūbūtā</i> , “avarice”, “oppression”;	4.1	<i>‘ālūbūtā</i> , “avarice”, “oppression”;
4.2	<i>met’albānūtā</i> , “the fact of being oppressed”.	4.2	<i>z’ūrūt qanāyūtā</i> , “deficiency of property”.

A detailed comparison between Iwānnīs of Dārā’s scheme and Severus bar Šakkō’s one shows that, although their Syriac original source is identical, the latter reshaped some aspects of the terminology, probably under the influence of Arabic ethical writings too. It can be noticed that, e.g., he calls the virtue of “anger” as *lbībūtā*, “courage”, a term closer to the Arabic word *šağā’a* (the common term for “courage” as virtue of the irascible part of human soul)<sup>26</sup> than *ḥayltānūtā*; the virtue of the appetitive part is also called *sāpquūtā*, “continence”, so rendering the common Arabic term *iffa*, “continence”, better than the word used by Iwānnīs of Dārā, *knīkūtā*, whose original meaning is “prudence, dignity”; the excess of desire is also called *ya’nūtā*, “cupidity”, which corresponds to the Arabic word *šarah*, “avidity”.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See S.P. Brock, “Ya’qub bar Šakko”, in Brock-Butts-Kiraz-Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, pp. 430-1.

<sup>25</sup> We have consulted it in the MS London, British Library, *Add.* 21454, folios 193 r, line 26-194 r, line 5.

<sup>26</sup> Cp. e.g. Aḥmad ibn Miskawayh, *Tahdīb al-ablāq*, Idārat al-Waṭan, Cairo 1298/1881, pp. 11.22 ff.

<sup>27</sup> See Miskawayh, *Tahdīb al-ablāq*, p. 16.26.

The number of Arabic texts reproducing the scholastic ethical scheme which is known to Iwānnīs of Dārā and Severus bar Šakkō is really limited. As far as we know, the only ethical-philosophical writing which, in 9<sup>th</sup>-, 10<sup>th</sup>- and 11<sup>th</sup>-centuries literature, reproduces this model is Ibn Miskawayh's *Correction of Customs*. In the first treatise (*maqāla*) of this work, on chapter 5,<sup>28</sup> there is a rigid classification of four virtues; each of them is placed between two opposite vices, as follows:

1. the virtue of the rational soul (*al-nāṭiqa*) is “wisdom” (*ḥikma*); it is placed between “folly” (*sifh*) which, according to Ibn Miskawayh, people call “slyness” (*ḡarbaza*), and “stupidity” (*balah*);
2. the virtue of the appetitive soul (*al-šahwiyya*) is “continence” (*iffā*), which is placed between “avidity” (*šarab*) and “apaty” (*humūd al-šahwa*, literally “quietness of the appetition”);
3. the virtue of the irascible soul (*al-ḡadbiyya*) is “courage” (*šāḡā'a*), which is placed between “cowardice” (*ḡubn*) and “violent roughness” (*haraq*);
4. “justice” (*adāla*) is placed between “oppression” (*zulm*) and “to be oppressed” (*inžilām*). Strangely enough, Ibn Miskawayh explains the first term as “avarice, avidity of possession”, the second one as “abstinence from possession”.

The above general scheme is very similar to Iwānnīs of Dārā's one, but some differences occur: for example, the second and third faculties of human soul, “anger” and “desire” in Iwānnīs of Dārā, are inverted in Ibn Miskawayh; and some philosophical terms are put in the same positions but have not identical meanings in both authors.

These resemblances to the classification of virtues and vices found in Iwānnīs of Dārā also result in a work by a Judaeo-Arab author, surely older than Ibn Miskawayh but probably a younger contemporary and countryman of Iwānnīs of Dārā: Dawūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiš,<sup>29</sup> who seems to have lived and worked in Northern Syria and Iraq in the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. According to the available biographical data about him, for a period he converted to Christianity and studied with Nonnus of Nisibi (d. after 861), a renowned Monophysite author who lived in that period and milieu.<sup>30</sup> In his theological summary, the *Twenty Chapters* (*Isrūn Maqāla*), he inserted some paragraphs about the classification of virtues and vices, which have been only hastily studied so far.<sup>31</sup> A direct comparison of Dawūd al-Muqammiš's classification with Iwānnīs of Dārā's one shows that the relationship between these two ethical schemes is very close in contents as well as in terminology, so that we can suppose that the former employed exactly the same Syriac source which had been first used by the latter. The following table of comparison of their contents will better show this relationship.

