Masquerade

Bruno Cariou on July 16, 2020 by Elements of Racial Education

The Roman people spent more than five hundred years of doctors. This people then was occupied only with killing, and made no regard for the art of preserving life. How then was it used in Rome when one had putrid fever, a fistula in the anus, a bubonocele, an influx of the chest? We were dying.

Voltaire, Philosophical Dictionary

The rules of the bourgeois state are not fundamental rights, they are the expression of a balance of power. It has never been otherwise. And the current state of emergency should really convince the last naive that they can be suspended at any time, that the contractual relationship between the upper and lower classes is just a form of truce that can be broken at any time. by an uprising or, as it is now, by a state of emergency.

Giorgio Agamben, Riflessioni sulla plague , 2020

“Cholera is an invention of the bourgeoisie and the government to starve the people… To arms! »

Proclamation displayed in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine during the cholera epidemic of 1832 in Paris.

After a century of medical utopia and contrary to popular belief, it can be said that medical services have not played a significant role in the changes that have occurred in relation to life expectancy. Much of contemporary clinical care is incidental to the cure of disease, while the damage medicine does to the health of individuals and populations is very significant. These facts are obvious, well documented and well hidden.

Ivan Illich, Medical Nemesis. The Expropriation of Health , 1975

Julian West, born in the 1850s, is a wealthy man engaged to a beautiful woman, but he can't stand being unable to do anything about the inequality he sees around him. Julian suffers from insomnia and the only way he can get to sleep is to lock himself in a room in his basement. One day, with his consent, his attending physician, a hypnotist, plunges him into a sort of artificial coma. Julian wakes up in the year 2000, in the laboratory that a doctor named Leete had built on the spot where his house once stood. The doctor wasted no time in bringing him up to date with the changes that had taken place since 1888.

The state is the sole employer; it fixes production according to demand. All citizens work the same number of hours, except those who do heavy labor. Everyone - whether employable or not - receives the same salary. The money no longer exists. Each citizen has a credit card (1) to pay for their purchases. The retirement age is set at 33 and any retiree receives half of the salary that was his during the period he worked. The law has been simplified and the crime rate has dropped drastically because there are no longer rich and poor. Lying is strongly discouraged, so if a person is involved in a crime, they usually confess quickly. Crime, therefore, still exists, but there are no more prisons:all offenders are treated in hospitals. The number of sick and disabled people has been reduced and the cost of medical assistance has therefore decreased. Doctors are recruited by the state. Women are equal to men, are independent, and people marry because they love each other, not because of their wealth. One of the most popular types of entertainment is music, played over the phone. The president of a country is appointed by an assembly made up of members of the “liberal professions” (doctors, professors, artists, etc.) and, if the council is satisfied with him, he can renew him in his functions. Doctor Leete predicts that all of humanity will eventually be united into one nation. One night Julian dreams that he has returned to the 19th century and that he is trying to describe the society of the future to his contemporaries. Suddenly,he sees Doctor Leete in front of him: he is still in the 20th century. The nightmare is over. Not for us.

In the inner circle of hell, Dante is guided by the shadow of Virgil. In twentieth century society, a young bourgeois (Julian West) is guided by an enlightened, comprehensive doctor (Dr Leete): both a man of science and a philosopher; Gone are the days when people laughed heartily at the ridiculous Vilain Mire (2), ancestor of the “ Doctor despite himself ”; far from even the one where one shuddered at the thought that his family doctor had the bad demiurge portrayed successively by Mary Shelley (1818), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1837) and RL Stevenson (1887). Long competitors, the doctor and priest could once again claim to be united in one and the same person (3).

Julian West and Dr leete are the main characters in the novel by American lawyer, journalist and writer Edward Bellamy (1850-1898) entitled "Looking Backward" (1888) ("One Hundred Years After", E. Dentu, 1891 ), a bestseller for five decades and which, in the fifteen years that followed its publication, inspired no less than twenty transfictional stories.

Despite his sort of double vision, Bellamy had not foreseen that, at the end of the 20th century, everything from birth to death, public life and domestic life, social life and professional life, physical facts and psychic facts , everything and not just delinquency, would be medicalized. Everything today is considered a medical problem. Medicalization is a form of what Michel Foucault calls biopolitics, which he defines as a common political technology for managing populations as biological groups, entities considered in terms of and subject to biological functions. Biopolitics emanates from what he calls biopower, "administration of bodies and (...) calculating management of life" by "(s) various and numerous techniques (...) of subjugation of bodies and (d) e population control ”(4)

“For a long time, one of the characteristic privileges of sovereign power had been the right of life and death” (5), which derived from the patria potestas. “The sovereign (…) exercises (çait) his right to life only by exercising his right to kill, or by withholding it; he only marked his power over life by the death he (was) able to demand. The right which is formulated as 'of life and death' is in fact the right to kill or to let live. The right which is formulated as 'of life and death' is in fact the right to kill or to let live. After all he was symbolized by the sword (…). Power was there first and foremost: over things, time, bodies and ultimately life; it culminated in the privilege of seizing it in order to suppress it ”(6). This power, sovereign and founded on law,undergoes a very profound transformation in the 17th century. “The 'levy' tends not to be the major form any more, but only one part among others which have the functions of inciting, strengthening, controlling, monitoring, increasing and organizing the forces that 'he submits: a power intended to produce forces, to make them grow and to order them rather than doomed to block them, to make them bend or to destroy them. The right of death will therefore tend to shift or at least to rely on the demands of a power which manages life and to order itself to what they demand. This death, which was based on the sovereign's right to defend himself or to ask that he be defended, will appear as the simple reverse of the right for the social body to ensure its life, to maintain it or to develop it.Never have wars been more bloody, however, than since the nineteenth century and, even all things considered, never had regimes hitherto practiced such holocausts on their own populations. But this formidable power of death - and this is perhaps what gives it part of its strength and of the cynicism with which it has pushed its own limits so far - is now given as the complement of a power that positively exerts on life, which undertakes to manage it, to increase it, to multiply it, to exert on it precise controls and overall regulations. Wars are no longer waged in the name of the sovereign who must be defended; they are done in the name of the existence of all; entire populations are trained to mutually kill each other in the name of the need for them to live.The massacres have become vital. It is as manager of life and survival, of bodies (…) that so many regimes have been able to wage so many wars, by having so many men killed. And by a turnaround that makes it possible to complete the circle, the more the technology of wars has made them turn to exhaustive destruction, the more in fact the decision which opens them and the one which comes to close them becomes organized around the naked question of survival ( …): The power to expose a population to general death is the reverse of the power to guarantee another its continued existence. The principle: being able to kill in order to be able to live, which supported the tactics of combat, has become a principle of strategy between States; but the existence in question is no longer the legal existence of sovereignty, it is the biological existence of a population.If genocide is indeed the dream of modern powers, it is not through a return today to the old right to kill; it is because power is located and is exercised at the level of life, of the species (…) and of massive population phenomena ”(7). The task of government was no longer, or no longer only, the conduct of state affairs, but the conduct of the conduct of individuals and populations, not exactly and solely by laws, but by an infinite variety of processes, procedures, techniques, rules, standards, all "disciplinary" in the sense that this term takes in medical thought. Medical thought seeks (...) to provide itself with means of correction which are not exactly means of punishment, but means of transformation of the individual,a whole technology of human behavior which is linked to this ”(8). It thus flows perfectly into the spirit of pastoral power, which is, as Tocqueville called it, a “more extensive and gentler despotism”, which “(degrades) men without tormenting them (…) does not break wills , but (…) softens them, bends them and directs them; (who) rarely forces us to act, but (…) constantly opposes us to act; (which) does not destroy, (but) prevents being born; (who) does not tyrannize, (but) annoys, (…) compresses, (…) irritates, (…) extinguished, (…) dazed, and (…) finally reduces each nation to be nothing more than a herd of 'timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd' (9). The infantile consent and the dumbfounded participation of this "herd" in the current sanitary masquerade shows, if need be,that biopolitics, as Giorgio Agamben (10) asserts, is perfectly suited to it, that it finds its account.

It is healthy to shed light on the current masquerade with an overview of the genealogy of biopolitics, the different stages which have led to the pastoral, pastorian medicalization of the so-called "western" society, while not refraining from questioning , along the way, a path that will pass, among others, through Venice, the medical beliefs mobilized and scientifically agitated by the rabble from above to carry out Operation Covid 19 through special effects which, moreover, are never more than improvements sleight of hand that the fair barker and the parish priest used to do.

The concept of disease as a biological process is relatively new. “Primitive man found himself in a magical world, surrounded by a hostile nature, each manifestation of which was invested with mysterious forces. To stay safe, he had to exercise constant vigilance and observe a complex system of rules and rites that protected him from the evil forces emanating from nature and his fellows. Magic was the means that gave him power over his environment and everyone had to acquire a certain skill in magic, if they wanted to live in harmony with the world, to make it an integral part of their physical and social environment ”( 11). In primitive societies, the sick man is therefore an individual who is not in harmony with the forces of nature and of society."Illness is often considered as a social sanction and the patient is either the victim, innocent or guilty, of black magic, of the anger of spirits, or is punished by a benevolent deity for having offended him" (12).

In the Semitic civilizations of the ancient East, it was believed that sickness, like suffering, was the punishment for a sin, for the sin of an individual, his parents or his clan. The punishment was twofold, for to the suffering that the disease caused him was added the stigma. Sin was to be atoned for with suffering and the angry god (s) should be appeased. A man, intermediary between man and the god (s), was there to help him: the medicine man (wherever women were admitted on an equal footing with men or, fortiori, wherever they played a very important role, they played the role of priestesses and therefore also of healers) (13). “The medicine man occupies an extremely important place in primitive society and is infinitely more than the ancestor of the modern doctor.He is in fact the ancestor of all our professions, he is at the same time priest, sorcerer, doctor and very often the chief, judge and bard of the tribe ”(14). He has more knowledge than any other member of the tribe because he knows lore and masters magic and he uses his knowledge to protect the tribe and make it prosperous.

Who did they get them from? What did they consist of?

Primitive medicine was a mixture of mysticism and empiricism. Natural means of treatment were mixed there with theurgic rituals, as evidenced by the healing formulas engraved on tablets: the vows to be delivered from the disease or the injunction given to the evil to leave were preceded by the definition of the disease and its symptoms. Anatomical and physiological knowledge was relatively developed: a large number of diseases could be identified by their symptoms and clinical signs. In “Egypt (which) was the medical center of the ancient world (…) there were specialists (…) for every part of the body. They were perfectly familiar with hygiene measures such as baths, body massages and inunctions. Diet was no stranger to them,they studied the role played by vermin in disease and practiced fumigation to control epidemics ”(15). Their pharmacopoeia included all kinds of ingredients of mineral, plant or animal origin. The first known reference to surgery is found in a treatise written in Egypt around 5000 BCE (16). Cosmetic surgery was not unknown in the ancient East either: the first forays into this field were made in India and Egypt around 2500 BC (17). "But these apparently rational treatments were applied as part of a magical ritual: a drug did not act as such,but because the ritual according to which it was administered and the incantation on which it was pronounced gave it the power to cure disease and alleviate suffering ”(18). Medical mysticism seems to be of priestly origin, while empirical treatments seem to have come from the people.

Popular medicine was “born in a way with men; they have always carried it everywhere, everywhere cultivated with equal care. Necessity dictated it to them, as it taught them to prepare various foods, various drinks; they must have thought of relieving themselves or of curing themselves as well as of lodging, of covering themselves, of protecting themselves from all accidents. This is empirical medicine based on daily experiences. Fathers teach it to their children, generations pass it on to each other ”(19). Judging by ancient Egypt, it seems that it was folk medicine that priests extracted their medical knowledge. Indeed, according to the report of Strabo and Herodotus, "the obligation (was) imposed on those who were afflicted with some diseases, to go and register in the temples of the Gods, the curative procedures &the remedies they used. The temple of Memphis (…) became the main repository of these salutary registers, they were kept there with the same care as the archives of the nation. In his beginnings, each had the liberty to go and consult them, and to choose the remedy which he believed suitable for his illness. The reading and the combination which the Priests made of these memories, and the conversations which they had, either with its carriers of receipts, or with the patients themselves, who often had to call them, made of them the first masters of the art. Such beautiful appearances did not last long. When they thought they had sufficiently accustomed the people to depend in this part on their so-called knowledge, they drew up a medicinal code, the laws of which were not permitted to be violated.It is according to this code, which they made to regard as sacred, and which they attributed to Hermes, to Isis or to some similar Divinity, that Medicine was subsequently practiced. If the Doctors, by following what he prescribed, did not succeed in healing the sick, they were not responsible for anything; instead of not conforming to it, if the event did not justify their conduct, they were punished with death. The pretext for such a severe law was that a practice confirmed by long experience, and supported by the authority of the greatest masters of the art, was preferable to anything that the experience of a small number of individuals (…). The experience, which every day gives lessons to the most educated men, became absolutely useless ”(20).that they attributed to Hermes, to Isis or to some similar Divinity, that Medicine was subsequently practiced. If the Doctors, by following what he prescribed, did not succeed in curing the sick, they were not responsible for anything; instead of not conforming to it, if the event did not justify their conduct, they were punished with death. 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The priests jealously guarded their medical knowledge. “We were careful not to reveal sacred things to the profane; only those who were to reach royalty or those who had already reached it were initiated, most of them taken from the class of warriors, the only ones who were allowed to claim this honor, with the priests ”(21) . In order not to risk inadvertently revealing sacred things to laymen, on the one hand they ensured that medicine was only taught in schools which depended on the temples (22), on the other hand they enveloped their medical knowledge in mystery, in order to make them even more impenetrable. This very mystery made that “(o) n dread (have) their power and especially their resentment; (we) have blind faith in their science ”(23):it was supposed to come directly from the gods. To strengthen this belief, they "made take (but in a mysterious way) remedies (to) the sick (...) (for) then (attribute) (to the gods) cures which were due only to these remedies" (24). Their talent as conjurers, added to the ascendancy it allowed them to have over the people, explains why, from that time, despotism could have called on them to use virulent diseases for purposes of social control (25 ).explains that, from this time, despotism could call on them to instrumentalize virulent diseases for purposes of social control (25).explains that, from this time, despotism could call on them to instrumentalize virulent diseases for purposes of social control (25).

Doctors, diviners, prophets, exorcists, miracle workers, priests were, however, above all officials; of the priestly order in Mesopotamia, where, nevertheless, the state fixed their fees (26); state in Egypt. In the latter country, the medical priests "held the first rank in the State: seated on the steps of the throne, they composed the Prince's council, dispensed justice, & presided over the levying of taxes" (27). They enjoyed many privileges. “We can imagine that, being the depositaries of the law, they were the first to escape its rigor. From the time of Patriarch Joseph, the lands which they held from the liberality of the Prince, were not charged with any royalty; & these possessions had certainly not diminished in their hands,since Isis who had abandoned to them in full ownership a third of Egypt, as much to provide for the expense of their maintenance, as that of the sacrifices & of all that was relative to the worship of the Gods ”(28). The profession of doctor was hereditary. Once trained, future practitioners completed their scientific background by doing an internship in aperi-ankh ; these "houses of life" enjoyed the protection of the pharaoh, who did not disdain to come and study there (29). The profession was strictly hierarchical (30), subject to administrative control and divided into numerous specialties (31). Some doctors were assigned to care for a group of individuals, including, in addition to the royal family, farmers, miners, quarry workers and construction site workers (32). The Mesopotamian medical priests can be considered as the precursors of occupational medicine for having advocated the need to grant sick workers a work stoppage and to isolate them (33). In Egypt, employees and workers received benefits such as medical insurance, pensions and sick leave (34).

The relatively extensive development of medical science, its codification, its transmission from generation to generation, the organization of the medical profession, its integration into the workings of the State, the prestige and status of physicians, indicate public health concerns. in ancient Egypt, especially since all Egyptians, except priests, were required to pay an annual wheat tax to cover the costs of medical services they may need. But it was the Hebrews, among whom the priests acted as "true medical police" (35), who were the first to take public hygiene measures (Leviticus 13: 45-46), as part of the fight against so-called infectious diseases. ; they were also the initiators, with the Mesopotamians (36),of medical jurisprudence.

“The Greek world was a world of health and robustness. Health seemed to be the greatest good. The ideal man, for the Greeks, was the harmonious being whose balance of soul and body is noble, beautiful and perfect. Illness was considered (not as a sin, but) as a great curse because it removed man from the condition of perfection and made him inferior. The physician, whose duty is to maintain and restore health, was therefore "not, as in the East, feared like the divinity whom he meditated, but" as esteemed as a craftsman "(37 ). In the Greek world, where it had been transplanted from Asia (37bis), medicine left the temple at the same time when the theater emerged from religious, masked ceremonies in honor of Dionysus, but, unlike the theater,she left it stripped of its most conspicuous religious elements.

In the sixth century BCE, “(d) rational systems of medicine (there) developed which consisted not only of a set of crude empirical facts - lists of symptoms and recipes - but which endeavored to interpret the nature of health and disease. They were based on observation and experience, excluded mythology and the transcendent, and interpreted the problems of medicine in a philosophical, then scientific way ”(38). Certainly, while the Greek physicians and philosophers questioned the nature of the disease, many people continued to give a religious interpretation of the disease and sought healing in the temples. Evil was sent by the gods, as was disease. Apollo's arrows brought pestilence,the serpent-haired Furies punished crime and caused madness. Medusa's gaze was paralyzing and her image was worn as an amulet to protect herself from the evil eye. Most of the gods had the power to heal. Zeus was worshiped under the name of Zeus Soter and, in Rhodes, under that of Zeus Paian. Pallas Athena was invoked in Athens under the name of Athena Hygeia, in Kyzikos under the name of Athena Iasonia. Apollo was considered the inventor of medicine. Gradually, however, religious medicine crystallized in the cult of Asclepius, unknown to Homer.under that of Zeus Paian. Pallas Athena was invoked in Athens under the name of Athena Hygeia, in Kyzikos under the name of Athena Iasonia. Apollo was considered the inventor of medicine. Gradually, however, religious medicine crystallized in the cult of Asclepius, unknown to Homer.under that of Zeus Paian. Pallas Athena was invoked in Athens under the name of Athena Hygeia, in Kyzikos under the name of Athena Iasonia. Apollo was considered the inventor of medicine. Gradually, however, religious medicine crystallized in the cult of Asclepius, unknown to Homer.

Certain traditions make Asclepius a real character, cabire, mage or Mazdean priest, see Egyptian (39). He was in any case a chthonic deity worshiped in Thessaly. According to the legend which was most widespread in Greece, Asclepius had been torn from his mother's womb by Apollo, furious that she had cheated on him. Raised in the cave of the centaur Chiron who had taught him the medicinal virtues of herbs and many incantations, Asclepius had become a doctor and had cured many patients, before being struck down by Zeus for having abused his art to the point of resuscitating them. dead: “… the sky always lowers that which exceeds the measure” (Herodotus, VII, 10). This did not prevent Plato from praising Asclepios on the grounds that he had put his art at the service of the city (40).

After his death, divine honors were returned to him and he was designated as the god of medicine; temples were erected to him in different regions of Greece. His descendants took the name Asclépiades. Faithful to their ancestor and to the ancestors (to their not very shining exploits) (40bis), they only communicated to their children the knowledge they had inherited. “They (took care) that the ideas of the people were never enlightened on the cause and cure of diseases, and that a mysterious veil prevented the gaze of the curious from penetrating the secret of their art. They made good use of natural medicines in the cures which they operated; but the people believed that this effect, often of an astonishing speed, was due to the magic formulas, the hymns and the purifications ”(40ter).To maintain the monopoly of medicine, they made neophytes swear the following sacramental words: "We swear by the gods not to reveal the principles of our art to any layman, and to regard as a sacrilege whoever among us has the temerity to reveal them ”(41). Some ancient authors fix the disclosure of the secrets of the Asclepius at the time of Hippocrates (v. 460 BCE - v. 370 BCE); others blame it on Hippocrates himself. Pliny reports that "(the) custom then was that all those who had been delivered from some disease wrote in the temple of God the remedy which had succeeded for them, so that one could profit from it when one found themselves in the same case" and "that Hippocrates took care to copy all these recipes, & Varro believes that it is so, that after the burning of this Temple,he established the Medicine called Clinic ”(42). Several ancient sources even affirm that, after having made his profit from these recipes and prescriptions of the medical priests, he burned the temple (43). The obvious objection to this account is that, Hippocrates being himself a Milkweed, he did not need to copy the recipes which his family had already passed on to him. There is a more plausible explanation: very early on, medicine had been taught publicly by another fairly widespread class of men; Solon (640 before our era - 558 before our era) and Heraclitus (end of the sixth century before our era) mention them; the Asclépiades, feeling overwhelmed by these “secular” competitors (44), would have ended up by resolving to communicate their medical concepts to foreigners, selected on the shutter, to institute schools,to make their education public and to put their books into circulation (45). Yet they would only have revealed ordinary knowledge to laymen, reserving knowledge of the great mysteries for initiates or epopts (45bis). The Hippocratic writings therefore contain an exoteric teaching.

It constitutes a quadruple doctrine (46): 1. the doctrine of the four humours (blood, phlegm or pituite, yellow bile and black bile) (46bis); 2. crase, or balance of moods, which gives health and which, as soon as it is disturbed, produces disease, the most powerful cause of which is the variation of the seasons and the action of the climate: whatever it is either, the cause of the diseases is to be sought exclusively in the material field; 3. coction, or transformation of the harmful qualities of humours before their elimination and the return to health; their elimination is called crisis; it takes place by different routes (sweating, alvine excretions, vomiting, sputum, urine, etc.) and goes through several phases, which correspond to critical days; 4.prognosis, which is appreciation,not only the degree of severity and subsequent course of a disease, but also its cause and outcome (47); in other words, it is a medical judgment which aims to assess the past, present and future state of the patient. Is it not remarkable that prognosis is "the first scientific construction that we know of medicine" and that, still according to Émile Littré, it was inspired in Hippocrates by the medical divination to which the priests indulged in the temples (48)?Is it not remarkable that prognosis is "the first scientific construction that we know of medicine" and that, still according to Émile Littré, it was inspired in Hippocrates by the medical divination to which the priests indulged in the temples (48)?Is it not remarkable that prognosis is "the first scientific construction that we know of medicine" and that, still according to Émile Littré, it was inspired in Hippocrates by the medical divination to which the priests indulged in the temples (48)?

In prognosis Hippocrates found three great advantages: “the first is that the doctor gains the patient's confidence, who punctually obeys his orders , in the conviction that his illness is very well known; the second is that, guessing what must happen, he can prevent certain accidents, lessen the gravity of others, take energetic measures against all, and consequently often succeed in restoring health; the third is that we will not blame the death of the sick if they succumb ”(49) (emphasis added). "Knowing in advance and indicating to the patients the past, present and future phenomena, enumerating all the circumstances which escape them, he will persuade them that he knowsall that concerns them better than any other ; so that they will not be afraid to abandon themselves to him. He will direct the treatment all the better if he will be able to predict future events based on present phenomena ”(50) (emphasis added).

In the Greek cities, it was possible to practice medicine without a license, without a diploma, without a title, without an exam. Everyone was free to open a pharmacy. To establish a doctor in town, all you needed was a place and a sign. Unlike the Egyptian surgeon, who, if he killed a nobleman or made him blind while operating on him, could have his hands cut off; who, if he killed a slave, could be condemned to give another to the master (51), the doctor, in Greece, risked, in the event of "professional misconduct", only to lose his reputation and therefore possibly his clientele . The doctors were ready to do anything to make one and keep it, if necessary by exaggerating to the extreme the gifts of actors that it was necessary to have to exercise this profession. Rare were not, according to several Hippocratic writings,the practitioners who went door-to-door - the doctors were then for the most part itinerant practitioners - abundantly perfumed, dressed in extravagant clothes and equipped with flashy instruments. By Hippocrates' own admission, medicine had a very bad reputation in Greece at the time, to the point of not even being recognized as an art (52). The indictment pronounced by Socrates (RepublicIII, 405c-408d) against the doctors of his time is without appeal. “Nowadays,” he said, “judicial offices and medical offices are multiplying, for a yes or a no rich idlers sue and submit the judges to the defense of their interests, they are unable to have a living honestly and judging for themselves by cultivating virtue and avoiding injustice; and they do the same with doctors: they spend their time taking care of themselves when they are not sick, they demand all kinds of refinements from Asclepias, lead them to distinguish flatulent diseases and catarrhs, imagine combinations of 'complicated moods, mood flows that must be stopped, it is an abuse of medicine, abuse of drugs,and the best example of these errors is that unfortunate Herodicus of Sélymbria who practiced on himself all his life what we would call a therapeutic relentlessness, this gymnastics master who took himself for a doctor and who painfully supported until at the end of his lamentable life. Ah! it was not the same during the time of the Trojan War! (…) Artificially prolonging one's life through medicine is cowardice, one must accept death, one must not cure incurable diseases; there are only four kinds of acceptable medication: vomiting, purging, cauterization, and incisions. The doctor does not treat only with his body, but also with his soul, he needs a high moral training ”(53). Similar criticisms will remain common against physicians from century to century, until,From the end of the 19th century, Masonic-Republican propaganda, now equipped with two real weapons, public education and the press, succeeded in demonizing them, by embellishing medicine and idealizing the doctor, without however being able to completely stifle them. a few voices which rose - and still rise - vigorously against iatrogenesis (54), which, in the “medical profession”, is at best noted, recognized and, of course, the object of statistics.in the "medical profession", is at best observed, recognized and, of course, the object of statistics.in the "medical profession", is at best observed, recognized and, of course, the object of statistics.

Hippocrates himself fired red balls on the "charlatans". In his writings, he hates those who have made medicine an art as imprecise and speculative as divination and rebels against the lying and impious art of the Magi, who, by presenting certain diseases as a punishment from heaven, fulfill of terror the gullible, to make them all the more docile to the demands of their cupidity - which did not prevent "the father of medicine" from believing that there were premonitory dreams, that dreams had a diagnostic value , that it was possible to perceive in dreams the causes of diseases and to protect oneself, by certain recipes that he indicated, against the malignancy of some of them (55).The first care of Hippocrates - or the second if one gives credence to the testimonies according to which he was first a thief and an arsonist - was to respect medicine, by advocating a pastoral approach. In theTreatise on Epidemics , it is said that there are two things in diseases: "to relieve or not to harm" and that "art" is made up of three terms: "the disease, the patient and the doctor; (…) The patient must work together with the doctor to fight his illness ”. In the treatise On prognosis , it is recommended that the doctor gain the patient's confidence and obtain his consideration and respect by the attention he devotes to examining and questioning him. In the sixth book of Epidemics, it is said that the doctor must have graces and complacency for the patient and that he must take care of his own person to please his clients (56), while remaining within the limits of good taste, that the doctors of his time, as we have just seen, were clearly passing. To make medicine respectable, he undertook to moralize it. “The Oath foreshadowed the Western paradigm of a profession (one that takes an oath) capable of self-regulation morally as a discipline practiced by those who shared knowledge and committed to serve others” (57). The so-called Hippocratic oath was to "inspire (er) all Western legislation" in the field of medicine (58),from the “Geneva Oath” - to limit us here to its influence in modern times - adopted by the World Medical Association in September 1948 to the International Code of Medical Ethics promulgated in London in October 1949 to define, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the rules relating to the duties of physicians among themselves and towards patients as well as the rights of patients.

The Hippocratic enterprise of moralizing medicine came up against the immorality of physicians and, from the fourth century BC, practitioners, who then almost all claimed to be the teachings of Hippocrates, were again the object of virulent attacks, in both non-medical and medical texts, for reasons that had nothing to do with Hippocrates' weakness for the supernatural. Doctors were frequently accused of causing the death of the patient they were supposed to treat, of refusing to deal with serious cases, and of taking credit for curing patients who would have recovered anyway (59) . The medical treaties, for their part, blamed the weaknesses and shortcomings of doctors on their poor training and their multiplication,itself due to "the widespread use of writing in the authentic medical profession" (60). The competition between doctors being tough and ruthless, they already had a tendency to "try to distinguish themselves from the Other", by accusing each other of charlatanism (61) - and by not hesitating to ask the authorities to put an end to the bankruptcy of their rivals (62).

In an attempt to fight against dishonest or incompetent doctors, "real theater extras" (63), the cities had not waited for Hippocrates and his oath. Doubtless as early as the sixth century BC, they had created the post of public doctor ( demosios iatros), concerned, of course, to protect their citizens against charlatans, but above all to ensure the permanent presence of sedentary doctors within their walls (64). The small towns themselves ensured that their inhabitants had a medical service (65). The cities which did not permanently have enough doctors published decrees publicly inviting foreign doctors: "to come and treat the men who were wounded during the war (66). Their nomination depended on a speech, delivered to the people's assembly in democratic cities (67); a priori, it was therefore determined by rhetoric rather than professional skills. Once a doctor was hired, a practice was made available to him free of charge or almost free of charge.He was paid a lump sum by the assembly; moreover, nothing prohibited him from receiving fees from his clients (68). To pay doctors, the Egyptian state levied a tax; the Greek cities did not proceed otherwise (69). As in Egypt, public doctors were privileged from a fiscal point of view: pilgrims or sedentary, they benefited from tax exemption and could be granted citizenship rights, along with rights reserved for citizens, such as land ownership (70). Twice a year, they made sacrifices in honor of the divinities of medicine (71); they celebrated festivals, like the Asclepieia and the Epidauria. From the third century BC, doctors formed a corporation.To compensate doctors, the Egyptian state levied a tax; the Greek cities did not proceed otherwise (69). As in Egypt, public doctors were privileged from a fiscal point of view: pilgrims or sedentary, they benefited from tax exemption and could be granted citizenship rights, along with rights reserved for citizens, such as land ownership (70). Twice a year, they made sacrifices in honor of the divinities of medicine (71); they celebrated festivals, like the Asclepieia and the Epidauria. From the third century BC, doctors formed a corporation.To pay doctors, the Egyptian state levied a tax; the Greek cities did not proceed otherwise (69). As in Egypt, public doctors were privileged from a fiscal point of view: pilgrims or sedentary, they benefited from tax exemption and could be granted citizenship rights, along with rights reserved for citizens, such as land ownership (70). Twice a year, they made sacrifices in honor of the divinities of medicine (71); they celebrated festivals, like the Asclepieia and the Epidauria. From the third century BC, doctors formed a corporation.they benefited from tax exemption and could be granted citizenship rights, along with rights reserved for citizens, such as land ownership (70). Twice a year, they made sacrifices in honor of the divinities of medicine (71); they celebrated festivals, like the Asclepieia and the Epidauria. From the third century BC, doctors formed a corporation.they benefited from tax exemption and could be granted citizenship rights, along with rights reserved for citizens, such as land ownership (70). Twice a year, they made sacrifices in honor of the divinities of medicine (71); they celebrated festivals, like the Asclepieia and the Epidauria. From the third century BC, doctors formed a corporation.

"The Roman people spent more than five hundred years of doctors" asserts the Roman in Voltaire (72). Although not completely accurate from the historical point of view, this statement does not say less very much about the consideration in which the first Romans held the doctors. Until the fourth century BC, when Greek physicians began to emigrate to Rome, medicine had been practiced there "in the patriarchal form." The oldest or the most educated of the kinship treated the sick of his family as he saw fit, and it does not appear that the priests are more particularly concerned than the others with this function ”(73). Cato the Elder had taken great care of this domestic medicine and had not mince words about professional doctors, who, in his time,had emigrated en masse to Rome from Greece and called themselves Asclepiades: "I will tell you," he wrote to his son Marcus, "when the time comes, what I think of these Greeks, and what I esteem the most. of what is in Athens. It is good to study, as in passing, their letters and their sciences; but they should not be learned in depth. I will come to the end of this wicked and proud race: however rest assured, as if a diviner had told you, that as soon as this nation will have communicated to us its letters, it will spoil, corrupt everything; and this will be done all the more easily, if she also sends us her doctors. They have sworn among themselves to kill all barbarians by means of medicine; and still they demand a salary for it from those they treat,so that they trust them better and can lose them more easily. They are insolent enough to call us barbarians, as well as the others; they even treat us more insolently, calling us opics. In short, remember that I defended the doctors for you ”(De re rustica). On one point, Cato was wrong: most of the doctors in Greece were of Eastern origin (74). Most of those who had emigrated to Rome were, moreover, adventurers, schemers, who, as Galen himself testifies, had no other goal than to make a fortune and were capable, to achieve it, of all the meanness. They first encountered strong opposition from the Romans. However, the frequent wars, requiring a large number of army surgeons, resulted in the Roman rulers entirely changing their policies towards foreign doctors and seeking to attract them to Rome as much as possible. They flocked there - men and women, for in Greece they were allowed to openly study and practice medicine on other women and children (75).

The capacity to harm bad and false doctors was far greater in Rome than anywhere else, for reasons Galen explains in the following passage: "In a vast and populous city," he said, "like the capital of the Roman Empire, it is easy for a foreigner and even a citizen to conceal his name, his birth, his fortune, his conduct. A man is judged only by the luxury he displays and the arrogance he shows. That if by chance he is discovered, all he has to do is change his neighborhood so that everyone does not know who he is and where he comes from. Whereas in a small town all the inhabitants know each other; we know who the parents are, what was the education, what is the life of each: fraud is almost impossible (76).An even stronger incitement to fraud resulted from Julius Caesar's granting in 46 BCE the right of Roman citizenship to all Greek physicians born free on Roman soil. Augustus knighted his medical officer, Musa. The privileges granted to physicians continued to increase. They were exempt from taxes, taxes, exempt from military service, from the obligation to take tenants and accept charges.

However, the abuses to which the total freedom to practice medicine gave rise had become intolerable, so that the legislature was obliged to intervene. At the time of Antoninus Pius a numerus clausus of five, seven, or ten doctors was introduced, depending on the size of the city. To become valid docti, also known as archiatrists, they had to prove that they had medical knowledge. A sort of license was thus instituted, which protected the rights of competent doctors. They formed a sort of college in charge of everything relating to sanitation. No one could practice medicine without their permission. They were paid by the state and enjoyed various privileges, in return for which they had to take care of the poor free of charge. At the same time, a class of men appeared whose function was to prepare drugs ordered by doctors, who previously concocted them themselves or had them prepared by their disciples or their servants. Many families had their own doctors, to whom they paid an annual salary to treat the whole family during the year.There were medical societies in the Roman Empire. Their main goal was the common worship of their patrons, Aesculapius and Hygeia. Some of these societies endeavored to improve the knowledge of doctors and stimulate their zeal.

As for the blood Romans, despite their hygienic achievements, such as large aqueducts, sewers, pipes and public baths, their contribution to medical science was almost nil. These achievements "often produced hygienic results that their creators did not seek, things which, while having hygienic value, were not of medical origin" (77). Medicine did not inspire them with any legislation.

The position of the patient and the doctor changed radically with the advent of Christianity, "the religion of healing." The new teaching was aimed at the sick, the weak and the infirm, unlike the old (non-Semitic) religions, which were primarily intended for the healthy and pure. He promised healing both spiritual and physical. Did not Christ himself heal? While, in the Semitic world, illness was considered a punishment and, among the Greeks, it was a sign of inferiority, in the Christian world it meant purification. Illness therefore became a grace. The sick person was a person to whom God had granted His grace. The Christian's duty was to welcome him and his good deed benefited his soul ”(78). Certainly, according to Chrysostom,"(I) t is doubtless that sins are the first causes of bodily illnesses", but healing is possible and healing, once accomplished, is, among the fathers of the Church, if not synonymous, at least indicative of hi (79). Most of the fathers of the Church considered medicine to be good as long as it was part of God's plan. Concrete proof of the positive relationship between Christianity and medicine is the following metric inscription, engraved on a titulus sepulchralis in memory of the anargyre Roman priest and physician Dionysios:Most of the fathers of the Church saw medicine as a good as it was part of God's plan. Concrete proof of the positive relationship between Christianity and medicine is the following metric inscription, engraved on a titulus sepulchralis in memory of the anargyre Roman priest and physician Dionysios:Most of the fathers of the Church considered medicine to be good as long as it was part of God's plan. Concrete proof of the positive relationship between Christianity and medicine is the following metric inscription, engraved on a titulus sepulchralis in memory of the anargyre Roman priest and physician Dionysios:ars veneranda fidem fidei decus extulit artem (“the art [of medicine] must venerate the faith and the honor of faith glorifies the art of medicine”) (80). Origen criticized the Jewish king Asa (2 Chronicles 16:12) because, sick, "he did not seek the Lord, but he consulted the doctors", that is to say, in this case, of the practitioners who based their art entirely on magic, which all the fathers of the Church stigmatized as diabolical.

In theory, the Christian god, called, in the texts of the first centuries of this religion, "divine doctor of souls and bodies", was, with Jesus (Christus medicus), the one and only doctor (the bishops and priests were also described as physicians capable of curing ailments of the soul by administering the right medicines) (81). The effectiveness of the healing action of the doctors depended exclusively on this god, while this god could heal independently of the doctors.

Therefore, the doctor was regarded as a kind of imitator Christi or Minister Dei. The early Church, as Justin the Martyr in the 1st and Origen in the 2nd century AD testifies, had many doctors in its ranks; they even formed the professional category most represented among the first Christians. So maybe “doctors were drawn to Christianity more than any other professional. Or perhaps Christians were drawn to medical practice more than any other profession ”(82).

In theory, Christian therapy was “sacramental”, that is to say that the remedies were Baptism, the Eucharist and Extreme Unction (83); in reality, the practice of the Christian, Hippocratic physician did not differ from that of his non-Christian colleagues, except that he refused to perform the abortion and urged the patient to pray for healing. Still only a minority of Christians were convinced that healing depended exclusively on prayer. To deduce from the Gospels that religious healing, exorcism, which figures prominently there, was normative among the first Christians is a mistake; most of them accepted a naturalistic view of the cause of disease,rejecting the belief that ordinary illnesses were caused by demons and that healing was possible through exorcism (84).

The Christian duty of caring for the sick and the poor was concretely reflected in the erection of hospitals (85) and establishments where people could receive medical assistance: these institutions represent "the necessary union of rational medicine (we mean : Hippocratic) with the distinctly Christian value of charity ”(86). The fact that the care of the sick was an essential duty of every Christian was stressed in particular by Gregory of Nyssa; of every Christian and consequently of the whole Church (87). Ignatius of Antioch went so far as to compare those who did not take care of the sick and the poor to heretics (88).

Poverty and sickness returned to the Church its benevolence a hundredfold.

With regard to the first point, the network of social services that the Christian Church had woven almost invisibly (89) gradually extended as it grew richer, to such an extent that it is not illegitimate to ask if there is a cause and effect link (90): who says charitable works says (rich) donors, part of whose donations are actually used to help the poor, while the other is appropriated by the donee (s). The Church had discovered a practice with a bright future, which she developed on an almost industrial scale over the centuries, during which she aroused many vocations among the laity: what is today called "charity". business ”. The well-to-do themselves were not spared by the benevolence of the Church:no other place lent itself better than the hospital to the collection of heritage (91). Well-ordered charity begins with oneself.

The second point is linked to the privileged relations of Christianity with epidemics. According to Thucydides, the plague ravaged Athens as well as the other populous cities of Greece from 430 to 426 before our era; it had come from Ethiopia and had made its first Greek victims in Piraeus, whose inhabitants were convinced that it was due to the poisoning of their wells. From the description that the Greek historian gives of it - he is even the only writer of antiquity to speak of it - from the medical and political points of view and even, according to some of his modern readers, from an angle which prefigures that of the historical sociology (92), it is not surprising that this scourge had a profound impact on the Athenians, impact at the same time demographic (a third to a quarter of them died), psychological and moral (demoralization,loss of the sense of hierarchy, loosening of the observance of customs, unleashing of low instincts), social (disorders, civil unrest) and spiritual (religious skepticism resulting from the feeling of having been abandoned by the gods).

Documented, for the most part, by several corroborating sources, the epidemics which, cause (or consequence?) Of food shortages (93), raged in Rome and in the other teeming cities of Italy, all twenty-two years on average under the res publica, every seventeen years under the Empire (94), under which they were particularly numerous (95), wreaked as much havoc as the plague of Athens (96). If they did not provoke violent reactions on the part of the population (97), it is not unreasonable to assert, even if none of the contemporary authors who echoed them bothered to describe anything other than its demographic consequences, that the influence they had on the morale of the Italian populations was no more prosperous than that which they had in Athens or even that which they have in any climate whatsoever. A major difference, however, separated the Greek world of the fifth century BC from the Italy of the beginning of our era: Christianity, which had not yet been born under Pericles, had, like most epidemics, come to pass. 'Orient (98),established in Rome. Without the epidemics that chronically raged in the overpopulated cities of Italy, would Christianity have succeeded in exercising a religious monopoly in Europe? Several Fathers of the Church would not have answered in the affirmative to this question which very few historians have asked themselves. According to Dionysius of Alexandria (3rd century AD), Christian values ​​of love and charity were translated into standards of social service and community solidarity. Christians were thus better prepared morally and materially to overcome disasters; the proof was that the survival rate for epidemics was higher among them, which means that, when they left each of them, they represented an ever higher percentage of the population,regardless of the number of converts. In addition, their higher rate of survival to pestilential diseases could appear miraculous to non-Christians and thus push them to convert to Christianity. Similar arguments were developed by, among others, Cyprian of Carthage (c. 200–258 CE) - who went so far as to imply (99) that only non-Christians should be afraid of the plague - and Eusebius of Caesarea (v. 265–339), convinced, for his part, that it touched the "pagans" more (100).200–258 CE) - who went so far as to insinuate (99) that only non-Christians should be afraid of the plague - and Eusebius of Caesarea (v. 265–339), himself convinced that it more affected the "pagans" (100).200–258 CE) - who went so far as to insinuate (99) that only non-Christians should be afraid of the plague - and Eusebius of Caesarea (v. 265–339), himself convinced that it more affected the "pagans" (100).

The Church in the "middle ages" "declared that it was the patient's duty to consult a doctor. The patient who refused to be treated was harming himself. Harming oneself is a sin, just as suicide is a sin. Medical practice is made to preserve life, just like eating and drinking, and it is the duty of a Christian to do everything possible to preserve the home of the soul (…). On the other hand, it is the doctor's duty to treat all patients, even hopeless cases ”(101), in contrast to the medical conceptions that prevailed in ancient Greece. “It was further stated that the doctor had a duty to give free medical treatment to poor patients and even, in some cases, to provide them with free medicine.The doctor was made responsible for his actions and it was his duty to follow tradition ”(102).

Protected by the popes, medicine first developed in Italy, the cradle of medical studies in Europe. The schools of Monte Cassino and Salerno are the oldest known medical schools; monks from all European countries went to that of Monte Cassino, founded by the Benedictines, to study there, the sick to be cured. Most of the doctors who taught at Salerno were of Jewish or Arab origin (the school itself was said to have been founded by a Jew, an Arab, a Greek and a Latin) (103); it was upon contact with them that the monks substituted their traditional remedies for a medication based on scientific knowledge of the time, extracted from Arab medicine books (104): they exchanged their medicinal plants from the raw for herbs imported from the East. (105).The situation in this regard therefore seems to have returned to what it was at the beginning of the Empire, according to what Pliny tells us in a masterly passage, more relevant than ever, from hisNatural History(XXIX, 1, 4): “The only remedies that nature had intended for us are those that are easily found, fully prepared and without any expense; the very substances that make us live. Later human fraud and lucrative inventions produced these pharmacies, where everyone is promised life for money. We were immediately bragged about inexplicable compositions and mixtures. India and Arabia are taken among us; for a small ulcer we ask for a remedy at the Red Sea, while every day the poorest among us dines with real remedies. If we took the remedies in our gardens, if we used the grass or the shrub that grows there, the medical profession would be without credit. We have come to this: the Roman people, by extending their conquests, lost their old customs; conquerors, we have been conquered.We obey strangers; and, with the help of a single profession, they command their conquerors ”. The drug trade was controlled by the Jews, through whom European physicians, for those who were not Jews, learned of many heretofore unknown remedies (106). Arab doctors also brought new medicines (purgatives) and new pharmaceutical preparations (syrups, juleps, robs, loochs) to Europe (107).Arab doctors also brought new medicines (purgatives) and new pharmaceutical preparations (syrups, juleps, robs, loochs) to Europe (107).Arab doctors also brought new medicines (purgatives) and new pharmaceutical preparations (syrups, juleps, robs, loochs) to Europe (107).

Until the 13th century, monks and nuns shared with the Jews (108) and, to a lesser extent, the Arabs (109), the almost exclusive monopoly of medicine in the upper classes of society (110). In theory, a Christian patient could not appeal to an Arab doctor or a Jewish doctor, under pain of excommunication. However, their superiority was, it seems, so obvious that no one bothered to enforce this rule. No law, no regulation was intended to ensure the competence of doctors. "Everyone could," said a medical historian jokingly, "at their own risk and peril, undertake the healing of the sick" (111); also the towns were frequented by a crowd of healers, renoners, bathers, barbers, mires,who were often accompanied by a birth attendant. When a practitioner, at least one of these mediciners - for it is very unlikely that the following punishments would apply to priests and Jews, doctors of the powerful (112) - was called in to treat a sick person, he had to provide a bail. If he were to injure a nobleman, he had to pay a fine of one hundred sous and, if the nobleman died as a result of the treatment, he was handed over to the relatives of the deceased; if he injured or caused the death of a serf, he was bound to provide him with another to the lord. Until the creation of universities, where medical studies were regularized, very little trust was placed in doctors.at least one of these mediciners - because it is very unlikely that the following punishments applied to priests and Jews, doctors of the powerful (112) - was called in to treat a sick person, he had to provide a deposit. If he were to injure a nobleman, he had to pay a fine of one hundred sous and, if the nobleman died as a result of the treatment, he was handed over to the relatives of the deceased; if he injured or caused the death of a serf, he was bound to provide him with another to the lord. Until the creation of universities, where medical studies were regularized, very little trust was placed in doctors.at least one of these mediciners - because it is very unlikely that the following punishments applied to priests and Jews, doctors of the powerful (112) - was called to treat a sick person, he had to provide a deposit. If he were to injure a nobleman, he had to pay a fine of one hundred sous and, if the nobleman died as a result of the treatment, he was handed over to the relatives of the deceased; if he injured or caused the death of a serf, he was bound to provide him with another to the lord. Until the creation of universities, where medical studies were regularized, very little trust was placed in doctors.if the nobleman died as a result of the treatment, he was handed over to the parents of the deceased; if he injured or caused the death of a serf, he was required to provide him with another to the lord. Until the creation of universities, where medical studies were regularized, very little trust was placed in doctors.if the nobleman died as a result of the treatment, he was handed over to the parents of the deceased; if he injured or caused the death of a serf, he was bound to provide him with another to the lord. Until the creation of universities, where medical studies were regularized, very little trust was placed in doctors.

In the 12th century, secular authority and the Church began to be moved by the frequent abuses in the practice of medicine, and this time all doctors, from low-level healers to priests, were affected by their decisions. The popes and the councils prohibited it to the men invested with the orders or bound by monastic vows. For what reasons ? "The practice of medicine (...) did not stop introducing a great relaxation in the mores and discipline of the clergy" (113), explains Pierre-Victor Renouard in a sentence that raises more questions than it does. provides answers. The Council of Vienna (1311-1312) forbids, not, as many have argued, that hospitals be administered by the clergy, but that they are given as benefits to secular clerics (114).

