Greek Medicine and its Relation to Greek Civilization OLIVER, JOHN RATHBONE
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GREEK MEDICINE AND ITS RELATION TO GREEK CIVILIZATION *

JOHN RATHBONE OLIVER

Anatole France says somewhere that "history is an art that should be practiced with imagination." In preparing this paper, I have found that an attempt to discover objective facts has proved rather futile. Nevertheless, I am unwilling to follow Anatole France's advice and to fall back entirely upon my imagination. My position is all the more difficult, because for the past fifteen years, I have consistently preached a certain medico-historical doctrine that now hampers me considerably. I once tried to show in "Medicine from the Standpoint of History" (International Clinics, Volumes II, III and IV, Series 37 and Volume I, Series 38) that the true picture of the medicine of any particular period is not to be discovered in the medical books, written by contemporary physicians, but rather in the general literature and sociological background of the age. In other words, I attempted to prove that without a first-hand knowledge of contemporary non-medical literature, no medical historian could accurately portray or understand the medical life and practice in any definite period of time. In this paper, I am asked to do exactly the opposite thing. I am asked to show, if possible, what contribution to the history of Greece can be made from the Greek medical texts that have survived. I am expected to give, so far as Greece is concerned, some rational reason for the study of what is commonly called Greek Medicine, in so far as a knowledge of it may bring to the professional historian of that civilization sidelights and suggestions that cannot be found anywhere else.

Of course, the Greek physician was an important part in the life of his country and, as such, his writings and his doings are a part of Hellenic history. Dr. Kenneth C. Bailey, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin and President of the Dublin University Experimental Science Association, said in his Presidential Address of November 7, 1933 (Science Progress, a Quarterly Review of Scientific

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Thought, Volume 28, No. 112, April, 1934, p. 613), "What is history, but the history of the doings of humanity? What are more intensely human than health and sickness, misery and comfort, life and death? A remedy correctly applied at the correct moment might have far more than individual results. Twenty years more of life to Alexander the Great might have changed the course of history." This, of course, is sound reasoning. Unfortunately, however, in the Greek medical writings that have survived, we do not find much reference to historic individuals or events. There are, it is true, in the Epidemics of Hippocrates, a number of case histories, but these all deal with unknown persons, whose sickness, recovery or death did not, so far as we know, influence any great historical event. Except for these case histories in the Hippocratic Corpus, we find no similar medical productions, with the exception of an occasional case history in ar-Razi, until we come to the Mediaeval Concilia. In the Greek medical texts, therefore, we cannot hope to discover any definite thing that any Greek physician did, which, so far as we know, influenced in an important way the life of any historical personality. We must approach our material on broader lines.

In the Hippocratic writings, especially in the Epidemics, one is struck by the prominence of the symptom of fever. It seems to stand in the very foremost front of the physician's diagnosis. It must, therefore, have been a very frequent reaction and this frequency explains the reason why the Greek physician divided fevers into so many types. Following the Hippocratic tradition, Galen divided fevers into chronic and into intermittent fevers. The intermittent ones were again divided into quotidiens, tertians, with a relapse every other day, and quartans, with a recurrence of fevers every third day. This whole complicated mapping-out of fevers suggests the prevalence of the symptom. Moreover, in the same Hippocratic books, another symptom appears quite frequently, namely, an enlarged spleen (e. g. Epidemics III, Case 3: Littré: iii, p. 40, l. 10 and Epidemics I, Case 1: Littré, ii, p. 684, l. 8).

In 1907, that delightful and thorough Hippocratic scholar, Dr. W. H. S. Jones of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, noted these and similar characteristics of the Hippocratic writings and, in collaboration with Professor Major Ross of Liverpool University,

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produced an epoch-making little book on malaria. (Malaria. A Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome by W. H. Jones with an introduction by Major R. Ross and a concluding chapter by G. G. Ellett, M. D. Cambridge, Macmillan and Bowes, 1907.) Jones tried to show that some of the Hippocratic writings witnessed to the prevalence of malaria, or, at least, to its beginnings in the 4th or 5th Century B. C. He concluded that Greece was not highly infected during the 4th Century, but that the infection increased until it gradually undermined the physical and mental powers of the Hellenic States. Another symptom connected with malaria is the word "melancholia," which is so often associated with malaria and appears so often in the Hippocratic writings (e. g. Aphorisms, Book iv: 9, vi, 23. Littré, vol. iv, p. 504, 9: p. 568, 23).

