



Physiological Speculation and Social Patterning in a Pahlavi Text

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BRIEF COMMUNICATION

Physiological Speculation and Social Patterning in a Pahlavi Text¹

Zâdspram 30.14–19 is a passage that has been discussed on occasion as a clear example of the transmission of Greek scientific and philosophical teachings to Iran, being in effect a Middle Persian account of the Hippocratic system of four bodily fluids or humors. Beyond its importance as evidence bearing on questions of culture contact and influence, however, it holds considerable intrinsic interest, for this text employs the four humor system as a powerful instrument of ideological persuasion, through which a view of proper social, political, and gender hierarchy is skillfully advanced.

The study of ancient science is frequently rewarding, for in certain instances it may furnish convincing evidence of culture contact and influence. Thus, some forty-odd years ago, Sir Harold W. Bailey was able to recognize the traces of Aristotelian and Hippocratic thought within discussions of the nature of the human body in several Middle Persian texts.² In this study, among the most striking pieces of evidence which Bailey cited was a passage (*Zâdspram* 30.14) concerned with the “watery” (*âbig*) elements of the body,³ said to be four in number, which, as he showed, closely parallel the four humors of Hippocratic theory.⁴ Although other elements of Bailey’s broader argument may remain subject to debate, in this specific datum, the influence of Greek learning in an Iranian milieu is incontestably evident.

There are, however, other reasons for studying ancient speculation on the nature and workings of the natural world, not least of which is the way in which they occasionally encode concerns of a distinctly sociopolitical nature. Such, I hope to show, is true in the case of the Iranian theory of the four humors, as becomes clear when one considers the full

Zâdspram passage in which they are treated.⁵ Although Bailey provided a transliteration of this text (*Zsp.* 30.14–19), he neither translated nor discussed any of its contents beyond the names given the four bodily fluids in *Zsp.* 30.14. The sole translation available, to the best of my knowledge, is that of Anklesaria, in which certain misunderstandings so distort its sense as to make the text quite incomprehensible.⁶ It thus seems worth providing a new rendition of *Zâdspram* 30.14–19, paragraph by paragraph, with a detailed analysis of its content.

14. There are four essential fluids in the body, which are: Blood, Phlegm, Red Bile, and Black Bile.⁷

¹ Research carried out under the auspices of a single quarter leave from the University of Minnesota, which support I gratefully acknowledge. I am also most grateful to William Malandra for his valuable criticisms and suggestions on the translation offered below.

² H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1943), pp. 78–119.

³ *Zâdspram* 30.3 asserts that “The body is threefold: the bodily being which is bone, and [that which is] of water, and [that which is] of wind”: *tanig 3 î ast tanigardig ud âbig ud wâdig*. There then follows an analysis of these three categories of bodily substance, of which the passage under consideration here is a part.

⁴ Bailey, op cit., p. 105.

⁵ As is so often the case, secure dating of the *contents* within a Middle Persian text composed in the Ninth Century of our era is virtually impossible. Given certain of the details within the passage to be considered, it seems most plausible to me that its key concepts are rooted in the Sassanian period, but I see no secure way to preclude either an earlier or later dating.

⁶ Behramgore Tehmurasp Anklesaria, *Vichitakiha-i Zâdsparam, with Text and Introduction* (Bombay: Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds & Properties, 1964), pp. cvi–cvii. Bailey’s transliteration is found at pp. 211–12.

⁷ The full text is found in Anklesaria, p. 112, line 5 to p. 114, line 2.

112.5 âb[ân] andar tan mâdagwar 4, î hast *xôn
6. ud drēm ud wiš î suxr ud wiš î syâ.

TEXTUAL NOTES

112.5 *mâdagwar*, not *mâdagwarihâ*, following the TD MS., pace Anglesaria and Bailey. The term is adjectival, modifying *âb*. It is possible that the *-ihâ* suffix might signify the plural, in which case, however, we ought expect **âbân*.