Many rulers issued ordinances to regulate the practice of medicine (115), starting with Roger II of Sicily who in 1140 promulgated an edict prohibiting anyone from exercising this profession without proper examination, on pain of imprisonment and sale of its goods at auction. This important law was followed by a more far-reaching ordinance, issued by his grandson, Emperor Frederick II, in 1224 and "by virtue (of which) no individual could practice medicine in the kingdom of Naples. 'he would not have been previously examined and received as a teacher by the college of Salerno. For this purpose he had to study logic for three years; then he moved on to medicine, the duration of which, including surgery, which is part of medicine, was five years (or) only two years (…);to be admitted to the exams at the end of this term, the pupil had to provide a certificate attesting that he was born of a legitimate marriage and that he had reached his twenty-fifth year, or his twenty-first, following another version; after which it was examined publicly on the therapeutics of Galen, the first book of Avicenna and the aphorisms of Hippocrates. These trials being endured, he took an oath to be faithful to good mores, subject to the rules of society, to give free care to the poor, and to participate in nothing in the profits of the apothecaries. When he had received his diploma, he had to have it confirmed or legalized by the king's officer; and nevertheless he was not yet entering the full exercise of art; he was obliged to practice for a year under the supervision of an experienced doctor ”(116).Thus was formed "a new type of medieval scholastic doctor, a doctor-clerk full of book and dialectical knowledge, very versed in Latin" (117) and bardé - the term is attested for the first time in the French language in 1314 - of "drugs". Many lay people then entered the profession, but, even graduates, their situation at the end of the “Middle Ages” remained more or less the same. Many doctors were still paid for by the Church, others were municipal doctors, still others were attached to the court of a nobleman, layman or ecclesiastic. Those who had private practice had to follow rigid standards set by the medical schools, which acted as the corporation of physicians. There was no, or very little, competition.The standards to which they were subject were not set only by medical schools. Innocent III, Pope from 1198 to 1216, was the first to forbid doctors, under pain of excommunication, to undertake the treatment of any disease before having called for an ecclesiastic (118). One of his successors, priests being consulted less often by the sick since the profession of doctor had been embraced by many lay people, ordered that, in Italy at least, a doctor could not visit the same patient twice without being accompanied by 'a priest (119).One of his successors, priests being consulted less often by the sick since the profession of doctor had been embraced by many lay people, ordered that, in Italy at least, a doctor could not visit the same patient twice without being accompanied by 'a priest (119).One of his successors, priests being consulted less often by the sick since the profession of doctor had been embraced by many lay people, ordered that, in Italy at least, a doctor could not visit the same patient twice without being accompanied by 'a priest (119).

Astrology was considered an essential branch of medicine and was always used to predict the outcome of diseases; healing was requested from the saints (Roch, Louis, André, Ægidius Columnius) (120) rather than from the doctors; Clement VI, pope from 1342 to 1352, instituted a mass “for the plague” (121); Even in the 15th century, Marsilio Ficino's treatises on human life were filled with formulas indicating how to maintain health and prolong life with the aid of astrological knowledge (122). In the time of Ambroise Paré (c. 1510-1590) again, “the (European) peoples believed to see in the sky sinister figures and hands armed with swords, on the cities at whose doors (the plague) struck (... ). The plague (was) above the resources of medicine, art and science (were) useless,it was necessary to rely on the divine will, such is the more or less generally accepted doctrine in the past ... ”(123). " Nearly ". Indeed, the spread of a particular belief had already begun to crack it: the opinion that patients are transmitted from one subject to another. From then on, epidemics were no longer considered, at least by all physicians, as natural disasters or the effects of divine wrath. "They were events which could be studied scientifically and which could be avoided. The task was however so important that it could not be accomplished by a single individual but only by society as a whole ”(124).the propagation of a particular belief had already begun to crack it: the opinion that patients are transmitted from one subject to another. From then on, epidemics were no longer considered, at least by all physicians, as natural disasters or the effects of divine wrath. "They were events which could be studied scientifically and which could be avoided. The task was, however, so important that it could not be accomplished by a single individual but only by society as a whole ”(124).the propagation of a particular belief had already begun to crack it: the opinion that patients are transmitted from one subject to another. From then on, epidemics were no longer considered, at least by all physicians, as natural disasters or the effects of divine wrath. "They were events which could be studied scientifically and which could be avoided. The task was, however, so important that it could not be accomplished by a single individual but only by society as a whole ”(124).“These were events that could be studied scientifically and that could be avoided. The task was however so important that it could not be accomplished by a single individual but only by society as a whole ”(124).“These were events that could be studied scientifically and that could be avoided. The task was however so important that it could not be accomplished by a single individual but only by society as a whole ”(124).

For a long time, when a man fell ill and could afford it, he would buy the services of a doctor, and what happened between them did not concern anyone else. Health and disease was a private matter and the state did not think of intervening in it. As soon as, in the 14th century, the “black plague” invaded the “Western” world from Asia, causing terrible devastation in populations who faced it in a state of serious deficiency caused on the one hand by mal- and under-nutrition (125), famine, misery, bad health and, according to the populations themselves, voluntary poisonings (126) and on the other hand by this communicative feeling that is the fear of disease (127), laws confusing effect and cause, so to speak, were promulgated in an attempt to ward off the plague,which was increasingly believed to be contagious. Those infected or suspected of being infected had to be reported to the authorities and the number of reportable diseases continued to increase from century to century. The disease thus came to no longer be regarded as a private matter. The “political body” (128) - it was not yet called “social body” - being threatened by disease, disease became, under pressure from private interest (129), a matter of “public interest”. ". The treatment of patients was presented as a collective protective measure, which in turn was presented as being taken in the interest of society, for the "public good". Health ended up being bizarrely qualified - everything had become "public" - as "public".“Public health administration became an increasingly important part of general state administration. Laws and ordinances relating to health were promulgated and enforced by the police and the courts. The doctor was called upon to play a dual role, that of expert advisor to the legislator and that of administrative agent. Protecting the health of the people and eradicating disease were tasks of such magnitude that they could not be accomplished without the power of the state. Public health extended its field of action from century to century and with the abolition of barriers between preventive and curative medicine, it gradually transformed into state medicine ”(130). Power became biopower, a political technology for managing populations as biological groups,entities subject to biological functions.

The first sanitary measures against the plague were taken during the epidemic of 1348, described by Giovanni Boccaccio in Le Décameron , à Venise, the city of masks (131), to which, according to the French writer, journalist and politician. French mason Eugène Pelletan (1813-1884), Louis XIV had borrowed "this expeditious form of inquisition" which is the police, of which "he had singularly enriched the mechanism" (132).

The Republic of Venice establishes a quarantine system assigning to a council of three sapientes " pro conservatione sanitatis»The responsibility and power to detain individuals and entire vessels in the Venetian Lagoon for forty days. In 1377, the rector of Ragusa (now Dubrovnik), a rival maritime power of Venice, issued a decree officially establishing a trentina, isolation period of thirty days for ships coming from infected places, or even only suspected of carrying infected persons on board. The isolation period was forty days for land travelers. Travelers from areas where the plague was epidemic or endemic were not allowed to enter Ragusa until they were isolated for (approximately) a month and anyone who did not comply with this decree was fined. No citizens of Ragusa were allowed to enter the isolation zone, with the exception of some officials assigned by the Grand Council to care for people in quarantine. In addition, the chief physician of Ragusa, Jacob of Padua,advised to build a hospital house far from the city to accommodate the sick and people suspected of being carriers of an infectious disease (133). In 1423, Venice founded the first lazaretto, intended to quarantine the plague victims (134).

In the Italian cities, these legislative measures to combat plague in particular and epidemics in general were accompanied on the one hand by the publication of a whole medical literature with a preventive aim and on the other hand by the establishment of health.

This literature consisted of consilia pro peste, treatises written by doctors at the request of notables in search of therapeutic and prophylactic advice. Their authors nonetheless expressly expressed the wish that they serve to preserve the health, not only of their sponsors, but of all their fellow citizens (135). In fact, they were the source of many of the provisions of the "plague regulations" (136). The "plague regulations", which "testify (s) to an official and regular organization, to a whole system of defense against the reigning scourge" (137) are the "... ancestors of all health regulations which will then be enacted for fight against epidemics, food risks and, ultimately, the dangers of pollution ”(138).

In the Italian cities, the magistracy of commissioners or deputies for health, initially a provisional institution, was made permanent from 1450 (139). “The administrative evolution of the function of deputati alla sanità marks the concrete translation of the idea according to which public health is a good to be protected, not only when it is in danger, but on a daily basis and in continuity. The stability of the offices (also shows that the authorities) are no longer content to react with one-off measures, but is based (s) on the declared notion of a necessary prevention, the conservatio sanitatis. The titles of health officers, the definition of their responsibilities underline (...) the dual purpose of their action, conservation and prevention, bearing in mind the permanence of an epidemic threat ”(140) (it is us who underline). The prince thus presented himself as the guarantor of “public health”, in the name of “public good”. Who could, had enough character to, resist so much benevolence, refuse this poisoned gift? The only fact that the legislation during epidemics was not long in being applied to the poor as well as to prostitutes (141) indicated that it was only a means to an end which clearly exceeded for the it is essential to preserve the health of populations.

The 16th century saw these trends spread to the other countries of Western Europe and sealed the alliance between the so-called public authorities, doctors and magistrates (142), while inaugurating a rapprochement, which would become a collaboration narrow, although more or less forced, in the 19th century, due to the construction of numerous prisons and numerous hospitals, between doctors and architects (143). He saw “the generalization of the measures initiated in the previous century by some Italian cities to fight against the plague. The plagues which followed one another in Europe at that time led governments to issue health regulations and to put in place the means to apply them, by instituting a health police, by creating special health structures and by founding health statistics ” (144)."Plague regulations" were adopted throughout Europe and, in countries where they were already in force, they were codified by parliaments, supplemented and adjusted for each epidemic, while their scope was gradually extended from municipal level at regional level, then national level. The services responsible for the concrete fight against epidemics were institutionalized. In Paris, the office of provost of health was created in 1531; with the help of archers, he was to inquire about infected houses, separate the sick from the healthy and "execute what will be ordered by the magistrates, consuls or their lieutenants" (145). A post of "plague controller" was created soon after.These sanitary officers walked through the streets dressed in black gowns marked with a white cross (146) and provided with a red or white rod (147); the homes of the plague victims were marked with a white cross (148). In Italy and, in particular, in Venice, health legislation required that, during plague epidemics, health officers visit private homes to identify infected individuals and isolate them in plague homes located far away. urban centers; similarly, in France, the first care of the health officer was "to shut down the house where a case has just occurred; he is also responsible for providing for the needs of the sick and healthy people locked up with him. No one can get out of this prison,hardly banishment and demolition of the house where he is sequestered; because it is indeed a real sequestration that it is about ”(149). As for the vagabonds, the destitute and all this floating population which had for shelter only the porches of the churches or the canopies of the shops, it had to empty the places on the hour, under penalty of beating or wringing. Plague victims were not received in hospitals: houses were built for them outside the city. The dead were buried during the night; the sick who recovered were sent to the countryside for several weeks. Their clothes were burnt. The inhabitants of the villages were authorized to kill or have killed dogs, cats and poultry coming from the contaminated houses.It was forbidden to throw the furniture and linens of the plague victims into the river, under penalty of a hundred crowns fine and prison (150).

In short, the "plague regulations" during the sixteenth century aimed at isolation, sequestration, enumeration, cleaning, disinfection, maintaining order, even mandatory denunciation. The general organizational measures are of four types: the creation of specialized services and the recruitment of specialized staff; foresight and assistance; tax; collecting information (151).

Their multiplication and hardening during the 17th century were linked to the spread of the belief in contagion and the consequent decline of the "miasmatic" theory. or aerist, inspired by Hippocratic medicine. Miasmatism, or aerism, which will remain predominant until the 18th century, postulates that the agent of infectious and epidemic diseases consists of fumes from decomposing organic matter (152), while contagion (lat. Tangeo: touch), to put it simply (153), is "the mode of transmission of a disease from one individual to another, by means of immediate or immediate contact" (154) and to the exclusion of air. Contagionists and anti-contagionists will engage in passes of arms until the 19th century, which, with the advent of microbial theory, will see the media triumph of the former.

If the first known reference to the transmission of a disease from one person to another dates back to Mesopotamia (155), it is to Girolamo Fracastoro (c. 1480-1553), personal physician of Paul III and friend of Copernicus and Cardinal Bembo, to whom he dedicated Syphilis Sive Morbus Gallicus(1546) (156), who quickly became famous, is credited with the first scientific presentation on the nature of contagion, infection, disease germs and modes of disease transmission. In De contagione et contagiosis morbis (1546) (On contagion and contagious diseases), he distinguished, not without difficulty (157) according to his commentators, three types of contagion: by contact; through intermediaries such as clothing or goods; finally, - concession to miasmatic theory - by means of air. According to Fracastoro, "the contagion is made by particles which do not fall under our senses" (158). The microscope having, it seems, not yet been invented, the Veronese doctor could never see with his eyes these ancestors that he had imagined, now famous bacteria.

The doctrine of Fracastoro met with a success which was not total. The doctor of Genoa Silvain Facio, author of "Paradoxes on the plague" (1579), questioned on the silence which had kept Hippocrates and Gallien on the contagion, answered that they "do not deserve to be blamed for not to have believed that after a million years such a strange opinion must enter the brains of men ”(159). But, above all, “about a pestilential disease that he had observed, (he) was astonished to see that this plague was not communicated to all the people who approached the sick (...) (and) noticed that the the clothes of the plague victims were not infected with contagion, since they were then worn by a crowd of individuals without communicating the plague to them;that in the same house a few individuals remained healthy among those who were sick, etc. Several other renowned doctors, including Jean-Baptiste Montanus (1498 –1551), Thomas Erastus (1524-1583) and Mathias Naldi, first doctor of Pope Alexander VII, disagreed with the doctrine of contagion. However, "their number was too small and the contagion system favorable to too many interests" (160), some of which were immediate.

The papacy knew how to immediately take advantage of the new doctrine: “Fracastor declared pestilential and contagious of the fevers which reigned in some regions of Italy, in particular on the side of Trent, where the famous council of this name was then assembled. The Pope would have liked that from Trent, where he could hardly influence him, the council be transferred to Bologna, and the frightening brochure of Fracastor won him this satisfaction. When we learned from this pamphlet that Trent's disease was won even by a simple glance, it was among the assembled prelates who would go to Bologna with the most speed. Fracastor quotes a simple leather bonnet by which the disease had been communicated to seven people successively. He also mentions pulmonary inflammation which, in a few years,had traversed and attacked the whole universe, step by step and by contagion. This is how the Council of Trent, which was assembled in order to end or appease a religious schism, that of Luther and Calvin, was in reality the occasion of a medical heresy because of Fracastor ”( 161) “Even today, remarks a 19th century physician, it is the ideas of this physician-poet that serve as a guide for many doctors and some governments” (162). Even today, it is such whims, turbaned at leisure with chinoiseries of medical jargon which has the gift of impressing the vulgar, which serve as a guide for many doctors and most governments.which had assembled in order to end or appease a religious schism, that of Luther and Calvin, was in reality the occasion of a medical heresy because of Fracastor "(161)" Even today, remarks a 19th century doctor, it is the ideas of this doctor-poet that serve as a guide for many doctors and some governments ”(162). Even today, it is such whims, turbaned at leisure with chinoiseries of medical jargon which has the gift of impressing the vulgar, which serve as a guide for many doctors and most governments.which had assembled in order to end or appease a religious schism, that of Luther and Calvin, was in reality the occasion of a medical heresy because of Fracastor "(161)" Even today, remarks a 19th century doctor, it is the ideas of this doctor-poet that serve as a guide for many doctors and some governments ”(162). Even today, it is such whims, turbaned at leisure with chinoiseries of medical jargon which has the gift of impressing the vulgar, which serve as a guide for many doctors and most governments.it is the ideas of this physician-poet that serve as a guide for many doctors and some governments ”(162). Even today, it is such whims, turbaned at leisure with chinoiseries of medical jargon which has the gift of impressing the vulgar, which serve as a guide for many doctors and most governments.it is the ideas of this physician-poet that serve as a guide for many doctors and some governments ”(162). Even today, it is such whims, turbaned at leisure with chinoiseries of medical jargon which has the gift of impressing the vulgar, which serve as a guide for many doctors and most governments.

Unlike this "doctor poet" who "wrote according to his imagination rather than from exact observations" (163), Facio was a field doctor. The attention with which he observed the plague victims contrasted with the attitude of most of his colleagues towards them.

“Their conduct during the epidemics was far from exemplary. It is who will escape the duty of treating plague victims. It is true that any doctor or surgeon who had business with a plague victim had to give up his ordinary clientele. They preferred to meet to discuss the cause of the plague (…) Those who, with their souls at heart, consented to visit the sick, took a luxury of ridiculous precautions against the contagion. "(164), which they would not however have taken, if, as the author estimates, they" saw (ient) in the plague only the result of the malignant conjunction of the stars and of certain solar eclipses. or moon ”(165). Here are, by way of example, the individual precautions that François Ranchin, chancellor of the University of Montpellier, recommends to take in times of epidemic.First Consul and Viguier of the city during the plague of 1629:

“Let the sick be approached with two steps while talking to them, and that they stand beside them so as not to receive their breath; that nothing is touched in their house, but that it be done if necessary, such as drawing a curtain, arranging it, etc.

"To give Communion, it will be good to have a vergette (small rod) the length of a pan and a half (thirteen to fourteen inches approximately), and at the end of it a small silver crescent to carry the Saint - Sacrament in the mouth of the sick, which before giving it, the priest will tighten very tightly the sleeve of his coat and surplice, so that he does not touch anything of the sick, holding the torch between them two.

“Let one always stand without sitting down or kneeling, and be careful that the coat does not touch the edge to the ground. The most worn and peeled clothes are the best for visiting the sick.

“We will put the clothes on the fire when we return from infected houses, and the shoes too, because we can walk on the sputum; you can even present your face to the flame as you pass ”(166).

Doctors who visited or assisted the sick wore special clothes.

The costume of the doctors in Marseilles during the plague epidemic which raged in this city in 1720 - not all were accouté, in particular those who had been sent from Montpellier, who remained safe and sound among the patients to whom they lavished their care (167) -, the costume, therefore, consisted of a “dress (…) all in morocco from the Levant, which is the fabric which, because of its smell and its hair, is the most capable of resist the pestilential venom. The nose, in the form of a beak, filled with perfumes and anointed internally with balsamic substances, is pierced only with two holes, one on each side; but that may be sufficient for respiration, and the air which one thus breathes only reaches the smell impregnated with the fragrance of the drugs contained in the beak. The openings necessary for the sight are practiced without danger,by means of small windows closed by crystal. Under the dress, one usually wears boots more or less Polish, made in the same way in morocco from the Levant, plain-skin breeches which are attached to the said boots, and a shirt also of plain skin; finally, the hat and gloves are also made of morocco ”(168). The invention of the outfit in question is attributed to Charles de Lorme (1584-1678), a "very picturesque" man to whom neither Henry IV who said of him that he "gentlemanly medicine", he practiced it so disinterestedly. , neither Louis XIII nor Louis XIV, three kings of whom he was the personal physician, survived.plain-skin breeches which are attached to said ankle boots, and a t-shirt also of plain skin; finally, the hat and gloves are also made of morocco ”(168). The invention of the outfit in question is attributed to Charles de Lorme (1584-1678), a "very picturesque" man to whom neither Henry IV who said of him that he "gentlemanly medicine", he practiced it so disinterestedly. , neither Louis XIII nor Louis XIV, three kings of whom he was the personal physician, survived.plain-skin breeches which are attached to said ankle boots, and a t-shirt also of plain skin; finally, the hat and gloves are also made of morocco ”(168). The invention of the outfit in question is attributed to Charles de Lorme (1584-1678), a "very picturesque" man to whom neither Henry IV who said of him that he "gentilhommait medicine", he practiced it so disinterestedly. , neither Louis XIII nor Louis XIV, three kings of whom he was the personal physician, survived.so disinterestedly he practiced it, neither Louis XIII nor Louis XIV, three kings of whom he was the personal physician, survived.so disinterestedly he practiced it, neither Louis XIII nor Louis XIV, three kings of whom he was the personal physician, survived.

De Lorme would have imagined this outfit in 1719 - our lascar was then "very fashionable in the greater world" (169). In fact, Italian doctors had used a somewhat similar costume for a long time (170); de Lorme would have been content, if we dare say so, to add a mask with a corbin's beak to the costume that French doctors already wore in times of the plague epidemic (171). Others confined themselves to putting on a kind of oilcloth shirt over their clothes, which presumably took it off when leaving their patients (172). Still others wore a spectacle mask (173).

The 17th century saw a further strengthening of measures to combat epidemics; applied almost everywhere, they reflected a generalization of the belief in "contagion", which, for contemporaries, amounted to three species, described as follows by Marion Roland in a treatise against the plague entitled "Le Cadet d'Apollon" (1626): “. Those who wrote contagion, says the author, made three kinds of it: the first is that which is made by the mutual and real touching of the infected body and of that which is to be infected, thus we see that the fruict pourry and gasté corrupts the whole if they intertwine. The second kind of contagion is when the disease grows, not by touching the patient,but by handling and touching something which will have the breath or vapor or the excrement of the patient, which something is called Latins semcn morbi, in whom the evil is kept and brooded for some time; laws which are rare bodies, and not at all lax, and which are neither cold nor too hot, as are wool, fur, cloth, sarge, lyn, rotten wood, and the like; on the contrary, those which are tight, hard, and solid like iron, gold and silver, do not receive the seminares of this evil, unless they are stained or covered with some filth or something that can receive them. The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "which is called the Latins semcn morbi, in whom evil is guarded and brooded for some time; laws which are rare bodies, and not at all lax, and which are neither cold nor too hot, as are wool, fur, cloth, sarge, lyn, rotten wood, and the like; on the contrary, those which are tight, hard, and solid like iron, gold and silver, do not receive the seminares of this evil, unless they are stained or covered with some filth or something that can receive them. The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "which is called the Latins semcn morbi, in whom evil is guarded and brooded for some time; laws which are rare bodies, and not at all lax, and which are neither cold nor too hot, as are wool, fur, cloth, sarge, lyn, rotten wood, and the like; on the contrary, those which are tight, hard, and solid like iron, gold and silver, do not receive the seminares of this evil, unless they are stained or covered with some filth or something that can receive them. The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "ny too hot, as are wool, fur, cloth, sarge, lyn, rotten wood, and the like; on the contrary, those which are tight, hard, and solid like iron, gold and silver, do not receive the seminares of this evil, unless they are stained or covered with some filth or something that can receive them. The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "ny too hot, as are wool, fur, cloth, sarge, lyn, rotten wood, and the like; on the contrary, those which are tight, hard, and solid like iron, gold and silver, do not receive the seminares of this evil, unless they are stained or covered with some filth or something that can receive them. The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "The third kind of contagion, is when the disease is fed from loing, by means of the air, which carries the cause of the disease from one subject to another which has caused the Latins to call it addistans (174). "

Hence the obligation to make it impossible for the plague sufferer to communicate with healthy people; disinfection of objects which have been in contact with the patient and of the places he has lived; the precautions that healthy people should take to avoid contagion; quarantine, to be subjected to cured patients or to those who have approached them, before allowing them to resume their place in society; general police measures (175).

Here they are detailed by Foucault according to a document of the time: “First, a strict spatial grid: closure, of course, of the city and the 'terroir', prohibition to leave, on pain of life. , killing of all stray animals; power of a steward. Each street is placed under the advice of a syndic; he watches over her; if he left her, he would be punished with death. On the appointed day, each one is ordered to shut himself up in his house: forbidden to leave it under pain of life. The trustee himself comes to close the door of each house from the outside; he takes the key which he gives to the quartermaster; the latter keeps it until the end of quarantine. Each family will have made its provisions; but for the wine and the bread, one will have arranged between the street and the interior of the houses, small wooden canals,making it possible to pour out to each his ration without there being any communication between the suppliers and the inhabitants; for meat, fish and herbs, pulleys and baskets are used. If it is absolutely necessary to leave the houses, we will do so in turn, and avoiding any encounter. Only the stewards, the trustees, the soldiers of the guard circulate and also between the infected houses, from one corpse to another, the 'crows' whom it is indifferent to abandon to death; they are 'people of little who carry the sick, bury the dead, cleanse and do many vile and abject services'. Space cut out, motionless, frozen. Each is stowed in its place. And if he moves, his life is affected, contagion or punishment.fish and grasses, pulleys and baskets are used. If it is absolutely necessary to leave the houses, we will do so in turn, and avoiding any encounter. Only the stewards, the trustees, the soldiers of the guard circulate and also between the infected houses, from one corpse to another, the 'crows' whom it is indifferent to abandon to death; they are 'people of little who carry the sick, bury the dead, cleanse and do many vile and abject services'. Space cut out, motionless, frozen. Each is stowed in its place. And if he moves, his life is affected, contagion or punishment.fish and grasses, pulleys and baskets are used. If it is absolutely necessary to leave the houses, we will do so in turn, and avoiding any encounter. Only the stewards, the trustees, the soldiers of the guard circulate and also between the infected houses, from one corpse to another, the 'crows' whom it is indifferent to abandon to death; they are 'people of little who carry the sick, bury the dead, cleanse and do many vile and abject services'. Space cut out, motionless, frozen. Each is stowed in its place. And if he moves, his life is affected, contagion or punishment.the soldiers of the guard and also between the infected houses, from one corpse to another, the 'crows' whom it is indifferent to abandon to death; they are 'people of little who carry the sick, bury the dead, cleanse and do many vile and abject services'. Space cut out, motionless, frozen. Each is stowed in its place. And if he moves, his life is affected, contagion or punishment.the soldiers of the guard and also between the infected houses, from one corpse to another, the 'crows' whom it is indifferent to abandon to death; they are 'people of little who carry the sick, bury the dead, cleanse and do many vile and abject services'. Space cut out, motionless, frozen. Each is stowed in its place. And if he moves, his life is affected, contagion or punishment.

“The inspection works all the time. The gaze is everywhere on the alert: 'a considerable militia corps, commanded by good officers and good people', from the guard at the gates, at the town hall, and in all the districts to render the obedience of the people more prompt, and the authority of the magistrates more absolute, 'as also to supervise all the disorders, thefts and lootings'. At the gates, surveillance posts; at the end of each street, sentries. Every day, the steward visits the district for which he is responsible, inquires whether the trustees are fulfilling their duties, whether the inhabitants have anything to complain about; they 'watch their actions'. Also every day, the trustee passes in the street for which he is responsible; stops in front of each house;places the inhabitants at the windows (those who would live on the courtyard would be assigned a window on the street where no one other than them could show themselves); calls each one by name; inquires about the state of all, one by one - 'in which the inhabitants will be obliged to speak the truth under pain of life'; If someone does not show up at the window, the trustee must ask for the reasons: 'He will easily find out whether there are dead or sick people.' Each one locked in his cage, each at his window, responding to his name and showing himself when asked, it is the great review of the living and the dead "(176), a review moreover ritualized by the external signs imposed on" participants ”: The“ syndics ”, or“ prevosts of health ”, were obligatorily dressed in black gowns marked with white crosses;Anyone affected, any member of the family, any inhabitant of the house occupied by the patient, cannot move about the city without having in their hand a stick or a white stick (177); those who assist the sick, those who carry them to the rescue house, those who put them in the ground, those who are responsible for burning the furniture, linens and clothes of the plague victims, must be dressed in a red leather jacket and hold in their hand a stick of the same color, which they use to ward off people who would approach them; to their legs are attached bells or cymbals, the sound of which is intended to scare away people who, inadvertently, have not seen them (178).cannot walk around the city without having a white stick or stick in your hand (177); those who assist the sick, those who take them to the relief house, those who put them in the ground, those who are responsible for burning the furniture, linens and clothes of the plague victims, must be dressed in a red leather jacket and hold in their hand a stick of the same color, which they use to ward off people who would approach them; to their legs are attached bells or cymbals, the sound of which is intended to scare away people who, inadvertently, have not seen them (178).cannot walk around the city without having a white stick or stick in your hand (177); those who assist the sick, those who take them to the rescue house, those who put them in the ground, those who are responsible for burning the furniture, linens and clothes of the plague victims, must be dressed in a red leather jacket and hold in their hand a stick of the same color, which they use to ward off people who would approach them; to their legs are attached bells or cymbals, the sound of which is intended to scare away people who, inadvertently, have not seen them (178).those who are responsible for burning the furniture, linens and clothes of the plague victims, must be dressed in a red leather jacket and hold in their hands a rod of the same color, which they use to keep away people who would like to approach them ; to their legs are attached bells or cymbals, the sound of which is intended to scare away people who, inadvertently, have not seen them (178).those who are responsible for burning the furniture, linens and clothes of the plague victims, must be dressed in a red leather jacket and hold in their hands a rod of the same color, which they use to keep away people who would like to approach them ; to their legs are attached bells or cymbals, the sound of which is intended to scare away people who, inadvertently, have not seen them (178).

“This surveillance is based on a permanent registration system: report from the trustees to the intendants, from the intendants to the aldermen or the mayor. At the start of the 'serrade', one by one, the role of all the inhabitants present in the city is established; it bears 'the name, age, sex, without exception of condition': a copy for the quartermaster, a second at the town hall office, another so that the trustee can make the daily call. Everything that one observes during the visits - deaths, illnesses, complaints, irregularities - is recorded, transmitted to the intendants and to the magistrates. They have the upper hand over medical care; they have appointed a responsible doctor; no other practitioner can treat, no apothecary can prepare medicines, no confessor can visit a sick person, without having received from him,a written note 'to prevent the concealment and treatment of patients with contagion, without the knowledge of the magistrates'. The recording of the pathological must be constant and centralized. Each person's relationship to his illness and death goes through the authorities, the recording they make of it, the decisions they make.

“Five or six days after the start of the quarantine, the houses are cleaned, one by one. All the inhabitants are taken out; in each room we lift or suspend 'furniture and goods'; we spread perfume; it is burnt after having carefully plugged the windows, the doors and even the keyholes which are filled with wax. Finally, the entire house is closed while the perfume is consumed; as at the entrance, the perfumers are searched 'in the presence of the inhabitants of the house, to see if they have something when they go out that they don't have when they go in'. Four hours later, the inhabitants can return home ”(179), provided, of course, that they are not suspected of being affected.

If the obligation was made to separate the plague-stricken from the healthy, the way of doing it varied according to whether the patient was rich or poor; for the poor, the hospital was ideal, provided it was isolated and extramural as much as possible (180). The poor were to be reduced to a part of town, to a hospital or another house. Order was given by the Parliament of Paris "to all vagrants, people without masters and without confession, and to any poor able-bodied person who is not from Paris to leave it within 24 hours and to retire each to the places of their birth, to penalty of being hanged and strangled without any form or appearance of trial ”(181). If the patient could be treated at home, this is how things worked, or should be: "The Captain of Health being adverty must proceed or by himself,his substitute or by his decades: first, to close the filthy house, not with new locks, as is done somewhere; for it is a great embarrassment and unnecessary expense, but with the ordinary key of the house, a key that the ten-tenth supervising the ten must keep, to prevent anyone from entering or leaving without a great order; and he must take care that all things necessary for health and life are administered to the infects through the window; and he must not fail to mark the door of the filthy house with a large red cross, to announce the passers-by whom the avenging hand of God strikes harshly in this life and in the other the fishermen who do not convert to him ”( 182).The transport of the plague-stricken to the infirmary - or to the cemetery - was entrusted to a category of people that the population had called "crows", which was briefly mentioned above. Due to the nature of their duties, they too were obliged to wear a small bell on their feet so that they could be easily recognized, without prejudice to the bell which they had to ring in front of them "when they went to fetch the sick or do some other business in the city. in the city or in the fields, to warn those they meet by road to get away from them so that they do not communicate any harm to them ”(183). Sequestered at home or transported to hospital, the patient had to disinfect the linens, clothes and various objects with which he had been in contact during the illness, as well as the premises he had lived in.Those who had treated him or who were part of his entourage had to undergo a kind of purification and be put under observation. The 1902 law on public health would require exactly the same measures (184).

In "(the) closed space cut out, watched in all its points (...) the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, where the slightest movements are controlled, where all the events are recorded, or an uninterrupted work of writing connects the center and periphery, where power is exercised without sharing, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, where each individual is constantly identified, examined and distributed among the living, the sick and the dead - all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary system. To the plague answers order; its function is to clear up confusions: that of the disease which is transmitted when bodies mix; that of evil which multiplies when fear and death erase the prohibitions. He prescribes to each his place, to each his own body, to each his illness and death, to each his own,by the effect of an omnipresent and omniscient power which subdivides itself in a regular and uninterrupted way until the final determination of the individual, of what he characterizes him, of what belongs to him, of what 'it happens to him. Against the plague which is mixture, discipline asserts its power which is analysis. There was a whole literary fiction of the festival around the plague: the laws suspended, the bans lifted, the frenzy of passing time, bodies mingling without respect, individuals who unmask themselves, who abandon their statuary identity and the figure under which we recognize them, revealing an entirely different truth. But there was also a political dream of the plague, which was exactly the opposite: not the collective celebration, but strict sharing; not broken laws,but the penetration of regulation down to the finest details of existence and through a complete hierarchy which ensures the capillary functioning of power; not the masks that you put on and take off, but the assignment to each of their 'real' name, their 'real' place, their 'real' body and the 'real' illness. The plague as both real and imaginary form of disorder has discipline as a medical and political correlate. Behind the disciplinary measures, reads the fear of 'contagions', of the plague, of revolts, of crimes, of vagrancy, of desertions, of people who appear and disappear, live and die in disorder ”(185); not only "people who appear and disappear", but also, as Foucault himself notes, sedentary city dwellers: everyone.All modern mechanisms and institutions for the control of individuals, "normal" or "abnormal", derive respectively from disciplinary techniques and health offices in times of plague epidemics.

The last great plague in Western Europe was that of Marseilles (1720), which claimed a hundred thousand deaths. Once the plague - which, from the middle of the 17th century, was no longer "the demographic catastrophe it had been in the late Middle Ages" (186) - disappeared, to be replaced by bacillary dysentery, the most common epidemic. murderous eighteenth century, the spread of which must have been favored by poor nutrition (187), the health units, which had been set up to fight in particular against this epidemic, did not disappear, them (nor the royal ordinances relating to the health and in particular to epidemics did not diminish in number). From provisional, they became, as in the Italian cities in the 15th century, permanent, first in the Mediterranean port cities and in Lyon (188).The health office (…) is set up when the specific terms of its field of action appear. If 'public health' does not yet appear in the dictionaries, that of Furetière includes in its definition of health both 'places of health' (hospitals or quarantines) and 'health officers' responsible for watching over the city. (...) the term 'public health' appears at the end of the 16th century in the regulation of order and cleanliness of the city and the expression of 'health of the city' is widely accepted. ordinances ”(189). In some large cities, “(t) he birth of permanent public health care (…) takes place in the context of a peak in galenism and a revival of medical hippocratism.The collective measures underline the mental proximity between the urban body and the human body. They call for the same necessities: evacuation of waste outside the limits (walls or skin), purification of affected spaces, and finally devotion, to appease divine anger, the first cause of human ills. In addition, for the human body as for the city, prevention remains the surest approach and when the disease is declared, the plurality of the remedies used tries to compensate for the uncertainty of the results. The processions and ordinances are multiplied in the city overwhelmed by the plague as remedies and ingredients accumulate at the bedside of the sick. Finally, in the continuity of the Tridentine instructions, it is indeed recourse to the spiritual that remains a priority, on the individual and collective levels ”(190).Medicine itself continued to have recourse to the supernatural, to alchemy, to magic, a tendency which Samuel Butler (1612-1680) mocks in his satirical poemHudibras (1663) (191). In 1658, Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665) gave a speech on sympathetic powder at the University of Montpellier, powder of which, twenty years after the death of the English scholar, Madame de Sévigné praised the merits to her daughter (28 January 1685). Digby was a member of the Royal Academy.

The first medical societies were born in the 18th century, which also saw the foundation of many hospitals and, supported by the State, the publication of periodical medical literature, either specialized or for the common use. As regards the latter, the ecclesiastics, particularly the priests, intermediaries that they had been between the divinity and the man, became in a way the intermediaries between science and the society, at least part of it. she. They were in fact responsible for familiarizing the popular, illiterate circles with the content of "health booklets" written by clerics or laymen "against prejudices and superstitions, in order to deceive the people and teach them real health remedies" (192): for the first time,it is a question of giving medical instruction to the common people (at the same time, the doctor slipped into the bourgeois family through the back door, if we dare say: the woman) (193). The publication of these small popular works throughout the kingdom shows that the fight against the disease passed from the local and regional level to the national level, that it passed from the field of action of the Church to that of the 'State and even "became one of the aspects of the policy of the administrative monarchy" (194).that it passed from the field of action of the Church to that of the State and even "became one of the aspects of the policy of the administrative monarchy" (194).that it passed from the field of action of the Church to that of the State and even "became one of the aspects of the policy of the administrative monarchy" (194).

A "state medicine" developed in the German states from the middle of the 18th century, based on sight, derived from cameralism, a local form of mercantilism, according to which the health of the population was a means of increasing power. economic and military state. It was characterized by 1. “a morbidity observation system, much more complete than simple birth and death tables, based on information requested from hospitals and doctors in different cities or regions and from the recording at the state level of the various epidemic and endemic phenomena observed (195); 2. Standardization of medical education and more specifically of public control of educational programs and the awarding of diplomas,standardization (which was made necessary by the fact that “charlatans (…), herniotomists (…), oculists (…), dentists (…), lithothomists (…) swarmed”) (196) (and) who, in France, took place in the second third of the 18th century; 3. An administrative organization to control the activity of physicians, implying a subordination of medical practice to administrative power; 4. The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a hospital public service and public medical research laboratories (198).herniotomists (…), oculists (…), dentists (…), lithothomists (…) swarmed ”) (196) (and) which, in France, took place in the second third of the 18th century; 3. An administrative organization to control the activity of physicians, involving subordination of medical practice to administrative power; 4. The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a public hospital service and public medical research laboratories (198).herniotomists (…), oculists (…), dentists (…), lithothomists (…) swarmed ”) (196) (and) which, in France, took place in the second third of the 18th century; 3. An administrative organization to control the activity of physicians, implying a subordination of medical practice to administrative power; 4. The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a hospital public service and public medical research laboratories (198).took place in the second third of the 18th century; 3. An administrative organization to control the activity of physicians, involving subordination of medical practice to administrative power; 4. The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a public hospital service and public medical research laboratories (198).took place in the second third of the 18th century; 3. An administrative organization to control the activity of physicians, implying a subordination of medical practice to administrative power; 4. The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a public hospital service and public medical research laboratories (198).The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a public hospital service and public medical research laboratories (198).The creation of posts for medical officials and therefore the integration of doctors into a state medical organization ”(197). Still in progress in the 19th century, the bureaucratic institutionalization of medicine in all European states was not completed until the 20th century, with the creation of a ministry of health, a public hospital service and public medical research laboratories (198).

The second stage in the process of the medicalization of society corresponds to the economic and geographic transformations which led to the growth and unification of cities at the end of the 18th century. Cities became the main site of social and political unrest as well as the subject of many fears related to the possibility of epidemics, disease and degradation of life. The "urban medicine" which was born from it had for objective to control the health of the population by the public hygiene, in particular in France. This process was characterized by the attempt to regulate life by controlling the natural and artificial conditions of the surrounding environment; the environment became a key notion.

Each time, said the philosopher Cabanis, that men meet, their mores change and each time they gather in closed places, their mores and their health deteriorate (199). “(The workshops and (the) factories that were being built, (…) the crowding of the population, (…) the excessive height of the buildings, (the) urban epidemics, (the) rumors that invaded the city ; (…) (The) cesspools, (the) quarries on which houses were built which threatened to collapse at any moment ”(200), everything, in“ (these) inhabited abysses that we decorate with name of city ”(201) inspired concern - especially to the State, to doctors and notables. “The worried eyes are turned towards the earth, guilty of spreading the telluric vapors towards the stagnant or overflowing waters. Water, earth, air:three essential elements of nature, of course, but also potential enemies. The fear of miasma runs through all the health legislation of the 18th century. Health concerns are therefore primarily hygienic concerns ”(202), or, to avoid an anachronism, aerists. It was to respond to these concerns that the Royal Society of Medicine was created in 1776, at the instigation of the king's first doctor, François de Lassonne. The preface to the first volume of hisIt was to respond to these concerns that the Royal Society of Medicine was created in 1776, at the instigation of the king's first doctor, François de Lassonne. The preface to the first volume of hisIt was to respond to these concerns that the Royal Society of Medicine was created in 1776, at the instigation of the king's first doctor, François de Lassonne. The preface to the first volume of hisHistory and Memoriesstates the objectives of the Society and of its publications: "The Society felt how important it would be to have a topographical & medical plan of France, in which the temperament, constitution & diseases of the inhabitants of each province or canton would be considered in relation to the nature & exposure of the soil ”(203). It “develops a network of regnicole associates - doctors, surgeons, sometimes clergymen - dispersed in the kingdom, chosen for having 'sent the best works' and whose number is fixed at sixty, to which are added the simple correspondents. and sixty foreign partners. Partners and correspondents send it their meteorological and medical observations, regularly summarized and analyzed (…) ”(204). In parallel,the Company establishes competition programs on specific themes (diseases of armies according to the seasons, danger of retting hemp, fumes from stagnant water, definition of contagious diseases, virtue of eudiometers, etc.) and invites doctors to send it the medical topographies of the places where they practice; in both cases, the best works are rewarded with prizes of a few hundred pounds (205). The Society's medico-climatic method (206) is part of the neo-hippocratism in vogue in the second half of the 18th century.) and invites physicians to send it medical topographies of the places where they practice; in both cases, the best works are rewarded with prizes of a few hundred pounds (205). The Society's medico-climatic method (206) is part of the neo-hippocratism in vogue in the second half of the 18th century.) and invites physicians to send it medical topographies of the places where they practice; in both cases, the best works are rewarded with prizes of a few hundred pounds (205). The Society's medico-climatic method (206) is part of the neo-hippocratism in vogue in the second half of the 18th century.

Hippocrates, in his treatise Water, airs, places, who deals with diseases produced by external circumstances, explains them by the influence of the situation of cities on their inhabitants, the influence of atmospheric conditions and that of seasonal changes. Neo-Hippocratism studies the effects of environmental factors on the human organism and emphasizes the relationships between the patient, nature and the society in which he lives. "To understand the ailments from which people suffered, it was necessary to understand the environment in which these conditions developed and also to understand which were the agents and which were the grounds by which could be transmitted a certain number of diseases, including water-borne diseases" (207). To eliminate the pathogenic nature of the living conditions of populations,these conditions must therefore be modified appropriately, scientifically. During the second half of the 18th century, “(t) he discoveries in physics, physiology and chemistry allowed (neo-hippocratism) to be based on scientific bases. The terms human anatomy and physiology are used to analyze urban phenomena, establishing analogies between the functions of the human body and those of the social body ”(208). The model of blood circulation established by the physician William Harvey (1578-1653) is essential. “From this point of view, nothing that is mobile and does not form a compact mass becomes corrupted: circulation is therefore the basic condition for public hygiene. Water, garbage, waste, dirt must circulate.The virtue of the movement leads us to imagine a proper channeling system for the expulsion of refuse and consequently justifies the importance given to the slope. The drainage of pestilential flooding of the streets, the cleaning of the sidewalks interrupt the stagnation andpreserve the future of the city»(209) (emphasis added). The urban medicine project, which took shape in the second half of the 18th century mainly because of the need to overcome the lack of coordination of municipal administrative powers in the face of rapid and chaotic urbanization, really came into being during the 19th century, when “Governments understand that the health of individuals has a direct influence on the economy of the country and this situation motivates a decisive action of the State on social hygiene. Establishing the junction between the discourse on medical standards and the requirements of public order is a heavy task for which the responsibility rests with town planners. The doctor provides the discourse and the argumentation, and the town planners make the transformations concrete (210).Public hygiene is now conceived as an intervention discipline. Nineteenth-century hygienic medicine, aimed at controlling the environment, was prepared for an interventionist attitude. It proposes to restore the health of the environment by the medicalization of contaminable spaces. It also draws up hygieno-social measures which can contribute to improving the health and living conditions of the population. It proposes the development of urban space and interventions on the contaminable environment. Wherever it is, proposals for the medicalization of the city are made. To medicalize the city, to sanitize it means to control and intervene in the environments likely to harm health ”(211).aimed at controlling the environment, is prepared for an interventionist attitude. It proposes to restore the health of the environment by the medicalization of contaminable spaces. It also draws up hygieno-social measures which can contribute to improving the health and living conditions of the population. It proposes the development of urban space and interventions on the contaminable environment. Wherever it is, proposals for the medicalization of the city are made. 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In France, the medicalization of society was thus carried out by compartmentalization and control of urban space. In the past, strategies for combating epidemics consisted of either excluding plague victims from the urban environment - then other marginal categories of the population such as lunatics, delinquents, deviants and the poor - or, in the case of of the plague, in quarantine. In the latter case, an entire population was subject to a regime of large-scale territorial surveillance. The grid of the city in times of epidemic constituted a very effective device for observation, recording, selection and separation of bodies. The anti-epidemic measures consisted of "distributing individuals next to each other, isolating them, individualizing them,to supervise them one by one, to control their state of health, to check whether they were still alive or if they were dead and thus to maintain society in a compartmentalized space, constantly monitored and controlled by a register, as complete as possible , of all the events that have occurred ”(212). The quarantine system served as a model for urban medicalization policies. Their specific objectives were 1 / to study the places of accumulation and accumulation of waste which were believed to cause disease, places which were believed to cause and disseminate epidemic or endemic phenomena: in particular, cemeteries, slaughterhouses, mass graves, landfills and fish markets; 2. to control the circulation of things and elements, mainly water and air,where it was believed that lay the cause of disease; 3. to organize the distribution of elements (air, water) and places (fountains, sewers) essential to sanitation (redevelopment of public worksites, fountains, washhouses, sewer networks, etc.). Hence the assertion according to which “(t) he urban medicine is not really a medicine of man, of the body and of the organism, but a medicine of things: of air, water, decompositions, fermentations; it is a medicine for the living conditions of the milieu of existence ”(213). The notion of healthiness - in the sense of the state of the environment - therefore preceded the notion of health applied to man as a living organism. If urban medicine ends up taking an interest in this organism,this interest only resulted from the effects and transformations caused by the environment in the functions of this organism.

In short, "(the) public hygiene (would have been) a refined version of the quarantine", "of the politico-medical schema of the quarantine that appeared at the end of the Middle Ages, in the 16th and 17th centuries (214); "Refined declension", but applied, not, if not indirectly, as a consequence, to the bodies, but to the environment.

Three "environments" in particular were initially the target of "public hygiene": the hospital, the school and the workplace. From birth (childcare) (215) to death (geriatrics) (216), from the nursery - a 19th century invention - to school, from school to the factory or to the office, the entire life of the child man became the object of an increasingly generalized and inquisitorial medicalization.

The first two thirds of the 19th century were marked by two innovations in the field of “public health”: on the one hand hygiene and on the other hand the medicalization of and by the hospital and the teaching of the latter.