In the best known of all the Hippocratic books (Aphorisms), the writer says that the diseases of the spleen are associated with quartan fevers (that is, malarial fever recurring every third day), and that these are very prevalent in the autumn (Aph. iii, 22. Littré, iv: p. 496, 22). Moreover, the writer of the book Περὶ παθῶν says that those who have enlarged spleens are bilious, have a muddy complexion, suffer from an evil breath and are always constipated (§ 20. Littré, vi, pp. 228-230). This is not the type of individual that we associate, or that history associates, with the victors of Marathon and Salamis.

Jones' investigations, therefore, seem to prove that the knowledge of Greek Medicine which we gain from the Hippocratic writings throws a new light on the history of Greece. Who has not wondered at the decline of Hellenic civilization? Who has not admired from the depths of his soul the heroic deeds of the Persian Wars and the liberation of the Greeks from Eastern influence? Who has not, moreover, watched the gradual disintegration of the manhood that was so dominant and victorious, watched it becoming less and less self-sufficient, until it splits up into petty jealousies and still pettier politics? If there were a real physical explanation for this, it would cast valuable light on these otherwise inexplicable phenomena. If in the 4th Century, Greece was already infected with malaria and if, little by little, malaria became endemic, we

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should be able to understand what the power was that sapped the manhood of the country that had once been so glorious. We should learn then that it was not Philip of Macedon who destroyed the liberties of Greece, that the enemies of Attica were not the Lacedaemonians, but rather that the unseen, deadly enemies of the whole Hellenic civilization were the four types of malaria parasites and the armies of the poison-laden anopheles.

The interesting question as to the importance of malaria as an element in the history of nations was taken up where Dr. Jones dropped it and carried on in a much more complete manner by the late Angelo Celli, whose important book on " The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times " was edited and enlarged after his death by his wife, Signora Celli-Fraentzel. (The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times by the late Angelo Celli. Edited and enlarged by Anna Celli-Fraentzel with a preface by Sir Arthur Castellani. London, John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, 1933.)

Not a few scholars have found interesting parallels between Thucydides and the person whom they call Hippocrates. Nowadays, scholars have given up the use of the word Hippocrates, as denoting an historical person who was the author of, at least, some of the books that are contained in the Hippocratean Corpus.

The great scholar, Dr. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, when he was preparing his " Kleine Griechische Lesebuch," included in it two texts from the Hippocratean Corpus: the book on Ancient Medicine and the book on Airs, Waters and Places. In his introduction to these texts, he refused absolutely to connect with either book the historical personality of the physician Hippocrates. He said that Hippocrates was a " name without writings."

For generations, physicians and scholars have discussed the authenticity or the non-authenticity of various books in the Hippocratic Corpus. Even Galen has a list of those books that he considers authentic and those that he thinks were written by someone else besides the Father of Medicine. We have come to a final end of such discussions. Dr. Ludwig Edelstein (ΠΕΡΙ ΑΕΡΩΝ und die Sammlung der Hippokratischen Schriften. Problemata . . . hft. 4, Berlin, Weidman, 1931), in his important publication on the book

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Airs, Waters and Places, published in 1931, has shown that no single book in the Corpus can be definitely connected with the Hippocrates, mentioned by Plato in his Phaedrus and in his Protagoras—the Hippocrates who came from the Island of Cos, who was one of the Asklepiadae, who taught medicine for a fee and who agreed with Socrates in believing that we cannot satisfactorily comprehend the nature of man apart from the nature of the universe.

Therefore, when scholars attempt to draw parallels between Thucydides and Hippocrates, they are on difficult ground. They have, however, traced definite grammatical parallels between the constructions of Thucydides and the constructions of some of the books of the Hippocratean Corpus. They have suggested, therefore, that inasmuch as the writer of some of the Hippocratic books, especially Epidemics I and III, evidently spent much of his time in Thrace, the peculiarity of his Greek is to be ascribed to the influence of a Thracian dialect: it is Thracian Greek. The next step is to proclaim that as Thucydides was closely connected with Thrace, his Greek was not good Greek, but was also influenced by Thracian dialect, which makes his constructions so unusual and so difficult. All devout Thucydideans, among them the great Dr. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, have arisen in their wrath and have hustled out of court this scandalous theory about the Father of History. Yet, the gossip still survives.