Although similar lists of bodily fluids can be found in other Middle Persian texts, it is in this passage that the closest correspondence can be found to the system which is common to Hippocratic medicine.⁸ Thus, if one compares Zsp. 30.14 to the Hippocratic text "Concerning the Nature of Man" (*Peri Physios Anthrôpou*) §4, one finds virtually the same fluids listed in identical order: first blood (Pahl. *xôn*; Gk. *haima*), then phlegm (Pahl. *drêm*; Gk. *phlegma*), and last black bile (Pahl. *wiš î syâ*; Gk. *kholên melainan*). The sole divergence is that in the third position, where the Greek has "yellow bile" (*kholên xanthên*), the Iranian has "red" (*wiš î suxr*), and even this minor difference is made more minimal still by the specification that the color of "red bile" is "variable from red to yellow" (*gôn suxr ô zardîh wardîšnîg*, *Zâdspram* 30.15).

Also of interest is the term that is used to describe these fluids as a set: *âb mâdagwar*, which I have translated "essential fluids," following established practice.⁹ As is plainly evident, however, *mâdagwar* is derived from *mâdag* "female" (cf. Avestan *mâtâr*, Sanskrit *mâtr*, Latin *mâter*, Old High German *muotar*, etc.), and "essential" fails to capture this dimension of its meaning. Nyberg attempted to clarify things by arguing that the broader semantic range of *mâdag* included an abstract dimension (thus "the essential element of anything, its core, essence; materials,");¹⁰ conversely, however, the designation of certain things as *mâdagwar* includes an element of (gender-specific) concretion, such things being in some sense "maternal." The importance of this will become evident when the four "essential/maternal" fluids are brought in conjunction with another, decidedly non-maternal fluid.

112.5 Both of the manuscripts (TD and BK) omit *xôn* here, the TD MS. has 3 instead of 4, in keeping with this omission. BK, however, has 4 in accord with the full set of bodily fluids spelled out in the discussion that follows (Zsp. 30.15–19).

112.6 *wiš* "bile" is homographic with *wêh* "good." Anklesaria consistently misinterprets it as the latter term.

⁸ Thus, the set of four humors given at *Dênkart* 3.263 (MS. B 211.12–13) fails to differentiate between the two types of bile, and adds "breath" (*wâd*) to fill out the set. A vague association is also there advanced between the humors—breath, blood, bile, and phlegm—and the four "worldly elements of the body" (*gêhân âmêzišnîg tan ristân*): fire (*âdur*), wind (*wâd*), moisture (*nâm*), and clay (*gil*). Although it is not spelled out, one probably ought to correlate fire to blood, wind to breath, moisture to phlegm, and clay to bile.

⁹ Thus D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 53; Henrik Samuel Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974) 2:129.

¹⁰ Nyberg, 2:129 (under *mâtakîk*). Cf. the relation between Lt. *mâter* and *mâteria*.

15. The nature of blood is warm and moist, its color red, its taste sweet, and its dwelling is in the liver.¹¹ The nature of phlegm is cold and moist, its color white, its taste salt, and its dwelling is in the lungs. The nature of red bile is warm and dry, its color is variable from red to yellow, its taste bitter, and its dwelling is in the gall bladder. The nature of black bile is cold and dry, its color black, its taste sour, and its dwelling is in the spleen.¹²

The first piece of information that is given regarding each of the fluids is its "nature" or "substance" (*gôhr*).¹³ More precisely, an analysis is offered for each fluid as to whether it possesses warmth or cold, moisture or dryness. Classification along these lines yields a quadripartite taxonomy, as shown in Figure One.