The hospital, intended until then, with a few rare exceptions, to accommodate pilgrims, the poor, the indigent old people, the infirm and the insane (217), was conceived as a place where the sick were cared for and built according to medical standards: reception of a single patient per bed, spacing of patients in more spacious and supposedly healthier rooms, sorting and separation of patients according to their ailments, refusal to welcome patients such as venereal patients, the insane , epileptics, separate rooms for the contagious, convalescents and healthy people, recruitment of medical staff by competitive examination (218). A class of paying patients was created, hospital care remained free for the poor, who, under the influence of so-called liberal and Malthusian conceptions,no longer received as much economic or even medical assistance at home. The medicalization of the hospital was coupled with medicalization by the hospital, through the distribution of remedies and care, either directly (outpatient consultations) or indirectly (aid to hospitals and other charitable institutions), the training of medical personnel (midwives, health officers and doctors) and the control of smallpox through vaccination (219).health officers and doctors) and the control of smallpox through vaccination (219).health officers and doctors) and the control of smallpox through vaccination (219).

School hygiene appeared in the 19th century, school medicine and occupational medicine in the 20th century.

Until the end of the 18th century, “(the) school did not constitute in any case a sector of hygiene, but a sector where a small number of new practices of health precautions spread under considerable parental solicitation. . In a few establishments reserved for elites, cultural transformation is mainly initiated by parents and the educators who follow them . The health of the pupil is above all to protect against visible ailments (gland, frostbite, etc.), epidemics, unclean air ”(220) (Our emphasis).

During the first half of the 19th century, “thoughtful and decided prevention (…) began to be built within public education in relation to the development of hygiene. Above all, it promotes living conditions and health precautionary measures for populations from privileged backgrounds, ie secondary school students. The school is starting to become a hygiene sector, where the vigilance of academy inspectors and high school principals is more in demand, while the presence of the doctor remains secondary and episodic. Within secondary schools, a cultural transformation can take place through the initiative of the State and members of the Public Instruction, orchestrated by hygienists.The health of the pupil must be protected both from epidemics and from the impurity of the air, it is also to be reinforced (through food, gymnastics and water) ”. During the second half of the nineteenth century, “directed and institutional prevention, more organized and generalized, was established with the collaboration of doctors, the State and educators. The school becomes a sector of medicalization of the population. The doctor is more often the referent, both inspector and trainer of hygiene in establishments. The primary school teacher is the promoter and pillar of the transmission of new concepts and health practices to students and their families. Within secondary and primary schools, a profound cultural transformation is taking place, led by political elites,medical and scientific, secondary and primary educators, and training working class families. The health of the pupil is not only to protect against epidemics and microbes (from 1880), to strengthen, but also to straighten out to protect the body from all physical and social deviations ”(221). Since the end of the 20th century, pseudo-national pseudo-education has stirred up pupils, from kindergarten to high school, with which it has succeeded in ensuring that the level of "learners" who are "welcomed" and "supported" in both are more or less the same, to the sound of “education for health and well-being”, UNESCO's hobbyhorse. The progress and ravages of education and those of medicalization are intimately linked. “The more educated the population,the better it accepts the scientific interpretation of the body and its misfortunes, the more it sanctifies individual development and seeks to exorcise what hinders it and therefore resort to more medical care ”(222).

Once finally out of the debilitating atmosphere of the “reception” and “support” (“personalized”) establishments, in a word from the pseudo-national and salaried pseudo-education maternities, the new graduate will have to do to occupational medicine, one of the pioneers of which was Louis-René Villerme (1782-1863) (223), doctor, sociologist and, for many, philanthropist and first, it is said, to have drawn attention to, even to have protested against the abominable working conditions of the workers. However, “(c) contrarily to the image that may have been given of him, there is no concern for social reform in Villerme. What worries him above all is not the overexploitation of the proletariat as such.It is the fact that this overexploitation endangers the system by depleting the human capital from which the infant industry derives its profits. Indeed, the development of machinery is accompanied by an unlimited use of women and children and thus threatens the very reproduction of the proletariat. Regulation is therefore necessary in order to preserve the system's chances of survival. As for poverty, if Villerme describes it very well, he attributes the fault to the workers and their moral degradation. He stigmatizes drunkenness, improvidence, 'the disgusting orgies' to which the workers indulge and particularly those who receive a good salary. Even when dealing with child mortality accurately, he cannot hold moral judgment:'one would say that it is one of the punishments inflicted by Providence on parents that their misconduct or their carelessness plunges and maintains in misery (…). To regenerate the working class, it is necessary to bring order ”(224). However, the measures taken to bring order to reign, such as the separation of the sexes in the company, the pushing back of drunkards out of the workshops, proved insufficient, because, he says not without justice, "the kind of workers who abandon the modest and quiet existence that agriculture assured them, to go to the cities to engage in industrial work (…) almost always form a crazy population, and a sort of foam ”. "We must, he adds, completely despair of the improvement of a large number of workers." "It is only their children that should be taken care of.""All the measures which will not aim to remove them from their pernicious influence, will allow the evil to be perpetuated" (225). Hence the proposals he made to limit industrial child labor and instead give them (religious) instruction. From Charybdis to Scylla. For a whole century, doctors and biologists will make their own in Villerme's fight against the degeneration of the race, understood only from the biological and moral points of view and undertaken with the same goals as those which were his. For them, “the link between morality and biology is not in doubt. They believe in the inheritance of acquired characters. Not only the diseases and their effects, but the habits themselves, good or bad, are biologically transmitted to the offspring (…) ”(226). These views require and justify two types of measurement:sorting and regeneration. “Sorting, because if there are degenerate lines, the organization of society must take this into account. Social divisions must respect biological divisions. Doctors and biologists therefore have a vocation to contribute to the organization of society since their knowledge makes it possible to put everyone in their right place. But also regeneration. French doctors are Lamarckians: they believe in the influence of the environment on the evolution of the race. Regeneration therefore requires the development of hygiene, which also combines moralization and action on the environment. This line of action is made particularly urgent because of the fear of Franco-German conflicts and the alarming state of conscripts from industrial departments ”(227).These issues are at the origin of the doctrine of occupational medicine, formulated at the end of the following war by the representatives of the Lyon school (the professor of legal medicine Pierre Mazel, Jules Leclercq, associate professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Lille and the Pastorian doctor and biologist René Dujarric de la Rivière) in two texts entitled 'The national workforce after the war' and 'The role of the doctor in industry after the war'.associate professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Lille and the Pastorian doctor and biologist René Dujarric de la Rivière) in two texts entitled 'The national workforce after the war' and 'The role of the doctor in industry after the war' .associate professor at the Faculty of Medicine of Lille and the Pastorian doctor and biologist René Dujarric de la Rivière) in two texts entitled 'The national workforce after the war' and 'The role of the doctor in industry after the war' .

The Lyonnaise school is based on two practices; the first is forensic medicine, the foundations of which were laid by the Constitutio criminalis Carolina, promulgated in 1532 by the Diet of Regensburg (228). The definition placed at the head of the Prospectus announcing in 1829 the first issue of the Annals of Public Hygiene and Forensic Medicine was as follows: “… medicine is not only for the study and cure of disease, it has intimate relationship with social organization; sometimes it helps the legislator in the making of laws, often it enlightens the magistrate in their application, and always sees, with the administration, the maintenance of public health. Applied to the needs of society, this part of our knowledge constitutes public hygiene and legal medicine. »(229) Forensic medicine took on great importance with the triumph of industrial and machine capitalism and the consequent evolution of the notion of accident,of risk and responsibility during the 19th century. “(D) ost the 16th century, the insurance system had shown the importance that was already attached to hazards. But, on the one hand, the insurances only concerned individual risks and, on the other hand, they entirely excluded the liability of the person concerned. However, in the nineteenth century, with the development of wage labor, industrial techniques, machinery, means of transport, urban structures, two important things appeared: first, the risks that were made to run to third parties (l (employer exposing its employees to occupational accidents, carriers exposing not only passengers to accidents, but people whom chance had placed there); then,the fact that these accidents could often be linked to a kind of fault but a minimal fault (inattention, lack of precaution, negligence) and committed moreover by someone who could not bear the civil liability and the payment of the damages which to him were linked ”(230). With the law of April 9, 1898 on industrial accidents and their compensation, it is up to the “expert doctor (…) (to) decide the question of whether or not the employer is responsible for damage to health. This involves taking into account what is due to the accident and what comes from a previous condition. In this perspective,the establishment of an occupational medicine systematically examining employees upon hiring would be of great interest since it would suffice to refer to the hiring file to identify what cannot be charged to the employer. The perspective is therefore that of the attribution of the financial consequences of the accident. From there, from the point of view of the expert to that of the insurance doctor, there is only one step, minimal: the medical examination makes it possible to ensure that the hiring does not run to the employer a risk of excessive additional costs in terms of industrial accident or occupational disease ”(231). Forensic medicine thus became a key player in “liberal” risk management policy.From there, from the point of view of the expert to that of the insurance doctor, there is only one step, minimal: the medical examination makes it possible to ensure that the hiring does not run to the employer a risk of excessive additional costs in terms of industrial accident or occupational disease ”(231). Forensic medicine thus became a key player in “liberal” risk management policy.From there, from the point of view of the expert to that of the insurance doctor, there is only one step, minimal: the medical examination makes it possible to ensure that the hiring does not make run to the employer a risk of excessive additional costs in terms of industrial accident or occupational disease ”(231). Forensic medicine thus became a key player in “liberal” risk management policy.

The second practice, much more recent, is Taylorism, a method of scientific organization of industrial work aimed at ensuring an increase in productivity based on mastery of the production process, on the strict separation between manual and intellectual work, on a division of tasks and standardization of tools, working conditions and methods (232). “The Taylorist slogan 'the right man in the right place' (233) opens up the prospect of physicians contributing to the Scientific Organization of Work. Taylorism thus makes it possible to give shape to an old dream: that of the eugenics of the French medical profession which claims, from its vision of the state of health of populations,contribute to the organization of society in a biocratic perspective of preservation and improvement of the race. The whole converges on a problem: that of the biological orientation of the workforce, the main instrument of which is aptitude. In the founding texts, aptitude is not primarily aimed at the interests of employees. And if the employees can find an interest in it, it is given in addition ”(234).

During the war, a medical service had been created in the powder factories and the state arsenals, whose avowed aim was, not only to fight for the birth rate and the "defense of the race" (by the creation of nursing rooms and the supervision of hygiene and morals), but also to adapt the increased production needs to inexperienced (women, foreigners, etc.) and reduced (war wounded) labor (235). Leclercq and Mazel took part in these first experiments in occupational medicine, under the direction of Etienne Martin, professor of forensic medicine at the Faculty of Medicine of Lyon, who had been entrusted with the direction of the medical inspection of war factories. , created in 1915 at the French Ministry of Armaments. The conclusion they drew from this experience was that it was possible and even,contrary to what Villerme had asserted, to make all the male workforce work, including the crazed, the disabled, the injured; what made it possible was Taylorism, "but on condition that industrial rationalization is supplemented by a biological rationalization which only physicians can provide" (236). "Suitability determination will allow individuals with disabilities to be used and directed to suitable positions." The doctor will also have to contribute to the physiological use of the worker. It will be a question of ensuring that the search for the maximum return does not damage 'for the benefit of an immediate production the human capital whose integrity is important for the future of the race' ”(237). The role of the doctor, or rather the role that the doctor assumed in the factory,was that of selecting the workforce and defining skills in order to optimize production; he saw himself as a collaborator of the employer; not the employer, who did not yet show much interest in occupational medicine (238), even though she was concerned with the health of workers above all for reasons of profitability and profit.

The term "occupational physician" appeared in the 1920s and the journal La medicine du travail, under the direction of Etienne Martin, consecrated its use in 1929 (239). Occupational medicine was formalized on June 9, 1940, following a recommendation from the Ministry of Labor on the establishment of a medical service, a social service and a committee for occupational health and safety in the companies. This recommendation, justified, in the eyes of the said ministry, by the deterioration of working conditions and the intensification of work rates during the “strange war”, detailed the duties of the occupational physician (240). On October 31, 1941, the Vichy government established a medical labor inspectorate and imposed by the law of July 28, 1942 the creation of “medical and social labor services” in companies with more than fifty employees. The functions assigned to the occupational physician were extended.It was to ensure the follow-up of employees exposed to occupational risks, in particular that of pregnant women and older workers. During the hiring medical examination, he had to detect contagious diseases and guide employees according to their abilities. He could provide emergency care. He could control the facilities and manufacturing processes; he was to compile statistics on work accidents and investigate their causes. Finally, he was in charge of supervising the social actions of the company (sport, summer camps, breastfeeding room, etc.) in conjunction with the social service (241). The law of October 11, 1946 relating to the organization of medical services annulled the law of 1942, while extending its guidelines.It was “preventive” in the broadest and most vague sense of the term. In 2002, the so-called “social modernization” law granted an important place to those (psychologists, sociologists, social workers, ergonomists, scientists of all stripes, etc.) who exercise a non-medical or para-medical profession in the prevention of the risks of work-related health. There she did nothing but get in tune with the WHO definition of health: "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, which does not consist only in the absence of disease or infirmity" (sign of the times, the occupational health services have been renamed "occupational health services"). The doctor is supposed to look after the physical well-being; the mental well-being psychologist and the social well-being sociologist;trinity which allows itself to be brought back to the figure of the politician. Indeed, if “the concept of health offers (…) to the scientist a pragmatic aim (it offers) to the statesman a concrete and rational criterion assimilating his task to that of the doctor. When hygiene becomes the legislator of sociology, science has become technical, and politics, social medicine ”(242). "The duty of the statesman," wrote Durkheim in 1919, "is no longer to push societies violently towards an ideal which seems attractive to him, but his role is that of the doctor: he prevents the outbreak of diseases by good hygiene and, when they are declared, he seeks to cure them ”(243).if “the concept of health offers (…) to the scientist a pragmatic aim (it offers) to the statesman a concrete and rational criterion assimilating his task to that of the doctor. When hygiene becomes the legislator of sociology, science has become technical, and politics, social medicine ”(242). "The duty of the statesman," wrote Durkheim in 1919, "is no longer to push societies violently towards an ideal which seems attractive to him, but his role is that of the doctor: he prevents the outbreak of diseases by good hygiene and, when they are declared, he seeks to cure them ”(243).if “the concept of health offers (…) to the scientist a pragmatic aim (it offers) to the statesman a concrete and rational criterion assimilating his task to that of the doctor. When hygiene becomes the legislator of sociology, science has become technical, and politics, social medicine ”(242). "The duty of the statesman," wrote Durkheim in 1919, "is no longer to push societies violently towards an ideal which seems attractive to him, but his role is that of the doctor: he prevents the outbreak of diseases by good hygiene and, when they are declared, he seeks to cure them ”(243).is no longer to push societies violently towards an ideal which seems attractive to him, but his role is that of the doctor: he prevents the outbreak of diseases through good hygiene and, when they are declared, he seeks to cure them ”( 243).is no longer to push societies violently towards an ideal which seems attractive to him, but his role is that of the doctor: he prevents the outbreak of diseases through good hygiene and, when they are declared, he seeks to cure them ”( 243).

England followed the path of "labor-force medicine" that Villerme had laid out, but in this country the process developed mainly in relation to policies of control of the needy categories of society.

Until the end of the 18th century, the poor as an urban group were not seen as a danger. “There are many reasons. One is quantitative: the number of poor people was not large enough in the cities to make poverty a real danger. But there was a more important reason: the poor was, within the city, a condition of urban activity. The poor of a city in fact performed a number of tasks: they delivered mail, collected garbage, removed furniture, worn out clothes, old rags that they then redistributed or resold, etc. They were thus part of urban life. At that time the houses had no numbers and there was no postal service either;no one knew the city and all its corners better than the poor; they performed a series of basic urban functions such as water transport or waste disposal. Since they were part of the urban system, like the sewers or the pipeline, the poor performed an indisputable function and could not be considered a danger. At the level they were at, they were quite useful ”(244). This perception changed for three main reasons: political, because, as the Revolution in France and the great social unrest at the beginning of the 19th century in England had shown, the needy population could suddenly turn into a political force capable of participating in revolts, even to rise up; economic:the state and / or private companies now provided services that were previously provided by the poor; medical: the cholera epidemic of 1832, which began in Paris to spread throughout Europe, was blamed on the proletarian population (245). All this provides a pretext for the government to deal with the problem of the urban poor.

"Every smell is a disease" (246), declared the British social reformer and civil servant Edwin Chadwick (1800–1890) before a parliamentary committee in 1846. Fifteen years earlier, Lord John Russel, Home Secretary, had said so. responsible for a survey on the health situation of poor populations with a view to preparing the elements of parliamentary work on child labor in factories, the organization of the public health administration and the new law relating to the poor ( poor law amendment ) (1834).

The new law relating to the poor was "the starting point of government action of an entirely new type, the first step in the use of medicine by the state" (247), not so much as the claims the surgeon and reformer of the British health system John Simon (1816-1904), because it was based on the results of a study of the link between the environment and health - this link had already been established in France, as we have seen above - but because it aimed to reduce the economic cost of public assistance to the poor and made compulsory vaccination the key measure of the disciplinary system that it specifically put in place for them.

The aim of the Poor Law was not so much to organize medical care for the poor as to preserve the integrity of the workforce and to exercise control over the health of at-risk social classes in order to protect the members of the well-to-do classes against contagious diseases. “(T) he population had to obey housing construction standards and hygiene rules established by law; it also had to submit to periodic inspections determined by the authorities. The living space had to be separated from the workspace. Since the middle of the 18th century (…) private architecture has sought to promote the specialization of places in accordance with their functions. The new English legislation legitimizes zoning and obliges the functions of each zone to be specified.It provides a home for each family. From now on, the standard imposed in London becomes a model: housing is independent and separate from the workplace; each family has the right to the exclusive use of a house ”(248). TheThe health office and the health service were also responsible for obliging the various elements of the population to be immunized and for monitoring immunization; to organize a register of epidemics and diseases liable to turn into epidemics (the declaration of dangerous diseases was made compulsory); to locate unsanitary places and, if necessary, to destroy them.

The organization of free health care for the entire population triggered protests and uprisings, not only because all the prophylactic measures (vaccination campaigns, checks on the health status of the environment, identification and segregation of infectious cases) which were taken were considered as an abusive and coercive medicalization which violated the privileges of religious social protection circuits while substituting individualized treatment practices for the benefit of collective prevention strategies (249 ), but also because the conditions for granting relief and aid to the poor were tightened (250),

The English system "made it possible, on the one hand, to establish three things: medical assistance to the poor, control of the health of the labor force and the general public health survey, thus protecting the wealthy classes from the poor. greatest dangers. Moreover - and in this lies its originality - it has enabled the creation of three superimposed and coexisting medical systems: assistance medicine intended for the poorest; an administrative medicine responsible for general problems such as vaccination, epidemics, etc. ; private medicine from which those who could afford it benefited ”(251).

The current health systems are based on the English model insofar as they combine providence for the working classes (protection of production capacity), the extension of assistance to the entire population (socialization of medicine), generalized prophylaxis (social control through medicalization) and “the integration of improved health, health services and health consumption into the economic development of privileged societies” (252). "The appearance of the notion of the 'right to health' instead of the notions of integrity of physical power, of productive capacity or of labor power, indicates a change in the political attentions of the State and a destination different from economic resources: from the duty to be healthy,through the obligation for individuals to maintain good health and in the service of the State, we pass to the right to be sick through the obligation for the State to guarantee to individuals, when they are sick, , assistance and leave. We can speak of the nosopolitical regime of the State - health as the main purpose of government action - which explains the omni-invasive power, in the current world, of the processes of medicalization as bodies of normalization of the body-population ”(253). The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).we pass to the right to be sick through the obligation for the State to guarantee to individuals, when they are sick, care, assistance and holidays. We can speak of the nosopolitical regime of the State - health as the main purpose of government action - which explains the omni-invasive power, in the current world, of the processes of medicalization as bodies of normalization of the body-population ”(253). The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).we pass to the right to be sick through the obligation for the State to guarantee to individuals, when they are sick, care, assistance and holidays. We can speak of the nosopolitical regime of the State - health as the main purpose of government action - which explains the omni-invasive power, in the current world, of the processes of medicalization as bodies of normalization of the body-population ”(253). The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).We can speak of the nosopolitical regime of the State - health as the main purpose of government action - which explains the omni-invasive power, in the current world, of the processes of medicalization as bodies of normalization of the body-population ”(253). The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).We can speak of the nosopolitical regime of the State - health as the main purpose of government action - which explains the omni-invasive power, in the current world, of the processes of medicalization as bodies of normalization of the body-population ”(253). The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).The change which is underlined here in the political priorities of the State and the destination of economic resources is part of the much broader framework of what Foucault calls governmentization (254).

As the teratological invasion of scientific medicine has grown over the past two centuries, the management of health and disease issues has taken the form of a larger mechanism of social regulation. From the fact that health is conceived as something more than a physiological state it follows that the practice of medicine goes beyond the clinical relationship between doctor and patient. Medicine is considered social insofar as it concerns not only individual bodies, but more generally the “social body”. The development of modern medicine is an integral part of the process by which the state has gradually 'governmentized'. This process, which began in the 15th and 16th centuries,is that of the transformation of the State from an instrument of sovereign power into a system of large-scale administration. This transformation results from the weakening of feudal ties, which itself results from the assertion of a centralized state and the consequent depersonalization of political power from the 13th century. Formerly governed by traditional networks of personal dependence and reciprocal obligation, individual conduct was now to be the subject of administrative regulation.Formerly governed by traditional networks of personal dependence and reciprocal obligation, individual conduct was now to be the subject of administrative regulation.Formerly governed by traditional networks of personal dependence and reciprocal obligation, individual conduct was now to be the subject of administrative regulation.

The governmentization of the state consisted of a shift in the means and objectives of power.

As regards the means, the government no longer resides in the power of coercion, direct or indirect, of the sovereign, but in the management, the conduct of conduct. Power ceases to be personal and its mode of operation is no longer based almost exclusively on the occasional capture, withdrawal, subtraction of life and wealth (executions, collection of taxes, etc.); a network of multinodal relations is superimposed on it. The interaction of these nodes - schools, hospitals, prisons, armies - made it possible to manage individual and collective acts and arrangements. More precisely, they defined and suggested the possible and necessary acts, behaviors, likes and desires.

Regarding the goals of power, “The authorities came to understand the task of governing politically as a way of acting in minute detail on the behavior of individuals and populations who were their subjects, individually and collectively, in order to to increase their cohesion, their security, their tranquility, their prosperity, their health and their happiness "(255), or rather" in order to increase their own cohesion, their own security, their own tranquility, their own prosperity, their own health and their own happiness ”. The government has not exactly moved from the exclusive concern for the protection and survival of the sovereign to the concern for the protection and survival of individuals and populations;he understood that the protection and survival of the leader and the ruling class increasingly depended on the impression he gave to the populations of protecting them and ensuring, more than their survival, their well-being (256 ). The well-being of individuals and populations serves the objectives of an economic and political organization which presents itself as rational. Their well-being depends on the fabrication of consent and the rhetoric of individual freedom. What characterizes the so-called liberal government is its conviction that it is easier for it to achieve its long-term objectives by giving individuals the impression that they have agency. The political rationality underlying governmentality is concerned with making life economically useful, life as economical as possible,by maximizing both the catagogic dynamics of the masses and the aptitudes common to all people, so that they all have less differentiated, more shapeless, more material. It does so “through an endless variety of processes, procedures, techniques, rules, standards, etc. »Subtly disciplinary and safe. Social medicine reflects different aspects of this governmental rationality. The medicalization that it implies "is (...) the process of forming a 'medicine of the social body', a constant presence in the work of capitalist transformation of society": a process which involves the manufacture of a "social body" ".It does so “through an endless variety of processes, procedures, techniques, rules, standards, etc. »Subtly disciplinary and safe. Social medicine reflects different aspects of this governmental rationality. The medicalization that it implies "is (...) the process of forming a 'medicine of the social body', a constant presence in the work of capitalist transformation of society": a process which involves the manufacture of a "social body" ".It does so “through an endless variety of processes, procedures, techniques, rules, standards, etc. »Subtly disciplinary and safe. Social medicine reflects different aspects of this governmental rationality. The medicalization that it implies "is (...) the process of forming a 'medicine of the social body', a constant presence in the work of capitalist transformation of society": a process which involves the manufacture of a "social body" ".constant presence in the work of capitalist transformation of society ": a process which involves the manufacture of a" social body ".constant presence in the work of capitalist transformation of society ": a process which involves the manufacture of a" social body ".

How is a "social body" made? Let Henry E. Sigerist, a proponent of the Soviet healthcare system and the collectivism that underlies it, explain it. “The general tendency of the state,” he said, “was once to interfere as little as possible with the individual sphere. The state had to increase taxes to maintain its administration, to protect the territory from foreign invasions. It established codes of law protecting the life, property and rights of the individual. If a man paid his taxes on time and obeyed the law, he had done his duty to the state. He could be subject to regulations in the course of his profession, but these were regulations established not by the State but by private organizations.The Greek physician in the fifth century BC had his code of ethics, the medieval craftsman his guild regulations, the soldier his code of chivalry, etc., but these were all private concerns of specific groups of men.

“Society has become an increasingly complex organization. A large number of functions, formerly left to private initiative and to the good sense of the individual, are now part of the administration. The citizens of a modern community must assume many duties which were unknown to them before. In the old days, if we wanted to build a house, we could do it our way. Today we are not free in this regard. We have to adapt our ideas to the general construction plan of the city. We will be told where the entrance should be and we will have to follow specific fire safety rules. People accept these regulations because they recognize that they benefit not only the community as such but them as well.

“The French Revolution proclaimed the rights of man but not the duties of man. The 19th century, in its liberal attitude, tried to preserve individual freedom as much as possible. It was easy in a young and sparsely populated country like America, but difficult in European countries. This became more and more difficult as the population grew, as large cities developed, and as industrialization created entirely new living conditions. It has become impossible in our highly specialized century. Today we are all dependent on each other and if parts of the population suffer, the whole organism is affected. We must therefore renounce many of our individual rights, submit to a certain civil discipline,to recognize more and more our duties towards society, in our own interest as well as that of our fellow citizens ”(257). The "social body" is the population reduced to the mass state.

To give, not life, but a semblance of life, to this larval organism, an essential element has long been lacking: the virus (237bis).

Among the "triumphs" of medicine in the 18th century the "greatest" (258) is arguably the introduction of preventive inoculation by Edward Jenner (1749-1823), son of a clergyman from Gloucestershire. Inoculation is a very ancient practice, which, originally intended to protect against smallpox, presupposed a more or less conscious belief in what is now called immunization.

It was either in India, where it was the prerogative of the Brahmins, or in the Far East, where smallpox originated, that, at an unknown time, this practice, in one form or another (by scarification or by passing strings soaked in the virus through the skin) (259), originated, before being diffused westward, in Europe (260).

According to various authors from the beginning of the 18th century, inoculation had been practiced from time immemorial in the peasantry of parts of Wales and in the Highlands, either by rubbing the material taken from the ripe pustules on several parts of the skin of the arms or by pricking these parts with pins previously infected with this material, or by wrapping the cuffs with infected combed wool threads (261). Lady Montague must not have heard of these practices.

At the start of the 18th century, inoculation was in general use among the Greeks in Constantinople, where it was performed by elderly women (262). In 1717, Lady Montague, Jewish wife of the no less Jewish Ambassador of England to the Ottoman Porte (263), "a woman full of spirit and talent" (264), had the brilliant idea of ​​having her son inoculated with six years by one of these women, a Thessalienne, who "went about it with so much inability and caused such pain to the child with her rusty needle, that (the) surgeon of the ambassador, who was present at the operation, was forced to finish it with his own lancet. The child had about a hundred pimples, and fortunately recovered ”(265). As soon as he returned to London with her distinguished husband, Lady Montague, whose first name was not Pandora,used all his credit to introduce the inoculation to England. By virtue of this "maternal tenderness" in which Voltaire saw one of the two motives which, from time immemorial, had prompted Circassians (266) to butcher their children in order to satisfy health impulses, she gave, so to speak, the example: by having her three-month-old daughter inoculated. The operation was performed by Dr Mailand in the presence of several court doctors. In 1721, a doctor in Halifax inoculated forty children by applying a piece of cotton wool soaked in smallpox pus to an area of ​​their skin which he had previously rubbed (267). The subject aroused considerable interest across the country, but the British public viewed the practice with suspicion and trepidation, so little progress was made.In August 1722 it was suggested to inoculate criminals; those who agreed to submit to the operation were promised a full grace (268). None died as a result of the operation. Others, scarified by Mailand or his colleagues, were not so lucky. Several doctors and several ecclesiastics spoke out and wrote against this practice, stigmatized by one of the latter as "dangerous and immoral" (269). In 1722, a libel called it an infernal method (270). Supporters of inoculation responded to these criticisms and a controversy ensued between them and their opponents.scarified by Mailand or his colleagues, did not have this chance. Several doctors and several ecclesiastics spoke out and wrote against this practice, stigmatized by one of the latter as "dangerous and immoral" (269). In 1722, a libel called it an infernal method (270). Supporters of inoculation responded to these criticisms and a controversy arose between them and their opponents.scarified by Mailand or his colleagues, were not so lucky. Several doctors and several ecclesiastics spoke out and wrote against this practice, stigmatized by one of the latter as "dangerous and immoral" (269). In 1722, a libel called it an infernal method (270). Supporters of inoculation responded to these criticisms and a controversy ensued between them and their opponents.

Inoculation fell, if not into discredit, at least into oblivion, in England as well as in the other European countries where one had for a moment vibrated at the prospect of generalizing it (271).

If some clergymen had pronounced anathema against inoculation, the clergy as a whole was not against it, recommending it especially for children (272). It was even the Bishop of Worcester, Isaac Maddox, who in 1746 rekindled enthusiasm for inoculation. He formed, under his presidency and under the protection of the Duke of Marlborough who was not - biologically - Jewish, a society whose main purpose was to spread and propagate this method (273). In 1754, the Memoir on the inoculation of smallpoxby the explorer, geographer and mathematician Charles-Marie de la Condamine (1701–1774), who ended with the assertion that the state had retained the seven hundred and sixty thousand men who had been kidnapped by smallpox since 1723, year or the regent had taken a keen interest in this practice, if it had been generally adopted in France that year (274), must have made a strong impression on the Academy of Medicine, because, the same year, it took position in favor of inoculation. By the greatest of luck, it was also in 1754 that the London College of Medicine gave public testimony in his favor, which temporarily reduced opponents to this method to black silence. They regained their voice when the Lyonnais professor Rast demonstrated, according to the London mortality lists, that, since 1721,By the time inoculation was introduced, smallpox epidemics had become much deadlier (275). On which the supporters of inoculation stormed other statistics to demonstrate that the introduction of this method had nothing to do with it. The progress of the inoculation epidemic was, however, abruptly stopped in France, when, following a serious and fatal epidemic of smallpox in Paris in 1763, attributed in part to inoculation, the Parliament of Paris made " to practice this operation in the towns and suburbs within the jurisdiction of the court ”(276). But, five years later, on the recommendation of the faculties of medicine, this decree was annulled and inoculation was again commonly practiced in Paris.smallpox epidemics had become much more deadly (275). On which the supporters of inoculation stormed other statistics to demonstrate that the introduction of this method had nothing to do with it. The progress of the inoculation epidemic was, however, abruptly stopped in France, when, following a serious and fatal epidemic of smallpox in Paris in 1763, attributed in part to inoculation, the Parliament of Paris made " to practice this operation in the towns and suburbs within the jurisdiction of the court ”(276). But, five years later, on the recommendation of the faculties of medicine, this decree was annulled and inoculation was again commonly practiced in Paris.smallpox epidemics had become much more deadly (275). 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Gradually, the practice fell into disuse, until it disappeared with the advent of vaccination. In England, it was definitively banned by Parliament in 1840.

While still a schoolboy, Edward Jenner (1749-1823) had met a young girl who declared herself inaccessible to smallpox, because, she said, she had had the vaccine. This boast was engraved in Jenner's memory and served as a starting point for her research. Back in his native country after studying in London, “he soon noticed that some individuals remained resistant to the smallpox virus which he inoculated in them. He convinced himself that this immunity was vested in people in the stables tending and milking cows. Jenner's first serious observations seem to date back to 1775. He saw that the rash was on cowhide hands, especially when they were chapped, and that the rash was characterized by pustules similar to those on cow teats. From 1787,he seems to have thought that the origin ofcowpox (vaccine) was the grease of horses, inoculable to cows ”(277). So much for the legend. In fact, the belief that those who had smallpox in cows were immune to smallpox infiltrated him from reading the notebooks bequeathed to him by an acquaintance, a surgeon from Shaftesbury named Nash (1785) ( 278).

The first vaccination took place on May 14, 1796. “That day Jenner took the vaccine from the hand of a young cow girl named Sarah Nelwes, infected by her master's cow, and he inserted it, through two shallow incisions. , on the arm of James Phipps, a fat boy of eight. This worked perfectly, and this child's vaccine was used to immunize several other children. James Phipps, subjected to smallpox inoculation two months later, was refractory. The proof was made. "(279). Vaccination made steady progress and all countries paid homage to its inventor. Jenner was elected a member of almost every major scientific society in Europe, and his work was quickly picked up on the continent and in North America. Good statistics began to flow (279bis) and, in 1800,as many as six thousand people had been vaccinated; one hundred thousand a year later (280). In 1802 and 1807 Parliament passed grants of £ 20,000 to Jenner to help her continue her experiments.

Despite the success and support that vaccination was receiving in all parts of the world, many were still opposed to the practice. Most of the criticism of him, however, was caricature. Many pamphlets assured that those who were vaccinated would inevitably take on the characteristics of cattle. One of the few to fully appreciate the danger was a physician, Benjamin Moseley (1742–1819), who, in a book in which he noted the development of serious diseases in people who had been vaccinated (281), characterized vaccination as " a medical experiment, adopted recklessly, prolonged by an ill-considered transgression of the limits of reason and, once the conviction of its uselessness has fully acquired,stubbornly pursued by the most degrading of philosophical relapses that has ever dishonored the civilized world ”; “(T) he future ages,” he warned in another book, “will read with wonder the story of our nation's credulity in the face of smallpox; the story of the unbridled haste with which the children of this country were delivered to a life-threatening medical experiment (…). That there may be a people who contaminate their offspring with a poison extracted from raw creation and whose origin, nature and effects they did not have the slightest knowledge of will be among the incredible tales of a future. Pliny ”(282). Lucid, Moseley did not foresee the worst, however, which happened fifteen years after his death.read with wonder the story of our nation's credulity in the face of smallpox; the story of the unbridled haste with which the children of this country were delivered to a life-threatening medical experiment (…). That there may be a people who contaminate their offspring with a poison extracted from raw creation and whose origin, nature and effects they did not have the slightest knowledge of will be among the incredible tales of a future. Pliny ”(282). Lucid, Moseley did not foresee the worst, however, which happened fifteen years after his death.read with wonder the story of our nation's credulity in the face of smallpox; the story of the unbridled haste with which the children of this country were delivered to a life-threatening medical experiment (…). That there may be a people who contaminate their offspring with a poison extracted from raw creation and whose origin, nature and effects they did not have the slightest knowledge of will be among the incredible tales of a future. Pliny ”(282). Lucid, Moseley had not however foreseen the worst, which happened fifteen years after his death.That there may be a people who contaminate their offspring with a poison extracted from raw creation and whose origin, nature and effects they did not have the slightest knowledge of will be among the incredible tales of a future. Pliny ”(282). Lucid, Moseley did not foresee the worst, however, which happened fifteen years after his death.That there may be a people who contaminate their offspring with a poison extracted from raw creation and whose origin, nature and effects they did not have the slightest knowledge of will be among the incredible tales of a future. Pliny ”(282). Lucid, Moseley had not however foreseen the worst, which happened fifteen years after his death.

In 1852, despite the skepticism of some English physicians (283) and hygienists as to the efficacy of vaccination, the proof that the middle and upper classes had of its ineffectiveness, the detestation it aroused in the classes popular (284), convinced that they were, by the admission of one of the members of the commission responsible for examining the law, that "the operation was intended, not to protect, but to destroy their offspring" (285), Parliament voted, seventeen years after Greece was the first European country to take similar legislative action, a Law to extend and make compulsory the practice of vaccination ( Act to extend and make compulsory the Practice of Vaccination). It required parents and guardians to vaccinate children before the age of four months, on pain of a fine (286). The law of 1852 on vaccination was reinforced and amended by that of August 12, 1867, amended in turn by the law of August 21, 1871 (287). The "conscience clause" was introduced into the Vaccination Act by the law of August 12, 1898. This clause authorized parents and guardians not to pay a fine if, within the first four months after the birth of the child, they could present a doctor's certificate specifying that the child could not be vaccinated (288). In France, the law of February 15, 1902, which made smallpox vaccination compulsory, did not include any, article 6 of which states: "Smallpox vaccination is compulsory during the first year of life,as well as revaccination in the eleventh and twenty-first years. Parents or guardians are held personally responsible for the execution of said measure. Public administration regulations, issued after consultation with the French Academy of Medicine and the French Public Hygiene Advisory Committee, will set the measures required by the application of this article ”(289). Pasteur's discoveries, which, along with those of Koch and many others, ushered in the era of scientific vaccination, played a role in the adoption of this law and other legislation relating to the vaccination (290).given after the opinion of the French Academy of Medicine and the Advisory Committee on Public Hygiene, will fix the measures required by the application of this article ”(289). Pasteur's discoveries, which, along with those of Koch and many others, ushered in the era of scientific vaccination, played a role in the adoption of this law and other legislation relating to the vaccination (290).given after the opinion of the French Academy of Medicine and the Advisory Committee on Public Hygiene, will fix the measures required by the application of this article ”(289). Pasteur's discoveries, which, along with those of Koch and many others, ushered in the era of scientific vaccination, played a role in the adoption of this law and other legislation relating to the vaccination (290).

The vaccination laws, which marked the media triumph of contagionists over supporters of aerism, or miasmatism, are extremely interesting from a sociological point of view, Sigerist tells us - for whom "(medical education) should be in control. throughout the life of the individual "and" which demanded that the doctor be a social reformer whose task was to optimize the social adaptation of the individual "(291) - because it is" the first time that the 'The state (…) dared to enter the private sphere of the individual, forcing him to artificially contract an illness in order to protect himself and his fellow citizens from a more serious illness ”(292). However, nothing could have had more serious consequences for the "social body", still in formation and still spared by the theoretical scaffolding of the Saint-Simonians,that the propagation of the bacteriological theories of Pasteur within it.

In Saint-Simon, social relations are compared to the sympathies of the organs of the human body, the city to the human body (293). Each part of the city corresponds to a member, or an organ, of the human body and all the parts of the city must be connected to each other by means of communication, which correspond to as many arteries, veins and nerves of the human body, to form what he calls a "network". Two other types of “network” must be built on this model: the economic “network” and the knowledge “network”. "The flows of goods, men, money and the spirit must be made to circulate like" (294) blood in the veins, like electricity in the nervous system. Ultimately, these networks must cover the entire planet. The entire globe must be one single network.Well, the Pastorian microbe - the virus - is the scientific translation of the Saint-Simonian pantheistic notion of "network" (which in turn found an extension in the twentieth century in the field of electricity, then in that of computer science) (295). The profound social and psychological revolution heralded by this Saint-Simonian notion of "network" in the conception of the social bond, was triggered by the Pastorian virus: "the Pastorian virus triggered it: "the Pastorian virus triggered it: "invisible links link all individuals: microbes. There is therefore a deep interdependence between all living things, which ruins the separation of the medical and the social, of the present and the future. Thus (…) the fight against tuberculosis and the associated prevention policy will become an unlimited program: all aspects of an individual's life are concerned, from birth to death . Pastorian theories bring the idea that evil reveals solidarity; moreover, he founds the antinaturalism of political action: we have to thwart nature, society is never sufficiently social; finally, it establishes a positive morality: I cannot want my good without wanting that of others, it is impossible. The State therefore has positive duties towards its members and the individual has positive rights: this is the thought revolution of solidarism based on Pastorian medicine (...) Pastorian medicine therefore founds a theory of the microbial solidarist body politic, whose principles would be formulated as follows: the whole is more than the sum of the parts; it forms a sui generis reality . Then there is no part that is not part of a whole , and there isnot all that is not part of a greater whole: individuality is only the result of a process of individualization. Finally, the relation of the parts to the whole is to be analyzed under the logic of complex causalities, that is to say that of probabilities (…). This solidarist microbial organicist conception of the body politic is reflected in numerous laws and measures: Siegfried Law (1884) on social housing. Mayors such as H. Sellier in Suresnes, who will become Minister of Health, are developing social housing and garden cities, in a program to fight tuberculosis. Law of April 9, 1898 on compensation for work accidents without fault. This law is fundamental and exemplary, it reflects an upheaval in the concept of responsibility: individual responsibility for a fault becomes collective sharing.and spread of a risk. There is an evil neither metaphysical nor moral, it is the work accident, social evil; the accident rate is constant, whatever the circumstances. The simple fact of living and producing together creates interdependent relationshipsinevitable and determined. Law of 1905 on Compulsory Assistance to the Elderly, the Crippled, Incurable and Indigent. Law of April 5, 1910 on workers' and peasant pensions: it is the transition from individual and free insurance to compulsory insurance with transfer. The State itself becomes responsible by the first compensation of a worker in the arsenals by the Council of State in 1896, and insurer. A new social contract is being set up according to the principle of totalization, distributive justice and global mass of goods produced, against the old form of contract as a relationship of individuals to individuals with distinction from the State and civil society , and simple commutative justice, of which the State was the guarantor. Basically there is harm and risk because we all live together:it is up to us collectively to assume this organic solidarity, by the State which finds in it, at the same time, its necessity, its justification and its line of action. Thus, schematically, we can say that the Welfare State arises from the Pastorian metaphor of the body politic. The creation of the Ministry of Health in 1920 consecrated, by inscribing it in the very structures of the State, the definitive assimilation of the Pastorian approach ”(296) (emphasis added). To sum up, the consequence of the popularization of the Pastorian doctrine was to accustom man to consider the world as a valley, no longer of tears (Psalm 83: 7), but of microbes and thus to experience it biologically. . This attitude testifies to a sort of totemic regression, by virtue of which “the individual, before perceiving himself as such,perceives itself as a group, a race or a tribe, but in a collectivist sense and draws its distinctive features, not only biological, but also characterological and, as far as it is relevant here, cultural and spiritual . At this stage, no clear difference is made between mind and body, the two being experienced in an indistinct, promiscuous unity ”(297). Man is absorbed into the "great whole": in this case, the "social body".Man is absorbed into the "great whole": in this case, the "social body".Man is absorbed into the "great whole": in this case, the "social body".

To tell the truth, the “Pastorian revolution” could be qualified as “revelation” in the religious sense of the term. In this regard, medicalization could be considered as a re (Judeo) Christianization, or rather as the last stage of Judeo-Christianization. Calling today's medicine a religion should not be understood as a metaphor and is in no way a misnomer. Biopower is the modern form of pastoral power, which is religious power and which we have seen elsewhere constitutes an acclimatization of Eastern despotism, a form of theocratic government, to the character specific to white peoples (298).

These related forms of power have the common characteristics of presenting themselves as "fundamentally beneficent (s)" (299) with regard to the flock and each individual in the flock, inasmuch as the flock or the individual dedicates itself to the shepherd. pure, blind and mechanical obedience which he demands of him, obedience by virtue of which he provides for all his needs; in order to be able to take care of him and, if he is sick, to care for him, to cure him, the shepherd must "know what is happening in (s) a head, (...) explore (his soul), (...) (the ) force to reveal (ones) s most intimate secrets. [This] implies a knowledge of the 'individual and collective consciousness' and an ability to lead (them) (300). It must arouse fear and, for that, it must cause fear, by physical intimidation, but also psychological,in the case of oriental despotism, by the threat of divine punishments of all kinds in the case of pastoral power, by shaking the scarecrow of terrorism or natural disasters (climatic or epidemic) in the case of biopower. In this context, scientific medicine has in modern democracies the same disciplinary power as that which theurgic medicine had, as we saw at the beginning of this study, in the religions of the ancient East, particularly Judaism.scientific medicine has in modern democracies the same disciplinary power that theurgic medicine had, as we saw at the beginning of this study, in the religions of the ancient East, particularly Judaism.scientific medicine has in modern democracies the same disciplinary power that theurgic medicine had, as we saw at the beginning of this study, in the religions of the ancient East, particularly Judaism.

In "Birth of the clinic" Foucault underlines that the French Revolution gave birth to two great myths: 1. The myth of a nationalized medical profession, organized on the model of the clergy and endowed with powers over health and the body similar to those available to priests on the soul and 2. The myth of a total disappearance of diseases.

Medical religion has its Church, its dogmas, its morals, its worship and its sacred texts.

The "'new gospel of health'" (301), pruritus of human rights, is the Constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO), according to which health, let us give the full definition here, is "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and is not just the absence of disease or infirmity. The possession of the best state of health which it is capable of attaining constitutes one of the fundamental rights of every human being, whatever their race, religion, political opinions, economic or social condition ”. This “almost mystical” (302) definition of health makes it “an a priori category, difficult to define and measure (…). (I) f health 'is not just the absence of disease or infirmity', it is an unrealistic ideal, of 'super-health' and the WHO,by emphasizing the multidimensional nature of health, blurs the concept. Health therefore takes on a numerical character: the unknowability of health makes it similar to religious sacredness: its mystery is both terrifying and fascinating. Health is a force that is hidden in genes and the neural network of the brain. Therefore, health, like its deterioration, fills individuals with anguish and fear ”(303). “Moreover, this inclusive definition of medicine allows it to extend its field of action to infinity and to exercise unlimited control over infinite dimensions of social life and makes it truly Catholic (which etymologically means 'universal', 'general'). Thus, medicine becomes omnipresent and omnipotent (…). She decides on the job,of the ability to marry and have children, gives the right to abortion and child custody, decides who, when and how a person can die and whether a person is fit to stand trial. Medical authorities influence personal decisions about eating habits, sexual behavior and accepted stimulants. Doctors monitor birth, prenatal, postnatal and pediatric care; not only conception but also sterility, reproduction and sexual activity itself are also subject to their power. Medicine defines when life begins and if it should begin. Like the medieval Church, it creates an omnipresent network: it ensures public hygiene, coordinates care, centralizes information, standardizes knowledge,teaches a healthy lifestyle and legitimizes (health) politics and individual choices, resulting in a lasting medicalization of crime (theft, rape, murder), sexual perversion (homosexuality, masturbation) and deviance ( substance abuse, eating and learning problems, bad behavior), the ability to fulfill social roles (military service, obtaining a driver's license, fitness for work) and natural physiological processes (childbirth, aging, menopause , erectile dysfunction). It thus transforms the world into a clinic ”(304), temple of medicine.masturbation) and deviance (substance abuse, eating and learning problems, bad behavior), the ability to fulfill social roles (military service, obtaining a driver's license, fitness for work) and physiological processes natural (childbirth, aging, menopause, erectile dysfunction). It thus transforms the world into a clinic ”(304), temple of medicine.masturbation) and deviance (substance abuse, eating and learning problems, bad behavior), the ability to fulfill social roles (military service, obtaining a driver's license, fitness for work) and physiological processes natural (childbirth, aging, menopause, erectile dysfunction). It thus transforms the world into a clinic ”(304), temple of medicine.