<sup>28</sup> See Miskawayh, *Tahdīb al-ablāq*, 16-17. Cp. also M. Arkoun (trans.), *Miskawayh. Traité d'éthique*, Vrin, Paris 2010 (Textes philosophiques), pp. 39-43

<sup>29</sup> See S. Stroumsa, *Dāwūd Ibn Marwān al-Muqammiš's Twenty Chapters (Isrūn Maqāla)*, Brill, Leiden-New York-København-Köln 1989 (Études sur le judaïsme médiéval, 13), part. on pp. 15-35. A first hint to what will be explained here below is found in M. Zonta, *La filosofia ebraica medievale. Storia e testi*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2002 (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna), pp. 17, 23-25.

<sup>30</sup> About Nonnus of Nisibi, see M.P. Penn, “Nonnos of Nisibis”, in Brock-Butts-Kiraz-Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, p. 313.

<sup>31</sup> See Stroumsa, *Dāwūd Ibn Marwān al-Muqammiš's Twenty Chapters*, p. 281-7. A brief essay to these contents is found in G. Vajda, “La doctrine éthique de Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiš” (Hebr.), in J. Dan - J. Hacker (eds.), *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature presented to I. Thisby on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, The Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1986, pp. 315-25.

Table 3

	al-Muqammiš, <i>Twenty Chapters</i> , book 15, §§ 13-20		Iwānnīs of Dārā, <i>Treatise on the Soul</i> , book 5, chapter 5
1	<i>fikra</i> , “reason” (p.281.5 Stroumsa); cp. also <i>fikriyya</i> , “rational (faculty), rationality” (p.243.4 Stroumsa):	1	<i>mlīlūtā</i> , “rationality”:
1.1	its virtue is <i>ḥikma</i> , “wisdom” (p.281.7 Stroumsa); it is placed between two opposite vices:	1.1	its virtue is <i>ḥakīmūtā</i> , “wisdom”; it is placed between two opposite vices:
1.2	<i>ḡarbaza</i> , “slyness” (p.283.2 Stroumsa);	1.2	<i>mdarmūtā</i> , “slyness”;
1.3	<i>mūq</i> , “stupidity” (p.283.2 Stroumsa); cp. also <i>ru’ūna</i> , “frivolity” (p.287.8 Stroumsa).	1.3	<i>paṭ’ūtā</i> , “stupidity”.
2	<i>šawha</i> , “desire” (p.281.5 Stroumsa):	3	<i>regtā</i> , “desire”:
2.1	its virtue is <i>iffa</i> , “continenence” (p.281.7 Stroumsa); cp. also <i>ḥayā’</i> , “prudence, dignity” (p.287.3 Stroumsa). It is placed between two vices:	3.1	its virtue is <i>knīkūtā</i> , “decency”; it is placed between two vices:
2.2	<i>muḡūn</i> , “impudence” (p.283.3 Stroumsa), and cp. also <i>qihha</i> , “impudence” (p.285.7 Stroumsa);	3.2	<i>šriḥūtā</i> , “intemperance”;
2.3	<i>infisād ḥaraka</i> (p.283.3 Stroumsa), “motionlessness”, and cp. also <i>qillat ḥaraka</i> , “motionlessness” (285.6 Stroumsa), and <i>fašal</i> , “cowardliness” (285.7 Stroumsa).	3.3	<i>lā mettzi’anūtā</i> , “sluggishness, motionlessness”.
3	<i>ḡaḡaba</i> , “anger” (p.281.5 Stroumsa), and cp. also <i>ḥammiyya</i> , “anger” (p.243.5 Stroumsa; literally, it means “inflammation”):	2	<i>ḥemtā</i> , “anger” (literally, “heat, inflammation”):
3.1	its virtue is <i>quwwa</i> , “strenght” (p.281.7 Stroumsa), and cp. also <i>šaḡā’a</i> , “courage” (p.283.5 Stroumsa); it is placed between two opposite vices:	2.1	its virtue is <i>ḥayltānūtā</i> , “strength”; it is placed between two opposite vices:
3.2	<i>saḡb</i> , “folly” (p.283.4 Stroumsa); cp. also <i>ḥaraq</i> , “imprudence” (p.287.3 Stroumsa);	2.2	<i>mrāḥūtā</i> , “audacity”;
3.3	<i>ḡubn</i> , “timidity” (p.283.5 Stroumsa).	2.3	<i>dhūltānūtā</i> , “timidity”.
4	<i>’adl</i> , “justice” (p.281.7 Stroumsa); this virtue is placed between two vices:	4	<i>kīnūtā</i> , “justice”; this virtue is placed between two vices:
4.1	<i>zulm</i> , “oppression” (p.285.10 Stroumsa);	4.1	<i>’ālūbūtā</i> , “avarice”, “oppression”;
4.2	<i>inḡilām</i> , <sup>32</sup> “the fact of being oppressed” (p.285.10 Stroumsa).		<i>z’urūt qanāyūtā</i> , “deficiency of property”.

