SPANISH FOLK MEDICINE IN DISCUSSION: THE BODY CONCEPT¹

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The study on "folk medicine" or "popular medicine" in Spain deals with practices and concepts which are present in contemporary Spain. It tries to analyze some traits of its practices by including historical and regional comparative aspects. Using the examples of popular concepts of illness (as *mal de ojo*, *mal aire*, *brujería*) its folkloristic² and sociocultural connections are analyzed.

This study employs only bibliographical data, especially from the Basque Country, Galicia, Extremadura and Andalucía. In the comparative part of the study, data on other regions of Spain is included in the analysis.

The presentation of the data focuses on the cultural concepts of illness and therapy³. Specialists, actors and the sick, share many ideas concerning the etiology and treatment of the illness. Frequently, they demonstrate their common understanding by the means of ritual procedure.

The terms "folk medicine" and "popular medicine" generally refer to popular ideas and practices based on magical, religious and natural (or empirical) concepts. Orthodox medicine defines concepts lying out of its range as "folk or popular medicine". By doing so, it defines its own standpoint.

Therefore folk medicine forms a part of tradition which relates to concepts of sickness, possibilities of diagnosis and the treatment through certain natural (herbal, mineral, and organic) and magical means. Concepts and practices employed by folk healers (*curanderos*) tend to be regarded rather as a specialized form of folk medicine. The term "ethno-medicine" covers, among others, the general and specific spheres (see Miguel 1980:27, Press 1978:72). This thesis tries to draw both aspects into consideration.

Regarding the categories of treatment, it is difficult to

² The term "folk-lore" is generally employed with reference to customs and traditional beliefs in "civilized societies". Folklore studies in the past limited themselves to the collection, classification and historical explanation of origins (their most important tool was the interpretation of "survivals"), they rarely include an interpretation of cultural meaning.

³ The anthropologist expects especially promising results by investigating concepts of illness with ascribed "supernatural" etiology. They demonstrate parts of the world-view of the studied culture. On the other hand, concepts of illness with ascribed "natural cause" seem to be more influenced by scientific (in this text called orthodox) medical tradition.

distinguish between home-remedies (basing on empirical experience) and magical or religious therapies⁴ (which are legitimized by both empirical and supernatural experience at the same time) (Castillo 1968:131; 1958:11).

The knowledge of specialists (*curanderos*, *sabias* among others) is sometimes communicated to other persons in a special way. The number of persons knowing the secret words and procedures is limited (Seijo Alonso 1974:28; Caro Baroja 1962 I:37). At the same time, other spheres of knowledge of concepts and therapies are considered to be accessible to all interested persons (Prat, Pujadas and Comelles 1980:54).

There seems to exist a certain coincidence of some practices of folkmedicine and folk curing with those mentioned in manuals and legal documents⁵ dating back to the 15th to 17th centuries⁶. Reproductions of the manuals mentioned are still found today in the possession of *curanderos* and their families. But despite the evident similarities in form - do the practices mean the same in contemporary Spanish?

Considering the historical perspective, two different points of view are discussed in the material. According to the first, "folk medicine" is defined as a part of "surviving" traditions which in former times had a stronger relevance to the population (Castillo 1958:566; Press 1979:271).

On the other hand, some authors stress the aspect of constant change, the tendency of innovation of folk medicine in general (see Miguel 1980:28). In more general terms, this means that the actual content and form of folk medicine depends on its cultural and social context, the connections with the health service (see Press 1979:275). This point seems to represent an extension of the first, while broadening the (formerly phenomenological) perspective into the present.

⁴ It is not the intention of this paper to draw any distinction between magical and religious concepts as elements of folk medicine. The basic mechanisms and ideas are considered to be similar. By employing the different terms, the "source" of the healing power is ascribed to either divine or magic influence (called "grace", *gracia* or - in the latter case - superstition). In this way, rituals and procedures which are integrated into folk religion are called "religious" in the broadest sense.

⁵ Caro Baroja (1967, 1962, 1982) and Henningsen (1980) studied historical documents on the trials of the Spanish Inquisition in the Basque Country.