The god that worshipers honor is the gene. The Pastorian “revelation” was in fact completed by that of genetics, the Human Genome Project, which further biologized the way people perceive the world and see themselves: “… the gene has become a sacred symbol. and an icon of biomedical civilization. The essence of humanity is no longer constituted by the immortal soul but owes its existence to the mystical powers of the genome. Thus, genetic essentialism reduces the 'real' human self to a molecular structure, which is written into its genes and which is as immortal as the Christian soul. Considered to be independent of the body, it is the genome which gives life and, like the Christian soul, carries within it the seeds of good (health) and evil (disease). As a consequence of this 'molecular optics',individuals are increasingly defining themselves in biological terms (…). Biology defines collective identities. Thus, 'the molecularization of life' extends medicalization and leads to the genetization of society ”(305). Speaking of a "DNA mystique" is not exaggerated, when we know that the genome is designated by religious metaphors like that of "Book of life" and "Holy Grail" (306). “Genes are becoming the nucleus of a new moral order: they determine the way people think, feel and behave. They influence intelligence, emotions, physical appearance, health, aggressiveness, free will and religiosity. Faith in the magical power of human genes becomes the dogma of the religion of health (…). (As in ancient Eastern religions,earthly events and men were subject to the will of the divine stars), genes determine what we are, what we will become and how we will end. Medicine claims that people's fates are written in their genes, neurogenetic determinism turns into a new type of biological predestination: whatever people do, their fate is already fixed: either salvation (health and life), or damnation (sickness and death). A medical variant of Protestant doctrine emphasizes that 'an individual's health is not determined by his virtues and choices or by social circumstances, but by his genetic material' (…). Genetic tests help those who submit to them to know their own fate. So, as in Protestantism,people are encouraged to lead a virtuous and ascetic (ie 'healthy') life and to seek the signs of their destiny, ie their genetic markers ”(307).

Evil is the pathogenic germ, the personification of which is the virus, aided in its evil works by microbes and bacteria.

Hence, besides beliefs such as those relating to the negative effects of "passive smoking", the effectiveness of mammography, the harmfulness of cholesterol, etc., the epidemiological dogmas of contagion - formerly linked to the notion of ritual impurity, particularly in Zoroastrianism (308) and in Judaism (309) -, of vaccination and immunization. The doctor, like the Pope, enjoys infallibility and any inclination to challenge medical dogmas is seen as heresy and anathematized, until the economic and social death of the deviationist ensues. "Extra medicinam nulla salus".

Salvation passes through faith in these dogmas, the observation of the medical cult and health care.

With regard to the sacraments, baptismal vaccination is administered within twenty-four hours of birth. The first disease is the first communion, under the two kinds of the tablet and the syrup, by Ordinance, not of the Lord, but of the physician. The first medical examination serves as confirmation. The consultation serves as a mass. Penance and reconciliation are taken care of by the psychologist. All that remains for medicine is to find a medical equivalent to extreme unction.

Health care is a lifestyle that prioritizes health and fitness over anything else. It is punctuated by a whole series of ascetic practices aimed at self-transformation: mechanical exercises of physical training, dependence on sports activities, addiction to slimming diets, manic concern for hygiene, obsessive control of weight and 'diet, morbid interest in health education, pathological self-observation, preventive surgical operations, all of which fully justify the judgment that the pursuit of health has become the predominant pathogenic factor (310), all the more so that they are accompanied by a chronic delirium of superiority.“The moral categorization of health and disease reflects contemporary beliefs that disease results from moral failure and health is the representation of moral triumph” (311): salvation.

According to Agamben (312), “… unlike Christianity, the medical religion offers no prospect of salvation and redemption. On the contrary, the cure to which it aims can only be temporary, because the God of evil, the virus, cannot be eliminated once and for all, but is constantly changing and taking new forms, no doubt more dangerous ”. However, in the oldest Christian texts found to this day, neither "soterion" nor "salus" signify "salvation" in the sense of being delivered from the state of sin and suffering, and of escaping damnation (313). In these texts, salvation is the fact of being saved, at least temporarily, from death. Even in Vulgate, where "salus" takes on a soteriological meaning, it "embraces the restoration of psychic well-being and even, to some extent, physical healing" (314).From Tertullian onwards, it is not uncommon to see Latin-speaking Christian theologians express their conceptions of conversion and salvation as healing and a return to physical health, to such an extent that, in Césaire d'Arles and Augustine, "health and Salvation no longer have only an analogy relationship, but are two more or less perfect forms of the same reality: the Adamic life" (315). Moreover, the formula of Eucharistic consecration (“this is my body”) shows the centrality of corporeality in the Christian faith. Finally, in the Christian religion ("Health and Salvation no longer have only an analogy relation, but are two more or less perfect forms of the same reality: the Adamic life" (315). Furthermore, the formula of Eucharistic consecration (“this is my body”) shows the centrality of corporeality in the Christian faith. Finally, in the Christian religion ("Health and Salvation no longer have only an analogy relation, but are two more or less perfect forms of the same reality: the Adamic life" (315). Moreover, the formula of Eucharistic consecration (“this is my body”) shows the centrality of corporeality in the Christian faith. Finally, in the Christian religion (Matthew 27: 52-53), but also in Judaism (2 Maccabees 7.11, 7.28), the dogma of the resurrection is based on the belief in the physical resurrection of the human body at the end of time.

At the beginning of the 19th century, attempts at resurrection by electricity were made by doctors (316). According to some of their current colleagues, it will soon be possible to resuscitate people within 24 hours of clinical death (317). There is now a science of resurrection (Resuscitation Science), a Center for the Science of Resurrection (The Center for Resuscitation Science), a Resurrection Research Program is currently being developed by a New York University (318) and a Resurrection Symposium was held in 2017; the second will be held online November 14-16 this year. But isn't medical research on resurrection methods already outstripped by those carried out in synergy by nanotechnology, computer prediction,genetic therapy, regenerative medicine, microbiology, etc. on technological immortality (technological immortality ) (319), either by molecular repair or by downloading the previously transhumanized biological body on the Internet?

It is true that the advances in so-called emerging sciences are not disclosed to the general public and that what matters above all for the government (ma) ments is to inoculate the "social body" with the belief that "the virus cannot be eliminated once and for all, but is constantly changing and taking on new, undoubtedly more dangerous forms ”and that, even if the prospect, which the media hold out, of“ herd immunity ”(better known today - because, in the event of an extreme emergency, the media abandon their pompous peri-scientific jargon to ensure that they are understood by everyone, even the most civilized thick brute - under the term of "collective immunity"), realized ; even if a vaccine was developed and vaccination was made compulsory to the depths of Papua New Guinea, a new form of the virus,even another type of virus would appear and everything would have to be redone.

“A crisis (gr. Krinesthai , from krisis ), says a Hippocratic text ( De affection ., 8), occurs when the diseases increase or decrease, or change into another disease or cease” (it is we who underline) (320); the condition either is cured or undergoes only a change for good or for bad and, in the latter case, evolves into another disease , which, after the crisis, may itself evolve into another disease. It is with economic phenomena as it can with pathological phenomena: the capitalist economy goes from crisis to crisis, from collapse of stock market prices to collapse of stock prices. In the Old as in the New Testament(321), “ krisis ” designates the “last judgment” (322), which Christians did not cease to consider as close, imminent, until the end of the “middle ages” (323); in time, he could have taken that of "respite" for them. They ended up losing patience, the mixture of terror and hope inspired in them by the Apocalypse, the centerpiece of the sacerdotal system of social control (324), by becoming blunted to the point of anesthesia; hell and paradise have also gradually ceased to produce their effect. Of all the social control disciplinary systems that have been developed since, the one based on the viral threat is arguably the most effective, the most formidable.

Traditionally, security has been conceived of as the absence of military confrontation between nation-states. Certainly, in 1851, the delegates of the first International Sanitary Conference met in Paris to consider common responses to the cholera epidemics that had invaded the European continent in the first half of the 19th century, but the preventive fight against pandemics remained a concern for peripheral foreign policy. It was even gradually eclipsed during the twentieth century by more pressing imperatives, especially since, as the United States Secretary of State George Marshall declared in 1948, the important advances in medicine made the eradication of the diseases imminent. so-called infectious diseases. The priority now was to avoid new wars and, in particular,a nuclear confrontation. Only, no more than the fear of hell could the fear of nuclear war paralyze populations eternally. It was therefore necessary to replace this sword of Damocles by a more credible scarecrow and it is thus that, at the beginning of the years 1990 in the United States, just after the launch of the theory of climate change (325), the concept of bioterrorism has been invented (326). In 1994, the World Human Development Report (HDR), the annual publication of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report Office, argued that the concept of security had long been interpreted too narrowly. as the absence of threats to the territorial integrity of a country or the protection of national interests and introduces the concept of human security.The seven components of human security identified by the report are economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (327). As you might expect, there is a Commission on Human Security (CSH) as well as an Advisory Committee on Human Security (ABSH). In its final report (2003), the CSH defines the objective of human security as the "(protection of) the vital core of all human life, in a way which enhances the exercise of freedoms and facilitates human development. "(328). The definition proposed by the CSH thus reconceptualizes security in a fundamental way by: “(i) Setting aside traditional notions of security, centered on the State,which focused mainly on the security of states in the face of military aggression, in favor of a concept focused on the security of individuals, their protection and their empowerment; (ii) Drawing attention to a multitude of threats which affect different aspects of human life, highlighting the interface between security, development and human rights; and (iii) Promoting a new, integrated, coordinated and person-centered approach to the promotion of peace, security and development within and across nations ”(329); concerns which also happen to be those of the main private sponsor of the United Nations, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), which, in the late 1990s,took over from the Rockefeller Foundation as a leading figure in "(promoting) the well-being of mankind around the world" (330).

From what health has come to be considered from the point of view of safety, the dual concept of securing health and the medicalization of safety has resulted. Both give meaning to William S. Burroughs' thesis that "language is a virus" (331), the virus responsible for the formation of totalitarian control systems of all shapes and sizes.

Indeed, in this context, "security is not an objective reality - that is to say an absence of threats - but the result of a speech act by which a problem is presented as a threat (... ). (T) securing a problem results from the interaction between a security actor, which mobilizes a vocabulary relating to security and a public, which accepts this approach ”(332); “… A problem becomes a security problem because it is presented as a threat to the very existence of a given referent (a State, for example); therefore, exceptional measures to counter this problem are necessary (…). “Senior politicians (as well as senior officials) therefore play an important role in securing health care who, in their statements, by a 'speech act',dramatically draws the attention (of the general public) to health and safety issues, which will then need to be regulated by resolutions and policy documents ”(333). Health security can therefore be defined as a strategic practice that political actors adopt in order to achieve specific objectives that go far beyond the objectives declared in the media. "Because it requires a transformation of political procedure, securing an issue 'introduces another type of politics, based on opportunism, secrecy and discretionary emergency measures" (334).Securing health care can therefore be defined as a strategic practice that political actors adopt to achieve specific objectives that go well beyond the mediatically stated objectives. "Because it requires a transformation of political procedure, securing an issue 'introduces another type of politics, based on opportunism, secrecy and discretionary emergency measures" (334).Securing health care can therefore be defined as a strategic practice that political actors adopt to achieve specific objectives that go well beyond the mediatically stated objectives. "Because it requires a transformation of political procedure, securing an issue 'introduces another type of politics, based on opportunism, secrecy and discretionary emergency measures" (334).secrecy and discretionary emergency measures ”(334).secrecy and discretionary emergency measures ”(334).

Along with securing health, the medicalization of security has three characteristics: insecurity is increasingly seen as a global medical problem caused by the onset of a disease presented as contagious; which leads medical experts to play a greater role in international affairs; medically defined security issues call for increasingly broad social and political interventions (335). “By taking a clearly epidemiological dimension, political power becomes more governmental, insofar as the tendency to manage the behavior of individuals and populations with a view to maximizing their health and their economic utility is reinforced. This trend is reflected in a whole range of new medical interventions,at both national and international level: policies for monitoring healthy populations and populations in poor health; triage of individuals based on risk factors; process of confinement and exclusion of 'individuals at risk'; establishment of models of normality and deviance (…). In short (…) the health-safety link modifies the concept of the State and transforms (…) safety policies into 'a technology to intensify the medical control of populations' ”(336). The extraordinary means justified by the securing of health and the medicalization of security provide governments (ma) ments the alibi for decreeing, following the state of emergency (337), a state of emergency, which entails the suspension of certain ordinary legal guarantees and which,“Speech acts” after “speech acts” “threatens to become a normal state” (338), “(laying) (thus) the foundations of a scientific-bureaucratic authoritarianism” (339) which has its roots in despotism Eastern, because “the movement which is set in motion in the risk society is expressed in the following formula: I am afraid! (…) In this sense, the risk society is characteristic of a social era where solidarity is forged in fear, which becomes a political force ”(340).the risk society is characteristic of a social era in which solidarity is forged in fear, which becomes a political force ”(340).the risk society is characteristic of a social era in which solidarity is forged in fear, which becomes a political force ”(340).

Although there is no universally accepted definition of the concept of health security, analysis of the literature and the various corresponding reports shows that it is linked to the threats posed by the massive spread of so-called infectious diseases not only for people but also for society as a whole and the fact that pathogenic microorganisms can be used as biological weapons and that certain diseases, in particular HIV / AIDS, can have social, political, economic and military implications, which jeopardize the stability and security, not just of one country or region, but of the entire globe.

The notion of "emerging infectious diseases", which finds its origins in a work by the French doctor Charles Anglada (1809-1878) entitled Study on extinct diseases and new diseases(1869) (341), was thus resuscitated in 1991 by the American epidemiologist Steven S. Morse, then assistant professor of virology at Rockefeller University in New York, of which he is still a faculty member. The following year, against the backdrop of geopolitical tectonic shifts resulting from the end of the "Cold War," a report by the United States Institute of Medicine, titled 'Emerging Infections: Microbial Threats to Health in the United States' , pointed out that "some infectious diseases that today affect people in other parts of the world represent potential threats to the United States due to global interdependence, modern transportation, commerce and changing social and cultural patterns ”(342). By the mid-2000s,they took the high-sounding name of “emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases” in the global infectious discourse of the WHO. The view that “public health” issues, particularly those related to these diseases, transcend borders will quickly become a leitmotif.

In 2000, an article (343) co-published by Denis C. Pirages, political scientist, environmentalist and former professor of international environmental policy at the University of Maryland, College Park and contributor to the 2005 Worlwatch Institute report (344), a of the many hydra heads of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (345) echoed the alleged "growing concern" in official circles about "the consequences of development globalization on the development and potential spread of new diseases through borders more and more porous ”(346):“ Viruses, bacteria (…), it is written there, have never respected national borders. They crossed the borders with the winds, the waters, the explorers, the merchants and the mercenaries ”(347). In the same vein,the report “Lessons from the SARS Crisis” (2004), commissioned by the (my) Canadian government, emphasized that the transformations resulting from globalization “are increasing the frequency and speed of transmission of emerging and re-infectious diseases. emerging ”(348). "(T) he reference to the increasing frequency of travel, to the 'shrinking' of the world favored by the speed of transport, together with the observation that viruses respect no borders, (has multiplied) to the point of becoming , particularly following the crisis of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, a real litany ”(emphasis added) (349). In September 2005, two years after the "battle" against SARS was won, says an executive director of the WHO, "thanks to medieval methods" (350),the WHO coordinator for the fight against avian and human influenza in Geneva predicted 2 to 150 million deaths worldwide during an upcoming pandemic (351), while, following the publication by the newspaperForeign Affairs of an article by professor at the Minnesota School of Public Health and director of the Center for Infectious Disease Research and Policy in Washington Michael T. Osterholm, article in which he expected, in the next month, in a year or in ten years, the flooding of the planet by the avian flu which was then raging in Asia (352), the main so-called Western countries each decided to order tens of millions of doses of vaccines.

As the health historian Patrick Zylberman subsequently revealed in "Microbial Storms" (2013), it was precisely in 2005 that the WHO communicated its roadmap to the States. “It is no more and no less, writes Agamben, of the creation of a kind of 'health terror' as an instrument for managing what was defined as the worst case scenario., the worst-case scenario (…) ”. The system recommended by the WHO comprised three points: 1) the development of scenarios ("fictions that feign reality by proposing imaginary situations but conducive to learning (by populations) of reflexes and behaviors aimed at mastering of events ”(353); 2) the adoption of the logic of the worst as a regime of political rationality; 3) “the integral organization of the body of citizens so as to strengthen as much as possible the adhesion to government institutions. The expected result is a kind of superlative civility; the obligations imposed are presented as manifestations of altruism; citizens no longer have the right to health; on the contrary, health is imposed on them as a legal obligation ”(354). After that, in 2007,the WHO World Health Report has stepped up the pressure again, asserting that "an epidemic or outbreak in one part of the world takes only hours to become an imminent threat elsewhere" (355) and that in 2008, yet another international organization, the Global Epidemic Alert and Response Network (RMAAE), under the authority of the WHO (356), was officially founded to help the various countries to manage pandemics, the influenza A (H1N1) epidemic which raged from January 2009 to August 2010 and during which certain non-European countries placed or threatened to quarantine foreign visitors suspected of having been in contact with people who may have been infected (357) served as a dress rehearsal for Operation Covid 19. In June 2009, while, like every year,between 500,000 and 1,000,000 people had died or would die of seasonal influenza and that in many countries influenza A (H1N1) had not claimed any victims, WHO, following advice from scientific experts from its staff, who had close ties to companies manufacturing vaccines and antiviral drugs (358), called this influenza A (H1N1) epidemic a pandemic, thereby triggering a global vaccination campaign duly dramatized by the mainstream media (359). On August 6, 2014, almost six months after numerous cases of Ebola were reported in Guinea by the WHO, it declared “that the conditions of a public health emergency of international concern (PHEIP) (were ) united ”and called for a coordinated international response to the pandemic (360).In the media coverage of this pseudo-pandemic, the Ebola virus was presented almost systematically as a global threat (361). WHO, according to the mass media, "(prepared) for the worst-case scenario", "for all scenarios, including the worst", "feared the worst-case scenario", and so on. She was well placed to do so: it was she herself who had developed them, thesescenarios . From the release of The Last Man Standing (1924) to that of Virus (2019), no less than a hundred films have helped to psychologically condition the general public to the current masquerade. “What is striking, remarks Agamben, in the reactions to the exceptional devices that have been put in place in our country (s) (…), is the inability to observe them beyond the immediate context in which they seem to work. Few are those who attempt, as serious political analysis would require, to interpret them as symptoms and signs of a larger experience, in which a new paradigm for the governance of men and things is at play ”(362) . If they are so rare, it is because most have been taken inSimulacrum et (à la) simulation ”(1981), title of a book by Jean Baudrillard in which he showed that the viral circulation of digitalized information and images would end up masking reality to the point of replacing it. .

On the basis of classical social theory, Baudrillard made distinctions between traditional societies, based on symbolic exchange, representation, pre-modern societies, focused on counterfeiting, modern societies, organized on production and societies postmodern, simulation-based, that is, modes of cultural representation that “simulate” reality: television, computer cyberspace and virtual reality (363). In the first, the image is representation (363bis), while, in the last three, it is simulation (364).

The rift between modern and postmodern societies is as great as the gulf between modern and premodern societies. This rupture marks the end of political economy and of an era when production was the organizing form of society (365). People are now living in an era of simulation in which social reproduction (information processing, communication and knowledge industries, etc.) have replaced production as a form of organization of society. In our time, work is no longer a force of production but is itself "a sign among the signs" (366). In this situation, work is not primarily productive, it is a sign of a person's social position, lifestyle and mode of servitude.A person's salary is not rationally related to their work and what they produce, but to their place in the system. Political economy is no longer the foundation, the social determinant, or even a structural "reality" in which other phenomena could be interpreted and explained. Images, spectacles and the play of signs replace, as essential components of societies, the concepts of production and class struggle. In the simulation society, identities are constructed through the appropriation of images and the corresponding codes and models determine the way in which individuals perceive themselves and interact. Economy, politics, social life and culture are all governed by the simulation mode,whose codes and models determine how goods are consumed and used, politics evolve, culture is produced and consumed and everyday life is lived. Entertainment, information and communication technologies not only provide the codes and models that structure everyday life, but they also offer more engaging and intense experiences than those of everyday life, to the point that they appear more real than reality. Television, new information and communication technologies (ICT) (Internet, Smartphone, Bluetooth protocol, SWS, etc.) (366bis), digital simulation, which “does not (rely) on any realityEntertainment, information and communication technologies not only provide the codes and models that structure everyday life, but they also offer more engaging and intense experiences than those of everyday life, to the point that they appear more real than reality. Television, new information and communication technologies (ICT) (Internet, Smartphone, Bluetooth protocol, SWS, etc.) (366bis), digital simulation, which “does not (rely) on any realityEntertainment, information and communication technologies not only provide the codes and models that structure everyday life, but they also offer more engaging and intense experiences than those of everyday life, to the point that they appear more real than reality. Television, new information and communication technologies (ICT) (Internet, Smartphone, Bluetooth protocol, SWS, etc.) (366bis), digital simulation, which “does not (rely) on any realityTelevision, new information and communication technologies (ICT) (Internet, Smartphone, Bluetooth protocol, SWS, etc.) (366bis), digital simulation, which “does not (rely) on any realityTelevision, new information and communication technologies (ICT) (Internet, Smartphone, Bluetooth protocol, SWS, etc.) (366bis), digital simulation, which “does not (rely) on any realitymaterial and does not (depend) on any physical support ”(our emphasis) (366ter), the e- experience of the HyperWorld ( HyperWorld ) (366qquater), suggestthose hypnotized by the constant flow of images they broadcast. Consciousness is not able to distinguish reality from a simulation from reality; the real and the fiction merge, become one. The result is the possibility of mixing physical reality with virtual reality and human intelligence with artificial intelligence. This state is what Baudrillard calls "hyperreality" (367). The result is an almost entirely new pathology: "If hysteria was the pathology of the exacerbated staging of the subject, of the theatrical and operatic conversion of the body, if paranoia was the pathology of organization, of the structuring of 'a rigid and jealous world, we are with the immanent promiscuity and the perpetual connection of all networks in communication and information,in a new form of schizophrenia. No more hysteria, no more projective paranoia strictly speaking, but this state of terror characteristic of the schizophrenic: too close to everything, a promiscuity infects everything, which invests and penetrates him without resistance, without any halo, no aura, not even that of his body, protects him. The schizophrenic is open to anything in spite of himself, living in the greatest confusion. He is the obscene prey of the obscenity of the world. What characterizes him is less the loss of reality (...) than this absolute proximity, this total overexposure of things, this overexposure to the transparency of the world Deprived of all scene and traversed without obstacle, he can no longer produce the limits of his being clean, it can no longer act as a mirror. It becomes pure screen,pure surface of absorption and resorption of networks of influence ”(368). This is why it is necessary to "take very seriously" "(the) hypothesis of contamination of all objects of reality (space, time, body) by the properties of the image" (369); not only of all objects of reality, but of man himself; not only "(t) he apparitions which surround us would be formed, formalized by the image, as well the urban space, the habitat, the clothing, the objects, the machines", but the man himself would be. . After that, it is almost unnecessary to clarify that the pathology of the scoundrel from above is also, if not more, due to a much stronger consumption of psychotropic drugs, acute, heavy, riveted than it is on its own screens. , chained that she is in her own chains.

The simulacrum (369b) is inherent in the representation (369bis); it is designed to give the "represented" the illusion that "their" "representatives" are indeed wielding a power which, in reality, is held behind the scenes. It is the technique of government par excellence in democracy (369ter).

The most famous passage of the Princeis perhaps that of chapter 18 where the duplicity of the fox and the violence of the lion are presented as models of political behavior and where the author writes that, if a prince "must take the party to accommodate himself to the winds and the whims of Fortune, to maintain himself in good, if he can, but to enter in evil, if he must. These words have often been taken as a sign of Machiavelli's decisive break with classical traditions according to which the office of prince was inevitably moral. Yet in formulating these recommendations, Machiavelli was attempting to place his teachings in an ancient tradition of secret political instruction, which is referred to in the legend of Achilles and Chiron, the Centaur who taught medicine to Asclepius. “So you should know that there are two ways to fight:one with laws, the other with force. The first is that of men, and the second that of beasts. But »as often the first is not enough, it is necessary to resort to the second. The prince must therefore necessarily know how to do well between man and beast. This is what the ancient writers teach slavishly when they relate that Achilles and various other princes were given to feed the centaur Chiron, who was to bring them up under his discipline, to signify that, as the preceptor was half-man and half-beast, the princes were to participate in the two natures, one cannot last long without the other. The prince therefore needing to imitate the beast well, must know how to put on the qualities of the fox and the lion, because the lion does not defend itself from nets, nor the fox from wolves.So you have to be a fox to know nets, and a lion to scare wolves. Those who stick to the lion do not know their trade; consequently, a prudent prince should not keep his word when it does him wrong, and when the occasions which made him promise something no longer exist ”(370). According to Pindar (Pythian Odes , VI), Chiron explained to Achilles the agraphoi nomoi , the unwritten or unformulated principles that govern human society.

The major works of Machiavelli were in their turn considered by their first interpreters as a secret teaching, that the Florentine, for some of these, like Jean Bodin, the first to have associated Machiavelli with the arcana imperii ( Methodus adfacilem historiarum cognitionem [1566 ]) (371), had inadvertently or imprudently made public and which should be reserved for the few, or even communicated only to a prince. In the eyes of Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1158), who "recalls the idea that Machiavellianism is a sort of secret and evil art" (372), the publication of Princewas the very manifestation of the "mystery of iniquity," a sign of the advent of the Antichrist; bishop and politician Stephen Gardiner (1483–1555), in a treatise he composed for Philip II, attempted to show that the apparent amoralism of the techniques advocated by Machiavelli was justified by the biblical notion of license royal and compared the political wisdom he had to offer to the secrets of the Hermetic tradition (373); printer and bookseller John Wolfe (c. 1548–1601) and jurist Alberico Gentili (1552-1608) believed that Machiavelli's intention was to uncover the mysteries of tyranny (374). The canon of Toulouse and publicist Louis Machon (1603-1672?), In his Apologie pour Machiavelle, who, because of the particularly bold character of his theses, was not published during his lifetime, affirmed that all the central doctrines of the Florentine were to be found in the Bible (375). In Political Considerations sur les coups d'esta t (1639), the librarian and libertine scholar Gabriel Naudé painted a portrait of the politician, or "strong spirit", which resembles that of the magus of antiquity (376). The De arcanis rerum publicarum(1605) by the German jurist Arnold Clapmar (1574–1604) associated the tradition of "reason of state", derived from Machiavelli, with the arcana imperii of Tacitus and with the Roman legal principles of the Empire according to which the sovereign was above the law. Like other sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers who dealt with reason of state, he turned all over the place the questions of the use of deception, extralegal force, and the political manipulation of religion. He tended to find that the elasticity of conventional moral restrictions was exceptionally necessary in political life, while justifying such exceptions on the basis of the subordination of the good of the individual to the good of the state, to " good public ". In short, there was a good reason of state (arcana imperii ) and bad reason of state ( flagitia ), which is morally indefensible.

Clapmar reminds the reader that Festus derives the word arcanum "either from arx, which is the safest part of the city, or from a kind of sacrifice that the omens make in the citadel, and so stolen from the knowledge of the vulgar, that we do not even entrust the formulas to writing, but that we celebrate it only by the memory of the successors; either from the safe ( arca ) where the objects that have been locked there remain in safety: (…) arca itself comes from arcere (to turn away, to keep away) ”(in the Vulgate, arcarenders the two Hebrew terms for the ark of the Covenant and the ark of Noah). He also refers in this regard to the Tacitian expressions of " arcana sacra " and " arcana imperii"(" The secret springs of the Empire ") and" arcana veneris "(mysteries of Venus) as well as" arcana cereris "(mysteries of Ceres). All the human sciences, he adds, have some analogy with the mysteries of religious cults: there are secrets in theology, in jurisprudence, games of perspective in the visual arts, military and domestic mysteries, secrets and medical deceits, mathematical and rhetorical fictions, all trades have their tricks, their tricks and their artifices. Like other areas of human endeavor, politics has strategies that must remain hidden in order to work. Clapmar defines the arcana rerum publicarumas "the private or hidden procedures or advice of those who gain power in a state, sometimes in order to maintain its tranquility, sometimes to maintain the present form of its government, for the public good." These are those things whereby, as Velleius says in his second book, 'one thing is said and another is understood' or, as Servius says in De dolo , 'one thing is made and another is simulated. '”. In short, the arcana are both secret practices and means of protection or defense. Clapmar establishes, not always with rigor and consistency, a series of distinctions between the arcana imperii ; the arcana imperiiproperly so called are "the hidden councils or artifices for the conservation of the actual situation in which one thing is done and another is simulated" (377): for the conservation of the form of the State; the iura imperii , or general principles, which are "the secrets of 'making' and 'keeping' command" (378); the flagitia , which “constitute the right to declare the exception and the faculty of derogation from the ius commune , which triggers the intervention of the dictator's commissioner" (379), even if they cannot be justified morally; “(T) he right of exception is a potestas superior to the constituted powers; a quasi-constituent power capable of having the upper hand over legitimate officia and acquired rights. Therefore, whoever holds control of the state of emergency (…) controls the political machine, and (…) he holds it with a view to salus , in which neither aequitas nor justitia are in force as fundamental principles , to know the legal categories that govern private law, but a vis dominationiswhich relates to bundles of forces and factual situations, to the need to obtain concrete results, to an action dedicated to the conservation and increase of power, in which therefore it is an unnecessary formality of wanting to distinguish between right and wrong ”(380); and, finally, the simulacra imperii, which are the creation of illusions of power, or the creation of illusions by power: “(a) plebe, writes Clapmar, must be governed by enigmas and, so to speak, by subterfuge and simulacres which , when concealed under the image of freedom or power, present an outward appearance larger than the things themselves. In accordance with this principle, ancient authors described simulacra of superhuman gods and specters to evoke terror ”(381). The simulacra also include all the political strategies making it possible to pass off a change in the form of government for a change in the principle of government: for example, the Augustinian constitution, as Tacitus showed, “was only a compromise between the res publicaaccording to the ancient conception and the power of the ρrinceps which would soon reign alone; better, it was the reconciliation between these two terms responding to principles, to fundamentally opposed regimes ”(382). The decor changes, the costumes change, the actors can even change (382bis), but it is always the same play that is played, in front of an audience of spectators abused by the forms. The simulacra are closely linked to scenic illusions and literary distortions (" tumores " or " fumi poetici"), Which the authors use to represent what appears to be rather than what is. Because of this affinity between political deception and theatrical or literary deception, the one who uses the arcana must be in some way an actor, good at pretending and manipulating appearances. The arcana are a kind of deception and yet they are, Clapmar insists, "an honest simulation, a lawful simulation" (383).

Clapmar's book had many readers, many editions, many imitators and, above all, its precepts were very useful to absolutist monarchies. For example, the Dutch jurist Johannes Corvinus (1582-1650, in Discursus de arcanis rerum publicarum(1644), recommended to the leaders of an aristocratic republic to "give (to the people) images, puppets or simulacra of government and freedom ..." (384), to employ means "by which one lures the plebs in such a way that she believes she has what she does not have ”(385), to arrange the laws which gave the rulers new powers in such a way that they appear to be based on the consent of the people, not to entrust important functions only to people devoted to the prince, provided they are not too talented and for short duration. "The reflection on the ' arcana ' and the ' simulacra imperii'refined the meaning of a rational political technique that conforms to its aims, that is to say, of skillful, discreet but effective procedures ”(386). So-called new technologies, by creating simulacraas perfect as possible, have the consequence of increasing tenfold the effectiveness of these methods of government (ma) ment, absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the modern forms of oriental despotism that are modern democracies: the media representation of the Covid 19 epidemic n has absolutely no correspondence with reality; to give an edifying example, operational on March 31, three days after the mayor of New York published an open article entitled “COVID-19 is a wartime scenario” (387) and while the US president persisted in consider the epidemic as a hoax, the field hospital installed in a few days in Central Park to support the hospitals of New York,that the media presented as overloaded with Covid 19 patients with a lot of images of ambulances driving at full speed, all sirens and all flashing lights outside, in the streets of the city, was still empty on April 11 (388): empty. The Covid 19 pandemic is taking place even less than the Gulf War (389).

In 1932, Ernst Jünger wrote about the “Worker”, a new human type that he claimed to be born from the rubble of the bourgeois order: “What is first striking on a purely physiognomic level is the rigidity of the face, which resembles a mask, which is acquired, but also accentuated and enhanced by external means such as the absence of a beard, hairstyle and molded headgear. We can already conclude that a very radical process is revealed in this masking - which has a metallic aspect in men, a cosmetic aspect in women - due to the fact that it is capable of eroding the very forms that make the character sexual visible in facial features. It is no coincidence that the mask has recently started to play a role in everyday life again. It appears in multiple ways,in places where the special character of the work is emphasized, whether as a gas mask, with which entire populations must be equipped, sports mask, mask for those who, like drivers, work at high speeds or protective mask for those working in an area exposed to radiation, explosions or narcotic fumes. We can assume that the mask will have to fulfill tasks very different from those we can suspect today - for example in the context of an evolution where photography will be placed in the rank of awork at high speeds or face shield for those working in a space exposed to radiation, explosions or narcotic fumes. We can assume that the mask will have to fulfill tasks very different from those we can suspect today - for example in the context of an evolution where photography will be placed in the rank of awork at high speeds or face shield for those working in a space exposed to radiation, explosions or narcotic fumes. We can assume that the mask will have to fulfill tasks very different from those we can suspect today - for example in the context of an evolution where photography will be placed in the rank of apolitical assault weapon (390). »(It is we who underline)

There is no completed theatrocracy without wearing (compulsory) a mask (391).

BK, July-August 2020

(1) The term "Credit Card" is a neologism coined by Bellamy for the purposes of his novel.

(2) “Vilain Mire” is a 13th century fabliau in which the wife of a very rich but miserly peasant, to take revenge for his beating her so that she does not cheat on him, assures messengers of the king came to seek a practitioner skilled enough to treat the daughter of this one that her husband is an outstanding doctor, provided he is beaten before practicing his art.

(3) In the 19th century, it was above all in the emerging field of psychiatric treatment that priests and doctors competed against each other. However, on the same ground of moral treatment, largely inherited from Christian tradition, these two figures of conscience directors have often worked together. Once past the generation of founders, rather suspicious of religious practices, many alienists, whose careers took place under the Second Empire, resorted more easily to religious practices, either out of conviction or out of pragmatism. The construction of the profession of alienist cannot be reduced, in this matter, to a secularization and a secularization that are uniform and linear (…). What is staged,it is also a growing hold of the medical on the religious one which consolidates for the 'psy' at the end of the nineteenth century its status of new director of the souls ”(Hervé Guillemain, The priest and the alienist: Around a 'scene 'psychiatry in the nineteenth century: the blessing of the chapel of the asylum of Quatre-Mares. In L'Evolution psychiatrique, vol. 73, n ° 1,Jan-March2008 [p. 3-14]; see also id., Medicine and religion in the 19th century. The moral treatment of madness in the asylums of the Order of Saint-Jean de Dieu (1830-1860). In Le Mouvement Social 2006/2 (n ° 215) [p. 35-49]. Medicine itself is then presented as a religion by some members of the medical profession; thus the doctor and army doctor-inspector Georges Morache (1837-1906) declared: "One of the fundamental principles of medical duty is that of believing in medicine [...] The doctor who really does not believe more to the services that medical science can render is committing a bad deed if he does not abandon professional practice. It is with him as with the priest who would have lost faith in the religion of which he nevertheless propagates the doctrines. His presence at the altars becomes a scandal and an immorality.[…] He does not have the right to appear at his bedside [that of the patient] because when the patient confides in him, it is to medical science that he asks for help. It is she whom the doctor represents near the one who despairs of recovery when he invokes some unknown but powerful intervention. […] What unworthy charlatanism would not be guilty of whoever would knowingly consent to play a role and simulate a faith that he did not possess! So you have to believe when you want to practice ”(id., Becoming a doctor in the nineteenth century. In Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest [Online], 116-3, 2009, accessed August 16, 2020. URL:It is she whom the doctor represents near the one who despairs of recovery when he invokes some unknown but powerful intervention. […] What unworthy charlatanism would not be guilty of whoever would knowingly consent to play a role and simulate a faith that he did not possess! So you have to believe when you want to practice ”(id., Becoming a doctor in the nineteenth century. In Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest [Online], 116-3, 2009, accessed August 16, 2020. URL:It is she whom the doctor represents near the one who despairs of recovery when he invokes some unknown but powerful intervention. […] What unworthy charlatanism would not be guilty of whoever would knowingly consent to play a role and simulate a faith that he did not possess! So you have to believe when you want to practice ”(id., Becoming a doctor in the nineteenth century. In Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest [Online], 116-3, 2009, accessed August 16, 2020. URL:116-3, 2009, accessed August 16, 2020. URL:116-3, 2009, accessed August 16, 2020. URL:http://journals.openedition.org/abpo/501 .

(4) Michel Foucault, History of sexuality, vol 1: The will to know, Gallimard, Paris, 1976, p. 183-4.

(5) Ibid., P.177.

(6) Ibid. The fact that the term "race", today hysterically redacted from biopolitical discourse and which, when it was still in fashion, was understood, particularly in French eugenics, only from a point of view, at better moral, at worst biological, zoological, fully authorizes us to amputate Foucault's text, all the more so as it is the current biopolitical discourse and practice that interests us above all here.

(7) Ibid., P. 177-8.

(8) Id., Sayings and Writings: 1954-1988, vol. 2, Gallimard, Paris, 2001, p. 374.

(9) Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Pagnerre, 1848, t. 4, p. 314-5.

(10) F. Keck, The uses of biopolitics. In L'Homme, n ° 187-188, 2008 [p. 295-314].

(11) Henry E. Sigerist, Disease and Civilization, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1943, p. 131.

(12) Id., On the Sociology of Medicine, edited by Milton J. Roemer. Foreword by James M. Mackintosh, MD Publications, New York, 1960, p. 65-6.

(13) See Mélina Lipinska, History of women doctors from antiquity to the present day, G. Jacques, Paris, 1900, chap.2: “Primitive women doctors”; the first recorded female doctor was the Egyptian Mer-Swnur Pesehet [Joseph A. Bailey, II, MD, FACS, Echoes of Ancient African Values, 2005, p. 155.

(14) Henry E. Sigerist, On the Sociology…, p. 65-6.

(15) Walter G. Bazan, Healing Hands: The Natural Healing Arts, Health research, Pomeroy, WA, 1998, p. 7.

(16) Leo M. Zimmerman and Ilza Veith, Great Ideas in the History of Surgery, Norman Publishing, San Francisco, 1993, p. 3.

(17) Lucas G. Patrocinio, Tomas G. Patrocinio, Jose A. Patrocinio and Marcell M. Naves, subperiosteal face-lift, in Melvin Shiffman and Alberto Di Giuseppe (eds.). Cosmetic Surgery: Art and Techniques. Springer. 2012, p. 344.

(18) Henry E. Sigerist, Disease and…, p. 132.

(19) Théophile de Bordeu, Complete Works of Bordeu, t. 2, Caille and Ravier, Paris, 1818, p. 550-1.

(20) François Dujardin, History of surgery from its origin to the present day, t. 1, Paris, 1774, p. 61-2.

(21) Ibid;, p. 20-1.

(22) Bruno Halioua, History of medicine, 3rd ed., Elsevier Masson, 2012.

(23) L-.F- Alfred Maury, Magic and astrology in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, Didier et Cie, Paris, 1860, p. 13.

(24) A. Deville, Joseph Leclerc Jeune, Leçons de mythologie, Mme Veuve Maire-Nyon, 1862, p. 227.

(25) Mary Beard and John North (eds.), Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World, Cornell University Press, 1990, p. 136.

(26) Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin and Guillaume J. Wunsch (eds.), Demography: History of ideas and population policies. VII: History of ideas and population policies, Editions of the National Institute of Demographic Studies, 2006, p. 305.

(27) François Dujardin, op. cit., p. 63.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Bruno Halioua. op. cit., p. 21.

(30) Ibid. At the bottom of the scale, there was the “Sounou”, above him the “Mer Sounou”, “chief of the doctors”, then the “Our Sounou” (great doctor ”), all supervised by a“ Senedj Sounou ”,“ inspector of doctors ”.

(31) As the number of priest-doctors increased, each one specialized in the treatment of a single species of disease or in a task of administrative medicine. From the New Kingdom, the number of medical scribes outnumbered that of medical priests. The medicine of the pharaohs: Magic and medical science in, Paul Ghalioungui - 1983. In today's France, according to figures from the OECD, 35% of hospital jobs are neither medical nor even paramedical, against 24.3 % in Germany and 30.81% in Switzerland (Jean-Baptiste Boone, The hospital in France is suffocating because of its bureaucracy, March 15, 2017, <https://www.contrepoints.org/2017/03/15/284068>- lhopital-france-etouffe-because-of-bureaucracy )

(32) Bruno Halioua, op. cit., p. 21; see also Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin and Guillaume J. Wunsch (eds.), op. cit., p. 304; see Marguerite Vigliani, Gale Eaton and Phillip Hoose (dirs.), A History of Medicine in 50 Discoveries, Tilbury House Publishers, 2017,

(33) Bruno Halioua, op. cit., p. 34.

(34) Anne Austin, Paid sick days and physicians at work: ancient Egyptians had state-supported health care, February 16, 2015, <https://theconversation.com/paid-sick-days-and-physicians-at-work> -ancient-egyptians-had-state-supported-health-care-36327 .

(35) Fielding H. Garrison, An introduction to the history of medicine, with medical chronology, suggestions for study and bibliographic data, 2nd ed., Reviewed and augmented, WB Saunders Company, Philadelphia and London, 1917, p. 57. These are the measures which were taken by the Hebrew lawgiver:

“Be careful,” he said, “with extreme care against every plague of leprosy, and remember what the Lord did to Mary; that is to say, avoid anything that can attract this cruel disease, and separate yourself from the lepers, as my very sister was separated from the rest of the people.

“And to compel them to this separation on grounds of religion and conscience, always more powerful than all threats of purely civil laws, he declares lepers levitically unclean: so that whoever touched them, himself became unclean; therefore deprived of participation in worship and sacred meals, and excluded from the society of other citizens, until he had purified himself. The fear of this legal impurity, so troublesome in the commerce of life, was to keep them ceaselessly on their guard, and thereby prevented an association whose peril or recklessness might have overlooked the danger.

“Moses does not limit his care there. This disease does not announce itself brilliantly, one would often have run the risk, either of communicating with infected persons, or of excluding from society those who were not. In order to avoid these uncertainties, which are as worrying for the suspected man as for the other citizens, the legislator determines the indications according to which one would be obliged to be legally visited.

“Ministers of worship, the priests were at the same time the doctors of the country: in this capacity, he made them judges and inspectors of leprosy, and the order is given to obey them in everything: 'You will do, he said, whatever the priests, children of Levi, tell you, and you will carefully observe what I have commanded them. ' (Deut. Xxiv.)

“The suspected man being brought before them, they examined him carefully, and if they did not see any of the prognoses marked in the law, they sent him back free. When there was any doubt, he was kept locked up for seven days: if during this interval the accidents disappeared, the priests would return him to society after having had his clothes washed; if, on the contrary, the symptoms continued, they declared it unclean. (Levit. Xii, 1, etc.)

“From then on he could no longer stay either in the camp or in the city: he was obliged to live in the district intended for lepers; and in order to be recognized at first as such, he appeared only with torn clothes, bare head, hidden chin and covered mouth; and if he saw anyone coming to meet him, he must cry out that he was unclean, and that we had to go away.

"Finally, when a leper recovered his health, which was rare, in order to ascertain his recovery, it was necessary that the priests, before whom he had been obliged to appear, declared him plainly, with the required formalities, and that they offer the prescribed sacrifices for him. It was only then that he could reenter society, where his presence, after these declarations and these public acts, could no longer cause alarms. »(Antoine Guénée, Letters from some Portuguese, German and Polish Jews, to M. de Voltaire, t. 3, revised and augmented edition, 1840, Paris, p. 56-7). To prevent house leprosy, which some “commentators believed (that it) was really the miasma of human leprosy, which attached itself to the walls of houses, and which, extending there, like spots (…) on the body of lepers,caused a kind of decay (, while) (d) 'others, convinced that human leprosy is itself only a multitude of small imperceptible worms, which, introduced into the leper's flesh, multiply there and destroy them, claimed that the leprosy of the houses was only those worms which clung to the walls "(ibid., p. 58), Moses ordered" that the houses attacked by this kind of leprosy, ser (aie) nt visited by priests. When the leprosy seemed doubtful to them, they had the house closed for seven days. If, after this time of testing, they found that the stains had spread, they gave orders to rake the walls, to tear off the attacked stones, and to put new ones in their place. If, despite this operation, the stains reappear, the house was knocked down,and the demolitions were thrown in an impure place: the legislator preferring, with reason, the health of his fellow-citizens to the conservation of their buildings. (Levit. Xiv, 33, etc.) ”(p. 58-9) As to the leprosy of clothing, regarded as“ the miasmas and worms of human leprosy ”, it was ordered“ that the suspect fabrics should be shown to priests, and subjected to the test of a laundering; that if the spots still spread, the low and sunken places would be torn off; and, if necessary, the entire destroyed room (…) ”(ibid., p. 59)it was ordered "that the suspect fabrics should be shown to the priests, and subjected to the test of a laundering; that if the spots still spread, the low and sunken places would be torn off; and, if necessary, the entire destroyed room (…) ”(ibid., p. 59)it was ordered "that the suspect fabrics should be shown to the priests, and subjected to the test of a laundering; that if the spots still spread, the low and sunken places would be torn off; and, if necessary, the entire destroyed room (...) ”(ibid., p. 59)

(36) About 1250 years before the Mosaic code, Hammurabi (2285-2242 BC), king of Babylon, promulgated laws based on the principle of retaliation. His interpretation of this principle was often more rigid and implacable than the Mosaic conception of retaliation. According to Babylonian code, for example, when a man struck a pregnant woman (born free) and caused the fetus to die by miscarriage, the abuser's daughter was to be executed (BL Gordon, Ancient Medical Jurisprudence with Special Reference to the Eye. In Arch Ophthalmol, 28, Nov. 1942 [p. 860-81]).

(37) Henry E. Sigerist, On the History of Medicine, MD Publications, New York, 1960, p. 6.

(37bis) In Greece, the first doctors seem to have been of Phoenician or Egyptian origin (Kurt Sprengel, Essay of a pragmatic history of medicine, t. 1, translated on the 2nd ed. By Charles-Frédéric Geiger, Paris, 1809, p. 73)

(38) Henry E. Sigerist, Disease and…, p. 133.

(39) Nicolas Dally, Cinesiology, or, Science of movement in its relations with education, Paris, 1857, p. vi; see also MS Houdart, History of Greek medicine from Esculape to Hippocrates exclusively, 1856, J. - B. Baillière, Paris, 1856, p. 90. “… it does not appear that his cult was known in Homer's time, (and he) can be considered an Asiatic deity by his role in the Iliad, although she is the daughter of Zeus and the goddess. pélasgique Dioné ”(Félix Robiou, The Institutions of Ancient Greece Exposed According to the Plan of the License ès-Letters Program, Didier et Cie, Paris, 1882, p. 137).

(40) Antoine Thivel, Plato and medicine. In Ancient Greek Medicine. Proceedings of the 14th conference of the Villa Kérylos in Beaulieu-sur-Mer on October 10 & 11, 2003, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 2004 [p. 95-107] (Cahiers de la Villa Kérylos, 15), p. 103.