	Moist	Dry
Warm	Blood	Red Bile
Cold	Phlegm	Black Bile

Fig. 1. Classification of the Four Humors based upon their "nature"(I)

¹¹ Thus the text, although Anklesaria consistently translates *jagar* by "heart," in keeping with what is now known about the circulation of the blood. That this is the liver, however, and not the heart, is made certain not only by the etymology of Pahlavi *jagar* (cf. Avestan *yâkarə*, Sanskrit *yakrt*, Persian *jigar*, Greek *hêpar*, Latin *iecur*, Lithuanian *jaknos* [pl.]), but also by the specification later in the text that the gall bladder (*zahrag*) is located *above* the *jagar* (*zahrag î azabar jagar be jahêd*).

¹² 112.7 *xôn gohr garm ud xwêd, uš gôn suxr, uš*

8. *mizag šîrên, uš kadag pad jagar. drêm sard <ud> xwêd,*

9. *ud gôn spêd, mizag sôr, uš kadag pad suš. wiš î*

10. *suxr garm <ud> hušk ud gôn suxr ô zardîh wardîšnîg, uš*

11. *mizag taxl, uš kadag pad zahrag. ud wiš î syâ*

12. *sard <ud> hušk, uš gôn syâ uš mizag *trufš, uš*

13. *kadag pad spul.*

TEXTUAL NOTES

112.7 *garm*, the reading of the BK MS. is preferable to that of TD (*drêm*), pace Anklesaria.

112.10 Again *garm* and not *drêm*, following the BK reading, pace Anklesaria.

¹³ On this term, see Bailey, pp. 89–90.

While accurate enough, such a representation is not the most instructive way to arrange these data, for the system does not really employ four variables, but only two, dryness being simply the absence of moisture, and cold the absence of warmth. Thus the taxonomy is actually constructed upon two binary oppositions, in proper Lévi-Straussian fashion. Moreover, there is a hierarchic dimension to this taxonomy, for in both cases, the presence of the taxonomizing property is considered preferable to its absence, moisture and warmth being regarded as beneficent and sustaining of life (i.e., Ohrmazdian) in Zoroastrian theology, while dryness and cold are evil, being characteristic of death and stagnation (i.e., Ahrimanian).¹⁴ Thus, an initial distinction is apparent between those benign fluids which possess moisture (blood and phlegm), and those which do not (red bile and black bile), the latter being classified as “bilious” or “poisonous,” for the term that is translated “bile” (Pahlavi *wiš*) means more generally “venom, poison.”¹⁵ Further subdivision of the benign and bilious fluids according to the presence or absence of warmth yields the full system of relations that is shown in Figure Two.¹⁶

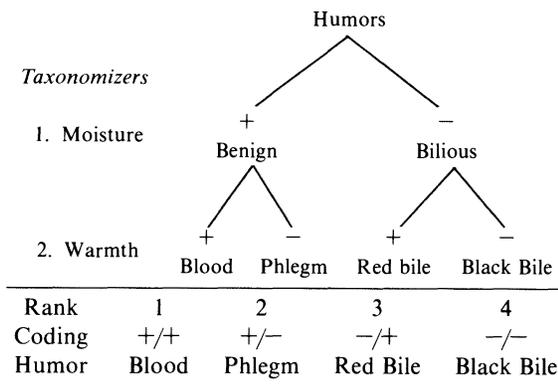


Fig. 2. Classification of the Four Humors based upon their “nature”(II).

¹⁴ See, for instance, GBd. 181.6, *Dēnkart* 3.105, 123, 162, and 390, and the discussion of Mansour Shaki, “Some Basic Tenets of the Eclectic Metaphysics of the *Dēnkart*,” *Archiv Orientalni* 38 (1970), pp. 295–96.

¹⁵ MacKenzie, p. 92. Nyberg 2:215 does not even list the more specialized meaning “bile.” Derivation is from the Avestan *viš-*, *viša-* “poison”; cf. Sanskrit *viṣa-*, Greek *īos*, Latin *vīrus*, Irish *fí*.

¹⁶ For further discussion of this means of representing classificatory systems, and on the hierarchic nature of classification in general, see Chapter Seven of my forthcoming book, *The Politics of Myth, and Other Essays*.