Dr. Abbot, however (Thucydides, A Study in Historical Reality, by G. F. Abbott. London, Rutledge, 1925), in a chapter on the style of Thucydides (pp. 223-228), also suggests that the style of this historian can be explained by the fact that Thucydides is said to have been a Thracian, that he married a Thracian heiress and that, therefore, Greek was not his native language. Dr. Abbott quotes the saying of some unknown scholar that the Greek of Thucydides is, at its best, good Thracian. If this be accepted, then the parallels between the style of Thucydides and the style of certain of the Hippocratean books may give us some suggestions about the author of those books that show parallels with Thucydides, namely, that this author had also lived in Thrace and must have been a wandering physician, like the traditional Hippocrates.

There is, however, another parallel, not grammatical, but a

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parallel of historical construction. In 1929, Dr. Charles Norris Cochrane produced a very interesting study entitled, " Thucydides and the Science of History " (published by the Oxford University Press in 1929). In this study, the writer attempts to connect Thucydides indirectly with Democritus and directly with Hippocrates. As I have already said, it is difficult to know what he means by Hippocrates and to which books in the Corpus he is referring. He urges, in the first place, that the knowledge of the Hippocratean Corpus throws light on the method of Thucydides, that Thucydides must have known some of the books in the Hippocratean Corpus, because, in a much disputed passage, namely, in Bk. I, Sec. 23, Thucydides uses the Greek word " prophasis," when he is describing the grounds for the Peloponnesian War, of which the growth of Athenian power was, he says, " the most real cause." The word πρόφασις, Dr. Cochrane urges is a medical word and we would normally expect the Greek word αἰτία. The writer of the book on Ancient Medicine (Section 20), and the writer of the book on Airs, Waters and Places (Section 22, Littré, ii, p. 80, l. 20, C. M. G. Hip., p. 75, l. 22), uses " prophasis " in the sense of a motivating, pathological activity that is important for some definite disease. It is difficult, however, to believe that " prophasis " is entirely a medical word. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on the history of Thucydides, although he criticizes minutely Thucydides' vocabulary and style, still finds no difficulty in the expression " prophasis." (See Abbott, op. cit., p. 58, note 1. Also pp. 19, 22 and 58.)

Dr. Cochrane also deduces from Thucydides' description of the plague in Athens the probability that he must have had some contact with medical writings and may, perhaps, have known some of the Hippocratean books. Many critics have tried to connect the constitution in Book 3 of the Epidemics (Littré, iii, pp. 67-102) with the plague year at Athens, as described by Thucydides. All these matters are merely suggestions and are not philological facts.

Dr. Cochrane's other proposition is more interesting. He traces a connection between Thucydides' conception of the writing of history and the medical study of prognosis as described in such books as Prognostic, First Prorrhetic, Coan Prenotions and other prognostic treatises of the Hippocratean Corpus. The Greek physician of

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the 4th and 5th Century, as personified in Hippocrates, believed that the human body was a persisting entity, that it always reacted in the same way to the same type of environment and so from a consideration of the body symptoms and of the environment the doctor could make a definite prognosis. In the same way, the scientific historian, accepting the dictum that human nature reacts in the same way everywhere, can by assembling the facts of a certain period of human activity, and studying the environment to which it reacts, make a historical prognosis of what the historical outcome must have been. All that this would prove, if it were absolutely true, would be that the writer of certain Hippocratic books and Thucydides were children of the same age and were in touch with the same type of thought that may be traced back to the teachings of Democritus. As a matter of fact, part of the thesis of Dr. Cochrane had already been anticipated by another Thucydidean scholar, Dr. G. F. Abbott, whose book was published in 1925. All these matters are very thin threads of information and are not very satisfactory as a proof that a knowledge of Greek medical texts is of value to the historian of Greece.

In these texts, one seeks in vain for medical material that would throw new light on prominent personages in Greek History. We are not able to adopt the method of Dr. C. MacLaurin (Mere Mortals, Medical-Historical Essays, New York, G. H. Doran & Co., 1925), who places certain great historical personages, such as, Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Frederick the Great, etc., in a much more understandable light by treating them as patients and applying to them the results of our modern medical knowledge.