As it seems, al-Muqammiš’s terminology, despite some incongruences, shows a noteworthy similarity to Iwānnīs of Dārā’s one. Although the order of virtues and vices is partially inverted, just like it is found in Ibn Miskawayh, al-Muqammiš’s terminology seems to have been directly translated from the Syriac. We can observe al-Muqammiš’s use of such terms as *ḥammiyya*, which really appears to be a literal rendering of the Syriac term *ḥemtā*, since the original meanings (“inflammation”) and the phonetic radicals (*ḥ-m[-m]*) of both are identical; *ḥayā’*, “prudence, dignity”, which is apparently closer to the

<sup>32</sup> This seems to be the correct reading, confirmed by the comparison of Ibn Miskawayh’s parallel passage, of the word *ytz’lm*, which is found in the unique manuscript of Dāwūd al-Muqammiš’s work (see Stroumsa, *Dāwūd Ibn Marwān al-Muqammiš’s Twenty Chapters*, p. 285, n. 102), but has been differently emended by Stroumsa into *tazālum*, “inequity”.

Syriac *knīkūtā*, “decency”, than *iffā*, “continenca”; *quwwa*, which in Arabic means “strength”, is closer to the Syriac *hayltānūtā*, literally “strengthness”, which derives from *haylā*, “strength, potency, power”,<sup>33</sup> than *šāḡā’a*, whose meaning, “courage”, is partially different; *infisād ḥaraka* and *qillat ḥaraka*, literally “scarcity of motion”, which literally correspond to the Syriac term *lā mettzi’anūtā*, “not to be moved, sluggishness, motionlessness”. Particularly the last two Arabic terms cannot be philosophically explained without resorting to a Syriac antecedent.

The only substantial difference is found between Iwānnīs of Dārā’s classification of vices opposed to justice and al-Muqammiš’s one. However, in this case, this fact can be explained on the basis of an error in the textual tradition of an original Syriac term. The word *‘alūbūtā*, here in the sense of “oppression”, might have been an erroneous variant-reading of an original Syriac term, *‘awlūtā*, “injustice”, which corresponds to the Greek term τὸ ἀδικεῖν, “doing injustice”.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the neologism *met‘albānūtā*, “the fact of being oppressed”, was created by somebody who wanted to provide a literal but incorrect translation for the vice opposite to it, in Greek τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, that is to say, “the fact of receiving injustice”. But the Syriac term *‘alūbūtā* has another sense too: that of “avidity, avarice” – hence, “the fact of acquiring goods”. Iwānnīs of Dārā probably took into consideration the latter sense, compared it with the Greek τὸ ἀδικεῖν, and created its opposite term, as follows: *z’ūrūt qanāyūtā*, literally “the fact of acquiring few goods”, so meaning “deficiency of property”. Such word was possibly created by Iwānnīs of Dārā, but was not used by other Syriac authors who employed this source, like Severus bar Šakkō. In fact, the Syriac-to-Arabic translator of this work might have rendered *met‘albānūtā* as *inzilām*, “the fact of being oppressed”; the latter was used by al-Muqammiš, and Ibn Miskawayh apparently merged the above two different meanings of this key-point of the pseudo-Platonic treatise into one, by giving to *inzilām* the strange meaning of “abstinence from possession, abstinence from acquiring goods”. Ibn Miskawayh might have even used al-Muqammiš’s work as his unrecognized source.