Beyond the question of “nature” (*gôhr*), the four humors are described in terms of three other variables: color (*gôn*), taste (*mizag*), and bodily locus or “dwelling” (*kadag*). The result is a sixteen-item square (four humors × four variables), in which the properties of the four humors are carefully set forth, without overlap or duplication, save in a single instance: the common color of blood and red bile. Even here, the text is at pains to establish a clear differentiation, specifying that the latter fluid may vary in hue from red to yellow (*gôn suxr ô zardîh wardîšnîg*) as we have already noted. The system in full is shown in Figure Three.

	Nature	Color	Taste	Dwelling
Blood	Warm Moist	Red	Sweet	Liver
	Cold Moist	White	Salt	Lung
Red Bile	Warm Dry	Red- Yellow	Bitter	Gall Bladder
Black Bile	Cold Dry	Dark	Sour	Spleen

Fig. 3. Properties of the Four Humors.

Having established the differences among these four fluids, the text continues, in a somewhat less successful—if no less interesting—attempt to work out their complex interrelations.

16. Blood, the foremost of these elements, goes to the liver, and then in agitation goes mountain-climbing toward the head (?);¹⁷ otherwise it collects and the phlegm awakes. Then the gall bladder, which is above the liver, draws up that which is thin and quick-flowing, which becomes red bile. It always keeps its mouth open. Red bile flows over the stomach, which digests food. That coarseness which remains is thrown down into the spleen, and becomes black bile.¹⁸

¹⁷ This sentence employs imagistic language to describe imaginary physiological processes, making it extremely difficult to interpret with any certainty.

¹⁸ 112.14 *pêšôbây az âmêzišnân xôn ô jagar šawêd*,
 15. *ud pas andar ayârdênišn kôf be sar abganêd enâ*
 113.1 *cinêd ud be ô drêm guhrâyênd. pas zahrag î azabar*
 2. *jagar be estêd, ân î bârig î têz ul âhanjêd*

Blood, earlier said to have its “dwelling” in the liver (Zsp. 30.15), is here brought into association with a second bodily locus: the head, to which it travels in the course of normal circulation. When this second “dwelling” is considered alongside the loci assigned to the other humors (none of which is assigned such a secondary locus), a vertical mapping becomes apparent that parallels the hierarchy already established among the fluids based upon their “natures” (compare Figure Four to the rank order set forth in Figure Two).¹⁹

1. Head (Blood)
2. Lungs (Phlegm)
3. Gall Bladder (Red Bile)
4. Spleen (Black Bile)

Fig. 4. Vertical Mapping of the Bodily Loci associated with the Four Humors.

Should the blood (or a portion of the blood) not ascend to the head, this sets in motion a complicated set of events. For when blood does not rise from the liver, the result is phlegm, although it is not made clear just how this residual blood catalyzes the production of phlegm in the lungs. Rather, we are simply told that when the blood “collects” (*cinêd*) then the phlegm “awakes” (*guh râyênêd*). In contrast, the relation of residual blood to the two kinds of bile is thoroughly explicated. For just as blood is made up of two parts—one which rises and one which does not (the latter being connected, somehow, with phlegm)—so also the residual blood consists of two similar parts. One of these, we are told, is thin, subtle, or rarefied in nature (Pahl. *bârîg*), and is thus capable of upward motion from the liver to the gall bladder (*zahrag î azabar jagar be jahêd, ân î bârîg î têz ul âhanjêd*),

3. be ô wiš î suxr bawêd, bâstân dahân wišâd
4. dârêd. wiš î suxr abar kumîg rêzêd, î xwarišn
5. gugârêd, pas stabrîh î abâz mânêd frôd ô *spul
6. *abganihêd be ô wiš î syâ bawêd.