Henry VIII, for instance, becomes much more understandable when we know that he was a syphilitic and that his son Edward VI was a victim of delayed hereditary syphilis and pulmonary tuberculosis.

In the case of Henry IV of France, we learn to forgive much when we realize that during his old age he suffered from gout and developed a satyriasis, connected with some prostate trouble, that made him the slave of every good-looking girl and the rival of thousands of husbands. Interesting revelations of this kind cannot

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be evoked from such knowledge of Greek Medicine as we derive from our Greek medical texts.

Approaching the subject on still broader lines, there can, of course, be no doubt that the medical men in Greece were always of importance and without doubt were influential in molding history in ways that are unfortunately not known to us.

We know what the social position of a physician was in the 4th and 5th Century. Nothing gives us a better picture of the physician as an esteemed guest than the Symposium of Plato, in which Eryximachus, himself the son of a physician, who has followed his father's profession and belongs to the great Guild of the Asklepiadae, plays so great a rôle. He speaks of his own medical practice, which has made it clear to him that too much wine is harmful (Section 176 D). He also mentions (177 B) having read a book on diet, in which salt is made one of the most important elements in dietetics. Finally, it is he who helps to cure Aristophanes, who has developed an attack of hiccoughs, which prevents him from speaking. Eryximachus tells him to hold his breath for a good while, or if that does not stop the hiccoughs, to gargle with water. If that fails, Aristophanes is to take something that will tickle his nostrils and make him sneeze (Section 185 D & E). You will remember that the distinguished guests in this Symposium, the poet Agathon, that spoiled darling of the gods, Aristophanes, the comedian, and later on in the party the great Alcibiades, were all amusing themselves and exercising their minds by speaking, each in his turn, about love or rather of Eros, the God of Affection. The speech of Eryximachus is the speech of a physician and of an excellent psychiatrist. He says (Section 186 B ff.). "For the art of medicine may be summarily described as a knowledge of the love-matters of the body in regard to repletion and evacuation; and the master-physician is he who can distinguish there between the nobler and baser Loves, and can effect such alteration that the one passion is replaced by the other; and he will be deemed a good practitioner who is expert in producing Love where it ought to flourish but exists not, and in removing it from where it should not be. Indeed he must be able to make friends and happy lovers of the keenest opponents in the body. Now the most contrary qualities are most hostile to each

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other—cold and hot, bitter and sweet, dry and moist, and the rest of them. It was by knowing how to foster love and unanimity in these that, as our two poets here relate, and as I myself believe, our forefather Asclepius composed this science of ours. And so not merely is all medicine governed, as I propound it, through the influence of this god, but likewise athletics and agriculture." He claims, therefore, that not only medicine, but even athletics and agriculture and music are governed by the influence of Eros. In other words, he is an out-and-out Freudian.

However, the name of Eryximachus has not been for generations in the mouth of every physician. Yet, there is infinitely more about him and his ideas in Plato than there is about Hippocrates, who, as I have already said, is only mentioned casually in two dialogues. How, then, did it happen that of the physicians of Plato's time only the name of Hippocrates survived and developed an aura of fame that carried it down through the Middle Ages and triumphantly into the Renaissance? It is true that during the Middle Ages, Hippocrates became a great magician, but, then, Vergil, during the same period, became a sorcerer also. In other words, both were still names of great power. This is one of the mysteries of Greek History that may never be solved. The triumphant emergence of the one name of Hippocrates, its association with a collection of Greek medical writings—most of which could not possibly have been written by the supposititious author—and the development of this hazy personality into the clear-cut picture of the Father of Medicine is an amazing fact that most of us do not realize and none of us understand. It is easy to say, with Dr. Edelstein, that during the Alexandrian Period, Plato and Aristotle were the gods of the intellectual world and that the name of Hippocrates survived and was tacked on to all surviving medical writings of the 4th or 5th Century just because Plato had mentioned him twice and had said, in the Phaedrus, through the mouth of Socrates, that the teaching of Hippocrates agreed with his own. Why did not our Freudian friend, Eryximachus of the Symposium, survive also?