To sum up, the examination of the above, still unknown passage of Iwānnīs of Dārā’s *Treatise on the Soul* has led us to discover the most ancient witness of the theme of the fourfold classification of virtues and vices, by proving the existence of a removed common Syriac source of this tradition prior to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which was very probably translated from a lost Greek original. Moreover, the existence of a Syriac philosophical source directly used by two authors, Iwānnīs of Dārā and Dawūd al-Muqammiš, who lived approximately in the same period (first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century) and in the same geographical area (Northern Syria and Iraq), has been ascertained on philological basis. It is possible that this source was known to al-Muqammiš through the mediation of his Christian teacher, Nonnus of Nisibi, who could have access to the same texts used by Iwānnīs of Dārā. This important fact seems to confirm the suppositions of some scholars about the direct influence of Syriac literature on some aspects of early Judaeo-Arabic philosophy and Biblical exegesis.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> About the last term and its possible relationship to *quwwa*, cp. M. Zonta, *Saggio di lessicografia filosofica araba*, Paideia, Brescia 2014 (Philosophica 7), p. 217.

<sup>34</sup> Arist., *Magna Mor.* 1193 b 19 ff. For the correct Syriac term *‘awlūtā* in correspondence to Greek ἀδικία, see Brock, “An Abbreviated Syriac Version of Ps.-Aristotle, *De Virtutibus et vitiis*”, pp. 108-9.

<sup>35</sup> About al-Muqammiš’s contacts with contemporary Christian scholars, see the remarks in Stroumsa, *Dāwūd Ibn Marwān al-Muqammiš’s Twenty Chapters*, p. 24. By the way, the above pseudo-Gregory the Thaumaturg’s Λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περὶ ψυχῆς has been identified as one of the sources of another Judaeo-Arabic writing, the *Commentary on the Genesis (Tafsīr Bere’sīt)* by Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb al-Qirqisānī, who lived in the same geographical area of al-Muqammiš one century later, and knew it probably by means of a Syriac intermediate source: see B. Chiesa, *Creazione e caduta dell’uomo nell’esegesi giudeo-araba medievale*, Paideia, Brescia 1989 (Studi biblici), pp. 95-97.

## Appendix

Greek-Syriac glossary of philosophical terms as found in Iwānnīs of Dārā's *Treatise on the Soul*, compared to those found in Gregory of Nyssa's *On Soul and Resurrection* and *Epistle to Letoios*,<sup>36</sup> and to some terms in the Arabic version of pseudo-Plato's *On the Subsistence of Soul's Virtues*.

- τὸ ἀγαθόν 69.21 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 44 rb 21 = خيرة ll. 15, 16, 20;  
 ἀγάπη 69.15 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 44 rb 4;  
 αἰδής 52.20 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 42 ra 12;  
 αἴσθησις 42.2 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܝ 41 ra 15; ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܝ 41 ra 16; cp. حاسة l. 18;  
 αἰσθητική 52.16 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܝ 42 ra 6;  
 τὸ αἰσθητικόν 82.15 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܝ 44 vb 15;  
 αἰσχύνη 67.20 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 44 ra 23;  
 ἀκρισία *Let.* 3.4 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 14 vb 13;  
 ἀληθῶς *Let.* 3.8 = ܕܘܟܘܠܘܬܐ 14 vb 25;  
 ἀλλότριον 34.7 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 40 rb 20;  
 τὸ ἄλογον 82.14 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 44 vb 14;  
 τὰ ἄλογα 42.16 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 41 rb 10-11;  
 ἄμαρτία *Let.* 3.11 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 15 ra 7;  
 τὸ ἀναίσθητον 82.15 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܝ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 44 vb 15;  
 ἀνάστασις 55.13 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 42 va 21;  
 ἀνδρεία *Let.* 3.17 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 15 ra 23;  
 ἀνυπόστατος *Let.* 3.13 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 15 ra 12;  
 ἀπάθεια 86.15 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 45 rb 12;  
 ἀπέχθεια *Let.* 3.16 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 15 ra 21;  
 ἀποκριθῆναι 55.10 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 42 va 12;  
 ἀπόλαυσις 70.11 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 44 va 3;  
 ἀπόπτωμα *Let.* 3.23 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 15 rb 16;  
 ἀρετή 42.9, 65.15, *Let.* 3.10-11 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 41 rb 2, 43 vb 19, 15 ra 4 = فضل ll. 24, 30;  
 ἀρχέτυπος 40.4 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 41 ra 8;  
 ἀρχή 56.8, 95.9 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 42 vb 17; ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 45 vb 29;  
 ἀσώματος 58.15 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 43 rb 12;  
 τὸ ἄτμητον 31.4 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 40 ra 30-31;  
 ἄτρεπτον 86.13 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ ܟܠ 45 rb 7;  
 αὐξητική 95.11 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 45 vb 33;  
 τὸ αὐξητικόν 96.6 = ܟܘܠܘܬܐ 46 rb 11;