(40bis) One of these ancestors was Nebros, whom the Pythia sent for to poison the Crisseans, people of Phocis in whose territory the temple of Delphi was located; “Jealous of the riches that the temple contained, (the Crisseans) one day attacked its possessions, looted them and took the priests as prisoners. The Amphictyons, indignant at this action, marched against Cirrha (the city of the Crisseans) and besieged the city; but all their efforts were useless: to make matters worse, an epidemic manifested itself among the besiegers which carried away many people; the Amphictyons sent, in this pressing situation, to Delphi, in order to know in this respect the will of the god for whom they fought.The oracle promised them that the city would surrender as soon as the help of the son of the stag of Cos was obtained with gold; promptly sent an embassy to Cos to inform the inhabitants of this reply, which they did not understand. However one of the Asclepiads, named Nebros, got up and proposed himself as the one I god was asking for. His name Nebros, and the name of his son (Chrysos) had given rise to this enigma. Nebros immediately went with the deputies to the camp of the Amphictyons, commanded by Euryloch the Thessalian; Nebros stopped the epidemic in the Confederate army and caused another among the besieged, throwing evil things into the springs that provided water in the city,which produced such malignant diarrhea in Cirrha that the besieged were finally forced to surrender ”(Kurt Sprengel, op. cit., p. 168)

(40ter) Kurt Sprengel, op. cit., p. 74.

(41) M.- S. Houdart, History of Greek medicine…, p. 105. From this perhaps comes that Virgil called medicine “silent art” (Aeneids, XII, 397).

(42) M.- S. Houdart, Etudes historique et critiques sur la vie et la doctrine d'Hippocrates, J.-Baillière, Paris, 1840, p. 252.

(43) Ibid., P. 252-3.

(44) We put “laymen” in quotation marks because the first of these physicians known to us, Démocédès (born around 558 BC), was perhaps a disciple of Pythagoras, whose theocratic and priestly character we know. teachings.

(45) M.- S. Houdart, History of Greek medicine…, p. 127.

(45bis) Kurt Sprengel, op. cit., p. 165.

(46) This doctrine is not completely original; “Anaxagoras, before (Hippocrates), already attributed diseases to disorders of the bile, one of the radical moods. The treatise On Ancient Medicine begins with an argument against the abuse which is made of the theory of elementary qualities (hot, cold, dry, wet) in the explanation of diseases. This theory, Alcméion, Empedocles, Plato, Zeno of Elea, etc., knew it. That which attributes to phlegm as to bile. a role in diseases was not new either, it was, says Aristotle, popularized for a long time among the doctors of his time ”(Constant Saucerotte, Histoire critique de la doctrine physiologique, followed by considerations on the philosophical history of medicine and on Modern Hippocratism, Paris, 1847).

(46bis) The Hippocratic theory of the four humours, which continued to be defended until the 20th century by the biologist, illusionist and co-inventor of the cinematographer Auguste Lumière (1862-1954) as well as by the doctor Paul Carton (1875-1947) , could find its origin in Mesopotamian medicine Karl Sudhoff, Essays in the History of Medicine. Medical Life Press, New York City, 1926, p. 67, 87, 104) or in Egyptian medicine Ivan van Sertima, The Golden Age of the Moor. Transaction Publishers, 1992, p. 17),

(47) “So what is Hippocratic prognosis? We must not get attached to the etymology of the word, and believe that it relates only to the forecast of what is to happen; prognosis (Hippocrates is formal on this point) instructs both on the past, on the present, on the patient's future. It teaches about the past, because it gives the means to make up for what the patient does not know or cannot say, and provides indications on the accidents to which he has been subjected, the causes which have acted on him, and the nature of the affection for which he asks for help; on the present, because it teaches the difference which exists between the state of health and disease, and shows by the degree that this difference has reached the danger which the patient runs, the chances of salvation which remain to him, and the intensity of the evil that overwhelms him.Finally, it teaches about the future, because it teaches the signs which announce the crudeness or the coction of the moods, the approach of the crises, the days when they must burst, the exits which they will go to take, and the parts where the deposits criticisms will be made ”(Émile Littré, Œuvres d'Hippocrate, new translation, Brussels, 1842, p. clxv)

(48) “It was very important to priests, it was in their character, it was in the habits of the whole priestly order in Greece, to try to pierce the veil of the future, and, in the temples of the Asclepiades , to predict the pathological events of which the body of each patient would be the theater. Hence the stamp of forecast, the stamp of prognosis, if I may express myself thus, presented by the ancient medicine of the Asclepiades priests. But divination does not only apply to the future, it also applies to a present and a past that we do not know. This is why the word prognosis was used to express this work of the mind, this medical judgment which aimed to assess the past, present and future state of the patient. Until then it was a profession; but it was a science,when the school of Cos (to whom the Hippocratic corpus is due), embracing at the same time these three times, thus saw, in each disease, no longer a succession of bizarre, disordered and lawless phenomena, but a sequence in which each fact had its reason in the previous fact. There (…) is the passage from the empiricism of the temples to the doctrine of the school, and perhaps it is to Hippocrates himself that this progress must be attributed. Moreover, the obvious trace is in the very word prognosis, which has remained attached to the main work of Hippocrates on this matter (Émile Littré, op. Cit., P. Clxvi-clxvii). During Hippocrates' "lifetime", the Methodics, a dissident branch of Hippocratism, accused him of having borrowed prognosis from soothsayers and prophets (Ch. Daremberg, Œuvres choisies d'Hippocrate, 2nd ed. Fully recast, Paris , 1855, p.125, note 1).

(49) Hippocrates, Selected Works, translated by C.-V. Daremberg, Lefèvre, Paris, 1843, p. 59)

(50) Ibid., P. 65.

(51) Lois N. Magner and Oliver J Kim, A History of Medicine, 3rd ed., CRS Press, 2018, p. 25; the Mesopotamian surgeon was liable to similar penalties (Don Nardo, Ancient Mesopotamia, Focus Readers, Lake Elmo, MN, 2019, p. 84). It should be noted (see note 36) that the doctor was only given these punishments if he had not complied with the code of medicine.

(52) Owsei Temkin, Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1991, p. 18, note 1.

(53) Antoine Thivel, op. cit., p. 102-3.

(54) Three types of iatrogenesis are distinguished by Ivan Illich in Medical Nemesis, Expropriation of Health (Editions du Seuil, 1975): clinical iatrogenesis: “modern medicine, especially insofar as it is highly technical and expensive. , is at least ineffective, and very often dangerous (…); (social iatrogenesis) prevents man from putting his environment into question by a personal act, either to adapt to it or to refuse it; by giving credence to the myth that pain, infirmity and death can be combated by purely technical means, (structural iatogenesis) compromises man's ability to cope with what constitutes the singularity and greatness of his personal destiny ”(François Grémy, Public health and medical power. In L'Arc, n ° 62, 3rd trim., 1975).

(55) Cesare Cantu, Universal History, vol. 10, Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1846, p. 582; Léon d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, The Dreams and the Means of Directing Them, Part 2; National Congress of Learned Societies, Plant biology, animal biology, chemistry, biology, medicine, Paris, 1981-1982, p. 396. He advised, for example, “to those who have seen the stars darken in a dream, to run along; to those who have seen the eclipsed moon, to run in circles; to those who have dreamed of eclipses of the sun, of running in circles ”(Épigrammes de M. Val. Martial, new translation, t. 2, CLF Panckoucke, Paris, 1834, p. 418).

(56) New general biography from the most remote times to our time, t. 24, Firmin Didot Frères, Paris, 1858, p. 751-2.

(57) RB Baker (ed.), The Codification of Medical Morality, vol. 2, Kluwer Acadelic Publishers, 1995, p. 62.

(58) Jean-Philippe Chippaux, Practice of clinical trials in Africa, new edition [Online] Marseille: IRD Éditions, 2004 (generated May 05, 2019). Available on the Internet: <http://books.openedition.org/> irdeditions / 9899, ​​.p. 48.

(59) Steven M. Oberhelman (eds), Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present, Ashgate, Farnham and Burlington, VT. 2013, p. 94-5.

(60) See Lesley Dean-jones, Literacy and the charlatan in ancient Greek medicine, in H. Yunis (ed.), Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece, Cambridge, 2003.

(61) Peter E. Pormann, The Physician and the Other: Images of the Charlatan in Medieval Islam, in Bulletin of the History of Medicine, vol. 79, n ° 2, summer 2005 [p. 189-227], p. 18203

(62) Ibid.

(63) Charles V. Daremberg, op. cit., 1843, p. 4.

(64) GHR Horsley, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 1: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1977, the Ancient History Documentary Research Center at Macquarie University, 1982, p. 12.

(65) Evelyne Samama, Doctors in the Greek World, Droz, Geneva, 2003, p. 51.

(66) Tristan Le Moal, The city tested by war. From the destruction of Miletus to the sack of Thebes. 494 - 335 BC. JC, thesis, University of Rennes, 2015-2017, p. 68.

(67) Evelyne Samama, op. cit., p. 3. Jacques Jouanna, Rhétorique et Médecine in the Hippocratic collection. Contribution to the history of rhetoric in the 5th century. In Revue des Études Grecques, t. 97, fasc. 460-461, January-June 1984 [p. 26-44], p. 42.

(68) Evelyne Samama, op. cit., p. 58.

(69) The tax was called i atrikon ; in addition to the iatrikon , the cleruccas paid a tax for the service of veterinarians (ibid., p. 50, note 84, p. 6).

(70) Ibid., P. 54.

(71) Ibid., P. 71.

(72) Complete Works of Voltaire, vol. 4, Philosophical Dictionary, Garnier, Paris, 1879, p. 57.

(73) Dr P.- V. Renouard, History of medicine from its origin to the 19th century, t. 1, J.-B. Baillière, Paris, 1846, p. 399.

(74) Franz Cumont, Oriental religions in Roman paganism: lectures given at the Collège de France, E. Leroux, 1909, p. 9.

(75) Mélina Lipinska, op. cit., p. 70 sqq .; A. McClanan and K. Encarnación (eds.), The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe, Palgrave Macmillan; 2002, p. 34.

(76) Quoted in P.- V. Renouard, op. cit., p. 401-2.

(77) Fielding H. Garrison, op. cit., p. 103.

(78) Henry E. Sigerist, On the History of…, p. 8; see also Paul Humbert, Disease and Medicine in the Old Testament. In Review of religious history and philosophy, 44th year, n ° 1, 1964 [p. 1-29].

(79) See Pierre-Henri Ortiz, Christ the doctor and the devil's poison. In Cahiers "Mondes Anciens", [Online], 4, 2013, consulted 13 July 2020. URL:http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/951 . “Among Christians in the early centuries, the link between sin and disease in the general causal sense remains widespread, especially among the lower and middle classes, and is reflected in types of popular literature like hagiography. But it tends to be rejected by theologians and Church Fathers, for God - the supreme good - cannot cause evil, nor, therefore, disease ”(Isabella Bonati, The (Un) Healthy Poor in the Greco-Roman World, <https://www.academia.edu/41750532/The_un_healthy_poor_wealth_poverty_medicineand_health_care_in_the_Greco_Roman_world_Akroterion_64_2019> , p. 28.

(80) Ibid., p. 29.

(81) Morna Hooker and Frances Young, Holiness and Mission: Learning from the Early Church About Mission in the City, SCM Press, London, 2010, p. 50; John Love, The Concept of Medicine in the Early Church. In The Linacre Quarterly, 75, n ° 3, August 2008 [p. 225-38], p; 231; Eugène-Humbert Guitard. Medicine and the Church: Dr Paul Delaunay, Medicine and the Church. In Revue d'histoire de la pharmacy, 36ᵉ year, n ° 120, 1948 [p. 304-305], p. 304; Clement of Alexandria, The pedagogue, I, 9, 83 (ed. Marrou-Harl I, 258, 6-9).

(82) Mike Aquilina, The Healing Imperative: The Early Church and the Invention of Medicine as We Know it, Emmaus Road Publishing, Steubenville, OH, 2017.

(83) Eugène-Humbert Guitard, op. cit., p. 304. In the first century of our era, it was believed that the apostles had the faculty of curing diseases by the affixing of the hands, the ointments and the holy oils and that this power was transmitted to the elders of each Christian community; that is why it is said in a letter from Jacques: "Is any of you ill?" let him call the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, Poignant with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith will save the sick, and the Lord will relieve him, and if he has sins, they will be forgiven him. If several ecclesiastical authors considered this letter to be apocryphal (Kurt Sprengler, op. Cit., T. 2, p. 142), the tradition is attested among others by Césaire who says (Serm. 265, n ° 5): "If someone gets sick,may he receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ. After that, let him have his body anointed, so that what is written in him may be fulfilled: Is any among you sick, etc. You see, my Brothers, whoever, being sick, has recourse to the Church, will deserve to obtain, with the remission of his sins, the health of his body ”(quoted in Dr Martin [Msg], Cours Supérieur d religious instruction, translated from German by Father J. Eicher, vol. 2, Paris, 1874, p. 328). According to Gregory of Nazianze, the gift of healing the sick had been attributed to the relics of martyrs since the 2nd century AD. “The Emperor Justinian having been delivered from an affection deemed incurable, through the intercession of the martyrs Saint Corne and Saint Damien, erected a temple for them to which the sick abandoned by the doctors went on pilgrimage and came,to ask for health, as in the past the pagans in the temples of Aesculapius ”(Dr A. Martin-leuzer [ed.], IV. Varieties. From occult medicine and superstitious physicians in the sixteenth century. In Revue de therapeutical medico-surgical , 1st year, t. 1, Paris, 1853, p. 420). Gregory of Nazianze wrote elsewhere (Adversus IuIian., 1.59) “the bodies of martyrs have the same power as their holy souls, whether they are touched or venerated” (quoted in Hippolyte Delehaye, Les origines du cult des martyrs, Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1912, p. 140).Gregory of Nazianze wrote elsewhere (Adversus IuIian., 1.59) “the bodies of martyrs have the same power as their holy souls, whether they are touched or venerated” (quoted in Hippolyte Delehaye, Les origines du cult des martyrs, Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1912, p. 140).Gregory of Nazianze wrote elsewhere (Adversus IuIian., 1.59) “the bodies of martyrs have the same power as their holy souls, whether they are touched or venerated” (quoted in Hippolyte Delehaye, Les origines du cult des martyrs, Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1912, p. 140).

(84) Gary B. Ferngren, Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2016, p. 105: “So what is the essence of the attitudes (of) fathers towards the use of medicine? Medicines and the skill of physicians are blessings from God. It is not eo ipso bad for a Christian to use them, but it is a sin to place his faith entirely in them, for when they are effective it is only because their effectiveness comes from God, who can heal without them. Thus, to resort to doctors without first placing one's trust in God is both a foolish and sinful thing. Likewise, rejecting medicine and the art of medicine entirely is not only not recommended but frowned upon ”(Darrel W. Amundsen, Medicine and Faith in Early Christianity.In Bulletin of the History of Medicine, vol. 56, n ° 3, Owsei Temkin at 80: Fifty years in America, autumn 1982, [p. 326-50], p. 341).

(85) The first hospital in the “West” was founded in Rome in the 4th century at the request of a matron named Fabiola on the model of those they had visited in the Levant; “… After giving the spectacle of the rarest virtues, in the midst of worldly pomp, (she) resolved to retire in order to continue more freely a life full of dedication and abnegation. She went to Jerusalem, the first cradle of faith, the scene of its greatest wonders; there she united with other Christian women animated by the same spirit, and formed with them, under the direction of Saint Jerome, a pious congregation which divided its time between reading the holy books and the practice of good cures. The faithful who came in crowds to visit these venerated places, those who, urged on by motives of piety,had established their residence there, were often exposed to the harshest privations; and, although they endured their evils with stoic courage or rather with the resignation of martyrs, their sufferings could not fail to touch the hearts of their brothers in Jesus Christ. Their fate seemed especially to be pitied in cases of illness or infirmity. To offer them, in these cruel circumstances, an asylum where they would receive the care of the most ingenious charity united with the counsels of art, was to fulfill towards them the office of providence; it was also, in the opinion of those who discharged it, the best means of redeeming in the eyes of God all the weaknesses, all the imperfections of human nature. Such a thought was very apt to exalt the instinctive compassion of an eminently sympathetic sex.These holy women conceived and carried out the project of founding a hospice for the poor sick; and in order to put the last seal to this work of mercy, they bought a house outside the city, where they saw the convalescents breathe clean air and enjoy the charms of the countryside, so beneficial to those recovering from illness ”( P.- V. Renouard, op. Cit., P. 407-8; Julia Kavanagh, Women of Christianity: Exemplary for Acts of Piety and Charity, D. Appleton and Company, 1858, p. 34). The first hospitals proper seem to have been created in the third century in Jerusalem (Dubois-Druelle, Douai Picturesque, 1845, p. 72, note 10). The hospital was institutionalized by Justinian's code (529) (DL Ramachandra, Essentials of Hospital Management & Administration, Educreation Publishing, 2018, p. 197),first code of laws containing a detailed organization of the medical, surgical and obstetrical professions, a description of the end-of-study exams, a breakdown into specialties and a list of penalties for professional misconduct (Acta Medicinae Legalis et Socialis, Academy of Legal Medicine and Social Medicine, 1961, p. 82).

(86) Quoted in Isabella Bonati, op. cit., p. 30.

(87) Mike Aquilina, op. cit.

(88) Ibid.

(89) The Epistle to Diognetus, in its pantheism, describes Christians as an occult community: “Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body: the soul is spread throughout all parts of the body, Christians are in all parts of the earth; the soul inhabits the body without being of the body, Christians are in the world without being of the world. The soul, invisible by its nature, is placed in a visible body which is its home. You see Christians during their stay on earth, but their worship, which is quite divine, does not fall under the eyes (Emphasis added) (The Fathers of the Church translated into French, text prepared by M. de Genoude, Sapia, 1838, Épître à Diognète (Saint Justin), p. 189.

(90) Ibid.

(91) See Martin de La Soudière, Wills and last wills at the end of the Middle Ages, in Ethnologie française nouvelle série, t. 5, 1975 [p. 57-80]. “Christianity, as the Jews understood it, did not last long. Religious belief persisted; it is strengthened by the very effect of persecutions, the noise of which served powerfully to propagate it, to make it popular; but it soon became an object of exploitation, like all possible popular beliefs. As soon as the new god had ministers, they took care of getting rich, while teaching contempt for wealth. Jesus said: 'Do not make yourselves treasures on earth…; but make yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor worms eat them up, and where there are no thieves who dig up and steal them.'This precept, interpreted in a certain way, served to pass many treasures into the hands of the able; it became for them the basis of a whole system of capture. Believers were persuaded that in order to make treasures in heaven, one had to give one's goods to the Church, which is responsible for the interests of heaven ”(PAF Gérard, Essay on the history of captations, in Eugène van Bemiel [under la dir.], 2nd series, 5th vol., 12th year, t. 1, Brussels, 1865, p. 486-7).in Eugène van Bemiel [eds.], 2nd series, 5th vol., 12th year, t. 1, Brussels, 1865, p. 486-7).in Eugène van Bemiel [eds.], 2nd series, 5th vol., 12th year, t. 1, Brussels, 1865, p. 486-7).

(92) For having broadened the description he gives of the plague to aspects other than etiological, some believe that the Greek historian laid the foundations of a “physiology of human communities” (André Rivier, Études de Littérature Grecque , Droz, Geneva, 1975, p. 408) and, thereby, of "theoretical political science" (Charles Lichtenhaeler, Thucydides and Hippocrates seen by a historian-physician, Droz, Geneva, 1965, p. 107). From a medical point of view, the phenomenology that he establishes of the epidemic would have anticipated in two respects epidemiology and immunology. Indeed, firstly, Thucydides, contrary to what a Hippocratic doctor would have done, says nothing about the meteorological conditions in which the plague broke out and seems to explain it by the spread, even a form of contagion (ibid., P. 46 ):“Those who approached the sick,” he said, “also perished, especially those who prided themselves on courage: moved by the feeling of honor, they neglected all precautions, went to take care of their friends; for, in the end, the people of the house themselves grew weary, overcome by the excess of evil, of hearing the moans of the dying. It was those who had escaped disease who were most compassionate to the dying and sick, for already knowing the evil, they were safe. In fact, relapses were not fatal ”. Second, the reaction he describes in the last two sentences of this passage is what doctors today call "acquired immunity" (AD Langmuir, The Thucydides Syndrom. In The New England Journal of Medicine, October 17, 1985 [ p. 1027-30].Also perished, especially those who prided themselves on courage: moved by the feeling of honor, they neglected all precaution, went to take care of their friends; for, in the end, the people of the house themselves grew weary, overcome by the excess of evil, of hearing the moans of the dying. It was those who had escaped disease who were most compassionate to the dying and sick, for already knowing the evil, they were safe. In fact, relapses were not fatal ”. Second, the reaction he describes in the last two sentences of this passage is what doctors today call "acquired immunity" (AD Langmuir, The Thucydides Syndrom. In The New England Journal of Medicine, October 17, 1985 [ p. 1027-30].Also perished, especially those who prided themselves on courage: moved by the feeling of honor, they neglected all precaution, went to take care of their friends; for, in the end, the people of the house themselves grew weary, overcome by the excess of evil, of hearing the moans of the dying. It was those who had escaped illness who were most compassionate to the dying and sick, for already knowing the evil, they were safe. In fact, relapses were not fatal ”. Second, the reaction he describes in the last two sentences of this passage is what doctors today call "acquired immunity" (AD Langmuir, The Thucydides Syndrom. In The New England Journal of Medicine, October 17, 1985 [ p. 1027-30].moved by the feeling of honor, they neglected all precaution, went to look after their friends; for, in the end, the people of the house themselves grew weary, overcome by the excess of evil, of hearing the moans of the dying. It was those who had escaped disease who were most compassionate to the dying and sick, for already knowing the evil, they were safe. In fact, relapses were not fatal ”. Second, the reaction he describes in the last two sentences of this passage is what doctors today call "acquired immunity" (AD Langmuir, The Thucydides Syndrom. In The New England Journal of Medicine, October 17, 1985 [ p. 1027-30].moved by the feeling of honor, they neglected all precaution, went to look after their friends; for, in the end, the people of the house themselves grew weary, overcome by the excess of evil, of hearing the moans of the dying. It was those who had escaped disease who were most compassionate to the dying and sick, for already knowing the evil, they were safe. In fact, relapses were not fatal ”. Second, the reaction he describes in the last two sentences of this passage is what doctors today call "acquired immunity" (AD Langmuir, The Thucydides Syndrom. 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(93) British Library, vol. 42, Geneva, 1809, p. 223.

(94) Catherine Virlouvet (ed.), Famines and riots in Rome from the origins of the Republic to the death of Néron. Rome. In French School of Rome, 1985 [p. 3-137] (Publications of the French School of Rome, 87), p. 33.

(95) Ibid., P. 24, note 13.

(96) “(S) 'we must believe Dion Cassius, he often died in this city, up to 2,000 people in one day” (Ludwig Friedlãnder, Mœurs romaines du réggne D'Auguste à la fin des Antonins, t. 1, freely translated from German by Ch. Vogel, C. Reinwald, Paris, 1865, p. 47.

(97) Ibid.

(98) Syphilis was very common in Asia long before it appeared in Europe; as early as 2637 before our era, it was described by the emperor Hoang-Ty (Revue critique, in Revue d'anthropologie, 2e série, t. 4, 1881, Paris, p. 299; Dr Etienne Lancereau, Traite historique et Pratique de la syphilis, 2nd ed., revised and augmented, Germer Baillière, Paris, 1874, p. 6 ff). Regarding plague and cholera, their Asian origin is beyond doubt, the common ancestor of the present-day plague bacilli appeared over 2,600 years ago in or near China (G. Morelli et al., Yersinia pestis genome sequencing identifies patterns of global phylogenetic diversity. In Nature Genetics, 42, 2012 [p. 1140-3]; R. Bruck, Le choléra ou la pleste noire, its origin and its conditions of development, Paris, 1867; Jean Astruc,Dissertation on the origin of epidemic diseases, and mainly on the origin of plague, Montpellier, 1721). There were 87 plague epidemics in Europe from the reign of Augustus to 1680.

(99) The Works of Saint Cyprien, Bishop of Carthage and Martyr, translated into French by M. Lombert, Paris, 1672, p. 424.

(100) Rodney Stark, The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1997, p. 75, p. 83; see, concerning Cyprian, Christian Anecdotes, new. ed., t. 1, Paris, 1842, p. 38; Morna Hooker and Frances Young, op. cit., p. 48.

(101) Henry E. Sigerist, The Physician's Profession through the Ages. In Bulltein of the New York Academy of Medicine, vol. 9, n ° 12, December 1933 [p. 661-76], p. 668-9. “The Christianization of pagan Europe (but also that of Indian Mexico) coincided with epidemics of acute and chronic infectious diseases which undermined the structure and functioning of pagan and Indian societies” (Daniel T. Reff, Plagues, Priests , and Demons: Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity in the Old World and the New World, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 1-2).

(102) Henry E. Sigerist, op. cit., p. 669.

(103) See Joëlle Ricordel, From Salerno to Al-Andalus: the imprint of the doctors of Kairouan. In Revue d'histoire de la pharmacy, 95ᵉ year, n ° 358, 2008 [p. 189-202].

(104) Félix-Archimède Pouchet, History of natural sciences in the Middle Ages, JB Baillière, Paris, 1853, p. 90.

(105) “Most of the medicinal drugs came from the Orient via Venice, which supplied all of Europe” (Georges J. Aillaud, Guy Hazzan and Denis Lemordant, Les Plantes aromatique et medicinales, AMDST, 1986, p. 22; see Michel Balard, From ship to stall. The sale of spices in Genoa in the 14th century, in Benjami Z. Kedar and Abraham L. Udovitch [eds.], The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of Eliyahu Ashtor [1914 -1984], University of Haifa, 1988).

(106) Jack M. Myers, The Story of the Jewish People: Being a History of the Jewish People Since Bible Times, vol. 3, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1925, p. 79; René Taton, General History of Sciences: Ancient and Medieval Science (from its origins to 1450), PUF, Paris, 1957, p. 510. The Babylonian scholar Rabbi Makhir, sent by Harun al Rashid to the court of Charlemagne as interpreter, introduced the first Hebrew medical treatise in Europe, the "Book of Drugs" (Sefer Ha-Refu'ot) of Asaph Judæus and founded the Talmudic school in Narbonne (ibid.).

(107) Bashar Saad, Hassan Azaizeh and Omar Said, Tradition and Perspectives of Arab Herbal Medicine: A Review. In Evid Based Complement Alternat Med. December 2005, vol. 2, n ° 4 [p. 475–9], doi: 10.1093 / ecam / neh133. It is therefore very exaggerated, even far-fetched, to assert, as the botanist Kurt Sprengler (1766-1833) does, that (op. Cit., T. 2, p. 264) their "most essential knowledge" was "Astrology and uroscopy". What is correct is that all Arab doctors were not precursors, neither of pharmacology (Al-Dinawari, Al-kindi), nor of parasitology (Ibn Suhr), nor of hematology (Abu Al-Qasim) , nor even immunology, epidemiology, etiology or pathology (Muhammad ibn Zakariya Razi, Ibn Zuhr, Avicenna), far from it,as emerges from the anecdotes recounted by Sprengler and among which we have chosen the following: "Caliph Watek-Billah being dangerously ill with dropsy, the doctors promised him to prolong several times in a hot oven, until he breathed his last. Isa-Abou Koreisch, nicknamed Sidalani because he had been a pharmacist, made a brilliant fortune for having predicted, by inspecting the urine of the favorite of Caliph Almodhi, that she was pregnant, and would give birth to a child. male. There were a great number of these uroscopes among the Arab doctors, and it was not long before that of Mohedab-Bar-Hau beli, Emir of Baghdad, tasted the urine of his master. Sphygmomancy was still one of the means they used,to make it appear that they had the talent to prophesy. Thabeth-Ebn Ibrahim guessed, from the exploration of the pulse, the food that one had taken; and he was born under the sign of Jupiter. The ignorance of these charlatans often went to an extraordinary point. I will only report two examples from Abu 'l-Fa radsch. Caliph Abou-Ali-Ebn-Dschalal Od daula was suffering from an acute fever affecting the quarte type: his doctor had purged him, and then bled, following the practice of the Egyptians. Asked about the nature of the illness, he declared that it was a daily fever, hamiouliaum, caused by blood and bile, but the attacks of which recurred every four days, that he had dissolved the blood by purgatives, and evacuated the bile by bloodletting. A doctor from Antioch promised a sick man to cure him of a third fever,in return for a certain sum: as the patient's condition worsened, the practitioner was reproached for having converted the affection into half-third fever, by the wrong method of treatment; seeing this, he demanded only half of the agreed sum ”(ibid., p. 264-6). A concordant portrait of the average Arab physician has been drawn, also from Arab sources, by medical doctor Fielding H. Garrison (1870-1935) (op. Cit., P. 111-2, p. 114-5 , p. 119): “The Arabs drew their knowledge of Greek medicine from the Nestorian monks, many practical details of the Jews and their astrological knowledge of Egypt and the Far East (…). The Arab doctor, whose professional importance was measured by the height of his turban and the wealth and length of his sleeves,was generally an astrologer and a magician, who regarded the heart as 'the prince of the body', the lungs as the fan of the heart, the liver as the keeper of the heart and seat of the soul, the pit of the stomach as the seat of pleasure and the gall bladder as the seat of courage (…). The medical texts in Arabic teach us that their authors (…) had recourse to all kinds of tricks and sensational surprises to impose their authority (…). The Arab doctor hired colleagues to inquire, before he auscultated it, of a patient's condition or even to pass themselves off as patients (…) ”; “(I) They bickered constantly with each other, stipulated their fees in advance and tried to collect at least half of it, if the case took a turn for the worse or didn't improve.Some of the fees they were getting were phenomenal. "

(108) According to Raymond Lulle, it was not a monastery that did not have at least one Jewish doctor (Harry Friedenwald, The Jews and Medicine, vol. 3, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, p. 662). Paracelsus writes : "When one sees the lying and treacherous Jew exercising the sacred art of medicine, and being held in great esteem by Pharisaic men, who now, I ask, will honor a profession exercised by such followers? But since, by a fatal law, men want to be deceived, corruption sometimes invades even real medicine. Wise men refrain from such procedures; and if men did not prefer those who laugh at them in one way or another, medicine would certainly have more worthy and purer representatives. It is an everlasting law of the world that it cannot endure those who are good,skilful and wise in their art (Def. 5, p. 130.) ”(cited in Ch. Daremberg, Histoire des sciences sociales, t. 1, J.-B. Baillière et Fils, Paris, 1870, p. 427) . He returns to the charge in The Labyrinth of Wandering Physicians (1553): "The Jews also praise their knowledge of medicine, and are not ashamed to say falsely that this art is very old among them. These impudent ones are indeed the oldest of all peoples. But what is their medication? what do they know, what do they give, what do they get from their books? All their art consists in imposture. Once enemies of God and his Son, they still are. And how, I ask, would nature be so favorable to them, when God took his grace away from them and made them the refuse of mankind,as he punishes in their bodies and in their property those who protect them or have any trade with them? The good things they have come from strangers. God did not create them to practice medicine, but to honor and serve him. This was their vocation. Other than that, all they have tried is fraud and deception. Medicine was given to the Gentiles. It is among them that we find the first and oldest doctors. As a result, the Greeks embraced medicine at will and for various reasons. But they have made such progress in lying that after them the Arabs, too, wanted to trade in this art, like all other nations. The result, however, was, as in all things, that the more wisdom there was (God did not create them to practice medicine, but to honor and serve him. This was their vocation. Other than that, all they have tried is fraud and deception. Medicine was given to the Gentiles. It is among them that we find the first and oldest doctors. As a result, the Greeks embraced medicine at will and for various reasons. But they have made such progress in lying that after them the Arabs, too, wanted to trade in this art, like all other nations. The result, however, was, as happens in all things, that the more wisdom there was (God did not create them to practice medicine, but to honor and serve him. This was their vocation. Other than that, all they have tried is fraud and deception. Medicine was given to the Gentiles. It is among them that we find the first and oldest doctors. As a result, the Greeks embraced medicine at will and for various reasons. But they have made such progress in lying that after them the Arabs, too, wanted to trade in this art, like all other nations. The result, however, was, as in all things, that the more wisdom there was (It is among them that we find the first and oldest doctors. As a result, the Greeks embraced medicine at will and for various reasons. But they have made such progress in lying that after them the Arabs, too, wanted to trade in this art, like all other nations. The result, however, was, as in all things, that the more wisdom there was (It is among them that we find the first and oldest doctors. As a result, the Greeks embraced medicine at will and for various reasons. But they have made such progress in lying that after them the Arabs, too, wanted to trade in this art, like all other nations. The result, however, was, as happens in all things, that the more wisdom there was (Witz ), the more false paths there were ”(cited in ibid., Pp. 427-8). In Bertheonea's preface, sive Chirurgia minor (1528), he spares no one: “[There are many people who, without being doctors, put themselves in the shadow of medicine out of pure glory and to appear learned. ] Similar charlatan doctors (especially usually wealthy and well off) are and make a name for themselves in monasteries, and among those idle people who have the habit of boasting, being very full of vain glory, and sparing their pain and their industry for the healing of the religious, with no other appearance of guerdon than that of their prayers.

“There are others who practice medicine as one drives the plow, or for gifts, and think they are doing harm to their dignity if they receive some money from their patients; they make me support the baptize Jews: such are also certain apostates, or those who at other times have been butchers, executioners, or marshals, who refuse the gifts that are presented to them in the capacity of doctors, believing themselves unworthy of to bear the title, since they have had very few bindings, but have learned what they know about such a king, such emperor, such prince: crown worthy of such a beautiful shoe. All this is only smoke and vanity, although their finesse is not the least; because if the patient dies (estans aduoüez des grands) their fault is excusable,and it is against ordinary experience that such an accident has happened; that if it restores health, what cries of joy cannot be heard, how loud do they resound the certainty of an art which could not be bad! and as they proceed from the authority of the serenissime prince, here they are afterwards powerfully established, and bandaged over the estrieux, like a squire from Franconia. Such is the condition of those who want to do medicine, and do not want to be doctors, like those who want to be middle-aged and doctors in a bastard habit, lacking the condition of one and the other: they have become accustomed to to be served by apostated people, who say, this medicine costs a lot to my master, that's why your master must face it in reward for a cheual, or some abbey or priority, and not for the money,whose face is infamous and forbidden. Sometimes they will pretend that their house is very poor, that it would be necessary to buy a few good carpillons to make them snack on Friday evening to the brothers before going to bed, to help them endure the austerity of the eldest; so the doctor doctor (hastily done, Fültz Huttlin?) will be able to make himself more careful and more diligent after the patient.

"After these follow a few vns whose clothes and resources are more disturbing than a sieve, and yet are no less quick to extort the teston (coin) than the cutter of resources: they boast of evening. They were very rich in the past, but now, through the insult of fortune, they have lost all their conveniences: at the cabaret, no doubt. There are others who boast of having once held rank among my distinguished lords at a very good pace, who however have returned to the seruice of princes, having after some battle lost all their means remain for booty. to the winner. The others were driven out by the Turk from Vallachie and Transiluanie; others, like the apostles going to plant the Gospel, have abandoned their wives, their children and their homes:others dedicate themselves to a voluntary pauperity, because they find no one who is in their face of good! The number is not small of people who change their clothes to go unnoticed: the one walks barefoot, the other wears the here half-dressed, he is said to be of such and such order religious, he wears sandals or clogs, one does not eat the bones of meat, the other abstains, and would not dare to eat the bones of fish for fear that they would strangle him; one does his bedding on a bench or on a table, the other changes lodgings every night, etc. These gentlemen there, when they speak of medicine, claim to possess it by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (\*), and want to make believe that there are more virtues in plants than in the sky, or in paradise itself. . Aren't these good doctors?because they do not find anyone who looks good on them! 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“There are others there who take part in their receptions, and use their astronomy cures, others in geomance, pyromance, chiromance, hidromance. Others, striving higher in their speculations, as more mysterious, use narromance, that is to say necromance, or heaviness, and stultomance, like those vagabonds and runners of the Mount of Venus, who come instead where they learned their art, baptized it Rhetie wine, sang matins with Brother Eckart, and ate red blood sausage and fatty sausages with the Danhutians. Since then they have had the science of curing the bestes and men of all kinds, decaying ailments, and other diseases, of uncovering treasures buried underground, which is no small honor to such venerable doctors. Some do not use any spice or herb at all,nor of the escrils of Valescus; simple paper is sufficient for their receipts, on which they write, to disguise the mysteries of their art, ixis pro jixis tetragrammaton, Ioannes in Dolio, lod, vau, ante postque, at the top and at the bottom, at the foot and at the test mark a cross at the end, lest the devil take away whoever paints it. Among the villagers they speak Latin; parmy les Alemans, Italian. Some of them were born in Italy, after having been banished from Germany; others, on the contrary, expelled from Italy, received the same treatment in Germany; some others, after having gone hunting beyond the Rhine, have gone back to hunting again after having had the fetus, and some beyond and below the Danube. The aduantures of these wandering caualiers are wonderfully pleasant, and make me burst out laughing:they call themselves Ebrieux among the Greeks; among the Ebrieux, natives of Greece; among the village priests they are theologians, and doctors of medicine with the masters of estuues and baths; among the judges, iuriscousults; both commedians, poets; with artisans, historiographers; in Germany they say they are from Italy, in Italy from Germany, in Portugal they are Hungarians, in Hungary Portuguese: finally in this place-cy native of that place, in that of the other, all days of good and illustrious house, little wealthy all the time, certainly of noble race, like that which produced only rabble, full of tricks and deceptions, which made them win a lot of money.among the judges, iuriscousults; both commedians, poets; with artisans, historiographers; in Germany they say they are from Italy, in Italy from Germany, in Portugal they are Hungarians, in Hungary Portuguese: finally in this place-cy native of that place, in that of the other, all days of good and illustrious house, little wealthy all the time, certainly of noble race, like that which produced only rabble, full of tricks and deceptions, which made them win a lot of money.among the judges, iuriscousults; both commedians, poets; with artisans, historiographers; in Germany they say they are from Italy, in Italy from Germany, in Portugal they are Hungarians, in Hungary Portuguese: finally in this place-cy native of that place, in that of the other, all days of good and illustrious house, little wealthy all the time, certainly of noble race, like that which produced only rabble, full of tricks and deceptions, which made them win a lot of money.certainly of noble race, like that which produced only rabble, full of tricks and deceptions, which make them win a lot of money.certainly of noble race, like that which produced only rabble, full of tricks and deceptions, which make them win a lot of money.

“There is yet another sect besides those of which we have mentioned, which are converts to Christianity, finer and worse than all the others; I also include the unbaptized, none of whom can extinguish the mercury in bear fat. From the luives, our doctors have also learned to know the pustules of the large and small worm, they who desire and work to be much more excellent and expert than their masters, although they only wear the same skin, and that the vn does not care. the other ; the luives doctors redden the mercury with saudal, and make it fragrant with mace or cinnamon flower: which makes them consider themselves capable of treating all kinds of diseases. If by Hazart they come to heal one, or two, or three of those who put themselves in their hands,they immediately had privilege and the power to abuse it two or three hundred. They accede to weak minds that the source and foundation of medicine is in the Hebrew language, without, however, considering that among them there has never been any doctor. They put in place. to prove to them, Rabbi Moyse. and the book of Nebulohn, which contains very excellent canons, by which he teaches to pluck the roots of responce from the prez to make salads. Now they say that the knowledge of medicine is in their only race as hereditary, although all those who else say, that their ancestors took it from the good father Adam, some time that the good man Noah hid it in a hole that he made between the paroy and the window of the arch. 0 fools that you are!How ostentatious and vain glory you disgrace you, and how badly it matches your begging! Sometimes an old luif introduces herself, sometimes a young woman, the mother of whom he keeps open, and wins such a dirty commodity. This wandering brat makes me support the Boemians, who say they learned their art in Egypt.

“There are others, imitators of the precedents, and yet of greater consideration than them, who know a great deal of vulgar logic, but no rhetoric; such are the sellers of theriac and mithridat, which are commonly called batheleurs, theriacleurs. These, if they lacked the viper, would not scruple to place bats in its place. They sell colococcus for a daily remedy against the flower, for the lungs and diseases of iceluy the rapontic, of the guy de chesne for the infirmities of women, and some very hidden remedies for all kinds of more dangerous ailments, which however after they ignore God and everyone, and they only teach by ear, under a pact not to receive them. It is the gentian that performs these miracles. Some vns know how to hunt and bring out the worms,like a certain who in Silesia, in Breslau, chased a worm from the body of a patient, who was afterwards found at the Strasbourg fair, having carried it locked in a box from there to Basle, so that he could boast, not only of having driven it out, but also of having driven it and sent fourteen thousand away. There are worms that are two or three alders long, more or less, bigger than the hole from which they say they came out, which they have taken in hedges and bushes, then boast of having hunted them. intestines or stomachs of men. After these walk those who cure swindlers, by the composition of a masterful salt that they know how to make: or the others who know how to chase the whitlow worm from the fingers, so that it does not face the sun or the rain; without preiudice of the pullers,or rather master breakers of teeth, who leave the roots to the gums, instead of pulling them. In short, it is hardly possible to see other doctors there today than in this way, to whom the disease of flies just belongs. Some of them, in the school of jugglers or jokers, have acquired the power to lie impudently, by a perpetual habit of telling the world about it, and by the continual use of embellishment.and by continued use of the embellishment.and by continued use of the embellishment.

“There are others who, not having the spirit to lie on their own, go to Montpelier to learn the art of Auicenne's writings, or to Paris the doctrine of Galen. Some people are of such good spirit that, with no other instruction than that of their cautious nature, they are perfect in the science of giving food (of the tongue, giving fine words). It will not be of little use either to the vn of auoir esté maitre és arts to aduancer in medicine, to the other of auoir esté apothecaire, to cestuy-cy to auoir esté a mathematician, to the other physicist. Montagnana is agreeable to the vn, Viaticus plaist to the other, and among all other authors Iean de Garlandia. To hear them speak there is no more use. However in their lazy shop, not knowing what to do, like those whitewashed sepulchres, which are beautiful outside,and in it are full of infection and rottenness, those among them who naturally take pleasure in vanity say: Without means in Holland a count has broken his neck from the highest degree to the bottom; another: I have been twenty-three years or so in the seruice of such a prince as a doctor, who is very troubled, and never did not feel well without Conrad des Roses and ave. Another will have professed through the space of twenty-five years in universities, and interpreted the good authors, who would have done well without him, if they had little to be explained by others. Tantost to make the capable, and to be esteemed great Greeks, they call the high evil epilepsy; sometimes to show their sufficiency in the Arabic language, they name the coloquinte alhendal. They know thirteen languages,besides those of which the Pandects make mention, and the one which is the least known to them is the German. Now their only occupation is to make the nature of things smoother, and from here at some time they will be rotten and miserable in the wake of some poor regiment. Sometimes they change the eyes of blue or dark ladies more to charcoal than to black; ugly they make them beautiful; of white brunettes, and delicate complexion; of boyteuses and counterfeits, of straight size and well proportioned; finally, they oust the snot from their noses. Now they make odoriferous amber pomes, and similar delicacies of little things apt to attract fools and badals, with which they make their way into the palates of adults. At the academies they want to be attentively listened to;we hear them exclaim (this is in Latin in the German text): In calendris mets tuis, domini auditores, quarta fen primi, de porcis, scripsit noster Avicenna. Bf. theriacae (cum longa descriptione scilicet Galeni), etc. ”(Cited in ibid., P. 428-32)

(\*) The editor rightly notes: "Paracelsus forgets, in the heat of his mockery, that he is precisely one of those who call themselves doctors by the grace of God, and believe not only in the medical sovereignty of the simple, but also to the effectiveness of words ”(ibid., p. 429)

(109) Nestorius, a priest who had been made Patriarch of Constantinople in 428, then taught the heretical doctrine according to which Mary was not to be called “Mother of God” but “Mother of Christ”. As a result, he and his disciples were driven into the wilderness, where they began to study medicine. The Nestorian heretics took control of the school of Edessa and its two large hospitals, of which they made a medical school, before being driven out by the Orthodox bishop Cyrus in 489. Fleeing to Persia, where their doctrines theological were welcome, they founded the famous school of Gondisapor, the starting point of Mohammedan medicine (Roberto Margotta, The Story of Medicine, Golden Press, 1968, p. 106.

(110) P. -V. Renouard, op. cit., p. 439.

(111) Ibid., p. 441.

(112) Ibid., P. 442.

(113) Ibid., P. 443.

(114) “Under Philip the Fair, the growing importance of hospitals led ecclesiastical authorities to worry about the claims aroused by the administration of their property. The most ordinary grievance alleged by seculars against monks, by monks against seculars, was the conversion of the goods of charitable foundations into benefits; but the abuse was often more apparent than real. The donor had bequeathed either an annuity in money or grains, or land to support one or more priests, on the condition of giving such or such alms, of applying annually such or such sum to a given work. It had happened towards the end of the thirteenth century, that income and capital had changed value and that sometimes the sum bequeathed was not sufficient to maintain decently the administrator, sometimes the administrator,on the contrary, enjoyed a much higher income than the share of the poor, which caused a scandal, although the letter of the founding act was followed. It must be recognized, in addition, that certain administrators (rectores) sometimes neglected to remove from the hands of those who had seized them, the property of hospitals, leprosaria and sicknesses, dropped the buildings in ruins, and without any respect for the will of the founders, refused to relieve the poor and took the income of charitable foundations ”(L'Administration charitable et la politique radical, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.which caused a scandal, although the letter of the founding act was followed. It must be recognized, moreover, that certain administrators (rectores) sometimes neglected to remove from the hands of those who had seized them, the property of hospitals, leprosaria and sicknesses, dropped the buildings in ruins, and without any respect for the will of the founders, refused to relieve the poor and took the income of charitable foundations ”(L'Administration charitable et la politique radical, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.which caused a scandal, although the letter of the founding act was followed. It must be recognized, moreover, that certain administrators (rectores) sometimes neglected to remove from the hands of those who had seized them, the property of hospitals, leprosaria and sicknesses, dropped the buildings in ruins, and without any respect for the will of the founders, refused to relieve the poor and took the income of charitable foundations ”(L'Administration charitable et la politique radical, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.that some administrators (rectores) sometimes neglected to remove from the hands of those who had seized them, the property of hospitals, leprosaria and clumsy rooms, dropped the buildings in ruins, and without any respect for the will of the founders, refused to relieve the poor and took the income of charitable foundations ”(The Charitable Administration and Radical Policy, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.that some administrators (rectores) sometimes neglected to remove from the hands of those who had seized them, the property of hospitals, leprosaria and clumsy rooms, dropped the buildings in ruins, and without any respect for the will of the founders, refused to relieve the poor and took over the income of charitable foundations ”(The Charitable Administration and Radical Policy, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.refused to relieve the poor and took the income of charitable foundations ”(L'Administration charitable et la politique radical, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.refused to relieve the poor and took the income of charitable foundations ”(L'Administration charitable et la politique radical, 1877, p. 17). These are the real reasons which led the Council of Vienna (1311-1312) to prohibit hospitals from being given as benefits to secular clerics.

(115) P. -V. Renouard, op. cit., p. 443.

(116) Ibid., P. 446-7.

(117) LM Khan, Pleasure of Prescribing, B. Jain Publishers (P) Ltd., 2004, p. 9.

(118) Kurt Sprengel, History of medicine: from its origin to the nineteenth, translated from German on the second edition by AJL Jourdan, t. 2, Paris, 1815, p. 401.

(119) Ibid. ,, p. 428.

(120) Augustin Cabanès, Intimate mores of the past, 5th series, new. ed. Albin Michel, Paris, 1908, p. 16 and sqq.

(121) See Jules Viard, La messe pour la peste. In Library of the school of charters. 1900, t. 61 [p. 334-8].

(122) Kurt Sprengler, op. cit., p. 464.