One part of Hellenic culture must have been intimately connected with medical teaching, namely, the hygiene of private life. One of the foundations of Greek health was, without doubt, the custom of

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constant bathing. Professor Sudhoff has written a delightful little monograph on this subject, with illustrations from vase paintings. (Aus dem antiken Badewesen . . . Berlin, 1910. See also L'Hygiène chez les anciens Grecs par Dr. Mme. Angelique G. Panayotatau, Paris, Vigot freres, n. d.) The writer of the Hippocratic book on Regimen in Acute Diseases (Littré, ii, p. 364, § 18), insists on the beneficial use of the bath to patients who are not critically ill. His description suggests to us the permanent bath given to a disturbed patient on a psychiatric ward. The writer says that the necessary things include a covered place, free from smoke, and an abundant supply of water. The patient must be quiet and silent. He should do nothing himself, but leave the pouring on of water to others. The water should be tepid. The attendants are to use sponges, instead of scrapers and the body must be anointed, before it is quite dry. The head should be kept from extremities of cold or heat. The writer adds that if the preparation be adequate, the patient may bathe every day and those who are fond of bathing will not be harmed by even two baths. Lucian, in his Hippias (Sec 4), although he belongs to a much later date, gives us a long and complicated description of hot and cold baths, as well as of their remarkable benefits.

Diet, of course, is another element in public hygiene or health and even the most casual reader of the Hippocratic books knows how many treatises there are that deal with diet. (See especially the book Regimen in Acute Diseases.) The writer of Ancient Medicine (Section 20, Littré, i, p. 622, l. 5-14), sums it all up when he says, " This, at least, I think, a physician must know— namely, what man is in relation to food and drinks and habits in general and what will be the effects on each individual. It is not sufficient to learn simply that cheese is a bad food, as it gives a pain to the man who eats too much of it. We must know what the pain is, the reasons for it and which constituent of the man is harmfully affected." (See also—" Antike Diätetik " von Ludwig Edelstein. *In* Die Antike, vol. 17, 1931, pp. 255-277.)

The Hippocratic books, also, have some relation to gymnastics, that supremely important element in Greek life. In the book on Diet or Regime (Book II, Section 66, Littré, vi, p. 582, l. 1-9),

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the writer points out that men who do not exercise regularly get tired very easily when they have to work, because no part of their bodies are accustomed to fatigue, while a body that has been well exercised and developed only feels fatigue when the work to be done is not a customary one or is a customary one pushed to excess. In another section of the same book, Section 62, the writer advises walks before breakfast, as they get rid of surplus flesh, make the brain clear, the vision acute and lead to a regular evacuation.

On the social life of Greece, however, the influence of the Greek physician was not always beneficial. At least, one might say that it would not be approved by modern society. We have much information about the doctor's office, the iatrieon. In the Hippocratic Corpus, a whole treatise is devoted to it (Littré, vol. iii, pp. 272-337). The type of room that is necessary is described, its furnishings, the way in which it must be lighted and the instruments that must be kept ready there.

There exists a small Greek perfume bottle, an aryballos, made in Athens about 400 B. C. The painting on it represents the interior of an iatreion. (E. Pottier, Une Clinique Grecque au V Siecle, Paris, 1907.) In the centre, the young physician is seated, holding a lancet in his right hand and compressing, with his left, in the arm of a patient the vein which he is about to open. Below that patient, stands a large vessel ready to receive the blood. On the walls, are several cupping instruments. On the right, are two other patients, who are seated and awaiting the doctor's attention. Beyond him, is another figure smelling a flower, perhaps, with the idea of preventing infection. On the other side, behind the physician is an old man with a bandaged leg. Next to him is a curious figure—a typical dwarf with hairy body and infibulated penis. He carries a rabbit almost as big as himself. Dr. Singer considers him a case of acondroplasia, a dwarf who was the doctor's servant.

The iatreia, of which this vase painting gives some slight suggestions, were unfortunately not always places of good repute. Just as the modern gay adolescents gather at drugstores, so the gay youth of Athens used to drop in at doctors' offices. The modern American youth is attracted to the drugstore by the possibility of a flirtation; the youth of Athens were attracted to the doctors' offices

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for the same reason. But in Athens, the flappers were the young, good-looking boys of the day who had some excuse to get away from their accompanying slave by stopping in at the doctor's office and there making the acquaintance of some dashing young athlete, who might prove profitable from an economic point of view.