<sup>36</sup> About Iwānnīs of Dārā's quotations of these sources, see Zonta, "Iwānnīs of Dārā's *Treatise on the Soul* and its Sources", p. 117-19. The Greek terms here below are taken from the edition of Gregory of Nyssa's works in E. Mühlberg (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni Opera dogmatica minora V: Epistula Canonica*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2008 (*Epistle to Letoios*: the references are preceded by "Let."); A. Spira - E. Mühlberg † (eds.), *Gregorii Nysseni Opera dogmatica minora III: Gregorii Nysseni De Anima et resurrectione*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2014 (*On Soul and Resurrection*). The Syriac terms refer to folios and lines of the MS Harvard. The Arabic terms refer to the lines of Table 1.

βραχύτης 27.4, 95.16 = **κθαιααι** 39 va 5, 46 ra 28;

γνώσις 70.2 = **κθαι** 44 rb 29;

γνωστική 54.21 = **κθαιαι** 42 ra 22;

δειλία 37.14 = **κθαιαδαι** 40 vb 4;

δημιουργία 55.14 = **κθαια κθαια** 42 va 23;

διαγωγή 85.20 = **κθαι** 45 ra 30;

διάζευξις *Let.* 3.20 = **κθαιαδαι** 15 rb 6;

διάθρησις *Let.* 3.9 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 vb 28 = **ث**, l. 6;

διακρίνειν 53.9, 56.17 = **κθαια** 42 rb 4; **κθαιακ** 42 vb 32;

διακρίνεσθαι 28.23 = **κθαια κθαι** 39 vb 19;

διακριτική *Let.* 2.26 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 va 27;

ἡ διακριτική (δύναμις) 39.12 = **κθαια** 40 vb 27;

διακριτικόν 66.10 = **κθαια θαι** 43 vb 25;

διάλυσις 28.16, 53.1 = **κθαι** 39 vb 7, 42 ra 17;

διανοητικός 38.12 = **κθαιαι** 40 vb 11;

διάστασις 54.9 = **κθαιαδαι** 42 ra 12;

διαφορά 56.10 = **κθαια** 42 vb 23;

δόξα *Let.* 3.2 = **κθαια** 14 vb 2;

δύναμις 31.1, 95.11 = **κθαι** 40 ra 21, 45 vb 33;

εἶδος 52.20, 53.2 = **κθαιαι** 42 ra 14, 19;

εἰκός 53.1 = **κθαια** 42 ra 19;

εἰκόν 27.6 = **κθαια** 39 va 8;

έλκτικόν 66.14 = **κθαι** 43 vb 29;

ἐλπὶς 67.14 = **κθαι** 44 ra 11;

ἐμπαθής 86.14-15 = **κθαια** 45 rb 11;

ἔμψυχον 95.14 = **κθαια** 46 ra 6;

ἐναλλαγμένη *Let.* 3.5 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 vb 15;

ἐνάρετος *Let.* 3.7 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 vb 23;

ἐνδεια 69.23 = **κθαιαδαι** 44 rb 23 = نقصان l. 35;

ἐνέργεια 68.17 = **κθαιαδαι** 44 ra 27;

ἐνεργεῖσθαι 65.12-13 = **κθαιαδαι** 43 vb 15;

ἐνωσις 52.21 = **κθαια κθαιαδαι** 42 ra 13;

ἐπιγινόμενα 33.1 = **κθαιαδαι** 40 rb 10;

ἐπιδεής 68.17 = **κθαια** 44 ra 30;

ἐπιθυμητική 42.19 = **κθαιαδαι** 41 rb 16;

ἐπιθυμητικός *Let.* 3.8 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 vb 22; **κθαι** 14 vb 24;

τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν 32.20 = **κθαια** 40 rb 4;

ἐπιστήμη 68.17, *Let.* 2.26 = **κθαιαδαι** 44 ra 28; **κθαια** 14 va 27;