(123) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 11-2. “In the fourteenth century, the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, invited to make known the causes of the epidemic, to indicate its treatment and to establish a regime during the duration of the disease, said among other things: 'We propose to clearly produce the causes of this pestilence according to the rules and principles of astrology and natural sciences ... We believe that the stars, helped by nature's help, strive, by their celestial power, to protect the human race and to cure her of her ailments and, in concert with the sun, to pierce, by the force of fire, the thickness of the clouds ... If the inhabitants do not observe the following prescriptions, or other analogues, we announce to them inevitable death,if the grace of Christ does not send them life in some other way '"(quoted in ibid., p. 12; still in the 17th century," the Sisteron health office suddenly prohibited entry into the city, because we were under the influence of a bad quarter of the moon ”[ibid., p. 13]).

(124) Henry E. Sigerist, On the Sociology of…, p. 25.

(125) Michel Mollat, The poor in the Middle Ages, Éditions Complexe, 2006, p. 237; see also Patrice Bourdelais, Epidemics and population: results and research perspectives. In Annales de Démographie historique, 1997. Epidemics and populations [p. 9-26].

(126) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 46 and sqq. In 1349, suspicion was serious enough that a diet was called in Bennefeld, Alsace (ibid., P. 58). During the plague of Athens, it was rumored that it was due to the poisoning of wells. In 1832, when the cholera epidemic which had raged throughout Europe for several years touched Paris, the same rumor spread among the people of the capital (Charles Zevort, Histoire de Thucydide, new translation, Charpentier, Paris, 1854, p. 181, note 1).

(127) See, on the subject of fatal strokes caused by fear of the plague, Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 30 and ssq.

(128) “The metaphor (…) of the 'body politic' spread in the Middle Ages. One of its main functions until the Renaissance was to emphasize the collective and supra-individual dimension of the city and its differentiated internal organization. It has in common with the organic metaphors employed in ancient Greece one question, that of the prevalence of the head - the soul - in relation to other parts of the body. Before the rediscovery of Aristotle's Politics, the metaphor of the body politic was relatively little used. When it appears, it is derived from the Pauline idea of ​​the mystical body ”(Marie Gaille-Nikodimov, In search of a definition of the institutions of freedom. Medicine, the language of politics in Machiavelli, Asterion [Online] , 1, 2003 accessed July 28, 2020. URL:http://journals.openedition.org/asterion/14) We also neglect to specify here that, in Greco-Roman antiquity, the organic metaphor had a negative meaning. For example, the expression “body politic” appears more or less in Livy, who speaks of “unum est rei publicae corpus”, but it is in reference to decadent Rome (Étienne Aubrion, Tacitus and the notion of social body (Ann., XIV, 27). In Latomus, T. 49, Fasc. 1 (January-March 1990) [p. 154-160] p. 155). Right-wing thinkers, in whom the organic metaphor holds a central place, did not take this into account; we will come back to this question in another study; for now, we will content ourselves with drawing attention to Michelle Lacore, Citizens' Corps, city body, Kentron [Online], 19, 2003, accessed July 28, 2020. URL:http://journals.openedition.org/kentron/1858 .

(129) Bourdieu (From the King's House to the Reason of State. In Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, vol. 118, June 1997. Genesis of the Modern State [p. 55-68], p. 66 ) concludes his brilliant considerations on the root of the evil which has plagued “Western” society since the end of feudalism with this penetrating formulation: “… those (the clerics) who have undoubtedly most obviously contributed to advancing reason and The universal had an obvious interest in the universal and one can even say that they had a private interest in the public interest. "

(130) Henry E. Sigerist, Civilization and Disease, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1943, p. 90-1.

(131) See AA Conti, Quarantine Through History, International Encyclopedia of Public Health. 2008 [p. 454–462]. From the end of the 17th century until the fall of the Republic in 1797, the Venetians wore masks in public half of the year. Not that the carnival lasted six months: patricians and diplomats wore masks at solemn receptions and state ceremonies, foreign princes came to meetings of masked learned societies, spectators attended plays and masked operas , cafe customers, many in Venice, were discussing masked. The women masked their faces to indulge in licentiousness with impunity. Beggars whose identities were known wore masks to hide their shame.Wearing a mask also allowed nobles to trade incognito with the lower classes and patricians to circumvent the legal prohibition placed on them from seeing foreigners in Venice. “The rigid and severe structure of the Venetian social hierarchy, the civic duties imposed on each inhabitant, from the most modest calfat to the eminent patrician, could only be supported if, at certain times of the year, we shed its identity and the constraints it inflicted. The mask not only made it possible to go unnoticed (…), but, better still, to erase one's personality ”(Marcel Brion, Au Théâtre des nations: II, Revue des Deux Mondes (1829-1971), June 15, 1958 [p . 736-743], p. 737; see also James H. Johnson, Venice Incognito: Masks in the Serene Republic,University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2017).

(132) Eugène Pelletan, Decadence of the Monarchy, 3rd ed. revised and augmented, Pagnerre, Paris, 1861, p. 62. The edict of 1667 creating a lieutenant general of police is considered to be the founding act of the modern police.

(133) AA Conti, op. cit.

(134) The word "lazaretto" did not appear until 1635, in the sense of "forty days isolation imposed on travelers arriving from a place where there is a contagious disease". It entered Furetière's dictionary in 1690. It “comes from the Italian word lazzaretto which would itself be a deformation of Nazareth. Indeed, it was on an islet in the lagoon of Venice, called Santa Maria di Nazareth, that the first establishment in Europe was founded in 1423 to quarantine plague sufferers. In the texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such an establishment is sometimes referred to as the sanitat, which is also borrowed from the Italian Sanità, an institution set up in 1486 by the Republic of Venice to administer its lazarets, which were, since 1471, there are two:lazzaretto vecchio and lazzaretto nuovo (the latter intended for the accommodation of convalescents). Lazaretto therefore has little to do with Saint Lazarus (also patron of lepers and not of plague sufferers), but nevertheless very likely results from a linguistic contamination with the name of Lazarus (Nazaretto / Lazzaretto) ”(Pierre- Louis Laget, Les lazarets and the emergence of new pestilential diseases in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In In Situ [Online], 2, 2002, accessed July 14, 2020. URL:Lazarets and the emergence of new pestilential diseases in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In In Situ [Online], 2, 2002, accessed July 14, 2020. URL:Lazarets and the emergence of new pestilential diseases in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In In Situ [Online], 2, 2002, accessed July 14, 2020. URL:http://journals.openedition.org/insitu/1225 . In France, the first lazaretto was established around 1655 (C. - P. - Marie Haas, Administration de la France, 2e éd., Vol. 4, Paros, 1861, p. 4621), but,

from 1470, special signs report contaminated homes; the plague victims are relegated to temporary wooden barracks set up outside the towns; a special staff is in charge of the service (Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 72.)

(135) Marilyn Nicoud, Medicine and prevention of health in Milan at the end of the Middle Ages, Siècles [Online], 14, 2001, accessed July 14, 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/siecles/3212>

(136) Id., Medicine, prevention and public health in Italy at the end of the Middle Ages, in Patrick Boucheron and Jacques Chiffoleau (eds.), Religion and urban society in the Middle Ages: studies offered to Jean-Louis Biget, Publications de the Sorbonne, 2000, p. 495.

(137) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 84.

(138) Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin and Guillaume J. Wunsch, op. cit., p. 311.

(139) Marilyn Nicoud, Medicine, op. cit., p. 485.

(140) Ibid. p. 485.

(141) Jonathan Duhoux, La Peste noire et ses ravages: L'Europe décimée au XIVe siècle, 50Minutes.fr, 2015, p. 26; Jean Noël Biraben, Men and the plague in France and in European and Mediterranean countries (Civilizations and societies), Mouton, 1975, p. 116 ..

(142) Henry E. Sigerist, An Introduction to the History of Medicine. 4th ed., Revised and enlarged, WB Saunders Company, Philadelphia and London, p. 238. Although penal psychiatric expertise did not become widespread until the 20th century, collaboration between doctors, magistrates and the so-called public authorities was formalized in the 16th century by the Constitutio Criminalis Carolina, or Peinliche Gerichtsordnung; published in 1533 by Charles V, it authorized the judge of a court to summon doctors or midwives as expert witnesses in forensic cases such as homicide, infanticide, criminal abortion, misconduct professional. It was itself inspired by certain penal laws enacted by the Bishop of Bamberg in 1507 and by the Elector of Brandenburg in 1516.

Collaboration between doctors, magistrates and the so-called public authorities was facilitated from the 16th century by the fact that many doctors held public, national or municipal functions, deputies, syndic-speakers, annual consuls, diplomats, ambassadors of the city , etc. (Paul Delaunay, Medical life in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 2001, p. 387 et seq.).

(143) Claude Laroche, Some reflections on hospital architecture. In In Situ [Online], 31, 2017, accessed August 7, 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/insitu/14112> ; G. du Mesnil and Strohl, Hygiène. In Annals of public hygiene and legal medicine, 2nd series, t. 48, Paris, 1877, p. 180 and sqq.

(144) Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin and Guillaume J. Wunsch (eds.), Op. cit., p. 311).

(145) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 80.

(146) Ibid., P. 81.

(147) Ibid., P. 84.

(148) Ibid., P. 80.

(149) Ibid., P. 86.

(150) Ibid., P. 87.

(151) Here they are detailed: “A: Those which aim to give the authorities the necessary quantitative information: number of direct victims of the plague: sick and dead; or indirect victims: suspects placed in quarantine, poor people reduced to misery by unemployment resulting from the shutdown of the economy. This information can be provided either by a census before and after the epidemic which also makes it possible to know the number of mouths to feed, or by a continuous record of the sick and the dead (civil status is often poorly kept if the epidemic is violent).

B: The recruitment of specialized personnel, that is to say execution personnel: guards for the police, preventing looting and enforcing regulations, especially the surveillance of entrances and exits at the gates of the city and the closing of infected houses. Carriers of the dead and the sick, nicknamed crows, either confreres or religious volunteers, or recruited at a price of gold, or man of sack and rope forced by force to this dangerous work (they are very difficult to recruit and required to carry 'a showy costume). Or health personnel: doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, nurses, midwives generally hired by contract at very high prices from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Either religious staff to assist the sick and give the last sacraments to the dying:a plague priest or chaplain was also hired from the 16th century onwards, either for each epidemic or permanently. Or finally, management staff: office or captain of health, provided with dictatorial powers with the right to life and death, for the duration of the plague danger. All, of course, are subject to very strict rules of isolation.

C: Social mutual assistance which manifests itself as soon as the local authorities agree in the sixteenth century to take measures of isolation. Essentially it is a question of stocking up with medicines and food for the population blocked by quarantines and granting the poor and the unemployed the assistance allowing them to subsist during the stoppage of the economy blocked by the duration of the period. 'epidemic.

D: Finally, the cost of these measures requires special funding: the considerable expenditure of drugs, disinfectants, maintenance or even construction of specialized hospitals, food for hospitalized patients and the poor, fees or allowances for staff , force them to find large sums. Originally, in the 14th and 15th centuries, the tax reductions granted by the central power were sufficient to cover exceptional expenses. But, in the sixteenth century the measures spread and multiply, we must then resort to taxes for the plague, then in the seventeenth century to borrowing, the indebtedness increasing over time, even in the eighteenth century despite , State aid ”(Jean-Noël Biraben, Men facing the plague in France and in the Mediterranean countries.In Practical School of Advanced Studies. 4th section, Historical and Philological Sciences. Yearbook 1970-1971. 1971 [p. 809-817], p. 815-6.

(152) “(T) he primary cause of evil is the action which men gathered and crowded into low, narrow, dark and dirty places ; that decomposing animal or vegetable substances exert on the ambient air ... the emanations with which the air is charged act in the manner of a noxious gas ”(Pierre Adolphe Piorry, Traite de pathologie iatrique ou Médicale et de Médecine Pratique, Paris , 1841, p. 521) (emphasis added).

(153) Physicians have long disagreed over the meaning of the term "contagion", which has often been confused, intentionally or not, with the term "infection" (see Leopoldo-Achille Celace, Defining contagion , establish the differences that may exist between contagion and infection, thesis, Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, 1841; Eugene Monteils, Histoire de la Vaccination. Historical and critical research, etc., Montpellier, 1874; Sylvie Fainzang, La marque de the other. In Communications, 66, 1998. La contagion [p. 109-119])

(154) Dictionary of medical sciences, t. 6., VLF Panckoucke, Paris, 1813, p. 46.

(155) In a letter from Zimrî-Lîm, king of Mari 1775 to 1761 before our era, to his wife, the latter gives him advice to protect himself from "a contagious disease" ("mushtahhiz", from the verb ahâzu , “Seize, grab”) (cited in Georges Roux, La Mésopotamie. Essay on political, economic and cultural history, Éditions du Seuil, 2015). As indicated above (see supra note 35), the belief in contagion was widespread among the Hebrews (“… it is impossible not to recognize in the sequestrations imposed by Moses on lepers and on people with gonorrhea, the idea first to which we gave all the possible extension by creating our lazarets ”(Louis de La Berge, Compendium of practical medicine, t. 1, Brussels, 1837). The primitive sense of contagiois "contact, direct influence of one body or one being on another", including in a hereditary way (Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk [eds.], Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies, Routledge, 2000 ). “But the word contagio also designated, for example in Cicero, the relations between natural phenomena in general and served to express in Latin the Greek concept of sumpatheia . Lucretia uses the word contagiumto indicate the mutual influences of body and soul. Most often, but not always, the term is accompanied by negative connotations: it is the transmission of pollution, corruption (…). (D) From the 1st century BC, several Roman authors, generally not doctors, had related this word, in its two forms, with the transmission of certain diseases, in particular pestilential and epizootic diseases ”. (Danielle Gourevitch, Can we use the word infection in French translations of Latin texts? Guy Sabbah [ed.], Textes mediciniques latins antiques, Publications de l'Université, Saint-Etienne, 1984). Galen (128 AD - 210 AD) recommends avoiding contact with plague victims, because “their disease passes from one body to another,like scabies ”(Report on the memoirs sent to the Imperial Society of Medicine of Lyon, on contagion; by Doctor Vernoy. In Gazette Médicale de Lyon, t. XVI, Lyon, 1864, p. 136). Several 7th century hadiths attributed to Muhammad that actually date back to pre-Islamic Arabia assert the contagious nature of leprosy, scabies, and sexually transmitted diseases (Lawrence I. Conrad, A Ninth-Century Muslim Scholar's Discussion, in Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk [eds.], Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies, Aldershot, 2000). Thomas Aquinas says of leprosy that it "is (communicated) by contagion (Several 7th century hadiths attributed to Muhammad that actually date back to pre-Islamic Arabia assert the contagious nature of leprosy, scabies, and sexually transmitted diseases (Lawrence I. Conrad, A Ninth-Century Muslim Scholar's Discussion, in Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk [eds.], Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies, Aldershot, 2000). Thomas Aquinas says of leprosy that it "is (communicated) by contagion (Several 7th century hadiths attributed to Muhammad that actually date back to pre-Islamic Arabia assert the contagious nature of leprosy, scabies, and sexually transmitted diseases (Lawrence I. Conrad, A Ninth-Century Muslim Scholar's Discussion, in Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk [eds.], Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies, Aldershot, 2000). Thomas Aquinas says of leprosy that it "is (communicated) by contagion (Thomas Aquinas says of leprosy that it "is (communicated) by contagion (Thomas Aquinas says of leprosy that it "is (communicated) by contagion (contagiosus ) ”(Summa theologica, translated into French and annotated by F. Lachat, vol. 6, Paris, 1857, p. 556). A few years before the publication of De Contagione et contagiosis morbis by Fracastoro, the Venetian physician Nicholas Massa, in Liber de febre pestilentiali, ac depestichiis, varolibus et apostematibus pestilentialis (1540), had recognized epidemic contagion as a possibility (Medical History, 25, 1981 [p. 385-410]; Richard Palmer, Nicolo Massa, His Family and His Fortune, p. 395; see also Joseph Pierre Martin Rollet, Clinical and experimental research on syphilis, chancre and blennorrhagia, F. Savy, 1862, Paris, p. 198 et sqq).

(156) This mythological poem in Latin verse in the manner of Ovid tells that Syphilus, shepherd of King Alcithoo, proud of his master's riches, erected altars for him in contempt of those of the divinity. Indignant at this insolence, Apollo darted devouring rays on the earth, which produced a pestilential disease until then unknown, of which Syphilus was the first victim and to which he gave his name, which replaced the one he had until then of "French evil". While some attributed this disease to the junction of certain stars such as that of Mars with Saturn, Mercury with the Sun, etc., others to bestiality, still others to certain poisonous principles ingested in food and drink. , others, finally, to a mutation of leprosy,Fracastoro attributed it to a punishment inflicted by heaven for the frenzied libertinism that reigned at the time.

(157) Lois N. Magner, A History of Infectious Diseases and the Microbial World, Praeger, London and Westport, CT, 2009, p. 21; Dictionaire [sic] abridged of medical sciences, t. 5, VLF Panckoucke, 1822, p. 40.

(158) Gérard Fabre, Knowledge about contagion: the plague and the institution of quarantine, in

André Turmel, Culture, institution and knowledge: French culture in America, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997 [p. 83-106], p. 89. “He (Fracastoro) sees these agents as tiny living particles with material and spiritual properties. Unlike poisons, these particles could be transmitted from patient to patient. For him, however, these seminari were the result of a disturbance of the moods and he did not completely deny the theory of miasmas.He also assumed that these particles had the capacity to multiply and were transmitted by direct contact, projected or transported by the air. towards the patient. He affirmed the contagious character not only of the patient but also of his clothes and his bedding. These particles, for him, 'do not fall under our senses'.Fracastor believed that these particles entered the body through the pores of the skin or through the mouth during respiratory movements. He describes the hypothesis of interpersonal contamination. His observational qualities during epidemics, and in particular that of the plague, enabled him to develop this theory of contagion. He can better explain its epidemic nature. Its only mistake (according to the author of these lines, NDE) is the belief in the spontaneous generation of these organisms. Its theoretical advances laid the foundations for contagion. He was the first to theorize contagium vivum ”(Antoine Bouissou, Evolution of Western medicine through the prism of the second plague epidemic from 1346 to 1898. From scholastic medicine to experimental medicine. Thesis, University of Toulouse III, 2017, p.41).

(159) A. Brierre de Boismont, Des various opinions emitted on yellow fever in several works published recently in France and abroad, in New medical library, t. 3, 1827, Paris, p. 371; see also F. Dubois and J. Béclard (eds.), Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Medicine, t. 28, Libraries of the National Academy of Medicine, Paris, JB Baillière et Fils, 1862-1863, p. 685.

(160) Ibid.

(161) Dr Isidore Bourdon, Memoir on the plague, the truth about quarantines. In Dr Quesneville, (ed.), Scientific and industrial review, t. 12, 2nd series, Paris, 1847, p. 259; The journal des sçavans (Paris, 1754, p. 591) sums up this sanitary machination with this striking formula: "... it is reported that it was by his means that Pope Paul IV succeeded in transferring this Council to Bologna in 1547, under the pretext of a contagious disease with which Fracastor , following the principles of astrology, threatened the city of Trento (Emphasis added). In the period of macabre masquerade that we are going through, it will be healthy to go into the details of this affair: “Fortunately, for-then there were several servants of different Prelates who were ill, either from the debauchery of the Carnival, or by the bad weather, which had been very humid for several days. (Cardinal Del) Monte therefore having asked the Doctors by several of his family, if there was not some reason to fear that these diseases were contagious, these, which always do the greatest harm than they can, because if it happens they seem more skilful to have foreseen it, or to have remedied it if it does not happen; these, I said, answered in an ambiguous manner: which being spread with affectation & collected with lightness,at first found credence among the simplest, and was received with avidity by those who passionately wished to retire, would have liked the thing to have been true. It also happened very timely for the design of the Legates, that a few days after the Session a Bishop having died, and his funeral having been honored with the presence of the whole Council, the matter broke out more and that not only in Trent, but in the surrounding places the rumor spread that the contagion was in the city. However, the Legates, to make people believe that they had no part in it, held the day after the Session a General Congregation to dispose what there was to deal with on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, & the week of afterwards the Congregations of Theologians began.But when the rumor which was always increasing had spread, Cardinal del Monte ordered Hercules Sévérole Procurator of the Council to draw up a report of the contagion. We then questioned the doctors & especially Jérôme Fracastor, who had the title of Doctor of the Council, & several other people. Then on the reports which were made, that the neighboring places were preparing to cut off all trade with Trent, several Prelates or by fear of evil or by the desire to see themselves at liberty asked the Legates for permission to withdraw. Monte gave it to a few, with the intention of making use of their departure - to make it one of the reasons for the translation of the Council ”(Paolo Sarpi, Histoire du concile de Trente, t. 1, Amsterdam, 1736, p. 494-5).Cardinal del Monte ordered Hercules Sévérole Procurator of the Council to draw up a report of the contagion. We then questioned the doctors & especially Jérôme Fracastor, who had the title of Doctor of the Council, & several other people. Then on the reports which were made, that the neighboring places were preparing to cut off all trade with Trent, several Prelates or by fear of evil or by the desire to see themselves at liberty asked the Legates for permission to withdraw. 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Monte gave it to a few, with the intention of making use of their departure - to make it one of the reasons for the translation of the Council ”(Paolo Sarpi, Histoire du concile de Trente, t. 1, Amsterdam, 1736, p. 494-5).Monte gave it to a few, with the intention of making use of their departure - to make it one of the reasons for the translation of the Council ”(Paolo Sarpi, Histoire du concile de Trente, t. 1, Amsterdam, 1736, p. 494-5).Monte gave it to a few, with the intention of making use of their departure - to make it one of the reasons for the translation of the Council ”(Paolo Sarpi, Histoire du concile de Trente, t. 1, Amsterdam, 1736, p. 494-5).

(162) Isidore Bourdon, op. cit., p. 259.

(163) Dictionaire [sic] abridged of medical sciences, p. 41.

(164) Dr. Minime (eds.), Anecdotal, historical, literary medicine: a collection for the use of learned, curious and research physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, vol. 3, Paris, 1906, p. 217-8.

(165) Ibid., P. 217.

(166) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 99.

(167) They “took (…) no other precautions than to live with sobriety and to set aside any idea of ​​fear” (S. Lassis, Recherches sur les true causes des maladies epidemic called, Paris, 1819, p . 20).

(168) Ibid., P. 100. See, for an illustration, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/af/Habit_des_m%C3%A9decins_des_pestif%C3%A9r%C3%A9s.jpg> ; for an 18th century German cartoon: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/57/Paul_F%C3%Bcrst%2C_Der_Doctor_Schnabel_von_Rom_%28Holl%C3%A4nder_version%29.png> ; in the 19th century still, plague surgeons wore a particular costume and carried a white stick in their hands (see, for an illustration, Augustin Cabanès, op. cit.).

(169) Ibid., P. 102, note 1. To give an idea of ​​the “aura” enjoyed by Charles de Lorme during his lifetime. The following anecdote will not be too much: “Towards the end of his days, the Abbé de Saint-Martin, threatened with paralysis, made a journey to the waters of Bourbon which ended in turning his head.He admired the famous doctor Charles de l'Orme, as bizarre as he was himself: he had a bed of brick built similar to his to put in at night: he sank up to the neck in the terrycloth pants imagined by him to protect himself from the coulis winds; like him finally, as much to protect himself from the cold as to preserve his memory and his common sense - everyone thinks he has some - he put on his legs eight pairs of breeches and a lined stocking, on his head nine caps and a hood over. When he returned to Caen thus dressed and dragged in the vinaigrette that Charles de l'Orme had invented, he naturally obtained a great success of curiosity. From all sides people came to see him, consult him, ask him for hygienic prescriptions. He thought he was a great doctor,and did so so well that he was nearly prosecuted for illegal practice of medicine, and that the Duke of Montausier thought it his duty to urge the gentle maniac to no longer give prescriptions in writing. We now understand that the abbot 'Saint-Martin de la calotte', as we had nicknamed him, became the mirth and joy of the city of Caen. When he went to church in his chair - for he had soon had to give up his vinaigrette, 'which moved him too much' - the schoolchildren and the rabble followed him shouting: 'Vivat! cheers! ' And the conceited old man leaned his belly up, wrapped in a purple damask dress with branches, out of the door, and he bowed to right and left, murmuring: 'Thank God! How these good people love me '”(La Revue de Paris, t. 4, Bureau de la Revue de Paris, 1902, p. 585).The abbot outlived his mentor, even dedicating to him a work entitled Means Facile and Tested, which M. de Lorme used to live for nearly a hundred years (Caen, 1682).

(170) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 100. The outfit of the medico della peste looked astonishingly like the costume that de Lorme had invented, “consisted (n) t of a heavy waxed or oiled coat, a mask with glass openings for the eyes and a cone. in the shape of a beak where we put perfumed substances ”(Silvia Garioni, Omicidi, amori e dissapori, Lecce, 2019). It should be noted that a character in the Commedia del'Arte, attested from the mid-15th century, was precisely named Il Medico della Peste (Charles L. Killinger, Culture and customs of Italy, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005, p. 95)

(171) This usage seems to date from the 16th century at least, since Nicolas Ellain, Advis sur la pleste (1606), writes, p. 37, that the doctors who visited the plague victims were "dressed in hawkers, sarge of arras, taffeta, or other similar fabrics: And those who cannot afford it wore marroquin, German fatigues, or other beautiful black canvas "

(172) As Professor Raphaël Blanchard, author of Notes historique sur la pleste (1900), observes, “modern surgeons who, because of microbial doctrine, no longer approach their patients unless they wear long linen smocks which cover their clothes, have only reinvented a costume that the doctors of 300 years ago had already deduced from their scientific conceptions, in short not very different from ours… To explore, adds the learned professor, the pulse and the buboes of the sick, they surrounded their fingers with a tobacco leaf; or one wore gummed and waxed taffeta gloves ”(quoted in Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 108), ancestors of autopsy gloves; similarly, in 1879, de Lorme's mask gave the idea to dr. Henrot, deputy professor at the Reims School of Medicine,to make a respirator with cotton wool intended to prevent infection and formed of "a very simple horn, of which he submitted two models to the Academy." The inspired air passed through a layer of cotton wool, placed between two strips of wire cloth; the exhaled air came out through an orifice, fitted with an easy-to-lift valve. The people who approached the sick had to put this respirator in front of the mouth, as the short-sighted people put a pair of glasses on their nose, to be infallibly protected from croup, smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, plague, etc. (Quoted in Augustin Cabanès, op. Cit., P. 109). With more sobriety, a doctor from the State of New York named AJ Jessup, in an article published in 1878 in the Hospital Gazette and in the Scientific American (Contagious Diseases and their prevention,In Scientific American: Supplement, vol. 6, July-December, 1878, p. 2280), recommended wearing a cotton mask to limit contagion during epidemics. The Malaysian-born doctor Wu Lien-Teh (1879-1960), trained in Cambridge, did not stop at a recommendation. Appointed by the Chinese court to lead efforts to combat the pneumonic plague epidemic that struck Manchuria in 1910, he argued that the disease was airborne and, to prevent its spread, developed masks for use by the medical personnel and the general public (Yu-lin Wu, Memories of Dr. Wu Lien-teh, Plague Fighter, World Scientific Publishing Company Pte Ltd, Singapore, 1995). In "Western" countries, doctors began to wear surgical masks for the first time in 1897.It was a kind of gauze handkerchief tied around the face and it was not designed to fight against so-called airborne diseases. Although they are made of different materials, surgical masks still have the one and only function of "protecting the surgical field from the relatively large respiratory droplets generated by surgeons and surgical nurses", as stated in the WHO. Still in "Western" countries, it was in the United States, during the Spanish flu epidemic of 1918-1919 that protective masks were used for the first time. In some towns, the wearing of a mask was even made compulsory for the police forces, medical personnel and, under penalty of a fine or even prison, the inhabitants (Bruno J Strassera and Thomas Schlichb,A history of the medical mask and the rise of throwaway culture. In Lancet. July 4-10, 2020, 396 (10243) [p. 19–20]). The director of the San Francisco office of health said that “anyone appearing in the street (or) in any public space (…) must wear a mask or have their face covered, except during meals”; very soon, however, the wearing and therefore the purchase of standard masks were required (Joan Eileen Knight, The social impact of the influenza pandemic of 1918-19: with special reference to the East Midlands, 2015, p. 204; Alfred W Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918, new ed., Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 112;The director of the San Francisco office of health said that “anyone appearing in the street (or) in any public space (…) must wear a mask or have their face covered, except during meals”; very soon, however, the wearing and therefore the purchase of standard masks were required (Joan Eileen Knight, The social impact of the influenza pandemic of 1918-19: with special reference to the East Midlands, 2015, p. 204; Alfred W Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918, new ed., Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 112;The director of the San Francisco office of health said that “anyone appearing in the street (or) in any public space (…) must wear a mask or have their face covered, except during meals”; very soon, however, the wearing and therefore the purchase of standard masks were required (Joan Eileen Knight, The social impact of the influenza pandemic of 1918-19: with special reference to the East Midlands, 2015, p. 204; Alfred W Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918, new ed., Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 112;The social impact of the influenza pandemic of 1918-19: with special reference to the East Midlands, 2015, p. 204; Alfred W. Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918, new. ed., Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 112;The social impact of the influenza pandemic of 1918-19: with special reference to the East Midlands, 2015, p. 204; Alfred W. Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918, new. ed., Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 112;https://www.sfchronicle.com/oursf/article/Anti-Mask-League-San-Francisco-had-its-own-15255495.php ; <https://www.mentalfloss.com/article/624477/san-franciscos-anti-mask-league-during-1918-flu>). The mayor followed suit, assuring that "whoever does not wear a mask outside will die"; the San Francisco Tribune even threatened the recalcitrant with social death: "There is no doubt that he who does not wear a mask will find himself isolated, will be held in suspicion and regarded as a slack" (quoted in Alfred W . Crosby, op. Cit., Chap. 13). Despite this campaign of intimidation, some refused to comply, because they considered that the measure was unconstitutional and constituted a violation of individual freedoms or / and because the wearing of the mask caused them health problems, in particular. attacks of neuralgia (ibid., p. 105). It immediately resulted in the founding of an Anti-Mask League,to which some physicians, skeptical as to the effectiveness of the object praised by most of their colleagues, agreed. For the majority of the population, it was carnival: “the mask quickly became a fashionable object, the three most popular styles being the Agincourt, so called because of its protruding muzzle in the shape of a French knight's helmet, the Ravioli, square in shape, apparently the favorite of police officers and, more attractively, the yashmak, which hung under the chin like the veil that women wear in harems and was particularly appreciated by young women (it ends up being rendered illegal) ”(Joan Eileen Knight, op. cit., pp. 204-5). Fashion soon followed in New Zealand and Australia, also hit by the epidemic (ibid., P. 206)it was carnival: "the mask quickly became a fashionable object, the three most popular styles being the Agincourt, so called because of its protruding muzzle in the shape of a French knight's helmet, the Ravioli, square in shape, apparently the favorite of police officers and, more attractive, the yashmak, which hung under the chin like the veil worn by women in harems and was particularly appreciated by young women (it ended up being made illegal) ”(Joan Eileen Knight , op. cit., pp. 204-5). 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(173) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 110.

(174) Quoted in La Médecine anecdotique, historique, littéraire: compendium for the use of learned, curious and research physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, vol. 3, J. Rousset., 1906, p. 210.

(175) “(I) n 1610, nothing less than the death penalty was applied to the gatekeepers who had allowed entry into the city, knowingly or through clumsiness. In 1625, we saw the bailiff of the Vosges establish, at each gate of the town of Mirecourt, a bourgeois charged with deferencing to all the newcomers, on the question of whether, for six weeks, they had been in the countries suspected. : in case of affirmation, they were ordered to leave as quickly as possible; in the event of negative, if someone worthy of faith could be found to attest to the contrary, the execution of perjury was made on the spot with the gallows. One hundred years later, they were no less severe: by order of Duke Leopold of June 25, 1721, it was forbidden to communicate, even by correspondence; all passers-by had to be provided with certificates of good health,dressed in all reassuring forms, and the order was given to shoot those who tried to go by other paths than those prescribed. As for the vagrants, suspect by state, they had to move away, under penalty of the whip, the mark, or banishment: in case of recurrence, it was death. One could not be struck by the ferocity of these health ordinances. For delinquents, it is only a question of gallows for travelers who try, by trick or force, to override without presenting health tickets: arquebusades for those who erase the marks designating the houses to the public. contaminated. The least they risked was having their fists cut off, or being 'pounded and blasted'. And, like a leitmotif, returns the sinister formula: hardly of life!»(Quoted in Augustin Cabanès, op. Cit., P. 121-2)

(176) Michel Foucault, Surveiller et punir, Gallimard, Paris, 1975, p. 198

(177) Augustin Cabanès, op. cit., p. 124

(177) Ibid., P. 78.

(178) Ibid., P. 84, p. 86.

(179) Michel Foucault, op. cit., p. 198-9

(180) “Dr Maurice de Tolon goes further; he asked for the creation of three kinds of hospitals: 1 ° a plague hospital for current patients; 2 ° a health hospital for those who, being completely cured, must undergo quarantine there before resuming their normal life; 3 ° a hospital for suspects, suspect patients or those who have had contact with plague victims must be placed under observation ”(quoted in Augustin Cabanès, op. Cit., P. 212,“ We ​​would not do better nowadays », Comments the author).

(181) Anecdotal, Historical, Literary Medicine, p. 211.

(182) Quoted in Augustin Cabanès, ibid., P. 212.

(183) Ibid.

(184) Ibid., P. 213.

(185) Michel Foucault, op. cit., p. 230-1.

(186) Cited in Bibliographical Notes. In Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France, t. 77, No. 199, 1991. [p. 397-423], p. 403.

(187) Benoît Garnot, Le Peuple aux heures des Lumières, Editions Imago, 1990.

(188) Cécile Floury-Buchalin, Cleanse and protect the body of the city: The emergence of public health in Lyon in the 17th century. In Chrétiens et Soc., XVIeXXe Siècles, 2008, n ° 15, [p. 29-58], p. 31.

(189) Ibid., P. 33.

(190) Ibid., P. 57-8.

(191) Henry E. Sigerist, An Introduction…, p. 287.

(192) Mireille Laget; Health booklets for the poor in the 17th and 18th centuries. In History, economy and society, 1984, 3ᵉ year, n ° 4. Health, medicine and health policies [p. 567-82], p. 568.

(193) “Until then, medicine took no interest in children and women considered to be 'simple machines to reproduce, these had their own medicine, despised by the Faculty and whose tradition has been remembered in expression. 'remedy for good women'. To conquer this new market, doctors will try to disqualify this empire of 'good women' and 'their practices, deemed unnecessary and pernicious' (with breastfeeding and children's clothing as the main points of confrontation). To do this, the bourgeois mother, 'the only one capable of containing the obscurantism of the servants on a daily basis and of imposing her power on the child', became, especially from the 17th century, the doctor's ally. As we will see, especially in the 19th century,this new alliance will allow doctors to win 'against the tenacious hegemony of this popular medicine of good women', 'by increasing the civil authority of the mother', the doctor providing her with an unprecedented social status. It is, moreover, this promotion of women as mothers, as educators, as medical auxiliaries, which will serve as a fulcrum for the main feminist currents of the 19th century ”(<https://ligue-seignement.be/assets/Esquisse-dune-genealogie-des-formes-de-gouvernementalite-etude2.pdf> , p. 27).

(194) Bibliographical notes, p. 403.

(195) "Public health administration," says Henry E. Sigerist (Civilization and Disease, p. 91). has always been influenced by two factors: the status of medical science and the dominant political philosophy. The more we knew about the cause, nature and treatment of disease, the more a government could act. But political philosophy determined whether and how a government was able to apply existing knowledge ”. Epidemiological intelligence was inaugurated with the creation of the Royal Academy of Surgery in 1731, followed in 1778 by the founding of the Royal Society of Medicine, whose main task was essentially to collect and centralize data.These two institutions can be considered as attempts to constitute medical expertise in a public power, of “bureaucratic regulation of bodily well-being” (Virginie Tournay, Le concept de police medicale. From a militant aspiration to the production of administrative objectivity. In Politix, vol. 20, n ° 77, 2007 [p. 173-199], p. 174). The first attempt to organize epidemiological intelligence on a large scale took place in the 19th century, when, in reaction to the appearance of cholera, which had come from Asia, in "Western" countries, the first international health conference was held in Paris. in 1851. Even if only twelve nations took part, it can be considered as the germ of the globalization of public health (Nathalie Ferraud-Ciandet,Health Protection and Food Safety in International Law, p. 12). In December 1907, the Office international d'hygiène publique was founded in Paris to set international rules for the quarantine of ships and ports in times of plague or cholera. Epidemiological intelligence was its main function, which it shared from 1921 with the Office of Health of the Secretariat of the League of the United Nations, before being dissolved by protocols signed on July 22, 1946, its epidemiological service being then integrated into the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization on January 1, 1947.the International Office of Public Hygiene was founded in Paris to set international rules for the quarantine of ships and ports in times of plague or cholera. Epidemiological intelligence was its main function, which it shared from 1921 with the Office of Health of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, before being dissolved by protocols signed on July 22, 1946, its epidemiological service being then integrated into the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization on January 1, 1947.the International Office of Public Hygiene was founded in Paris to set international rules for the quarantine of ships and ports in times of plague or cholera. Epidemiological intelligence was its main function, which it shared from 1921 with the Office of Health of the Secretariat of the League of the United Nations, before being dissolved by protocols signed on July 22, 1946, its epidemiological service being then integrated into the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization on January 1, 1947.its epidemiological service being then integrated into the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization on January 1, 1947.its epidemiological service being then integrated into the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization on January 1, 1947.

(196) AH Marchand, Chirurgie von 100 Jahren. In Monthly review of medicine and surgery, 1st year, vol. 1, 1877, p. 154.

(197) See Michel Foucault, Histoire de la medicalisation. In Hermès, La Revue, 1988/2 n ° 2 [p. 11-29] ,. p. 18.

(198) Great Britain was ahead of most other European countries in this area; a General Board of Health, a true ministry of public health, had been created there in 1848 and in 1890 it had 1,700 public health officials, while there were barely 200 in France (Dominique Lejeune , Hygiene and health in Europe, from the end of the 18th century

to the aftermath of the First World War, <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/cel-01474846/document>). In France, the public hospital service was created in the 1980s; today it represents nearly 20% of public service parasites (Didier Stingre, The hospital public service, PUF, 2008). In creating the web of public health organizations in the 20th century, the Rockefeller Foundation played a central role. Founded in 1913, it “is only the main component of a large body of organizations funded by the Rockefeller family, including John D. Rockefeller, founder of the Standard Oil company. The international action it leads in fields as varied as public health, biomedical sciences and even social sciences, despite its apparent dispersion, follows a very precise common thread:the mobilization of all scientific knowledge (natural and social sciences) to develop a total science of man making it possible to manage individual and collective behavior. In other words, to create not only a new man, but also a rational society governed by science. The implementation of this worldwide project began in 1914, whether in the United States, the Far East, Latin America, and especially in Europe: during the interwar period, it was embodied by the subsidy to numerous institutions (in particular universities or research laboratories), but also support for the creation of public health administrations, or the establishment of a systematic policy of travel grants intended scientists, and, more generally,to future world leaders. In this process, the Rockefeller Foundation is just the tree that hides the forest: between 1919 and 1939, the total investments made in Europe by multiple American philanthropic organizations reached approximately $ 1.3 billion in the most important areas. various ”(Ludovic Tournès, The money of influence: American foundations and their European networks. Autrement. Autrement, 2010, Mémoires / culture. ffhalshs-00651570f, p. 3-4). In France, the “Rockefeller Foundation (…) exercised its know-how (…) from 1917 to 1940. Not only was its action decisive, both financially and in terms of the impetus given to French health policy, but the information and data collected by its members - so closely linked with indigenous medical and even political circles,so fine connoisseurs of local idiosyncrasies as well - prove to be unique in their kind ”(Léon Murard and Patrick Zylberman, Pour une histoire politique de la Médecine Social. In Vingtième Siècle, revue d'histoire, n ° 5, January-March 1985. Les Franco-French wars [p. 185-7], p. 187). Does it still exercise its “know-how” in France? It should be noted in passing that the eugenicist Alexis Carrel spent a large part of his career at the Rockefeller Foundation (Stéphane Buzzi, Jean-Claude Devinck and Paul-André Rosental, The officialization of occupational medicine, of the "funny war" at the Liberation (1939-1946), in La santé au travail. 1880-2006, La Découverte, 2006, [p. 41-58]; see also, about the lobying of the Rockefeller Foundation in France, Jean-François Picard , At the origins of Inserm:André Chevallier and the National Institute of Hygiene. In Social Sciences and Health, vol. 21, n ° 1, 2003 [p. 5-26].

(199) Quoted in Michel Foucault, op. cit., p. 21.

(200) Ibid.

(201) Cited in Sabine Barles, The deleterious city: doctors and engineers in urban space, 18th-19th century, Editions Champ Vallon, 1999, p. 9.

(202) See Maria Clélia Lustosa Costa. The hygienist discourse and the ordering of the urban space of Fortaleza, Brazil. History. University of the New Sorbonne - Paris III, 2012. French. FfNNT: 2012PA030044ff. fftel-01547145f

(203) Quoted in Sabine Barles, op. cit., p. 21.

(204) Ibid., P. 22.

(205) Ibid.

(206) See Patrick Fournier, The contribution of Languedocian doctors to the genesis of the medico-climatic method in the 18th century: the examples of Bouillet, Razoux and Barthez, in Gilbert Larguier (ed.), Questions de santé sur les edges de la Mediterranean. Patients, caregivers, hospitals, representations, in Roussillon, Languedoc & Provence 16th-18th century, OpenEdition Books, University Press of Perpignan, 2017, p. 151-69.

(207) Health, an indicator of environments, proceedings of the 7th national congress of regional health observatories, Amiens 5, 6 and 7 October 1994, t. 1: Observer confronter, L'Harmattan, 1996, p. 23.

(208) Maria Clélia Lustosa Costa, op. cit., p. 29.

(209) Ibid.

(210) Ibid., P. 43. Doctors, chemists, all kinds of scientists and experts were consulted and, if a central public health authority did not yet exist, many hygienists demanded a genuine medical administration of public health, capped by a ministry of health.

(211) Ibid., P. 29-30.

(212) Michel Foucault. op. cit., p. 22.

(213) Ibid., P. 25.

(214) Ibid., P. 22

(215) The medicalization of the first age of life is carried out through childcare, a deformed offshoot of a poorly understood eugenics, of French Eugenics, “a kind of medical imperialism integrating both medicalization and (much more than Anglo-Saxon eugenics) the moralization of society ”(we mean: of the poor and of the workers) with a view to improving productivity and strengthening the defense of national security (Ann F. La Berge, Mission and Method, cited in Fabiola López-Durán, Eugenics in the Garden: Transatlantic Architecture and the Crafting of Modernity, p. 208, note 12; see also, Ann Elizabeth Fowler La Berge, Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth -Century French Public Health Movementy, Cambridge University Press, p. 41 et seq .; Anne-Laure Simonnot,Hygienism and eugenics in the twentieth century through French psychiatry, Seli Arslan, 1999, p. 94.). In the Anglo-Saxon eugenic discourse, the improvement of the education of the insane individuals was generally recognized as a dysgenic measure, no knowledge, bookish or not, being able to rectify the genetic material, see Marouf Arif Hasian Jr, The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought, The University of Georgia Press, Athens and London, 1996, p. 182, note 15).The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought, The University of Georgia Press, Athens and London, 1996, p. 182, note 15).The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought, The University of Georgia Press, Athens and London, 1996, p. 182, note 15).

The definition that the French Society of Eugenics (\*) gave of eugenics, namely “(l) research and application of knowledge useful for reproduction, conservation and improvement of the species, and the study of questions of heredity and selection in their application to the human species and questions relating to the influence of the milieus of the economic state, of legislation, of mores, on the value of successive generations and on their physical, intellectual and moral aptitudes ”(Gwen Terrenoire, L'eugénisme en France avant 1939. In Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah 2005/2, n ° 183, [p.49-67]) joined to a certain extent that of Galton, but eugenics, a term which French doctors who belonged to this current tended to prefer to that of "eugenics", was not an imported product;it developed on bases which were not those of so-called social Darwinism. He percolated through numerous medical treatises from the 17th century on the “art of fathering”, which aimed to give advice to potential parents on the conditions (position of the stars, seasons, temperaments, diet, etc.) most favorable to the birth of good offspring. They were therefore for private use. From the middle of the eighteenth century, however, they addressed themselves no longer to potential parents, but to the legislator; they no longer limited themselves to giving individual advice, but defined collective conduct, established standards and recommended that they be imposed on the whole of society in the name of the public interest. Besides, it was no longer a question of making beautiful children, but of "great men",that is to say - according to the small image that the authors of these treatises had of greatness - useful. In this utilitarian conception of procreation, the doctor was no longer just an adviser to families, he was an auxiliary of the State. He was granted the right to oversee the care of infants. Childcare was born, defined by one of the disciples of Dr Caron, inventor of the term (1863), as "the search for knowledge relating to reproduction, conservation and improvement of the human species". The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (In this utilitarian conception of procreation, the doctor was no longer just an adviser to families, he was an auxiliary of the State. He was granted the right to oversee the care of infants. Childcare was born, defined by one of the disciples of Dr. Caron, inventor of the term (1863), as "the search for knowledge relating to reproduction, conservation and improvement of the human species". The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (In this utilitarian conception of procreation, the doctor was no longer only an adviser to families, he was an auxiliary of the State. He was granted the right to oversee the care of infants. Childcare was born, defined by one of the disciples of Dr Caron, inventor of the term (1863), as "the search for knowledge relating to reproduction, conservation and improvement of the human species". The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (He was granted the right to oversee the care of infants. Childcare was born, defined by one of the disciples of Dr Caron, inventor of the term (1863), as "the search for knowledge relating to reproduction, conservation and improvement of the human species". The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (He was granted the right to oversee the care of infants. Childcare was born, defined by one of the disciples of Dr. Caron, inventor of the term (1863), as "the search for knowledge relating to reproduction, conservation and improvement of the human species". The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (The word was rejected by dictionaries for as long as it was by doctors and it was not until around 1900 that, resuscitated by the renowned Dr Pinard, it was promoted to the rank of scientific discipline (

(Arlette Dubocage Meyer, La Puériculture Scientifique. In Faces by Eva. Estudos. 2017, n ° 38, [p.115-32] p. 120). “After 1895, doctors no longer gave advice, but orders. They want, through the distribution of different works that they have published, to be the mediators of this new knowledge and thus to influence the private life and the behavior of families. Diffusion by school (which became compulsory in 1881) imposes the idea of ​​educating from an early age to train in morality, order and discipline. The art of raising children in the old days left to maternal care alone is supposed to be replaced by a set of rules that every woman should know. Two institutions then have moral and material supremacy in this area: the educational institution and the medical institution,one because it discloses new standards, the other because it disseminates them. The reference to these new, pragmatic rules, in accordance with the medical and political ideology in progress at the end of the 19th century, constitutes the essential part of the reflection at the beginnings of childcare. It consists in promoting among women an educational model centered on a practice of observing standards. Four distinctive features characterize this model: asepsis, regularity, discipline and measure ”(ibid., P. 123). Asepsis is to infants what pasteurization is to food: the set of preventive measures (disinfection, sterilization, etc.) aimed at eliminating any microbe. Regularity and discipline are part of the "educational approach",influenced by the theory of behaviorism developed by the American psychologist Watson in the 1920s; "(I) t is supposed to be an imperative of the regulation of the body of the child which is obtained by the acquisition of habits for which mothers must learn the art of feeding children, of dressing them, of touching them , to move them, everything seems to have become an object of normative regulation in the life of the child by means of rules of behavior. The temporality with regard to the relationship with childhood is thus marked out on an almost immutable schedule and can evoke a metaphor linked to the mechanics of production time of the new industrial society. The speech prescribes the essential recourse to the doctor for any change concerning the child's schedule or the appearance of a symptom.The art of raising children does not or no longer belong to the register of feelings but to that of reason ”(ibid., P. 123-4). The measurement is made up of “knowledge of the child's development will be based on a controllable practice of measurement. The child is described according to his weight, his height, his head circumference, the method of the clinical examination is used to appreciate the physical state of the child. Its growth is measured using anthropometric devices developed by scientists: measurement and weight tables which are calculated from Western references. These measures are the control instruments allowing doctors to establish their diagnosis but also to establish a dialogue with mothers.They encourage them to follow the evolution of the child's growth curves by coming regularly to consultations ”(ibid., P. 124). Tool for scientific measurement of the rate of infant growth (renamed “baby” at the end of the 19th century) (Catherine Rollet-Echalier, La Politique à regard de la petitefance sous la III République, Paris, PUF, INED, 1990, p. 24), the weighing, if we can put it that way, is preceded by preconception consultations and followed by postconceptual consultations, both carried out by medical inspectors responsible for advising and educating , to monitor and, if necessary, to punish (ibid., p. 343).Policy on early childhood under the Third Republic, Paris, PUF, INED, 1990, p. 24), the weighing, if we can put it that way, is preceded by preconception consultations and followed by postconceptual consultations, both carried out by medical inspectors responsible for advising and educating, monitoring and , where appropriate, to punish (ibid., p. 343).Policy on early childhood under the Third Republic, Paris, PUF, INED, 1990, p. 24), the weighing, if we can put it that way, is preceded by preconception consultations and followed by postconceptual consultations, both carried out by medical inspectors responsible for advising and educating, monitoring and , where appropriate, to punish (ibid., p. 343).