⁶ Partly, their origin dates back to manuscripts from the 12th and 13th century, like the *Cruz de Caravaca* and *Tabulae Salomonis* (Seijo Alonso 1974:34f; Castro García 1969:388f). In these times the monks had a central function as compilers and copying agents. These manuals (for example: *El Tesoro de los Pobres*, *El Ciprianillo*) contain references to home-remedies as well as to contemporary folk medical thought and practice in general (see Castillo 1958:205; Castro García 1969:38f; Perez Hervada 1984:89).

The Body Concept: The Equilibrium

This part of the study employs analytical models in order to enlighten the idea of the nature of folk medical concepts.

The data on Spanish folk medical concepts stems mainly from surveys and extensive investigations of oral traditions. It is connected with the theoretical discussion on Latin American concepts of folk illness. Nearly all the Spanish material accessible consists of folkloristic collections of medical data. In most cases, the context of the relevant procedures, words and ideas remains unknown. The few complete studies in this sense were undertaken by Lisón (1979), Cátedra (1976; 1986), Press (1979) and by some of the authors in the manual of Kenny and Miguel (1980), such as McLane, Diaz Ojeda and Sevilla. These studies can be regarded as one basis for the following deductions.

Subsequently, points of reference between the Spanish data and theoretical approaches were drawn which led to a deeper understanding of its meaning.

Frequently, some authors define illness in abstract terms as "disarrangement of the state of physical or psychological balance". The model of an "equilibrium" corresponds to the principles of a "naturalistic" medical system (Foster and Anderson 1978:53). Health is considered as "result of a perfect equilibrium" between man and his family on the one hand, man and god (nature) on the other (Kiev 1972:153f). The irritation can be of a more symbolical nature and might be interpreted as such after some significant occurrences.

The disarrangement can manifest itself on various levels, so on the physical level as consequence of external influences like heat, cold, dryness and moisture.

Also, the balance between soul and body might be disturbed. The influence of beings and exterior forces is said to be the cause for phenomena of "spirit possession" (*endemoniado*). Sometimes the process of falling sick is traced back to special situations of psychological "stress" (in the case of *susto* which will be analyzed later on). Especially significant are the so-called personalistic concepts (in the sense of Foster and Anderson 1978:53f), which recognize mystical forces as causing agents of sickness.

On the third possible level, the disorder might relate to the system of norms and values. In this case, situations of conflict between the individual and its social role and deviations from the "ideal balance" of the social group are perceived as "state of illness". The "sick-role" is then adopted or ascribed by the "sick" person itself or by the group (like in the case of *meigallo* Lis 1949:229-237).

By analyzing the various levels of the concepts of sickness and their form of articulation (emic concepts), specific cultural traits become visible.

A secondary aim of the following text is to discuss the relation of Spanish and foreign medical traditions (such as the Greek humoral tradition or Latin American concepts). By comparing Spanish concepts with Latin American concepts, this discussion intends to illuminate some aspects of Spanish folk medicine. Theoretically, this approach is legitimized by the assumption of a diffusion of the traits of certain "folk medical traditions"

towards neighboring cultural traditions or during the course of history. Possible variations, caused by the factors of influence and of time, are visible especially in the urban surroundings (Press 1978:77f). There, many different medical traditions can be found.

This paper is therefore partly an attempt to test the analytical use of a diffusionist approach.

Hot and Cold

1. As one of the first investigators, Foster assumed the influence of Greek Humoral tradition⁷ (mediated by the orthodox medical tradition of the Renaissance) on Spanish folk medicine. From there, its concepts were transmitted by the Spanish Conquerors to Latin America. In regard to Latin America (especially Mexican *Ladinos*), this theory is discussed in various articles (1953; 1960; 1978; 1984; 1985; 1987; Foster and Anderson 1978; see Simmons 1955; Logan 1974)⁸.

Kenny (1962) adapted this approach to Spanish data. Furthermore, Foster's theory was applied by authors with medical training in general (Castillo 1958:170;566;532; 1968:146; Garcia Ballester 1976:141; Miguel 1980:24). Miguel constructs a model of a "Great Mediterranean Tradition" (1980:24), which seems to follow Redfield's approach of "great and little traditions" of culture in general (1956)⁹.