ἔρεισμα 70.12 = **κθαιαδαι** 44 va 6 = نقصان l. 35;

ἐρωτική *Let.* 3.9 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 vb 28;

ἐσφαλμένη *Let.* 3.5 = **κθαιαδαι** 14 vb 16;

ἐτερογενής 11.1 = **κθαιαδαι** 39 ra 14;

ἐτερογενῶς ἔχειν 29.2 = **κθαιαδαι** 39 vb 21;

ἐτεροφυής 8.1 = **κθαιαδαι** 38 va 22;

τὸ εὐκίνητον 84.16 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲛ ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓⲱ** 45 ra 2;

ζέσις 37.4 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲓⲱⲛⲱ** 40 va 19;

ἡδονή 37.9, 37.15 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲣⲱⲛ** 40 va 26; **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲛ** 40 vb 5;

ἡ θεωρητικὴ (δύναμις) 39.12 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲛ** 40 vb 27;

θεωρητικόν 66.9 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲱ** 43 vb 24-25;

θράσος 37.14 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲗ** 40 vb 5;

τὸ θρεπτικόν 96.6 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲃⲓ** 46 rb 10;

τὸ θυμοειδής 32.20 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲓ** 40 rb 4;

θυμός 35.5, 65.13 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲓ** 40 va 3; **ⲕⲁⲓⲱⲓ** 43 vb 16;

θυμώδης *Let.* 3.16 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱ** 15 ra 20;

καθ' ἑαυτήν 10.6 = **ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛ** 38 vb 25;

κακία 42.9 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲛⲱ** 41 rb 2;

κάλλος 40.4 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲁⲣⲱⲕⲁ** 41 ra 7-8;

κατὰ τὸ ἴσον 30.19 = **ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲛⲉ** 40 ra 14;

κατασκευή 32.21 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲃⲓ** 40 rb 7;

καταφρόνησις 37.15 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱⲛ** 40 vb 6;

κατόρθωμα *Let.* 2.25 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲃⲓ** 14 va 23;

κενοδοξία *Let.* 3.13 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱ** 15 ra 12;

τὰ κινήματα 40.2 = **ⲕⲱⲓ** 41 ra 4;

κοινωνία 28.2, 57.15-16 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲃⲓⲁⲛⲉ** 39 va 20; **ⲕⲁⲃⲓⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲁⲃⲓⲁⲛⲉ** 43 ra 26;

τὸ κρεῖττον 38.16 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱ** 40 vb 16; cp. *ⲓⲱⲓ* l. 6;

κρίσις 60.25 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲛⲉ** 43 rb 19;

λεπτομέρεια 56.2 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱ** 42 vb 4-5;

τὸ λεπτόν 84.16 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱ** 45 ra 1;

ἡ λογικὴ (δύναμις) 42.1 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱ** 41 ra 13;

τὸ λογικόν 82.14-15 = **ⲕⲁⲃⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓ** 44 vb 14;

λόγος 31.3, 42.13 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲱ** 40 ra 26; **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲃⲓⲁⲛ** 41 rb 6;

λοιδορία *Let.* 3.24 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲛⲉ** 15 rb 20;

λύπη 37.15 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱ** 40 vb 5;

μεταστάς 52.20 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲱ** 42 ra 12;

μηχανή 55.9 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲱⲛⲱ** 42 va 8;

μίξις 52.22 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲛⲱ** 42 ra 14;

μῦθος *Let.* 3.24 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱ** 15 rb 19;

μνήμη 67.17 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲱⲛⲱ** 44 ra 14;

τὰ οἰκεῖα 28.14 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲱⲓⲁⲣ** 39 vb 3;

οἰκεῖος 7.14 = **ⲕⲱⲓⲱⲓ** 38 va 8;

οἰκείωσις 52.22 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲃⲓⲁⲛ** 42 ra 16;

ὀλκή 7.15 = **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲃⲓⲱ** 38 va 10;