(\*) Composed in 1913 of a hundred members, the French Society of Eugenics (SFE) had in 1926 only about fifty members. How to explain the little ground that eugenics gained in France? “The most profound reason for the relative failure of eugenics among French doctors lies in their attachment to the liberal practice of their profession. In other words, the figure of the doctor proposed by eugenics is repugnant to many of them, after having fascinated them for a time. It could be tempting, for men in full social ascension, brought to the rank of elites by the Third Republic, to arrogate to themselves the power of censor and to strike a pose, as wise men of the Nation. Finally asserting itself indispensable to society, despite the still hesitant results of the fight against death and disease,competing in homes with the priest and the notary, participating productively in the management of 'human capital', these are intoxicating prospects, which perhaps responded to a thirst for power, surely to a sincere vocation. But the problem comes when you have to translate these projects into a concrete way, leave the pen and put on the doctor's gown; with very few exceptions, the practice of medicine is - alas! - neither a hobby, nor a priesthood: it is a profession, to speak more trivially, a livelihood, where the plethora of practitioners threaten. It is also a profession which has produced, since Antiquity, customs and ethics. The solutions proposed by eugenics strike a fragile balance, activate old resentments, run up against habits and convictions. Primarily,it abuses medical ethics: eugenics are frequently told by annoyed colleagues of their fundamental role of helping the suffering. They remind them, among other things, that they are neither economists of an anonymous genetic capital nor biologists locked up in their laboratories and confronted with guinea pigs; on the contrary, they insist on the value of the unique conference, this personal and unique relationship that the doctor must maintain with his patient, and which must be done without any attempt at social evaluation of the latter. To an accounting discourse on the national or public interest, they oppose a discourse on the nobility of medicine, which consists in spending oneself without calculation to ensure each individual the best possible living conditions. The family doctor,threatened by the rising tide of new doctors, whether specialists or employees, finds there a new opportunity to showcase its qualities. After all, isn't the best eugenicist the one who, throughout a lifetime, accompanies a home, cares for it and can provide useful advice at the decisive moments of marriage or pregnancy? Eugenics enters especially in contradiction with the liberal practice, dear oh how! to doctors. They fear indeed to see develop with eugenics a new breed of doctor "of ministerial officer of legal coitus", which would swell the ranks of the doctors of funds, communities whose work has nothing to do, according to them. , with the art of Hippocrates. The eugenic doctor would no longer be this man - ideal,certainly - who practices charity and whose fees are settled amicably, but a servant of the State, salaried by him, sworn in, often enlisted in juries and commissions where his practice is exercised collectively: there is there both downgrading and dangerous competition in these times of professional congestion. Eugenics above all endangers one of the pillars of medical practice: the dogma of professional secrecy. How can we still speak of medical secrecy, in fact, when we demand from the doctor a certificate of aptitude for marriage drawn up in due form, mercilessly detailing the anomalies and defects noted in the cabinet? When we seek his opinion on the reproductive faculties of such or such an individual? Worse still: not only does the doctor have to make a diagnosis in public,but it must also provide a prognosis on the products of the marriage; in doing so, he engages his responsibility, his name, his signature in a hazardous way, taking into account the uncertainties about the heredity. Many physicians remind their colleagues, lost in chimerical biopolitical ambitions, of the harsh realities of practice and the inevitable setbacks of procreator control. If the doctor is wrong, gives a bad prognosis, does he not expose himself to endless trials? If he refuses the certificate, does he not run the risk of seeing his clientele migrate to a more lax colleague? What to say in the case of a sterilization decision, most of the time irreversible? ... In the absence of secrecy, medical practice, with its empiricism, its groping, is exposed to the public's gaze,in the harsh light of his critics. No, the responsibility is definitely too heavy compared to the advantages drawn: the doctors prefer to return to a hygiene of the family and private procreation which sometimes reconnects in a surprising way with the pre-eugenics of the before nineteenth century. Above all, they come together in a plea in favor of the education of procreators, which will enhance their competence but which puts the responsibility for appreciations and decisions on the shoulders of the procreators themselves. The best proof of this evolution is the progressive formula of the prenuptial certificate that we have mentioned, and which presented too many practical disadvantages, in favor of a more pragmatic formula, more respectful of the interests of the client as well as of that of the doctor:that adopted in 1942 by the law instituting the prenuptial examination ”(Carol Anne. Medicine and eugenics in France, or the dream of a perfect prophylaxis (XIXth - first half of the XXth century). In: Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine , t. 43, n ° 4, October-December 1996. Medicalization and health professions 16th-20th centuries [p. 618-31], p. 629-30).

(216) See, regarding the genealogy of geriatrics, Nicole Benoît-Lapierre. Heal from old age. In Communications, 37, 1983. The Gray Continent. Old age and aging [p. 149-65].

(217) Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin and Guillaume J. Wunsch (eds.), Op. cit., p. 314.

(218) Olivier Faure, Hospital and medical care at the start of the 19th century: the example of Lyon (1800-1830). In Annals of Brittany and the countries of the West, t. 86, n ° 2, 1979. Medicalization in France from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century [p. 277-90], p. 278 and sqq.

(219) Ibid, p. 281.

(220) Séverine Parayre, From hygiene to school hygiene: ways of prevention at school (18th-19th centuries). In Education Carrefours, 2011/2, n ° 32 [p. 49-63].

(221) Ibid.

(222) Quoted in Didier Nourrisson Didier and Séverine Parayre, History of health education at school: a slow and complex rise (18th-21st centuries). In Spiral. Journal of educational research, n ° 50, 2012. Education for…: what research, what questions? [p. 81-94], p. 85.

(223) See Gregory Tsoucalas, Antonis Kousoulis, Larianna Karamanou, E. Stamboulis and G. Androutsos, The hygienist and sociologist Louis-René Villerme (1782-1863): A pioneer of occupational medicine. La Medicina del Lavoro. 103, 2012 [p. 243-8]. It is not for nothing that he sat at the Academy of Medicine in the section "public hygiene, forensic medicine and medical police" (see Philippe Davezies, La prize en charge de la santé au travail en France: Historical overview on the ideological foundations of the institution Conference at the congress of the Société d'Ergonomie de Langue Française, September 1999. In Médecine et Travail, 2000, 183 [p. 42-44]).

(224) Cited in ibid.

(225) Ibid.

(226) Ibid.

(227) Ibid.

(228) This penal code was the first to impose forensic examination. Art. 147 to 149 required courts to “have recourse to the expertise of surgeons in cases of injury; it was also necessary that in cases of clandestine childbirth and infanticide, the accused should be visited by a midwife who was subsequently replaced by a doctor. Since the promulgation of this constitution, judges have become accustomed to consulting physicians in cases of virginity, impotence, and simulated illnesses ”, Practical Treaty of Legal Medicine, t. 1, Germer Baillière, Johann Ludwig Casper, paris, 1862, p. vii. In France, the first to have been involved in forensic medicine seems to have been Ambroise Paré, in his Treaty of Reports (1675) (François Emmanuel Fodéré, Treaty of legal medicine and public hygiene or health police, t. 1, Paris,1813, p. xxxvii). The first complete treatise on forensic medicine is Quaestiones medico-legales, published between 1621 and 1635 by Paul Zacchias (1584-1659), poet, philosopher, music lover and personal physician of Popes Innocent X and Alexander VII and ordinary expert of the Superior Court of Rota Romana, where this branch comes directly from canon law. (Gabriel Tourdes and Edmond Metzquer, Treatise on theoretical and practical legal medicine, Asselin and Houzeau, 1896, p. 20)(Gabriel Tourdes and Edmond Metzquer, Treatise on theoretical and practical legal medicine, Asselin and Houzeau, 1896, p. 20)(Gabriel Tourdes and Edmond Metzquer, Treatise on theoretical and practical legal medicine, Asselin and Houzeau, 1896, p. 20)

(229) One of the first definitions of this branch of medicine in France, given in 1793 by a certain Gilbert, senior health officer in the armies of the Republic, chief doctor of the military hospital in Paris, etc. , is as follows: “Forensic medicine is in theory the science of the relationships that may exist between social institutions and; human nature ; in practice, it is the application of the principles of the art of healing, or to the conservation of men gathered in society; what constitutes public hygiene, the medical police, or the administration of justice, which forms the domain of medical jurisprudence ”(Nicolas-Pierre Gilbert, La Médecine juridique en France, Paris, 1800, p. 5 ) He adds further,with that old-fashioned paternalistic and pastoral sentimentalism which is hardly encountered except in certain scientists: “The medical police do not limit their care to combating general illnesses; it watches over the citizens, even before their birth; it does not abandon them until it has made sure that the principle of life has ceased to animate their mortal remains; it stops its first glances on pregnancies and protects them in a special way. In all civilized countries, a pregnant woman should be an object of public respect. The medical police fly in front of these unfortunate victims of love and honor, so multiplied today by the disagreement of laws and customs; she snatches them from death, opens an asylum for them,gives them a second mother in place of the one who refused her caresses and her milk; or nourish them by methods which wise experience has consecrated. Beneficial institutions! how honorable you are to the humanity which created you, to the public power which vivifies you, to the active magistracy which watches over you!

“Public hygiene does not leave citizens for a moment; it surrounds them, guarantees them from all danger, in armies, towns, countryside, public markets, the. houses where the law holds them, the asylums where they pay tribute to humanity. Everywhere it obliges itself to provide them with a dry and well ventilated dwelling: it tests the food they consume, corrects any deterioration, denounces any falsifications to the law. It maintains the purity, the free flow of water, monitors even the air they breathe, establishes frequent ventilations, ward off infections of all kinds, especially those which arise from the agglomeration, from the clutter of men, that fertile source of moral and physical disorders;keep from the city center professions the exercise of which is inconvenient or harmful to society; in a word, everywhere she gives proof of her active vigilance, she takes care of everything that can make life sweet, happy and healthy. ”(Ibid., P. 10-2; the text was taken up, with some variations, by the article 'Legal (legal medicine, medicine of the bar, legal jurisprudence)' of the Methodical Encyclopedia (t. 8, Paris, 1808). See also Lion Murard and Patrick Zylberman, The reason of the expert or hygiene as applied social science. In European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie, vol. 26, May 1, 1985 [p. 58-89 ].with some variations, by the article 'Legal (legal medicine, medicine of the bar, legal jurisprudence)' of the Methodical Encyclopedia (t. 8, Paris, 1808). See also Lion Murard and Patrick Zylberman, The reason of the expert or hygiene as applied social science. In European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie, vol. 26, May 1, 1985 [p. 58-89].with some variations, by the article 'Legal (legal medicine, medicine of the bar, legal jurisprudence)' of the Methodical Encyclopedia (t. 8, Paris, 1808). See also Lion Murard and Patrick Zylberman, The reason of the expert or hygiene as applied social science. In European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie, vol. 26, May 1, 1985 [p. 58-89].

(230) Michel Foucault, The evolution of the notion of 'dangerous individual' in forensic psychiatry. In Deviance and society. 1981, vol. 5, n ° 4 [p. 403-22), p. 418.

(231) Dr Philippe Davezies, Aptitude, Inaptitude, Reclassement, between labor law and medical ethics. In Médecine et Travail, n ° 183, March 2000, p. 20.

(232) Could Taylorism be an industrial application of Descart's conception of the man-machine? Either way, Taylor should not be considered to have "discovered the moon." He had precursors, particularly in France. “A small group of Polytechnicians, Coriolis, Navier and Poncelet had in fact designed, from the time of the Restoration, a work mechanism inspired by the theory of motors and moving machines. Could the worker be considered an animated machine? The question fascinated, a generation later, the contemporaries of the industrialization of France. From the July regime (1830-1848) there was a whole current of thought on the 'human motor' which studied the physiology of work and measured the output of man and woman's work in factories and workshops.Numerous studies have emerged, the animal being obviously also involved: what are the causes of animal heat? In the 1890s, devices, ergographs and ergometers, were invented; During the Belle Époque Jules Amar (author of a thesis on "The Performance of the Human Machine" and of the book "The Human Engine and the Scientific Bases of Professional Work [1914]) invented ergonomics, the science of working conditions. work ”(Dominique Lejeune, op. cit.)During the Belle Époque Jules Amar (author of a thesis on “The Performance of the Human Machine” and of the book “The Human Engine and the Scientific Bases of Professional Work [1914]) invented ergonomics, the science of working conditions. work ”(Dominique Lejeune, op. cit.)During the Belle Époque Jules Amar (author of a thesis on "The Performance of the Human Machine" and of the book "The Human Engine and the Scientific Bases of Professional Work [1914]) invented ergonomics, the science of working conditions. work ”(Dominique Lejeune, op. cit.)

(233) The term “man” in the Taylorist slogan should be put in quotation marks. In fact, it was through female labor that Taylorism was applied on a large scale in French industry from 1916. “And because it was women who first practiced this type of work. , we will find it 'feminine' ”(Marie-Hélène Zylberberg-Hocquard, Women and feminism in the French labor movement, Editions Anthropos, 1977).

(234) Nathalie Segrestin, The notice of incapacity by the occupational physician in agriculture: drawing lessons from disputes, Brief for obtaining the agricultural physician diploma, 2011, p. 11

(235) Sandrine Warnez, Occupational health in Lorraine: evolution and inventory based on the activity reports of the services from 1998 to 2008 and the annual reports of occupational physicians from 2006 to 2008 Thesis, University Henri Poincaré, Nancy I, 2010, p. 27.

(236) See Philippe Davezies, op. cit.

(237) Sandrine Warnez, op. cit., p. 29.

(237bis) It remained to invent biology. According to <https://www.etymonline.com/word/virology> , the word “virology” appeared in English (virology) in 1935. Pioneers of this science are the Russian botanist Dimitri Ivanovski (1864-1920) (G. Luisa Bozzano, A Dictionary of Virology, Academic Press, 2001, p. 86) and the Dutch botanist Martinus Beijerinck (1851-1931), in whose honor the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) founded in 1965 the MW Beijerinck Virology Prize. However, “viruses are a theory, the existence of which as pathological entities (…) is not proven. Virology is a political science, a soft, industry-funded, high-profile science that perverts toxicological observations ”(Jim West, Virology: Fake Science,https://harvoa-med.blogspot.com/2020/08/viriso.html ).

(238) Sandrine Warnez, op. cit., p; 29.

(239) Ibid., P. 30.

(240) Ibid.

(241) Ibid. ; see also Pierre Rolle, Workers and occupational medicine. In Revue française de sociologie, 1962, 3-3 [p. 316-24].

(242) Léon Murard Léon and Patrick Zylberman, op. cit., p; 186.

(243) Émile Durkheim, The Rules of the Sociological Method, Alcan, Paris, 1919, p. 93.

(244) Michel Foucault. History of…, p. 26-7.

(245) The writer Jules Janin (1804-1874) qualified this disease as "the plague of a populace which is dying alone") (AM Maître and Gérard Ducable, Louis-René Villerme et le choléra in 1832, communication presented to the session of December 11, 1982 of the French Society for the History of Medicine [p. 317-25], p. 319), which, for its part, provides another explanation for the epidemic: "Cholera is an invention of the bourgeoisie and the government to starve the people… To arms! "(Ibid., P. 321." Sanitary obligations indeed prohibited ragpickers from picking up garbage and the market was ceded to private companies, including Salvette. Some 1,800 biffins revolted, ransacked and burned down the warehouses of the company that deprived them of their meager livelihood ”(ibid.).The Republican opposition itself strongly suspected the power to instrumentalize the epidemic.

(246) See SE Finer, The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick, Methuen, 1952.

(247) Sir John Simon, English sanitary institutions: reviewed in their course of development, and in some of their political and social relations, 2nd ed ., Smith, Elder, & Co, 1897, p. 185.

(248) Maria Clélia Lustosa Costa, op. cit., p. 41-2.

(249) Mario Colucci, Medicalisation, Journal of Science Communication, 5 (1), March 2006, p. 3.

(250) See Tri Tranp, The amendment to the poor law of 1834: social oppression or social advancement?, In William Findlay (ed.), Paradoxe (s) Victorien (s) - Victorian Paradox (es), François-Rabelais University Press, Tours, 2017, [p. 105-123].

(251) Michel Foucault, op. cit., p. 29.

(252) Ibid., P. 14 “Foucault notes that 'health has become like an object of consumption'. In fact, men produce drugs on a very large scale that other men then consume. Western societies have integrated the improvement of services and the consumption of health products into the concept of economic development. We are currently talking about the 'health market'. However, Foucault notes that if at the economic level an increase in consumption leads to an increase in the standard of living, the same does not apply to medicine: an increase in the consumption of health products does not lead to a better level of living. health(Emphasis added) (David Labreure, Michel Foucault, Psychiatry and medicine, master's degree, University Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, 2004, p. 22). On the subject of the pre-modern medical business, see Roger French, Medicine Before Science: The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

(253) Mario Colucci, Lédicalisation, in Renata Brandimarte et al. (edited), Lexique de biopolitique, translated by Pascale Janot, Editions Érès, 2009, p. 201.

(254) “Governmentality”, a neologism coined by Foucault on “rationality” and “government”, refers to a complex set of processes by which human behavior is systematically controlled in increasingly broad areas of social and personal life. . “For Foucault, such a government is not limited to the body of ministers of state, or even to the state, but permeates a whole society and operates through dispersed power mechanisms. It includes both sovereign powers of command, of the type found in traditional political science and political sociology, and disciplinary powers of training and self-control. Sovereign power is coercive and repressive, involving exclusion through external controls and incentives.Disciplinary power, on the other hand, relates to the shaping of the motivations, desires and character of individuals through techniques of the self. Disciplined individuals have acquired the habits, abilities and skills that enable them to act in socially appropriate ways.years that it is necessary to exercise over them an external coercive power . Disciplinary power has developed in modern times through such means as schools, hospitals, military barracks, prisons and the family itself (…) ”(emphasis added) ( https: //www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095901877 ; see Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, Political Power Beyond the State: Problematics of Government. In The British Journal of Sociology, vol. 43, n ° 2, June 1992 [p. 173-205] and Nikolas Rose, Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1999), all today, if not supplanted, at least relayed by “experts” (psychologists, psychiatrists, journalists, etc. hair). By “gouverne (ma) ment” we designate the advanced stage reached by governmentality from the end of the 20th century, a time when women massively infiltrated the bodies of power; we therefore designate the gynecocratic power to which the pastoral power naturally ends.

(255) Nikolas Rose, op. cit., p. 6.

(256) “… no longer fix and mark the territory, but let circulations circulate, control circulations, sort out the good and the bad, make it always move, that it moves incessantly, that it always goes from one to the other. point to another, but in such a way that the dangers inherent in this circulation are canceled. No longer the safety of the prince and his territory, but the safety of the population and, consequently, of those who govern it ”(Foucault, Sécurité, territoire, population, Le Seuil, 2004, p. 67). The leader only takes care of the safety of his subjects insofar as his own safety is at stake.

(257) Henry E. Sigerist, On the Sociology of… p. 23-4. The dollar bill bears a pyramid whose top - the eye of providence in a triangle -, far from being truncated, is detached from the body of the building. Such is the relationship between the "social body" and the pseudo-elites which govern it.

(258) Id., An Introduction to… p. 372.

(259) Kurt Sprengel, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 35.

(260) See A. Boylston, The origins of inoculation. In Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine, 105 (7), 2012 [p. 309–13]. <https://doi.org/10.1258/jrsm.2012.12k044> .

(261) H.-S. Wellcome, The History of Inoculation and Vaccination for the Prevention and Treatment of Disease: Lecture Memoranda, Canadian Medical Association, London, Ontario, 1913, Burroughs Wellcome & Co.https://dlcs.io/pdf/wellcome/pdf-item/b21357304/0 , p. 40, p. 42). However, according to La Condamine, inoculation had been known and practiced secretly by the Neapolitans for a very ancient period. He states that it was frequently performed by nurses, who used to inoculate infants in their care, unbeknownst to their parents (ibid., P. 34; H.-S. Wellcome, Materia therapeutica: History of Inoculation and Vaccination for the Prevention and Treatment of Diseases Poisonings and Antidotes Analyzes Ancient and Modern Medical Equipment, Burroughs Wellcome & Co, 1913, p. Xi).

(262) “… particularly (by) a Thessalienne, (…) an old Thessalienne who claimed to owe revelation to the Virgin, always performed it on the cross, on the face, pricking the forehead, cheeks and chin, and was given as a reward candles for the service of Mary. She boasted of having already inoculated forty thousand children, took great care to choose the pus from a mild smallpox, only inoculated healthy children, and performed the operation in winter or at the approach of spring ”( Kurt Sprengler, op. Cit., T. 6, p. 38).

(263) Fiane Ashton, Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1997, p. 245.

(254) Kurt Sprengler, op. cit., t. 6, p. 39.

(265) Ibid., P. 40.

(266) Complete works of Voltaire, t. 22, Garnier, Paris, 1879, p. 112.

(267) Kurt Sprengler, op. cit., p. 41.

(268) H.-S. Wellcome, The History of, p. 44.

(269) Quoted in Ibid., P. 46.

(270) Kurt Sprengler, op. cit., p. 44.

(271) Hervé Bazin, The history of vaccinations, Editions John Libbey Eurotext, Paris, 2008, p. 35.

(272) Ibid., P. 34; see also Kurt Sprengler, op. cit., p. 46. ​​In the United States, inoculation appears to have been recommended for the first time during the smallpox epidemic of 1721 by a clergyman by the name of Cotton Mather; in South America, by the Portuguese Carmelite missionaries; in Mexico, too, it was introduced by priests (H.-S. Wellcome, op. cit., p. 36, p. 37).

(273) Kurt Sprengler, op. cit., p. 49.

(274) Ibid., P. 52.

(275) Ibid., P. 63.

(276) Cited in Pierre Darmon, La variole, les nobles et les princes: la smallpox mortelle de Louis XV: 1774, Editions Complexe, 1989, p. 66.

(277) M. Brouardel, La vaccine, Review of scientific courses in France and abroad, 7th year, Germer Baillière, Paris, 1870, p. 51.

(278) H.-S. Wellcome, op. cit., p. 56; according to a contemporary doctor from Gloucestershire, in this region “not a single doctor was unaware that (…) people who had had smallpox in cow were protected against (ibid, p. 55).

(279) M. Brouardel, op. cit., p. 50, p. 51.

(279bis) It is obviously never difficult to bring in the “good statistics”, much more difficult to prove, if one insists on it, that they are false. The Congress of Anti-Vaccinators, held April 15, 16 and 17, 1914 in Rome, succeeded. “Here,” declared one of the speakers, among a thousand others, “is an example of the falsehoods committed by vaccinators and their statistics in order to perpetuate the belief in the effectiveness of vaccinations.

"We read in the health statistics of France, published by the Ministry of the Interior, on page 142, under the heading smallpox:

" Years 1886-1890: death smallpox 1815, for all of France.

“However, Marseille statistics give for the year 1886, only 2,052 deaths in Marseille.

“The same health statistics for France give as the death figure for Paris, during the period 1896-1900, 52 deaths, while the statistics for the city of Paris, for the year 1900 alone, give 211 deaths.

“Everything else is to match. "

" We maintain, we, he continues, that the inoculation of this infectious humor in the human organism. not only does not protect man from smallpox, but directs his organism towards all infectious diseases , including smallpox.

"In other words, we maintain that the vaccine maintains in the human race smallpox instead of preserving it, that it exaggerates its manifestations and that it caused by poisoning.of the whole race, after a century of inoculation, the resurrection of all the plagues of the old ages, plague, leprosy, cholera, that it is the cause of this more and more formidable expansion of tuberculosis and of this generalization of all the infectious diseases that we see each year ”(emphasis added) (Paul Manceau, Le Congrès International des anti-vaccinateurs. In Revue internationale de la vaccine, vol. 4, n ° 1, July-August 1913 , p. 414-5).

(280) Graziella Caselli, Jacques Vallin and Guillaume J. Wunsch (eds.), Op. cit., p. 316.

(281) Michael Bennet, The War Against Smallpox: Edward Jenner and the Global Spread of Vaccination, Cambridge University Press, 2020, p. 113.

(282) The Annual Biography and Obituary for the Year 1821, vol. 5, London, p. 245.

(283) To cite just one testimony, here is that of Dr. Charles Creighton: “Anti-vaccinators are the ones who have found a motive to examine the evidence and that motive, very human, is that vaccination caused injury or death to their own family or that of their neighbors. Whatever their motives, they examined the evidence for some purpose; they have studied the question from top to bottom; they demolished a grotesque superstition. The general public cannot believe that a great profession has persevered so much in error ”(Jenner and Vaccination: A Strange Chapter of Medical History, Charles Creighton Snow & Farnham, Providence, RI, 1892, p.353.

(284) William White, The Story of a Great Delusion, EW Allen, London, 1895, p. 478 et sqq (the book, available at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/61809/61809-h/61809-h.htm> , is a masterful investigation into the gigantic enterprise of deliberate poisoning of vaccination ).

(285) David Getty, Vaccination Extension Act and the Role of the Poor Law Authorities in Its Implementation in Ireland, The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies, vol. 24, n ° 2, December 1998, p. 15-30, p. 20

(286) William Whote, op. cit., p. 478 and sqq.

(287) See Dr. A. Devaux, Report on the vaccine, Brussels, P. Weissenbruch, 1891.

(288) See Revue d'hygiène et de Médecine Preventive, vol. 53, Masson et Cie, 1931, p. 39.

(289) Law of February 15, 1902. Law relating to the protection of public health.

(Official Journal of February 19, 1902).

(290) Béatrice Grandordy, Darwin, Pasteur, Koch and Freud in the novel, L'Harmattan, 2012, p. 24.

(291) Kelly Boyd (ed.), Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing, vol. 2, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, London and Chicago, p. 1091.

(292) Henry E. Sigerist, On the Sociology of…., P. 25.

(293) See <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2017/02/27/isis-2/274> .

(294) Isabelle and François-Xavier Roussel, Climate, air quality and tools of planning Climate, air quality and tools of planning. In Atmospheric Pollution, n ° 216, October-December 2012 [p. 383-394], p. 384.

(295) Networks (organizational philosophy), <https://encyclopedie_universelle.fracademic.com/18393> .

(296) Suzanne Rameix, Human body and political body in France Status of the human body and organicist metaphor of the State. In Laval Theological and Philosophical, vol. 54, n ° 1, February 1989

(297) Julius Evola, Sintesi di dottrina della razza. Edizioni di Ar, 1978, p. 42.

(298) <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2019/10/28/le-pouvoir-panique-3> .

(299) Michel Foucault, Sécurité…, p. 131.

(300) Id. Sayings and Writings: 1954-1988, vol. 2, Gallimard, 1994, p. 229.

(301) Jan Domaradzki, Extra Medicinam Nulla Salus. Medicine as a Secular Religion, p. 25. In fact, the Catholic Center for French Doctors (CCMF) has composed a “Gospel of Health”, which consists of twenty passages from the New Testament.

(302) Ibid.

(303) Ibid.

(304) Ibid., P. 26.

(305) Ibid.

(306) Ibid.

(307) Ibid.

(308) “Purity is, after birth, the greatest good for man: this is the principle that dominates Vendidad. This word of purity, yaozhdâo, although it is associated with an idea or a moral impression, is nonetheless above all, at least in the Vendidad, a purely physical conception, and the word 'cleanliness' would be more exact, if he had taken the moral rellet that the expression zende and that for example the English cleanlmess. The axiom Cleanliness is next to Godliness would be quite Zoroastrian, with this difference that in Zoroastrianism Cleanlmess is a very form of Godliness. Legal impurity always has physiological causes. The impure object, par excellence, is the corpse: everything that comes out of the human body is also impure, whether it is natural secretions or artiticially separated parts,like hair and nails. But who says impurity says contagion: for the corpse engenders corruption and pestilence: the impurities of the living body engender disease: the hair engenders vermin. Purification aims to drive out this contagion which passes from the dead to the living, from the living to the living, and the theory of impurity and purification would in fact be reduced to a theory of hygiene, was only this contagion is conceived as the work of supernatural beings, that our microbes are set up as Daêvas, and that certain theological conceptions, to which certain popular superstitions are added, come to veil and disturb the development of a half-experimental and half-childish medicine " (James Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta: new translation with historical and philological commentary, Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1892,p. x-xi)

(309) The ideas of purity and filth were about animals and things, as well as people. Some animals were declared unclean by law, and it was forbidden to eat them. Clothes, houses, beds and some household utensils were susceptible to certain impurities, and it was forbidden to use them as long as they had not been purified; in general, all things that the Israelites could not use or approach without being defiled were still called impure. The reasons which had dictated to the legislator these prohibitions (…) were at the same time hygienic, political, symbolic and religious, and neither one nor the other, exclusively one of these characters taken apart. Prevent certain diseases, isolate the people from neighboring peoples,to remind him of purity of heart, and to maintain him in dependence on the Lord, such was the goal of the law of Moses, and each of its prescriptions on legal purity and on purifications, tended to the same result (…). With the exception of animals whose flesh was unclean, but which could however be touched without being soiled, contact with (lepers, women and men soiled with various infirmities, women who have recently given birth, corpses of 'animals or men) was sufficient to provide a more or less long stain; in many cases, the one who had become unclean communicated his uncleanness to those who approached him and to what he touched; in others, its stain remained individual, and was not contagious ”(Jean-Augustin Bost, Dictionnaire de la Bible, 2e éd., revue et augmentée, Paris, Ch.Meyrueis, 1865, p. 747-8).

(310) Jean-Pierre Dupuy, Medicine and power, A tribute of Ivan Illich. In Complexus, vol. 1, n ° 4, 2003, p. 157-63.

(311) Allan M. Brandt, Morality and Health ,, Paul Rozin Psychology Press, 1997.

(312) Giorgio Agamben, La medicina come religione, <https://www.quodlibet.it/giorgio-agamben-la-medicina-come> -religione . Ironically, this pattent Auschwitzian, for his repeated denialist positions on the subject of Covid-19, today finds himself "floundered".

(313) The Greek term “soterion” means deliverance, preservation, safety, security. The Latin term “salus” means good health, moral health and self-preservation (the fact of escaping danger, of being saved, of being saved). “Jesus of Nazareth challenges the vocabulary of salvation, formed by the scriptural tradition (…). The substantives sôtèria and sôtèrion, for example, are of Hellenistic origin and have a septuagintal remnant: it is the Judeo-Christian circles of the Greco-Roman dispersion that will introduce them long before Luke into the expression of worship, the kerygma and of the apostolic tradition. "; “Neither rhyein nor sôzein (to save) can be read in the presynoptic tradition of logia, which criticism holds on time to be the most direct guarantee of the words of Jesus” (Joseph Schmitt, La genèse de la sotériologie apostolique.In Revue des Sciences Religieuses, t. 51, fasc. 1, 1977. Aspects of salvation [p. 40-53]. p. 40, 41); "The notion of salvation was not among the Apostolic Fathers a key notion, nor, a fortiori, the key notion of the Christian mystery" (Maurice Sachot, For a study of the notion of salvation among the Apostolic Fathers. Presentation of the vocabulary In Revue des Sciences Religieuses, t.51, fasc. 1, 1977. Aspects of salvation [p. 54-70], p. 69). In the Old Testament, "soteria" most often means "deliverance from danger" or "from an enemy", "security" (William Barclay, New Testament Words, Westminster John Knox University, Louisville, KY, 1974 [ 1st ed.: 1964]), while it takes on a more or less eschatological meaning in Isaiah. 45.17; 52.10; Jeremiah 3:23; Psalm 60: 1, 108: 12, 146: 3, 18:46, 38:22; 51: 14, 88: 1 (ibid., P. 268 ff).

(314) See Antoine Vergole, Dette et Désir: Two Christian axes and pathological drift, Editions du Seuil, 1978.

(315) Pierre-Henri Ortiz, Le Christ Médecin et le poison du Diable. In Cahiers “Mondes Anciens” [Online], 4, 2013, consulted on July 18, 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/mondesanciens/951> . Jesus Christ was considered both doctor of the body and doctor of the soul (François Yumba, 'Doctor, save me': health and salvation in dialogue. In Lumen Vitae 2012/3 [Volume LXVII] [p. 323- 30])

(316) Vincent Barras and Francesco Panese, The medical utopia of the resuscitation of bodies (nineteenth-twenty-first centuries). In Mouvements 2006 / 3-4, n ° 45-46 [p. 36-42].

(317) Back from the Dead. Resuscitation Expert Says End Is Reversible, July 29, 2013,https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/doctor-sam-parnia-believes-resurrection-is-a-medical-possibility-a-913075.html ; see also Dr Sam Parnia. The Lazarus Effect: The Science That is Rewriting the Boundaries Between Life and Death, Rider, 2013.

(318) Modern resuscitation science: Illuminating the complex processes of death, November 15, 2019, <https://www.news-medical.net/> news / 20191115 / Modern-resuscitation-science-Illuminating-the-complex-processes-of-death.aspx .

(319) Robert A. Freitas Jr., Microbivores: Artificial Mechanical Phagocytes using Digest and Discharge Protocol, 2001, <http://www.rfreitas.com/Nano/Microbivores.htm> ; Ehud Gazit. Plenty of Room for Biology at the Bottom: An Introduction to Bionanotechnology. Imperial College Press, 2007.

(320) Quoted in Jean Baptiste François Leveille, Hippocrates interpreted by himself, or comments on aphorisms, JG Dentu, Paris, 1818, p. 98.

(321) In the New Testament, Krisis also has the meaning of "condemnation", "damnation" (see Trevor Bowen, Word Study: Judge and Judgment, <http://www.insearchoftruth.org/articles/word_study_judge.html> ).

(322) James W. Walraven, Will God Save Everyone ?: Christian Universalism, Hell, Heaven, and the Scriptures, Redemption Press, 2020.

(323) J. Le Goff, L'attente dans le christianisme: le Purgatoire. In Communications, 70, 2000. Thresholds, passages [p. 295-301].

(324) Charles Perrot, Armand Abécassis, Jean Séguy, Pierre-Jean Labarrière and Bernard Sesboüé, Le retour du Christ, Chap. 3: Sociology of expectation.

(325) <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2016/08/19/isis-1/> .

(326) “Bioterrorism has its roots in 20th century state biological warfare (GB) programs, in which the military vision and technical capabilities of bacteriological weapons were developed and tested in secret. The French, Japanese, British, American and Soviet programs, in that order, expressly used microbiology to target enemy civilians with anthrax, tularemia, plague and other infectious diseases ”; “Unlike chemical weapons, used by all parties during World War I and unlike nuclear bombs, biological weapons were shrouded in the utmost secrecy” (Charles Zerner, Making Threats: Biofears and Environmental Anxieties published by Betsy Hartmann, Banu Subramaniam , pp. 197, 198).

(327) Nationalism is one of the non-military threats identified by the Paris Conference (2001) Vanja Rokvić and Zoran Jeftić, Health Issues as Security Issues, Vojno Dello, 6/2015, DOI: 10.5937 / vojdelo [p. 53-69], p. 53.

(328) Cited in ibid.

(329) Taken from a United Nations online document.

(330) Quoted in Anne-Emanuelle Birn, US Philanthrocapitalism and the Global Health Agenda: The Rockefeller and Gates Foundations, Past and Present, 2017, <http://www.peah.it/2017/05/4019/>; in 2014, during the Ebola epidemic, Gates called for the creation of a militarized supranational authority capable of responding decisively to outbreaks of so-called infectious diseases (Jacob Levich, The Gates Foundation, Ebola, and Global Health Imperialism. In American Journal of Economics and Sociology. 74. 704. 10.1111 / ajes.12110 ., 2015 [p. 704-42], p. 704.

(331) Charles Perraton and Étienne Paquette, Dérive de l'espace public à l'ère du Entertainment, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2007, p. 137; Brent Wood, William S. Burroughs and the Language of Cyberpunk The work of William S. Burroughs has often been credited as a primary influence on cyberpunk, in Science Fiction Studies, vol. 23, part 1, SFS Publications, 1996.

(332) João Nunes, Health, Politics and Security, e-cadernos ces [Online], 15, 2012. URL: <http://eces.revues.org/989> , p. 152.

(333) Vanja Rokvić and Zoran Jeftić, op. cit., p. 55.

(334) João Nunes, op. cit., p. 153.

(335) See Ibid., P. 158.

(336) Ibid.

(337) In France, the law of July 9, 2020 organizing the end of the state of health emergency is reminiscent of law n ° 2017-1510 of October 30, 2017, strengthening internal security and the fight against terrorism. .

(338) Ulrich Beck, The risk society, on the way to another modernity, Flammarion, coll. “Champs Essais”, 2008, p. 143.

(339) Ibid., P. 144.

(340) Ibid., P. 89. “The risk society tends to generate a totalitarianism (…) of prevention which, under the guise of preventing the worst from happening, ends up creating, through an all too familiar mechanism, the conditions for the appearance of which is even worse ”(ibid., p. 145). (see, regarding awe and fear as the engine of Eastern despotism as well as pastoral power, <https://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2019/10/28/le-pouvoir-panique-3/> .

(341) Pasteur wondered about the possibility of the emergence of new microbial diseases. "How are diseases born? It is highly improbable, in the eyes of Pasteur, "that nature, in its evolution over the past centuries, has already encountered all the opportunities for the production of virulent or contagious diseases ... What is a harmless microscopic organism for man or for a given animal? It is a being that cannot develop in our body or in the body of this animal; but nothing proves that, if this microscopic being were to enter another of the thousand and thousand species of creation, he could not invade it and make it sick. Its virulence, then reinforced by successive passages in the representatives of this species,could become able to reach such or such large animal, man or certain domestic animals. By this method, we can create new virulences and contagions. I am very inclined to believe that it is thus that smallpox, syphilis, plague, yellow fever, etc. have appeared through the ages, and that it is also through phenomena of this kind that 'appear, from time to time, certain major epidemics… ”(Louis Pasteur, Works gathered by Pasteur Vallery-Radot, vol. VI: Maladies virulentes, virus-vaccines, prophylaxie de la rage, Paris, Masson, 1933, p. 337 -8), but it was Charles Nicolle, winner of the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine in 1928 and professor at the Collège de France, who developed the Angladian concept of the emergence of diseases in his Birth, life and death of infectious diseases ( 1930),then in Destiny of infectious diseases (1933). “Any infectious disease,” he wrote in the introduction, “can present three modes of existence: individual, collective, historical. Individual, it has its beginning, its course and its termination in the individual who suffers from it: man, animal, plant. Collective, it strikes a group of beings, living in contact with each other in similar conditions: either, endowed with an extreme contagious power, it passes from one group to another, being able to reach an entire region, even, like the flu, circumnavigate the globe in a few months. The epidemic has its beginning, its evolution, its end. The historical existence of the disease is its life through the ages. We have the right to assume from it, as from everything that lives, an origin (birth) and an end (death). It is this historical existence,this destiny which will be exactly the subject of our discussions. Have the infectious diseases we observe always existed? Are there any among them that have appeared in the course of history? Can we assume that there will be new ones? Can we assume that some of these diseases will go away? Is it already gone? Finally, what will become of humanity and domestic animals if, owing to increasingly frequent contact between humans, the number of infectious diseases continues to increase? The term "emerging disease" has been used in scientific publications since at least the early 1960s (Gibril Ndow, J. Radeino Ambe, Oyewale Tomori, Emerging Infectious Diseases: A Historical and Scientific Review. In Socio-cultural Dimensions of Emerging Infectious Diseases in Africa, March 20, 2019 [p.31–40]) and is used in its modern sense by the American “public health official” David Sencer (1924–2011) in Emerging Diseases of Man and Animals (1971) where, in the first sentence of the Introduction, he defines emerging diseases as "infectious diseases of humans and animals which presently appear as public health problems" (p. 465). He notes that “there are also many familiar organisms which, once considered non-pathogenic, are now associated with nosocomial infections, the use of artificial kidneys and the acceptance or rejection of organ transplants, for example. example ”(DJ Sencer, Emerging Diseases of Man and Animals. In Annual Review of Microbiology. 25 (1), October 1971 [pp. 465–86], p. 466).

(342) Stephan Elbe, Pandemic Security, in J. Peter Burgess (ed.), The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies, Routledge, 2010

(343) Dennis Pirages and Paul Runci, Ecological Interdependence and the Spread of Infectious Disease, in Maryann Cusimano (ed), Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2000, p. 176.

(344) The Worldwatch Institute report is intended to be "an annual assessment of pressing global environmental problems and innovative ideas proposed and applied around the world to address them." Pirages' contribution to the 2005 report is entitled Containing Infectious Disease [p. 42-60].

(345) Worldwatch Institute Receives $ 1.3 Million From Gates Foundation, July 10, 2009https://philanthropynewsdigest.org/news/worldwatch-institute-receives-1.3-million-from-gates-foundation .

(346) Quoted in Shantesh Kumar Singh, Infectious Diseases, National Security and Globalization. In World Affairs, vol. 23, n ° 1, spring 2019, p. 14.

(347) Quoted in ibid.

(348) Julie Auger. Public health as a national security issue in Canada: CBRN terrorism and infectious diseases (1995-2006), Mémoires Series, n ° 7, March 2008, Université du Québec à Montréal, p. 1.

(349) Ibid., P. 84; the expression, recently employed by the most prominent Rothschild pug in France: "the virus has no borders, no passport" is taken straight from the official Rotary International magazine The Rotarian (June 1987, p. 51): “A virus knows no boundaries, and needs no visa. "

(350) Quoted in Susan Gross Solomon, Leo and Patrick Murard Zylberman, Shifting Boundaries of Public Health: Europe in the Twentieth Century, University of Rochester Press, 2013 (repr.) P. 14; SARS is subsiding but as unpredictably as it surfaced. K. Bradsher and L. K. Altmann 'Interview with Dr Mark Ryan, WHO, International Herald Tribune, July 23, 2003, European edition.

(351) “Like in 1918” he added, referring to the infamous Spanish flu epidemic that raged that year ”(Patrick Zylberman, Microbial Storms: An Essay on Health Security Policy in the Transatlantic World , Gallimard, Paris, 2003.

(352) Ibid.

(353) “Health security is today the object or the pretext of a vertiginous tumble in fiction. Exaggerated figures, unfounded analogies, scenarios of biological terror are some pointed examples ”. In what capacity was a successful novelist such as Richard Preston invited in 1997 to the conference of the Infectious Diseases Society of America alongside bioterrorism specialists? Because he had written many novels on infectious diseases (see Frédéric Keck, Scenarios of health catastrophes. About: Patrick Zylberman, Tempêtes microbiennes. Essay on health security policy in the transatlantic world, Gallimard, September 27, 2013 , <https://laviedesidees.fr/Scenarios-de-catastrophes-sanitaires.html> .

(354) Giorgio Agamben, biosicurezza e politica, <https://www.quodlibet.it/giorgio-agamben-biosicurezza> .

(355) Quoted in Vanja Rokvić and Zoran Jeftić, op. cit., p. 55.

(356) See Sara E. Davies, Securitizing Infectious Disease, In International Affairs, vol. 84, n ° 2, March 2008 [p. 295-313].

(357) Cf., among others, China quarantines US school group over flu concerns. CNN. May 28, 2009; Ship passengers cruisy in swine flu quarantine. ABC News. Australian Broadcasting Corporation, May 28, 2009; Japan Swine Flu Quarantine Ends for Air Passengers. New Tang Dynasty Television. May 17, 2009.

(358) See Brett Wilcox, Jabbed: How the Vaccine Industry, Medical Establishment, and Government Stick It to You and Your Family, Skyhorse, 2018; Simon Rushton, Security and Public Health, Pandemics and Politics in the Contemporary World, Polity Press, 2019; Michael Vance, Disease Mongering and the Fear of Pandemic Influenza. In International journal of health services: planning, administration, evaluation. 41. 2001 [p. 95-115]. 10.2190 / HS.41.1.g .

(359) Celine Klemm, Enny Das and Tilo Hartmann, Swine flu and hype: a systematic review of media dramatization of the H1N1 influenza pandemic, In Journal of Risk Research, vol. 19, n ° 1, 2016 [p. 1–20]. According to a report by the Committee on Social, Health and Family Affairs of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) prepared by an English deputy and made public in Paris in 2010, the management of the pandemic of H1N1 by WHO, EU agencies and national governments has led to a 'waste of large sums of public money, as well as unwarranted fears and fears about the health risks to the European public (Donald E. Low, MD and Allison McGeer, Pandemic (H1N1) 2009: assessing the response. In CMAJ, vol. 182, n ° 17, 23 November 2010 [p. 1874–8]. Doi: 10.1503 / cmaj. 100900).It looks like an annual report from the Court of Auditors.

(360) House of Commons. Science and Technology Committee, Science in Emergencies: UK Lessons from Ebola. Second report of Session 2015-2016, p. 29

(361) Theresa Vellek, Media Framing of the Ebola Crisis. Thesis. Duke University, Durham, NC 2016, <https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/11536/Vellek_Thesis_library.pdf?sequence=1> .

(362) <https://www.quodlibet.it/giorgio-agamben-biosicurezza> .

(363) Simulation and concealment should not be confused. “To conceal is to pretend not to have what we have. To simulate is to pretend to have what one does not have. One refers to a presence, the other to an absence. But the thing is more complicated, because to simulate is not to pretend: Whoever fakes an illness can simply go to bed and make believe that he is ill. Whoever simulates a disease determines some of the symptoms in himself. (Littré) So, to pretend, or to conceal, leaves the principle of reality intact: the difference is always clear, it is only masked. While simulation calls into question the difference between true and false, real and imaginary ”(Jean Baudrillard, simulacres et simulation, Éditions Galilée, 1981 p. 12).