TEXTUAL NOTES

112.14 Both mss. have what amounts to a misspelling here, showing *'mzš'n* for *'myn'n* (in transliteration).

112.14 Where TD has *jagar* (“liver”, i.e., the original dwelling place of the blood according to the preceding discussion), BK has *sar* (“head”, i.e., the blood’s destination, according to the following line, where both mss. have *sar*). Graphically, the two are very easily confused, given the close resemblance of the ligature *y + k* in *jagar* (*ykl*) to the letter samek in *sar* (*sl*).

¹⁹ The relative positions of the gall bladder and spleen are established in Zsp. 30.16, where they are said be above and below the liver respectively.

where it becomes red bile. The other portion, in contrast, is coarse and heavy (Pahl. *stabrîh*) and thus falls downward to the spleen (*stabrîh î abâz mânêd frôd ô spul*), where it becomes black bile. These interrelations may be graphed as in Figure Five.

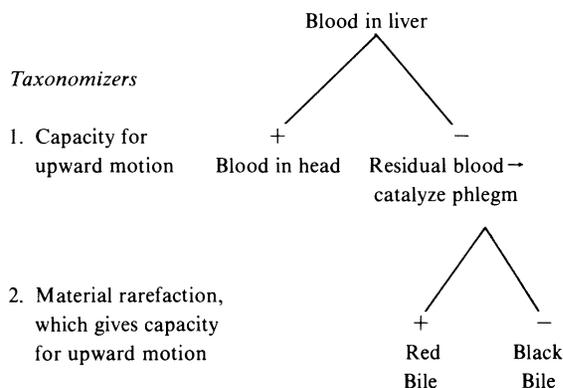


Fig. 5. Interrelations of the Four Humors.

Having named the four “essential/maternal fluids” (Zsp. 30.14), discussed the differences among them (30.15), and their interrelations (30.16), the text now proceeds to consider their unification within a fifth fluid, thus far unnamed.

17. Then, seeds from all four elements, which are in the top of the head, the place of the brain, go to the spinal cord. A libation, made up of all four fluids in proportion to their accomplishments, is drawn back to the head. That bodily being which is gathered up in that libation [comes] from all the body; its essence is made firm and it is poured forth in the form of seed. And from this there is the coming into being and the birth of mortals.²⁰

- ²⁰ 113.7 pas az ên harw 4 âmêzišnân tôhmagân, kê pad
8. bâlist <î> sar, andar mazg gâh, pad ân rahag pad pust
9. abar šawê <n>d. zôhr-ê î az harw 4 passâxtîh rây
10. paymânagîg, abâz ô sar âhanj <ih>êd, az hamâg kirb, tan î
11. pad zôhr î abar cin <ih>êd, andar cihrag ôstîgân be kunêd,
12. pad tôhm êwênag frâz rêzîhêd, [uš] bawišn ud zayišn î
13. mardômân az-iš bawêd.

TEXTUAL NOTES

113.10 Pace Anklesaria and Bailey, the *sar* of MS. BK is preferable to TD’s *jagar*.

There is much that remains unclear here. One is given no clue as to how the “seeds” (*tôhmagân*) of the four humors come to be in the brain, nor what is meant by the specification that they are joined in a mixture that is somehow “in proportion to their accomplishments” (*passâxtih rây paymânagîg*). The identity of that mixture, however, is no mystery, for it is nothing other than semen (*tôhm*),²¹ here viewed as being nothing other than an aggregate of the four other fundamental fluids. We are told, moreover, that—apparently as a result of its aggregate nature—semen possesses within itself the very essence of all bodily matter, drawn from all parts of the body (*az hamâg kirb, tan î pad zôhr î abar cinêd, andar cihrag ôstîgân be kunêd*), and it is this which makes it capable of producing new life, being in effect a microcosmic version of the body to be created. The “essence” (*cihrag*) contained within semen, moreover, is quite different from that of the four “essential” fluids. For whereas the latter were essential/maternal” (*mâdagwar*), semen is—of course—“essential/paternal,” for *cihrag* means, most literally, “(male) seed.”²²

One further item in Zsp. 30.17 is noteworthy: the metaphoric description of seminal fluid as a “libation” (*zôhr*) that, apparently, is poured forth from its place of origin in the brain, through the spinal cord, down to the reproductive organs.²³ In this fashion, the attempt is made to associate a

113.11 *pad* is omitted in MS. BK. When this is so, *zôhr* functions as the subject of the sentence and the active form of the verb is proper. With *pad* present, however, *tan* becomes the subject and a passive form (**cinihêd*) is required.

