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after the pain had been destroyed."¹⁰² How this is to be understood becomes evident from the discussions of philosophers who were interested in the effect of music and from the judgment of Soranus about it. Gellius relates: "I ran across the statement very recently in the book of Theophrastus On Inspiration that many men have believed and put their belief on record, that when gouty pains in the hips are most severe they are relieved if a flute-player plays soothing measures. That snake-bites are cured by the music of the flute, when played skillfully and melodiously, is also stated in a book of Democritus, entitled On Deadly Infections, in which he shows that the music of the flute is medicine for many ills that flesh is heir to. So very close is the connection between the bodies and the minds of men, and therefore between physical and mental ailments and their remedies."¹⁰³ And Soranus asserts that those men were very stupid who believed that the strength of the illness can be expelled by melodies and songs.¹⁰⁴ There is no magical belief responsible for the use of music any more than magical powers are presupposed in the use of words. Diocles holds that one has to understand friendly consolation as incantation. For it stops the flowing of the blood when the wounded man is attentive and, as it were, connected with the man who speaks to him."¹⁰⁵

At any rate in the administration of songs and in the use of words ✓

¹⁰² Caelius Aurelianus, *De morbis acutis et chronicis*, I. c., p. 555: "Alii cantilenas adhibendas probaverunt, ut etiam Philistionis frater idem memorat libro XXII, de adiutoriis scribens quendam fistulatorem loca dolentia decantasse, quaecum saltum sumerent palpitando, discusso dolore mitescerent."

¹⁰³ The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius with an English Translation by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Class. Library, 1927, I, p. 352-54: "Creditum hoc a plerisque esse et memoriae mandatum, ischia cum maxime doleant, tum, si modulis lenibus tibicen incinat, minui dolores, ego nuperrime in libro Theophrasti *περί ἐνθουσιασμοῦ* scriptum inveni. Viperarum morsibus tibicinum scite modulateque adhibuit mederi, refert etiam Democriti liber, qui inscribitur *περί λουῶν* in quo docet plurimis hominum morbidis medicinae fuisse inentiones tibiaram. Tanta prorsus adfinitas est corporibus hominum mentibusque et propterea vitiis quoque aut medellis animorum et corporum." It is by the expression modulis lenibus that the words *μαλακαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς* in Pindar's Ode must be interpreted, cf. also Theophrastus, fr. LXXXVII, Wimmer: "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ νόσους ἰᾶται μουσική θ. ἰστέρησεν ἐν τῷ *περί ἐνθουσιασμοῦ*, ἰσχυακοῦς φάσκων ἀνόσους διατελεῖν εἰ καταυλήσῃ τις τοῦ τόπου τῇ φρυγιστὶ ἁρμονίᾳ. Sometimes the invention of this procedure was ascribed to Pythagoras, cf. Caelius Aurelianus, I. c.: "Alii denique hoc adiutorii genus Pythagoram memorant invenisse."

¹⁰⁴ Caelius Aurelianus, I. c.: "Sed Sorani iudicio videntur hi mentis vanitate iactari, qui modulis et cantilena passionis robur excludi posse crediderunt."

¹⁰⁵ Diocles, Fr. 92, Wellmann: *Διοκλῆς ἐπαιδὴν παρέδωκε τὴν παρηγορίαν. Ἰσχυαῖμον γὰρ εἶναι ταύτην, ὅταν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετραμένου προσεχῆς ᾗ καὶ ὥσπερ προσρητημένον τῷ παρηγοροῦντι.*

no magical belief is to be found. Every kind of incantation, too, is ✓ throughout antiquity rejected by physicians. In the Hippocratic book on the Sacred Disease it is said: "But perhaps what they profess (sc. in regard to incantations) is not true, the fact being that men, in need of a livelihood, contrive and devise many fictions of all sorts."¹⁰⁶ Galen declares all the incantations to be wrong.¹⁰⁷ Nay: "Animals like human beings can be cured not by vain words but by the reliable art of healing."¹⁰⁸ And in this respect the attitude of the Romans does not vary from that of the Greeks. For Celsus does not advise incantations, either; Varro warns against their use. The Roman law does not recognize as true physicians men who perform incantations.¹⁰⁹

To be sure, incantations were never a means of the physician. The decadent age is in this respect not different from the fifth century B.C.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Jones, I. c., II, p. 147: *Ἰσως δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι βίου δέοντες πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα τεχνῶνται.*

¹⁰⁷ Galen, *Opera*, ed. Kühn, XI, p. 792.

¹⁰⁸ Vegetius, ed. E. Lommatzsch, 1903, p. 199, 1-4: Aliquantum praecantatione tentant afferre remedia; quae vanitas ab aniculis solis diligenda est, cum animalia sicut homines non inanibus verbis sed certa medendi arte curentur (this general statement proves that the two incantations which are found in the text must be later additions, p. 306, 5-8; 10-11. The hostile attitude toward those remedies is confirmed p. 65, 3-5; 10-12.) Also in Gargilius Martialis only one incantation is mentioned (I. c., p. 309, 12 sq.). In the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, ed. E. Oder, 1901, p. 62, 7-10, incantations are rejected too. (Two exceptions p. 260, 4; p. 285, 4.) In Paelagonius, ed. M. Ihm, 1892, p. 90, 1, the incantation which is rejected by Vegetius (I. c., p. 199, 1-4) is given in detail. But the situation even in veterinary medicine is characterized by the remark of the editor of Paelagonius (§ 121, p. 154): "Utinam is qui Graeca hippiatrica congessit superstitiosior fuisset. Removit enim fere omnia harum superstitionum exempla, quibus Apsyrti liber refertus fuisse videtur. Unus codex Parisinus Milleri nonnulla servavit obscure scripta . . . Paelagoniana huius generis alia mox sequuntur, quae ne Vegetio quidem digna visa sunt quae reciperentur. Immo is tamquam detrectatorem et contemptorem se iactat . . . etsi apud veteres magno in honore fuerint, ut vel Catonis . . . cantatio barbara testatur." One can only conclude that it is really impossible to ascribe to ancient physicians, not even to veterinaries, the use of incantations.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Varro, *Catus* (Mommson, *Röm. Gesch.* III⁶, 1875, p. 610). *Digesta* L, 13, 1. § 3 (The physician has the right to sue for his salary) non tamen si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar, exorcizavit. non sunt ista medicinae genera, tametsi sint, qui hos sibi profuisse praedicatione adfirmant. Cato, usually quoted for the Roman use of incantations, is not the only witness and his testimony has no value for the time in which Greek medicine was influential in Rome. X

¹¹⁰ The passages quoted above concerning the use of music are usually referred to as proof for the use of incantations in Greek medicine, cf. Wellmann, *Die Fragmente d. Sizilischen Ärzte*, 1901, p. 30a: "Ihr Heilverfahren . . . bestand, in Besprechungen . . . Beachtenswert ist ferner, dass Diokles gleichfalls ein Anhänger