(363bis) Concealment is therefore to be distinguished from representation: “The latter starts from the principle of the sign and the real (even if this equivalence is utopian, it is a fundamental axiom). The simulation starts in the opposite direction from the utopia of the principle of equivalence, starts from the radical negation of the sign as value, starts from the sign as the reversion and killing of all reference. Whereas the representation tries to absorb the simulation by interpreting it as a false representation, the simulation envelops the whole edifice of the representation itself as a simulacrum ”(ibid, p. 19-20);

(364) According to Baudrillard, the image would have known four successive phases, the first “representative”, the last three “simulators”: “

• it is the reflection of a deep reality (in traditional societies)

• it masks and distorts a deep reality (in pre-modern societies)

• it masks the absence of deep reality (in modern societies)

• it is unrelated to any reality whatsoever: it is its own pure simulacrum. (in postmodern societies)

“In the first case, the image is a good appearance.

“- the representation is of the order of the sacrament. In the second, she is a bad appearance - in the order of the spell. In the third, she plays at being an appearance - she is of the order of the spell. In the fourth, it is no longer of the order of appearance, but of simulation ”(ibid., P. 19).

In short, the image is a representation in the first case, a simulacrum in the last three. These “t) kings orders of simulacra” correspond to three “mutations of the law of value, (which) have followed one another since the Renaissance” (id., Symbolical exchange and death, Gallimard, Paris, 1976, p. . 81). "The first-order simulacrum plays on the natural law of value, the second-order one on the market law of value, the third-order one on the structural law of value" (ibid.)

Except inattention on our part, Baudrillard does not indicate under which law of value traditional societies lived. Anyway, we maintain, for our part, that the representation is only the first stage of the simulation and therefore does not reflect a "deep reality"; "To represent" (lat. Repraesento), etymologically, means, besides "to put in front of the eyes", "to reproduce", "to repeat" as well as "to immediately apply a remedy", "to bring forth without delay his evil designs", to pay cash "; "Repraesentator", "he who represents, who is the image of". “The Romans were well acquainted with the twin concepts of representation and representatives in court cases and in the relationship between father and son and owner and slave. But for these concepts,they did not use the terms 'repraesentare' or any related term. (This is) Tertullian, it seems, (who) (...) first used the terms 'repraesentare' and 'repraesentator' in their modern sense (...) Thus, he uses repraesentare to mean that the most big and the most important can be the most numerous and the less important. This usage has had a long and bright future (in political theory) (Alan Watson, Repraesentatio in Classical Latin, in Massimo Faggioli and Alberto Melloni eds. Repraesentatio: Mapping a keyword for Churches and Governance, proceedings of the Colloque de San Miniatio, 13 -16 October 2004, LIT Verlag, Berlin and Munster, 2006, p. 15-19). Indeed,the mechanisms of plurality and participation that Tertullian entails in “representation” anticipate democratic discourse and practice (Representation as a political-theological concept: A critique of Carl Schmitt, Philosophy and Social Criticism, vol. 44, n ° 5, 2018 [507-527]). In the meantime, it was in the “Middle Ages” that the political applications of Tertullian's theory of representation began to germinate, when “(l) ecclesiastical literature (…) (appropriated) the term representation for apply to the Church - the community of Christians - which she will present as the mystical body of Christ. The High Middle Ages saw the generalization of this metaphor which, for the Pope and his cardinals, became an excellent means of presenting themselves as the earthly incarnation of Christ and his apostles.

“This 'representation' is understood as a personification of the community, an incarnation or even a figuration; it does not in any way claim to establish any mandate between the represented and the representatives. The latter only occupy their rightful place per succession. The idea of ​​universitas or corporate and collective person thus spreads: persona repraesentata, repraesenta unam personam, unum personae repraesentat vicem. In other words, a collective person is a person by representation. What Hobbes would later call a fictitious or artificial person. “At the same time, the Glossators will derive from Roman law the idea that the Prince or the Emperor acts for the 'people' and seeks the 'common good'.Canonists will begin to adopt this idea and then apply it to aspects of ecclesiastical life. But neither the Glossators nor the Canonists will expressly use the term 'representation'.

“Nevertheless, from the 13th century, we ceased to consider Christ as a member of the ecclesial body. We come to say that he is the head of the body because he is mystically the whole Church. This extensive interpretation is subsequently applied to the Pope. We no longer say that he is a leader because he enjoys a plenitude comparable to no other, but that he enjoys this plenitude because he is a leader. This ambivalence does not fail to exploit an idea that we already found in Saint Paul for whom the face of Christ had taken on a double meaning: he was the head of the spiritual body, therefore a member of this body, at the same time as 'he was the whole of Christ, the unique person who constituted head and limbs.

“The jurists of the end of the thirteenth century will not hesitate to assert that the Prince is the 'representative of the whole of the community'. We even find, among some, a very scholarly elaboration tending to justify that a community can act as prosecutor in a criminal dispute. A priori such an action seems impossible since a private person having to appear in person, a community could achieve it. Some jurists get around the difficulty by explaining that, in a certain sense, the prosecutor “represents” the fictitious person of the community, so that the latter is present in the person of the prosecutor.

"The uses of the term representation therefore often hesitate between two very different meanings that it is even difficult to give in French: 'to take the place of' or 'to incarnate' on the one hand - when it comes to saying that ' a natural person replaces a collectivity - and “act for” the other, when we want to describe that a natural person replaces another ”(Pierre Brunet. The justifying principles: The Representation. 2011. ffhalshs- 00661840f).

(365) Following Marx, Baudrillard considers the modern era to be the era of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, in which workers were exploited by capital and constituted a revolutionary force of upheaval, but, by asserting that the political economy is out of date, he asserts that the Marxist problematic and of modernity itself are over.

(366) Jean Baudrillard, The symbolic exchange…, p. 29.

(366bis) The "World Sentient Simulation" is defined by its designer as a "mirror of the real world, functioning continuously and continuously updated and which can be used to predict and evaluate events and actions" ( https: //archive.is/20060911223310/http://www.purdue.edu/acsl/abstract/march10\_06.htmlAlok Chaturvedi, Computational Challenges for a Sentient World Simulation, In MSEE, 25, 10 March 2006) as well as, let us specify it since he does not do it, to read minds and predict behavior (Daniel Faggella,

Sentient World Simulation and NSA Surveillance - Exploiting Privacy to Predict the Future ?, May 19, 2019, <https://emerj.com/ai-future-outlook/nsa-surveillance-and-sentient-world-simulation-exploiting-privacy-to-predict>- the-future / ). Do you need a machine to predict the behavior of most people?

(366ter) <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01578121/document>, p. 13. Digital simulation is a method of investigating real phenomena, processes, devices or systems based on the study of mathematical models using digital computers. The program executed by the computer is also a kind of model of the object of the investigation.

(366quater) According to the designers of the HyperWorld (HyperWorld), “The HM is a homogeneous mixture of a (physically) real world (MR) and a virtual world (MV). The HM can therefore be defined as (MR, MV).

“A real world is made up of real natural features, real buildings and real objects. It is about anything which is atomically present in a medium and which is described as (SE), that is to say that the scene exists ("the scene exists").

“A virtual world is anything that is present in a setting in the form of bits of computer-generated information. It consists of the following:

"- SFC (Scene filmed by the camera): The natural features, buildings and objects that

can be filmed with cameras (video and / or photo), transmitted by telecommunication and displayed in VR (Vurtual Reality).

"- SVA (Scene recognized by artificial vision ([" Computer Vision "]): Natural elements, buildings, objects and inhabitants whose 3D images are already in a database and are recognized by artificial vision, transmitted by telecommunications and reproduced by computer graphics and displayed in VR.

- SCG (Scene generated by computer graphics: 3D objects created by computer graphics, transmitted by telecommunications and displayed in VR. ”Nothing that a person experiences in the HyperWorld is based on material reality and does not depend on a medium physics <. (John Tiffin and Nobuyoshi Terashima, Hypereality: Paradigm for the Third Millenium, Routledge, London and New York, 2001, p. 8).

(367) Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality has been strongly influenced by phenomenology, semiotics and Marshall McLuhan, from which the philosopher takes up the idea that the "medium is the message" and extends it.

McLuhan's formula: 'The medium is the message', he writes, must be admitted as a fundamental trait in the analysis of consumption. ' This means that the real message delivered by TV and radio media, the one that is decoded and 'consumed' unconsciously and deeply, is not the manifest content of sounds and images, it is the constraining scheme, linked to the the very technical essence of these media, of disarticulation of the real in successive and equivalent signs: it is the normal, programmed, miraculous transition from Vietnam to the music hall, on the basis of a total abstraction of one as well as of the other.

“And there is a law of technological inertia which means that the closer we get to the document-truth, to 'live with', the more we track reality with color, relief, etc., the more we get deeper, of improvement in technical improvement, the real absence in the world. The 'truth' of TV or radio is more obvious, which is that each message has first the function of referring to another message, Vietnam to advertising, this one to the spoken word, etc. - their systematic juxtaposition being the discursive mode of the medium, its message, its meaning. But in speaking to himself in this way, we must see that he imposes a whole system of dividing up and interpreting the world. "This technological process of mass communications delivers a certain sort of very imperative message : message consumption message, division and spectacularization, ignorance of the world and enhancement of information as a commodity, exaltation of content as a sign. In short, a function of conditioning (in the advertising sense of the term - in this sense, advertising is the 'mass' medium par excellence, the patterns of which permeate all other media) and ignorance.

“This is true of all media, and even of the medium book, literacy, which McLuhan makes one of the major articulations of his theory. He understands that the appearance of the printed book was a major turning point in our civilization, not so much in terms of the content it conveyed from generation to generation (ideological, informational, scientific, etc.) as through itsfundamental constraint of systematization which it exercises through its technical essence . He understands that I deliver is first and foremost a technical model, and that the order of communication that reigns there (the visualized division, letters, words, pages, etc.) is a more significant model, more determining in the long term than any symbol, idea or phantasm that makes the speech manifest: 'The effects of technology are not seen at the level of opinions and concepts, but alter sensitive relationships and patterns of perception continuously and unconsciously.'

“This is obvious: the content most of the time hides from us the real function of the medium. It gives itself as a message, whereas the real message, in relation to which the manifest discourse is perhaps only connotation, is the structural change (of scale, of models, of habit) carried out in depth on human relations. Roughly speaking, the 'message' of the railway is not the coal or the travelers it carries, it is a vision of the world, a new statute for towns, etc. The 'message' of TV is not the images it transmits, it is the new modes of relationship and perception that it imposes, the change in the traditional structures of the family and the group. Further still, in the case of modern TV and mass media, what is received, assimilated, 'consumed',it is less such a spectacle than the virtuality of all the spectacles.

"The truth of the mass media is therefore this: their function is to neutralize the lived, unique, event-driven character of the world, to substitute a multiple universe of media homogeneous to each other as such, meaning the one another and referring to each other. Ultimately, they become the reciprocal content of each other - and this is the totalitarian 'message' of a consumer society .

“What the TV medium conveys is, through its technical organization, the idea (the ideology) of a world that can be viewed at will, cut up at will and readable in images. It conveys the ideology of the omnipotence of a reading system over a world that has become a system of signs.. The images on TV are intended to be the metalanguage of an absent world. Like the smallest technical object, the smallest gadget is the promise of a universal technical assumption, thus the images / signs are the presumption of an exhaustive imagination of the world, of a total assumption of the real mode in the image that would be. like memory, the universal reading cell. Behind the 'consumption of images' looms the imperialism of a reading system: more and more will tend to exist only what can be read (what must be read: the 'legendary'). And then it will no longer be a question of the truth of the world, or of its history, but only of the internal coherence of the reading system. This is how in a confused, conflicting, contradictory world, each medium imposes its own more abstract, more coherent logic, imposes itself, it, medium,as a message, to use McLuhan's expression. And it is the substance of the world, fragmented, filtered, reinterpreted according to this code which is both technical and legendary 'that we' consume. ”(Jean Baudrillard, The Consumer Society: Its Myths, Its Structures, Denoël, 1970, p. 187-90).

Baudrillard extends the idea that “the medium is the message” by the proposition that “the message is the Simulacrum” (François Mattéi, Devastated Man: Essay on the Deconstruction of Culture, Grasset, 2015).

(368) Id., The other by himself: habilitation, Editions Galilée, 1987, p; 24. See also Jean Baudrillard, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/baudrillard/#TheoFictBaudContMome> , which is reproduced in part here.

(369) Alain Mons, The crossing of the visible: contemporary images and places, Passion, 2002, p. 83.

(369b) The ancient Greek had five words to make the Latin imago , which is derived from "picture": eidolon [εἴδωλον] eikon [εἰκών] phantasm [φάνταὓμα]emphasis [ἔμϕαὓιὖ], tupos [τύποὖ]. In Homeric literature, the eikôn is a transposition of the essence of the image, while the eidolon is a copy of its sensitive appearance, a lure, an illusion of presence, a fantasy, a phantom (Homer). This opposition is illustrated by the distinction made there between gods assimilated to men and men compared to gods. “In the first case (…) this assimilation is always expressed by words of the family of eidolon . To say that a god is in the image of a man is to say that he is the double. In the second case, the resemblance which is always expressed by eoikos (or its homoios equivalentsor enalinkios ) is on another level. If a human being is in the image of the god, it is not because he reproduces the physical appearance of this or that particular deity, but because he possesses, to an exceptional degree, on a physical level. be moral, a quality that the gods possess in a supreme degree ”(Suzanne Saïd, Two names of the image in ancient Greek: idol and icon. Reports of the sessions of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, 131-2 , 1987 [p. 309-330], p. 322). The eidolon “addresses itself to the gaze and to itself alone. 'It is him that she retains, that she fascinates and that she fulfills', to the point of making her forget a model for which she completely replaces ”(ibid., P. 323). The eikônon the contrary is addressed to the intelligence and this is how the word comes to designate a figure of rhetoric in Aristophanes and Aristotle, before being applied regularly to the images of the emperors, “perhaps because these effigies sought first of all to reveal, beyond the individual and his singular features, the 'real' emperor, with the essential characteristics of his function ”(ibid., p. 324). "The visible eidolon ended up being reduced to a pure appearance and applied to gods who exist only through their image, while eikôn ended up being reserved for representations of God" (ibid., P. 311).

At Plato, eidola, “It is the bodies or, more exactly, the corpses as well as the souls which are still mixed with corporeality and are only 'shadowy specters of souls'. More broadly, the image / eidolon , a product of human art or a simple reflection, is regularly opposed, in the Sophist and elsewhere, to the object 'itself' (autos) ”(ibid., P. 316) . The eidola is described as a "lure" of "deception" and even "witchcraft" (ibid.). Plato had chosen to use this word to devalue the productions of the plastic arts and had strongly accentuated its negative character.

Plato distinguishes eikastiké (the art of copying, resembling) from phantastiké(the art of simulacrum). The first produces copies of the appearance, which preserve the truth of the model in that they respect its real proportions, while the phantastike sacrifices the real proportions of objects to optical proportions. The philosopher also speaks of philosophical eikones , images which make sensitive the essence of an individual or a reality and constitute, like myths, instruments of knowledge. For example, there are eikones of Socrates. Moreover, “(i) n the Timaeus , the kosmos is (…) an 'icon' made by a Demiurge who has his eyes fixed on the form as on a model ( paradeigma). But his imitation is not a copy. It does not reproduce the sensible appearance of the form which, by definition, does not have any, but it transposes into the sensible the relation which constitutes it in the intelligible ”(ibid., P. 325).

To eikôn Plato opposes phantasma (ϕάνταὓμα) (from phainesthai [ϕαίνεὓθαι], “to shine, to show oneself, to appear”, via phantazesthai [ϕαντάζεὓθαι], “to show oneself, to appear”). To define phantasma , he takes for example the practice of painters which consists in representing objects, not as they are, but as they appear according to their position and the point of view of the observer ( République , 236b). The phantasmais therefore a trompe l'oeil (“It seems imprecise to translate […] phantasma by“ simulacrum ”, a word which has often been chosen, but which today evokes something in which no one really believes [as when speaking of a simulacrum of peace], while phantasma insists rather on a present appearance to be mistaken, carrying all the credibility that a successful 'trompe-l'oeil' can conceal ”, https: //vep.lerobert. com / Pages\_HTML / EIDOLON.HTM ).

In line with Platonism, Plotinus values ​​the eikôn over the eidolon, that, however, unlike Plato, he does not regard as outright negative. For him, the visible image “turns away from being and draws 'into dark depths and hostile to the Intellect' those who devote themselves to its contemplation, without knowing that it is only a reflection of which it is is itself the cause. On the contrary, the eikôn puts man on the path to knowledge by orienting him towards the 'model' ( paradeigma ) and the archetype '”(Suzanne Saïd, op. Cit., P. 327). Some look at a painting only "with their eyes" and see only an eidolon ; others "'recognize ... the representation in the sensible of a being situated in the intelligible world' (9, 16)" (cited in ibid., p. 328), that is to say that he is for them aeikôn . Artists in particular are able to take the image as the starting point for the anamnesis and the ascent to the One. The best illustrations of this neo-Platonic aesthetic are provided by the images of early Christian art, "signs which are addressed above all to the intelligence and suggest more than they actually show" (A. Grabar, The ways of creation in Christian iconography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Flammarion, 2009, p. 12, cited in ibid., p. 328), by the Septuagint and Christian writings.

In the Septuagint, the Hebrew terms tselem and demuth in the expression "in our image and likeness" ( b-tsalmenou ki-demoutenou) (\*) are translated respectively by eikôn and homoiosis and, in the Vulgate, Latin translation of the Septuagint, which, after having become authoritative from the sixth century, was designated under the name of vulgata versio ("commonly used text" ) in the 12th century and declared authentic by the Council of Trent (1546), by imago et similitudo (Nanine Charbonnel, Critique des métaphysiques du proper: La resemblance et le Verbe, Georg Olms Vermag, Hildersheim, Zurich and New York, 2014, p . 173). However, imago is an ambiguous term, the meaning of which, in fact, covers more that of eidolon than that of eikôn . Trained, like imitor , on the root im , imagoliterally means “representation”, “portrait”, “statue”, in particular “ancestor portrait, image [in wax, placed in the atrium, brought to the funeral]” and, by extension, “image, shadow of 'a dead man' (Virgil, Cicero), 'phantom, vision, dream, apparition' (Horace, Tibullus), 'specter'; figuratively, it means "image, copy, reproduction" (Cicero), "copy, imitation" as opposed to reality (Quintilian), "mask" (Tacitus), "shadow, phantom, appearance" (Cicero), "representation by thought, evocation, thought ”. Cicero uses it in the sense of “faithful reproduction” as in that of “illusion” (\*\*). To confuse things even more, Lucretia designates the image of objects by the term simulacrum, which, in his eyes, “is neither a misleading image, nor a ghost, nor a form less real than the reality from which it emanates. On the contrary, it is the ontology of thought: the body of truth, the being of substance as it is thought without changing its nature (...) 'which remains the same' ”(Agnès Lagache, Lucrèce: fantasies and limits of mechanistic thought, Éditions Alpha bleue, 1997, p. 58) (\*\*\*). Similarly, Pliny and Cicero use it in the sense of "figurative representation of something" and, by extension, "image, portrait, effigy, statue", that is to say as a synonym of imago (William Fulke, A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures Into the English Tongue: Against the Cavils of Gregory Martin, The University Press, 1843, p. 102).

It is commonly accepted that ecclesiastical writers use the word "simulacrum" only for forbidden idols (for example, Jerome translates as simulacrum the Hebrew terms pesel , "statue" and massbah , "sacred pillar, tombstone or stone. burial '). In fact, this is not the case with everyone. Lactantius calls men vivia Dei simulacra , "the living images of God", as opposed to simulacra insensibilia Deorum, “The senseless images of the Gods”, while specifying, in a chapter entitled “De simulacris et vero Dei simulacro et cultu” (“Images and the true image and the worship of God”), that the simulacrum implies the similarity and that, therefore, pagan idols, having no resemblance to God, cannot properly be called simulacra (cited in ibid.). Augustine, after having first called the forbidden idols and the imagined "false gods", names them simulacra , a term which he nevertheless uses elsewhere in the sense of "mental images" ("all the objects that God had had executed in inside the tabernacle were for the worship of God, although none of them were to be honored as God or as the image of God. " quam pro Deo aliquid eorum, aut pro Dei simulacro colendum haberetur ”, cited in ibid., p. 103). Arnobe and Lactantius also use the word “simulacrum” to denote an image in general, calling the man simulacrum Dei (cited in ibid., P. 104).

Simulacrum was valued in optical treatises that were written in Europe from the 12th century, following the rediscovery of the Latin translation of Timaeus by Calcidius, a translation that this neoplatonic philosopher of the 6th century AD qualifies as simulacrum. (Christina Hoenig, Εἰκὼς λόγος: Plato in Translation (s). In Methodos [Online], 13, 2013. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/methodos/2994>). In the School of Chartres, the term, "originally (, in Lucrèce,) the translation of εἴδωλα projected by visible bodies, comes to designate the specular image, a real substance resulting from form and color. which escape from the object and projected onto the surface of the mirror ”(Colette Dufossé. Theories and vocabulary of vision in the Greek and Latin worlds from the 4th to the 12th century. In History, Philosophy and Sociology of science. Practical school of Hautes Études de Paris, 2013. French. Fftel-01972468, p. 578). At Hugues de Saint-Victor as at Plotinus, the simulacraallow man to rise from the visible to the invisible (J.-A. Robilliard, Did Hugues de Saint-Victor write the 'De Contemplatione et ejus speciebus'? In Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques , vol. 43, n ° 4, October 1959 [p. 621-31], p. 624).

(\*) Selem ("image") would mean "shadow" (Merrill F. Unger, The New Unger's Bible Dictionary, edited by RK Harrison, Moody Publishers, 2006; "dying shadow", according to Peter Sterry, The Rise, Race, and Royalty of the Kingdom of God in the Soul of Man, London, 1683, p. 115; as for semel ("semblance"), it would correspond more to the Latin simulacrum [ibid.]).

(\*\*) “… imago is similar to the Greek eidolon , with which it covers all the abstract meanings (…) particularly simulation (…). It is equivalent toBild , Gestalt in German and with figure , pattern , picture , frame , shape (in English); imago " does not derive from the perception of reality , but from an eidolopoietiké activity (Plato), it is the ' fictio ' of the Romans, linked to the imagination ( phantastokon ) which generates phantasmata " (it is us who emphasis) (Domenico Chianese and Andreina Fontana, Immaginando, 2nd ed., FrancoAngeli, Milan, 2013, p. 26; "In Luther's translation, Bild ( gottes ) corresponds to Hebrewsèlèm , Greek eidolon and Latin imago ”, Barbara Cassin, Emily Apter, Jacques Lezra and Michael Wood [eds.], Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon, p. 107).

(\*\*\*) According to Lucretia, “(n) our sensations are produced (…) by invisible corpuscles, distributed in the atmosphere, which, by entering the various ducts of our bodies, affect our souls in various ways : these simulacra are divided into different classes. Some are sent by the bodies themselves, and are emanations or from the surface, or from the interior of objects; the others are formed in the air; others are just a mixture of both, which chance often brings together in the atmosphere. All these simulacra are of an inconceivable finesse and subtlety, and consequently endowed with a very high speed "According to this notion of simulacra, the poet tries to explain in a satisfactory manner the whole mechanism of sensations. and ideas ”. The vision, which alone interests our subject,"Is produced by simulacra emanating from the very surface of bodies, which make us judge not only the color, size and figure of objects, but also their distance, movement, etc." It is true that often the judgments we make as a result of these perceptions are false; but the error never comes from the organ, which reports only the precise sensation it experiences, but from the precipitation of the mind, which always hastens to add something of its own accord to their report: whence he concludes that the senses are infallible guides, the only judges of truth ”(Lucrèce, De la nature des choses, translated by La Grange. t. 2, Paris, 1794, p. 110).but also their distance, their movement, etc. It is true that often the judgments we make as a result of these perceptions are false; but the error never comes from the organ, which reports only the precise sensation it experiences, but from the precipitation of the mind, which always hastens to add something of its own accord to their report: whence he concludes that the senses are infallible guides, the only judges of truth ”(Lucrèce, De la nature des choses, translated by La Grange. t. 2, Paris, 1794, p. 110).but also their distance, their movement, etc. It is true that often the judgments we make as a result of these perceptions are false; but the error never comes from the organ, which only reports the precise sensation it experiences, but from the precipitation of the mind, which always hastens to add something of its own to their report: whence he concludes that the senses are infallible guides, the only judges of truth ”(Lucrèce, De la nature des choses, translated by La Grange. t. 2, Paris, 1794, p. 110).who always hastens to add something from his own background to their report: from where he concludes that the senses are infallible guides, the only judges of truth ”(Lucrèce, De la nature des choses, translated by La Grange . t. 2, Paris, 1794, p. 110).who always hastens to add something from his own background to their report: from where he concludes that the senses are infallible guides, the only judges of truth ”(Lucrèce, De la nature des choses, translated by La Grange . t. 2, Paris, 1794, p. 110).

(369bis) See, on the subject of the link between the development of the figurative arts and that of the theory of representation, Lars Vissing.Machiavel et la politique de la appearance, PUF, paris, 1986.

(369ter) “The simulation of the political far exceeds elections: it touches the heart of politics, the heart of its principle of reality, and it should not be confused with two banal meanings, with the theater of the political (the staging and the permanent grotesque that we offer the protagonists of the political sphere: that is theater, and not simulation) nor with the discourse of politics (the fabrication of reasons and ends, the play of tricks, strategies and ideologies: that, it is concealment, not simulation).

“Saussure gave two dimensions to the exchange of the terms of language, by assimilating these to money: a coin must be able to be exchanged for a real good of some value, on the other hand, it must be able to be relating to all other terms of the monetary system. It is for this last aspect that he reserved, in terms of language, the term of value: the relativity, internal to the general system, of all the terms between them. It is this stage of total relativity that is reached everywhere today, both in the sphere of money, with the flotation, the loss of the gold standard and the writing systems, as in the sphere of signs , with the media, where all the signs are of simulation, in the sense that they are exchanged between them without being exchanged at all for the "real", that in the sphere of the political,where the simulation of opposition between a left and a right is accompanied by the loss of reference to any real social production of opinion and of the only reference to this general equivalent (or rather to this simulation model ) that is public opinion.

“The only referent that still functions is that of the silent majority . All current systems operate on this nebulous entity, on this floating substance whose existence is no longer social, but statistical, and whose only mode of appearance is that of sounding. Simulacrum on the horizon of the social, or rather: behind which already the social has disappeared. That the silent majority, or the masses, are an imaginary referent does not mean that they do not exist, but that there is no longer a possible representation of them.. The masses, unlike the people, are no longer a referent because they are no longer in the order of representation. They do not express themselves, we probe them. They don't think, we test them. The referendum (and the media is a perpetual referendum of directed questions and answers) replaced the political referent. However, polls, tests, referendums, media are devices that no longer fall within a representative dimension, but simulative. They no longer target a referent, but a model. The revolution here is total, with the devices of classical sociality (of which the election, the institutions, the instances of representation, and even of repression belong) where social meaning still passes from one pole to the other, in a dialectical structure that leaves room for a political issue and contradictions.

“Everything changes in the simulation system. In the polls / silent majority couple, for example, there are no more poles or alternating current, no more differential terms and therefore no more social electricity either. The poles have, as it were, merged or vanished in a signaling, computer circularity (exactly as it is with the molecular command of the substance that it informs in DNA and the genetic code). Bombed with stimuli, messages and tests, the masses are nothing more than an opaque, blind deposit, like those clusters of stellar gases that we only know through the analysis of their light spectrum - equivalent spectrum of radiation. statistics and polls - but precisely: it can no longer be a question of expression or representation,just simulating a social forever inexpressible and unexpressed. This is the meaning of the majority silent .

“Not all majority has always been, but today it is by definition. Maybe she was reduced to silence but it is not safe. Because this silence, if it means well that she does not speak, means above all that it is no longer possible to speak in her name : no one can be said to represent the silent majority or the masses, and it is there their revenge. They are no longer an instance to which one can refer as in the past to the class or the people. Retired in its silence, the mass is no longer a subject (especially not history), it can no longer be spoken, articulated represented, nor go through the stage of the political mirror and the cycle of imaginary identifications. We see what power this results from it, because, not being a subject, the mass can no longer even be alienated : neither in its own language (it does not have any), nor in any other who would claim to speak for it.

“Such is the paradoxical meaning of this silence: it can appear as the absolute form of alienation, but it is also an absolute weapon. The masses are inaccessible to the schemes of liberation, revolution and historicity, but this is their own mode of defense, their own form of retaliation. It is a simulation model, an alibi for the use of a phantom political class which no longer knows what sort of "political" power it exercises over it, and at the same time death, the end of this political process which is supposed to govern it. In her the political is affirmed as will and representation .

“The strategy of power has long seemed to rest on the apathy of the masses. The more passive they were, the more assured he was. But this logic is characteristic only of a certain phase of centralization of power. And it is this same logic which is turned against him today: the inertia which he fomented becomes the sign of his own death. This is why he seeks to reverse this strategy into a strategy of participation. But it's too late. The threshold of ' critical mass ', that of social involution by inertia, has been crossed.

“Everywhere we try to make the masses speak, we urge them to exist socially, electorally, union, sexually, in participation, in celebration, in free expression, etc. We must ward off the specter and let him say his name. Nothing shows more vividly that the only real problem today is the silence of the masses, the silence of the silent majority. It is the political order, it is the principle of social reality that is at stake.

“All 'social' energies are exhausted in maintaining this mass in directed emulsion and preventing it from relapsing into its panic inertia and its silence. No longer being the reign of will or representation, it falls back under the influence of pure and simple interpretation - hence the universal reign of information and statistics: it must be auscultated, sensed , bring out some oracle, inject meaning into it.

"The political sphere lives only on an assumption of credibility, namely that the masses are permeable to action and to speech, that they have an opinion, that they are there, present, behind polls and statistics . It is at this price alone that the political class can still believe that it leads, that it manipulates, that it speaks and that it is heard "politically". Whereas for a long time the politician no longer acts as a spectacle on the screen of private life.

" Polls. They are the essential medium of political simulation. “ Some will regret that the TV button and the PMU prognosis (polls) blithely replace forming an opinion. They didn't understand politics »(B. Chapuis). There is a rigorous, necessary relationship between the loss of reality and of the political frame of reference and the appearance of polls. In this passage from the political to the calculated alternation (equivalence of the opposing poles), the polls are the statistical modeling of this alternation, they are the mirror of this equivalence and of this deep neutralization - mirror of a public opinion and of its reproduction undefined without final destination - a bit like the GNP is the imaginary mirror of the productive forces, without regard at all to their destination, their finality or social counter-finality: the whole is that "it" happens again. The same goes for public opinion: it must constantly redouble itself in its own image, this is the secret of a mass “representation”. No one should any longer produce an opinion, confront it and confront it with others - we should all reproduce public opinion, in the sense that all rush into this general equivalent, into this simulation model, and into it. proceed again.

"The only ones who believe in polls are members of the political class, as the only ones who ultimately believe in publicity are advertisers, and this not out of some stupidity, but because polls are homogeneous in their modeling, with the current functioning of the Politics. They therefore take on a tactical value - at the limit - it is an instrument that the political class gives itself to play and reproduce according to its own rules of the game. It is the burlesque spectacle of this political sphere hyper representative of nothing at all, which people are tasting through polls and the media. The polls are neither the place of a stake nor of a real evaluation, but that of a jubilation proper to their statistical contemplation .

“Unlike concealment, which always assumes a hidden truth, simulation opens onto a political universe where all assumptions are reversible, and simultaneously true (or false). Neither true nor false for that matter. It's like the hyper real: neither beautiful nor ugly - it's the real, plus the real, the more the image of the real, etc. "

(...)

“Power has long produced only signs of its resemblance. And, suddenly, another figure of power arises and unfolds: that of a collective demand for signs of power. A sacred union that is being rebuilt around his disappearance. Everyone adheres to it more or less in terror of this political collapse. And the power game comes to be nothing more than the critical obsession with the dead power: obsession with its death, obsession with its survival. A whole new type of “default” sociality is perhaps forming and developing around this void (…). When power has completely disappeared we will logically be in a total hallucination of power - a fear such as it is already looming everywhere, expressing at the same time the compulsion to get rid of it (no one wants it anymore,everyone passes it on to others) and the nostalgia panics for its loss. Melancholy of powerless societies (…).

“We are still there (…). It will undoubtedly even end up giving socialism . By an unexpected twist and a ruse which is no longer that of history, it is from the death of the social that socialism will arise, just as it is from the death of the stake that religions arise. A devious advent, a perverse event, an unintelligible reversion to the logic of reason. As is the fact that power is, in short, only there to hide that there is no longer any. Simulation which can last indefinitely, because unlike the 'real' power which is, or has been, a structure, a strategy a balance of power, a stake, this one being only the object of a demand social, and therefore object of the law of supply and demand, is no longer subject to violence and death. Completely redacted from the political dimension , it comes, like any other commodity, to mass production and consumption. All spark has disappeared, only the fiction of a political universe is saved ”(Jean Baudrillard, In the shadow of the silent majority, Editions Utopie, Paris, 1978).

(370) Nicolas Machiavel, Le prince, new translation by C. Ferrari, 2nd ed, 1866, Paris, p. 139-40.

(371) In The Six Books of the Republic, Bodin criticizes Macchiavel for having, like other authors following the opinion of the French political theorist, “(profaned) the sacred mysteries of Political Philosophy: thing that gave opportunity to disturb and overthrow fine estates ”(quoted in Mario D'Addio, Il pensiero politico di Gaspare Scioppio e il machiavellismo del Seicento, Giuffrè, 1962, p. 290)

(372) Peter S. Donaldson, Macchiavelli and the Mystery of State, Cambridge University Press; 1982, p. 18.

(373) See ibid., Chap. 2.

(374) See ibid., Chap. 3.

(375) See ibid., Chap. 6.

(376) See Ibid., Chap. 5. “Naudé himself did not believe in magic, no more in royal magic than in any other; in fact, he was well known to be a great fashion debunker for magic and superstition in general. What he believed in was an ancient tradition of magic, most often fictitious, but of immense political importance, and it is to this tradition to which he considers Machiavelli to belong and in which he places his own political writings ”( ibid., p. 142).

(377) Quoted in ibid., P. 127.

(378) Quoted in Sandro Chignola, “Etwas Morsches im Recht”. On Violence and the Law, Petar Bojanić and Guillaume Sibertin-Blanc (eds.), FROM TERREUR TO EXTREME VIOLENCE, EuroPhilosophie, Toulouse p. 70.

(379) Ibid., P. 64.

(380) Ibid.

(381) Peter S. Donaldson, op. cit., p. 137.

(382) Imbert Jean De Francisci (P.). Arcana Imperii. In Belgian review of philology and history, t. 28, fasc. 1, 1950 [p. 226-9], p. 226-7.

(382bis) The substantive "mask" entered the French language in the sixteenth century, where it was often used in the feminine, as is, in Italian, "maschera", from which it is probably taken and which also probably comes from the Arabic maskhara, “buffoon”, “joke”, “fun”, “mockery”, sakara / sakhira, “to make fun of someone”, “to laugh at someone's expense” (L. Marcel Devic, Dictionary etymological of French words of oriental origin, Librairie Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1878, p. 158; Mohamad Al-Fallouji, Paradise Dictionary. Dictionary of English Words of Arabic Etymology, part 2, Obekan Library, Riyadh, 2012). “[T] he Italians would have been the first among the European peoples to adopt the Arabic word, because it is in their country that the masquerades, which took place on the occasion of the carnival,have arisen. At the beginning, the term designated a baladin, a jester with a mask, a puppet who played an important role during the carnival, who made others laugh and who was himself a laughing stock; later it was applied to the object which, in such a jester, struck the eye the most, that is to say, to the mask with which he covered his face ”(Reinhart Dozy, Glossary of Spanish words and Portuguese derived from Arabic, Brill, Leyden, 1869, p. 506).with the mask with which he covered his face ”(Reinhart Dozy, Glossary of Spanish and Portuguese words derived from Arabic, Brill, Leyden, 1869, p. 506).with the mask with which he covered his face ”(Reinhart Dozy, Glossary of Spanish and Portuguese words derived from Arabic, Brill, Leyden, 1869, p. 506).

In medieval Latin, we find masca , mascus (possibly from the Teutonic maskwo , "filet", related to the Middle English mesche , "mesh", "filet", probably from Old English max, "filet", more formerly mæscre , from proto-germanic \* mask - [old norse möskvi , danish maske , swedish maska , old saxon masca , middle dutch maessce , dutch maas , old high german masca , german masche) , from proto-indo-european \* mezg - " knitting, braiding, twisting ”(<https://www.etymonline.com/word/mesh> ).

Masca (the feminine form preceded the masculine form) (Auguste Scheler, Dictionary of French etymology according to the results of modern science, new edition, Brussels and London, 1873, p. 292), mascus has a double meaning : 1. Witch, meaning which, present in the Laws of the Lombards, under LXXVI, paragraph 1, where striga , synonym of lamia (witch) in Low Latin, is explained by masca (" striga quod est masca "), is finds in Gervais de Tilbury (12th century) who, in Otia imperialia (dec. III, cap. 86, ed. F. Liebrecht, p. 39) defines lamiae as follows: " Lamias, quas vulgo mascas aut in gallica lingua strias ... dicunt nocturnas esse imagines, quae magnitie humorem animas dormientium disturbing, and pondus faciunt "," Lamies, which are commonly called 'masks' or in French 'stries', they ( physicists) say that they are nocturnal representations which, from the thickening of moods, disturb the souls of sleepers and cause an impression of being crushed ”(Claude Lecouteux and Philippe Marcq, Les esprits et les morts, H. Champion, 1990, p. 27; the Low-Latin term masca or mascara was synonymous with the classical Latin striga , lamia ); 2. False face or scarecrow (" inquentes larvam (\*) furvum phantasma putabant: de laudibus virginum (…). Ut procul effulgeret facies larvata nefandi (…) Nam tremulos terret nocturnis larva latebris, / Quae solet in furvis Semper garrire tenebris; / Sic quoque mascarum facies cristata facessit, / Cum larbam et mascam miles non horreat audax (…) ”, Aldhelm (c. 680), Carmen de Virginitate I. 2244; II. 2856-2859).

The historian, linguist and philologist Du Cange (1610-1688), citing the glossary written by Agno Ugutio, bishop of Ferrara who died in 1212, defines mascha as follows: “ Larva, Simulacrum, quod terret, quod vulgo dictur Mascarel, quod apponitur faciei ad terrendos paros ”,“ a larva, a terrifying simulacrum, which we call Mascarelin vernacular and put on the faces of terrified little children ”. This second meaning, which probably dates back to the first, explains the value of the following ancient derivatives: (see Lazăr Șăineanu, Les sources indigènes de étymologie française, vol. 1, E. de Boccard, 1925, p. 268): in Occitan , in Catalan and Portuguese, mascarar , "to smear black" and, figuratively, "to slander", "to speak ill of someone"; in Old French, ( se ) mascurer , ( se ) mascherer , “to smear, to blacken, to mask”; hence the old French masquillier (12th century) (“make up”), “because a woman who wears makeup smears her face” (“make up purely and simply reproduces the Latin maculare , which, according to the rules of phonetics, must have given maclier or mesh … ”, Auguste Vitu, Le jargon du 15e siècle, study philologique, G. Charpentier et Cie, Paris, 1886, p. 199); hence also "masquerade", "entertainment played by masked characters" (1554) and "masquerade". “Smeared, disguised, masked” and, in the figurative sense “perfidious, traitor”, even “conspirator” (Anne Lombard-Jourdan, Aux origines de carnaval, Odile Jacob, 2005, p. 249-50).

Finally, Ménage (Dictionary of etymology or origin of the French language, 1694, p. 487) “(remark) that we call a whore a mask. & that formerly in Greece, the Bordels were outside the cities, & that the women who prostituted there were masked, so that the men who slept with them did not recognize them »; “ Si quis dixerit alicui mulieri putana, vacca, porca aut previessa, stria vel masca vel latrona ”, says an Italian document from 1514 (cited in Maria Iliescu, Heidi Siller, Paul Danler (dirs.), Proceedings of the XXVth CILPR. International Congress of Linguistics and Roman Philology, 3-8 December 2007, Innsbruck, De Gruyter, 2010, p. 75).

(\*) In classical Latin, the word larvameans both "ghost figure, larva, phantom", "ghost mask" and "scenic mask". “We seem to have originally given the name of larvae or manias to the imprints of clay or flour which one took on the faces of the dead and which one sometimes buried with them. Often to appease a lemur who frightened his parents and complained of not being admitted into the lararium, his mask was removed from the tomb and placed on the face of one of the familiar lares. When a house or a village was threatened with some danger, the danger was averted by placing above the door, or by hanging from the neighboring trees, larvae or masks intended to replace the heads of men that on such an occasion was offered. once to Saturn to redeem itself. These hanging heads were called oscillated.It is probable that the larvae or funeral masks played a very large role in the ancient hieratic drama of Etruria, which consisted above all in nécyomantie, or the appearance of the manes ”, Charles Magnin, The origins of the theater antique and modern theater, vol. 1, Auguste Eudes, Paris, 1868, p. 236-7; the writer adds (p. xxi): "From the (6th century AD) we will see stage games creeping in and even the use of masks in certain female monasteries").“From the (sixth century AD) we will see scenic games creep in and even the use of masks in certain women's monasteries”).“From the (sixth century AD) we will see scenic games creep in and even the use of masks in certain women's monasteries”).

(383) Peter S. Donaldson, op. cit., p. 125.

(384) Johannes Corvinus, Discursus de arcanis rerum publicarum, p. 2-3, cited in HW Blom, Causality and Morality in Politics, Universiteit Utrecht, 1995, p. 171.

(385) quoted in Friedrich Meinecke, The idea of ​​reason of state in the history of modern times, translated from German by Maurice Chevallier, Droz, Geneva, 1973 1973, p. 125.

(386) Ibid., P. 125.

(387) Sunny Xian, COVID-19: War or Virus ?, May 28, 2020, [https://www.cupblog.org/2020/05/28/covid-19-war-or-virus-by-sunny -xiang /](https://www.cupblog.org/2020/05/28/covid-19-war-or-virus-by-sunny%20-xiang%20/) .

(388) <https://www.bitchute.com/video/z7vBmJPqC6uQ/> . A list of writings and websites relating to our subject will be published here shortly.

(389) Cf. Jean Baudrillard, The Gulf War Did Not Take Place, Editions Galilée, 1991.

(390) Ernst Jünger, Der Arbeiter, Klett-Cotta, 1981, p. 126, (author's translation).

(391) Among the various theories put forward to account for the current crisis, we can dismiss without further ado the conspiratorial view according to which it is a step in the so-called secret project of reduction of the world population which is on loan to the Club of Rome: members of the conspiratorial nebula, at least those who are not "agents provocateurs, have still not grasped that the engine of the capitalist economy, state or not, is" growth ”, whether the slogan of capitalism, state or not, is therefore the injunction of Genesis 1:28 (“ Marry, increase and multiply, for I take pride in you among the nations on the day of judgment ", Also says Mahomet, Le Koran, translated by M. Kasimirski, Paris, Bibliothèque-Charpentier. XXIV, 33, quoted in Gérard-François Dumont,The place of women in European identity revealed by demography, in Interviews around the European idea. 2006-2012, CIFE, nd, p. 65) and stubbornly refuse to see that the world population, although at the mercy of the syringes of the medical henchmen of the globalists, does not cease to increase (on the other hand, it is probable that, in the "Western" countries, the lack of training of medical personnel in the use of artificial respirators and the dosage of "anti-virals" will relieve the State of the payment of a number of pensions). Is it then a question of ensuring, by the marketing of treatments, while waiting for that of a vaccine, to the pharmaceutical industry, whose most research is financed by the taxpayer's money,profits of which it is little to say that they would be astronomical? From a pretext for the injection of we do not really know how many additional trillions of monkey money in the barrel of danaids with multiple sieves of so-called public finances, banks and large companies (as regards small companies, two months of forced vacation do not seem to discourage some, once watered with subsidies and state financial aid of all kinds, from taking one again in August) "in difficulty"; an alibi for the umpteenth plans for massive layoffs and the ninth relocation projects of large companies and, ultimately,to their nationalization? Can we seriously believe that the few "social movements" which have developed more or less spontaneously during the past year in certain European countries have given serious fears to the illegitimate governments of occupation against which they protested? peacefully and chaotically? What is certain is that this is the first psychological warfare operation carried out on a global scale, which, this point not sufficiently emphasized by those who are aware of being the target, necessarily implies a perfect coordination, a flawless connivance between the many administrative, legislative and executive plotters of all countries. Would it be above all a show of force? It can appear such to populations,who are obviously not aware that the enemy is not the virus, but them. In the theocracies of antiquity, the fear which the populace felt for its despot was matched only by that which the despot felt for the populace. The despot was indeed unable to shake off the fixed idea that a plot could be hatched against him at any time. Hence his sickly distrust of all those around him, whatever the distance that separated them from him; hence also his obsession to control all his subjects at all times and, to this end, to exercise constant and total surveillance over all of his subjects. In theocratic kingdoms, the populace lived under the eye of the palace, coupled with that of the divinity; in post-modern democracies, the masses live under the watchful eye of countless cameras.What are the petty democratic despots afraid of? Everything and nothing. The devices for monitoring the population did not develop eo ipso, they were wanted, even before the availability of the technology necessary to develop and manufacture them, by a fundamentally paranoid creature, in order to exercise on populations a control as comprehensive and absolute as his own paranoia is acute; even if this control were indeed global and absolute, the small democratic despots would still be haunted by the fixed idea that something or someone escapes it, an obsession cyclothymically traversed by the feeling, peculiar to the schizophrenic, "of being entirely controlled. by such or such a group perceived as a world, or to be able to exercise over it a magical and sovereign control ”(Claude Lévi-Strauss,Cosmopolitanism and schizophrenia. In The other and elsewhere. Tributes to Roger Bastide. Nice: Institute for interethnic and intercultural studies and research, 1976 [p. 469-474]. Publications of the Institute for Interethnic and Intercultural Studies and Research, 7, p. 469). Basically, the viral masquerade in progress is the externalization of a paranoid schizophrenia further aggravated by the abuse of psychotropic drugs and digital stimulants, the lack of psychic unity characteristic of this pathology being reduced in the last analysis to the lesion and interior contradictions, the rupture of the interior unity of the human being caused by interbreeding (seePublications of the Institute for Interethnic and Intercultural Studies and Research, 7, p. 469). Basically, the viral masquerade in progress is the externalization of a paranoid schizophrenia further aggravated by the abuse of psychotropic drugs and digital stimulants, the lack of psychic unity characteristic of this pathology being reduced in the last analysis to the lesion and interior contradictions, the rupture of the interior unity of the human being caused by interbreeding (seePublications of the Institute for Interethnic and Intercultural Studies and Research, 7, p. 469). Basically, the viral masquerade in progress is the externalization of a paranoid schizophrenia further aggravated by the abuse of psychotropic drugs and digital stimulants, the lack of psychic unity characteristic of this pathology being reduced in the last analysis to the lesion and interior contradictions, the rupture of the interior unity of the human being caused by interbreeding (seethe lack of psychic unity characteristic of this pathology allows itself to be reduced in the last analysis to the lesion and internal contradictions, to the rupture of the internal unity of the human being caused by mixing (seethe lack of psychic unity characteristic of this pathology allows itself to be reduced in the last analysis to the lesion and internal contradictions, to the rupture of the internal unity of the human being caused by interbreeding (seehttps://elementsdeducationraciale.wordpress.com/2014/11/19/importance-de-la-theorie-des-races-interieures/ ).