We learn most of this from the orator Aeschines, in his speech against Timarchus, which was delivered in 345 B. C. This speech throws an interesting light on the connection of the medical profession in Greece with what today might be called semi-prostitution or the pursuit of the "demi-vierges." According to Aeschines, Timarchus in his youth was a homoerotic prostitute of the most abandoned type. It is difficult for a modern man to follow Aeschines completely. He does his best to protect himself from the charge of being an old maid and a spoilsport. He goes to great trouble to point out that he has nothing unkind to say about homoerotic relations, as long as they are honorable. Nor he says, "Do I mean to suggest that every good-looking young male is a prostitute." He admits that he himself in his youth had been many times a lover and had written erotic poems to beautiful youths. What he objects to in the case of Timarchus is that Timarchus as a youth openly sold his favors, was kept by older men and once by a man who was a slave—a man who as a slave was the property of the city, but who had plenty of money. Sad to relate, this same Timarchus began his career of shame in a doctor's office, in the Piraeus, the harbor town of Athens. "As soon as Timarchus was past boyhood, he settled down in the Piraeus in the office of Euthydicus pretending to be a student of medicine, but in fact deliberately offering himself for sale." (See Aeschines in the Loeb edition, Section 136, p. 111. Also Section 135, p. 109. Also Sections 51-55, pp. 45-49 and especially Section 40, p. 35).

The orators and sophists were often the people who invaded the province of the medical men. Another famous orator, Antiphon (480-411 B. C.), tried to do a little "healing" by word of mouth, although he was not a physician. Greeks, of what we call today the intelligensia, looked down on religion and very often on medicine, too. In order to put something in the place of religion and medicine, they apparently, developed a kind of "new thought" treat-

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ment. If anything went wrong at home or if anyone fell sick, they sent for a philosopher or a sophist and he would " speak beautifully to make them feel better." Plutarch, in his Lives of the Ten Orators, says of Antiphon that he procured himself a house in Corinth near the market place and informed all the people that he was able to cure them by means of his speeches.

In the field of archaeology, the contacts between Greek Medicine and Greek civilization are much clearer. We know now a great deal about the great shrines of Asclepius that existed in such places as Pergamon, Athens, Epidaurus, Cos, etc. At Epidaurus, three stylae were found by the great archaeologist, Kavvadias. The inscriptions on these pillars or stylae were published in 1883 and may be found in the " Inscriptiones Epidauri " with a commentary by Hiller von Gaertringen. (Inscriptiones Graecae, IV, 2, 1, 1929. Also in the Dittenberger Sylloge. See also Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros . . . von Rudolf Herzog. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1931.) These inscriptions describe the various cures that were said to have taken place in the temple. They were apparently official inscriptions, put up by the political authorities, as is shown by the official character of the style. They are, in no sense, medical documents, but the record of miracles. Without any desire to judge the objective existence of these happenings, the Epidaurean miracles must be classified together with similar other so-called miracles that have taken place at Lourdes and at St. Anne de Beaupré, just outside Quebec. The value to the medical historian consists largely in the various pathological conditions that were miraculously cured. Among these are abscesses and swellings, miraculous surgical operations, obstetric cases, diseases of the eye, paralyses and lameness, and even speech defects.

To the general historian, these inscriptions are witnesses to the mental reactions of the period and they belong with all the other more or less contemporary records of wonder-working temples and priests and wise men, such as Apollonius of Tyana or the clever impostor, Alexander, who was described so cleverly by Lucian. Real scientific medicine had probably no direct contact with these miracle healings. They belong, however, to that type of primitive magic medicine, which is always with us and which exists as definitely

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today as it did when people were miraculously cured at Epidaurus or at Pergamon. Perhaps, the best illustration of the spirit of those days which is indeed far from the age of Classical Greece is the experience of the sophist, Aristides, who was a typical neurasthenic and who sought health at Epidaurus, returning again and again, just as a modern neurasthenic returns to Wiesebaden or Aix-les-Bains, where strict régime, baths and exercise help his psychasthenia by regulating his life and his body. (Aelius Aristide et la Sophistique dans la province d'Asie au II Siecle de notre Ere " par Andre Boulanger. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1923, pp. 127 ff.)

Aristides lived during the 2nd Christian Century and was probably at Epidaurus about A. D. 147. Although a distinguished orator and politician, he was ready to believe anything and while at Epidaurus discussed his dreams with his fellow patients as zealously as the most recent convert to Freudian psychoanalysis, who keeps a dream book and rushes off to his psychoanalyst the minute that he has a peculiarly distinct vision that suggests some new frustration of his or her libido.