²¹ Nyberg 2:194; Bailey, pp. 106, 109. The view advanced by Shaki, “Some Basic Tenets,” 289–291, that *tôhmag* denotes “substance” in a technically Aristotelian sense strikes me as overly restrictive, as do his interpretations of *mâdag* (p. 179, n. 15) and *cihr* (p. 303). In stressing the abstract philosophical significance of these terms as they are employed in cosmogonic discussions, Shaki ignores their grounding in the physiology of human reproduction, which—as some of the texts he cites make clear—provided a model of cosmogonic processes (cf. GBd. 1.58 [TD MS.16.1–9] and Dênkart 3.194 [MS. B, ed. Dresden, 161.16–163.2], cited at pp. 310 and 281–83 respectively).

²² MacKenzie, p. 22; Nyberg, 2:55 (under *cihr*). MacKenzie, apparently following Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961 [orig. 1904]), 586–587, differentiates two homographic Pahlavi terms *cihr* (derived from Avestan *¹cithra-*) “form, shape, appearance, face,” and *²cihr* (from Av. *²cithra-*) “seed, origin, nature, essence,” *cihrag* being derived from the latter.

²³ See further Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, “Le X^{va}afnah,” *Annali dell’ Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Sezione Linguistica* 5 (1963), 19–31, esp. 25–26.

physiological process—albeit one that is misunderstood by our standards—to a ritual action that is viewed as being no less creative: the pouring of libation offerings into the sacrificial fire.²⁴ Sexual reproduction is thus presented as a sacred action, in which the male role—nothing similar is said of the female—is akin to that of the priest who presents a libation offering. This is the first point at which the text moves beyond its consideration of strictly physiological entities and processes, relating this area of concern to another, that of social relations. Of this, there is more to come.

18. These four elements, which are different in their nature and different in that which they do, [are like] the four social classes, which are: the Priest, who is a teacher; the Warrior, who is a fighter; the Pastoralist and Agriculturalist, who is a table-servant; and the Artisan, who is a menial-servant.²⁵

Here, the four humors are correlated to the old Iranian social system of four hierarchically differentiated classes based upon occupation, which are also organized in a hierarchic set.²⁶ No argument is advanced for a relation of analogy or homology between specific classes and corresponding humors, although with some difficulty elements of such an argument might be inferred.²⁷ Instead of focusing

²⁴ On sacrifice as *the* quintessentially creative act, see Marijan Molé, *Culte, mythe, et cosmologie dans l’Iran ancien* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).

²⁵ 113.14 ân 4 âmêzišn <ân> î jud-cihrag jud-kâr be ô

15. 4 pêšag <î> mardôm î hênd hammôzgar âsrôn ud zadâr

16. artêštâr ud *frawârdâr wâstaryôš [ud] paristâr *hutuxš.

TEXTUAL NOTES

113.16 Reading **frawârdâr* for *frawardâr*

113.16 Parallelism requires a connective particle between *wâstaryôš* and *paristâr*, since the bipartite designators of the other three classes (action-describer plus formal title) are all separated by *ud*. The TD MS. contains an error, with the *ud* preceding *wâstaryôš* instead of following it.

²⁶ A half century later, the classic works on the ancient Iranian social order remain Georges Dumézil, “La préhistoire indo-iranienne des castes,” *Journal asiatique* 216 (1930), 109–30; Émile Benveniste, “Les classes sociales dans la tradition avestique,” *Journal asiatique* 221 (1932); 117–34; and idem, “Traditions indo-iraniennes sur les classes sociales,” *Journal asiatique* 230 (1938), 529–49. More recently, see my *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 134–39.