- ὁμογενής 7.16, 57.13 =  $\text{כחבב}$  38 va 11;  $\text{כחבב}$  43 ra 21;  
 ὁμοιότης 69.21-22 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  44 rb 21;  
 ὁμόφυλος 56.1 =  $\text{כחבב}$  42 vb 8;  
 ὄντως *Let.* 3.4 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  14 vb 14;  
 ὄρεκτόν *Let.* 3.10 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  i 15 ra 4;  
 ὄρεξις 37.5 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  40 va 21;  
 ὄρμη 37.7, 42.19 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  40 va 23;  $\text{כחבב}$  41 rb 15;  
 ὄρος 34.8 =  $\text{כחבבב}$  40 rb 20;  
 οὐσία 52.17 =  $\text{כחב}$  42 ra 6;
- παθητός 86.15 =  $\text{כחבבב}$  45 rb 12;  
 παρατροπή *Let.* 3.11 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  15 ra 7;  
 πόθος 65.6, *Let.* 3.8 =  $\text{כחבב}$  43 vb 10;  $\text{כחבבב}$  14 vb 26;  
 ποσότης 96.5 =  $\text{כחבבבבב}$  46 rb 7;  
 ποικίλη 8.2 =  $\text{כחבבבבבבבב}$  38 va 24;  
 πράγμα *Let.* 3.5 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  14 vb 18;  
 προαίρησις 42.9, 60.26 =  $\text{כחבב}$  41 ra 31, 43 rb 19;  
 προαιρετική 91.2 =  $\text{כחבבב}$  45 rb 21;  
 πρόληψις *Let.* 3.21 =  $\text{כחבבבבבבבבבב}$  15 rb 9-10;  
 προσπάθεια 65.2-3 =  $\text{כחבבבבבבבב}$  43 vb 3-4;
- ῥοπή 7.15, 84.17 =  $\text{כחבבבבבבב}$  38 va 7;  $\text{כחבבבבבבב}$  45 ra 4;
- στέρησις 61.17 =  $\text{כחבבבבב}$  43 va 14;  
 συγγένεια 65.12 =  $\text{כחבבבבב}$  43 vb 14;  
 συγγενές 7.18 =  $\text{כחבב}$  38 va 17-18;  
 σύγκριμα 28.14 =  $\text{כחבבב}$  39 vb 1;  
 συμπίπτειν 28.22 =  $\text{כחבבבבבבבבבב}$  39 vb 16-17;  
 συμφύτᾱ 7.14 =  $\text{כחבבבבב}$ <sup>37</sup> 38 va 5;  
 συνδρομή 54.9 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  42 rb 10;  
 συνήθεια *Let.* 3.21 =  $\text{כחבב}$  15 rb 9;  
 σύνηθες 56.13 =  $\text{כחבב}$  42 vb 29;  
 τὰ συνημμένα 42.4 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  41 ra 20;  
 σύνθετος 7.12 =  $\text{כחבבב}$  38 va 3;  
 συνουσιωμένα 32.20 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  40 rb 6-7;  
 σχῆμα 24.16 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  39 rb 8;  
 σωματικώτερον 58.5 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  43 rb 4;
- τέλειον 96.3 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  46 rb 5; cp. *استكمال* l. 8;  
 τέχνη 31.3 =  $\text{כחבבבבב}$  40 ra 22;  
 τεχνικός 31.1 =  $\text{כחבבבבבב}$  40 ra 26;  
 τόπος 49.13 =  $\text{כחבב}$  41 va 22;  $\text{כחבבב}$  41 va 22;  
 τρεφόμενος 95.11 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  46 ra 7;  
 τρόπος 67.9 =  $\text{כחבבבב}$  44 ra 5;

<sup>37</sup> Here, the MS Harvard has the erroneous reading *mgazyūtā*, “want, lack”.

ἕλη 57.12 =  $\text{𐤀𐤋𐤍}$  43 ra 28;

τὰ ὑποκείμενα *Let.* 3.1 =  $\text{𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  14 vb 4;

ὑπόληψις 51.5-6, *Let.* 2.26 =  $\text{𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  41 vb 8, 14 va 25;

ὑπομονή 61.5 =  $\text{𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  43 rb 28;

ὑπόστασις 70.14 =  $\text{𐤅𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  44 va 9;

φθόνος *Let.* 3.24 =  $\text{𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  15 rb 18;

φόβος 37.15 =  $\text{𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  40 vb 6;

φύσις 29.5, 91.6 =  $\text{𐤕𐤏𐤏}$  39 vb 27, 45 rb 29; cp.  $\text{طبيعي}$  “natural” l. 2;

χρήσις 42.8 =  $\text{𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  41 ra 13;

χώρα 86.14 =  $\text{𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏}$  45 rb 10;

ψυχή 39.17 =  $\text{𐤕𐤏𐤏}$  41 ra 4 =  $\text{نفس}$  l. 11.