So our knowledge of these great "Kurorten" in definite parts of Greece not only throws a clearer light on the mental attitude of people who were sick or thought themselves so, but also shows us how limited the range of human reactions and adaptations really are, since men and women of certain types react today in the same way as they reacted in Greece so many hundred years ago.

Thanks to Archaeology, we are able to reconstruct these great Spas or health resorts, that had not only hotels in which to house the visiting patients, not only a temple in which dreams were to be dreamed and medical miracles performed, but also a theatre and a race course to keep the patients amused. Through these great foundations streamed generations of men and women and if the medical results attained there may not have been entirely approved by the scientific physicians of the 4th Century B. C., still results were obtained and without the knowledge of these Spas that medical history brings us, we should not be able to appreciate a definite part in Graeco-Roman civilization.

Greek History must, for instance, take account of Olympia and of the Olympian games, even though it does not know all the names

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of the victors. In the same way, the historian must take into account Epidaurus and the other great shrines of Asclepius, especially the shrine at Cos, Epidaurus and at Athens. In these shrines, we find all sorts of ex-votos that have a distinct medical significance. The ex-voto of a man who had suffered from some intestinal disturbance and who hung up in the shrine the representation of his own inwards affords us indirectly a knowledge of what the people of that time know about the intestines and their situs. In the same way, a thousand years from now, some historian, in trying to reconstruct our present century, may find at St. Anne de Beaupré in Quebec very useful material. For there are hung up all sorts of crutches, various kinds of suspensories and hernia belts, eye glasses, wheel chairs and all the panoply of illness. He would be able from this material almost to reconstruct the catalogue of a modern firm that sells instruments and hospital appliances.

The best description of the life of a patient at a place like Epidaurus may be read in Walter Pater's "Marius the Epicurean" (Volume I, Chapter 3). Marius, himself a distinctly psychasthenic character, goes in despair to an Aesclepieion, where by suggestive mental treatment, combined with hydrotherapy and exercise, he achieves a complete cure.

There is a collection of verse called the Palatine Anthology, so named because it has come down to us in one unique manuscript, at present in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg. It was put together in the 10th Century by Cephalus, who drew from three older collections of different dates. One was the Stephanus or Wreath of Meliager, collected during the 1st Century B. C. and consisting of poems belonging to the classical period of Greek literature (that is, the 5th-3rd centuries B. C.) Then, there was another Wreath probably collected in the reign of Augustus. Finally, Cephalus used the cycle of Agatheas, put together during the age of Justinian and containing contemporary work. Besides these three main sources, Cephalus added to his collection a number of well-known epigrams, the Musa Puerilis of Strato (Book 12), a number of love poems and the epigrams of Palladas of Alexandria who wrote in the 6th Century A. D.

The Palatine Anthology, therefore, is something like one of our

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thick household books of English poetry. It is a collection of great interest and of still greater beauty. It gives us the thoughts of hundreds of versifiers on all sorts of subjects. It represents, in a way, all Greek history just as one of our household books of English verse would represent indirectly a history of the English speaking people.

In the Anthology, the physician has a definite place. You will find him side by side with the politician, with the lawyer, with the man of business, with the soldier. He is part of the whole unity. It is true that the jokes made about him are exceedingly ancient. He is always killing his patients and always trying to cover up his mistakes. But there he is and if one subtracted from the anthology the verses dealing with medicine and with physicians, one would still have a lot of good verse, but one would also miss a very great deal.

It is the same way with the whole question that I have tried to discuss in so imperfect a manner. The knowledge that we have of Greek Medicine, taken from the Greek medical texts beginning with the Hippocratic Corpus and going down to the little book on diet by Sethus, as well as the knowledge that we possess of the Greek physician himself, taken from these same writings and pieced together also from contemporary literature—all this assembled information is a component part of Greek civilization, just as the epigrams on physicians are integral parts of the Palatine Anthology. You might know nothing at all about Greek Medicine and still be able to know a great deal about Greek History, but that great deal would not be the whole. Therefore, our study of Greek Medicine and of Greek physicians helps us to achieve as complete a picture of Greece in her glory and in her decadence as is possible for the human mind of a modern historian.

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