²⁷ This is easier as one moves toward the bottom of both hierarchic sets, for just as two types of bile occupy the third

upon any perceived or imagined similarities between a given fluid and a correlated social class, however, the text is at pains to compare rather the hierarchic *system* under which two sets are organized. The correspondences as set forth in this text are in Figure Six.

Rank	Fluid	Social Class	Activity
1	Blood	Priests	Teaching
2	Phlegm	Warriors	Fighting
3	Red Bile	Pastoralists & Agriculturalists	Serving Food
4	Black Bile	Artisans	Menial Service

Fig. 6. Correlations between the four humors and the four social classes.

Representation of the social order as if it were but one example of a pattern also encountered in the natural world is quite common within Iranian texts, as in those of many other peoples.²⁸ As such, it is a classic means of legitimating rigidly hierarchic and exploitative systems, the contingent natures of which are masked as they are made to appear but one expression among many of a natural—and therefore incontestable, immalleable, and perhaps even divine—order. Having thus dealt with the social order, the text concludes

and fourth positions within the system of four humors, so two types of servant are similarly placed within the social order. And just as the higher type of bile is concerned with the digestion of food (Zsp. 30.16), so the higher type of servant—the pastoralist-herdsman, whose chief activity is the production of food in its animal and vegetable forms—is called a *frawârdâr*, a “servant” from the verb *frawârdan* “to serve,” with particular reference to the presentation of meals. For its part, *paristâr*, the term used for the activity of the artisan class, is derived from the verb *paristidan* “to serve, to worship,” and denotes not so much a specific activity as the enormous gulf which separates this kind of servant from the one who is served. Correlations between the upper two classes and the upper two humors are more difficult (if not impossible) to establish and the text wisely makes no such attempt.

²⁸ In *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), I have studied this pattern among the literatures of Indo-European speaking peoples. While common enough in this culture area, this ideological and rhetorical style is hardly unique to them; cf. the brief but insightful remarks of William J. Goode, *The Celebration of Heroes: Prestige as a Control System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 147.

with a brief (albeit pointed) discussion of the central political institution in ancient Iran.

19. Semen is above those four [fluids] as the king is above the [four] social classes.²⁹

That this is the key point, toward which the entire discourse was structured, is signalled by the fact that the opening words of this sentence were written in red ink in one of the two surviving manuscripts of *Zâdspram*. Discussion of bodily fluids, far from being a topic of purely intrinsic interest, provided also the means to make a point more sociopolitical than physiological in nature.³⁰ For we are told that just as semen is a master fluid, in which the others unite, making possible the (re-)production of life, so the king stands above the social classes, uniting all of them in his very being, and it is he who makes possible the ongoing life of society. Moreover, a subtle point of gender politics is also advanced, for just as the four “essential/maternal” (*mâdagwar*) fluids, which all have their origin in the lower parts of the body, were set in contrast to the unique “essential/paternal” (*chrag*) semen, which has its origin in the brain, so the king stands apart from and above (*abar*) his people, with whom he may enter into fruitful relations, if the text is to be believed, but only as the dominant—i.e., male—partner. These relations are graphed in Figure Seven.

Semen : Four Humors :
King : Four Classes :
Male : Female

Fig. 7. Concluding Analogies as presented in *Zâdspram* 30.14–19.

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²⁹ 114.1 TÔHMAG ABAR awêšân ciyôn *šahryâr abar 4
2. pêšagân.

TEXTUAL NOTES

114.1 TÔHMAG ABAR: In MS. BK, these words are written in red ink.

³⁰ One ought not, however, unduly and anachronistically dichotomize these two discursive spheres. Discussions on the interrelation of the individual body and that of the body politic (or social body) continues well into the early modern period. See, inter alia, the classic work of Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).