⁷ A combination of two qualities (hot, cold, dry, moist) was characteristic for the four humours of the human body (blood: hot and moist, phlegm: cold and moist, black bile: cold and dry, yellow bile: hot and dry). The equilibrium of the qualities in the four humours and of the four humours themselves are the prerequisites of health. It may be reconstituted by employing a treatment which aims at opposing the cause of disease. Therefore, for an illness with the attribute "cold", a "hot" remedy is prescribed (Foster and Anderson 1978:56f; Foster 1953:205).

⁸ See Orso (1970:2-29) for a regionally detailed bibliography. A pro-hippocratic (or: diffusionist) position is shared by most authors in the discussion during the early seventies. Other authors such as Bastien and Schaedel (1984) and Ackerknecht (1984), argue in favour of an indigenous origin of dualistic humoral categories (in the case of the Andes). A third position is shared by Madsen (1955) and Orso (1970) (see Hahold 1988:39) who attribute hot-cold classifications to a synthesis of Indian and Spanish influence at the same time. This point is stressed further by Faust (1983). Humoral concepts are deeply rooted in the daily life of various ethnic groups and might therefore be considered as "indigenous", regardless of their origin (1983:152f).

⁹ The Great (dominant) culture of the urban civilizations and their rural (folk) counterparts had different cultural traditions. The concepts of the Great (mostly literate) tradition were filtered down to the folk level during the course of history. The "sinking cultural asset" (*absinkendes Kulturgut*) is therefore

For the period from the late Middle Ages to the 16th and 17th centuries, a link between humoral orthodox medicine and humoral folk medicine can hardly be constructed. In Early Modern Times the use of humoral principles was seemingly limited to the upper classes (Foster 1978:262; Kenny 1962:281; McLane 1980:109).

Manuals like the "*Tesoro de los pobres*" and "*El Ciprianillo*" are regarded as collection of traditional folk concepts of their time. Unfortunately for this line of interpretation, they do not refer to humoral classifications of sickness and their remedies, following the system of opposing humoral categories (cold and hot, moist and dry) according to Hippocratic or Galenean humoral doctrine.

2. The categories "hot and cold" (or secondarily "moist and dry") play an important role regarding the human body concept *per se*. Therefore their appearance may be explained as a response to fundamental human experience. Therefore, the ascription to classical humoral influence might be neglected (see Faust 1983:152f).

Actual studies of the hot-cold classification of concepts of illness draw the attention more to symptoms and causes (like fever, cold...), than to Greek humoral concepts as such. These symptoms are treated, though without ascribing heating or cooling effects to herbal or other remedies (Castillo 1958:212-218; 208; see Foster 1978:366-369¹⁰; 1984; 1985; Puigdemongas and Miranda 1978:57-75; Amades 1969:1037-1073).

Contradictory aspects of the body and femininity are considered to be dangerous and to emit "damaging influences". Blood and menstruation (which both symbolize danger) are perceived as "hot" and potentially dangerous (Lisón 1980:195ff; Pitt-Rivers 1971:197)¹¹.

The conditions of the female body already mentioned are frequently associated with the etiology of the evil eye (*mal de ojo*). The "menstruating eyes" of the "hot women" have a "drying effect" on victims of a "weak condition". Evil winds (*mal aire*) and *alunado* have similar effects on the victim. The symptoms of consumption are conceptualized as desiccation. The victims are "drying" and become sterile in the symbolical sense (Gallardo 1947:183; Salillas 1905:22).

The treatment refers to the aspect of desiccation. The

considered to originate in the literate traditions of the Great Tradition.

¹⁰ In the Spanish data, concepts of hot and cold only seem to be reflected by proverbs (Foster 1978:362). These are investigated by Castillo de Lucas (1958:566). Moreover, the principle of hot and cold seems to be employed in medical therapy without being articulated as such (see Seijo Alonso 1974:162f for the case of sunstroke (*insolación*)).

¹¹ The association with a concept of "pollution" in direct and indirect meaning seems obvious (see Douglas 1972:200).

aspects "moist and dry"¹² are not found in other concepts of illness.

3. The Spanish folk medical categories "hot and cold" refer to natural influences on the organism and - on the symbolical level, to the manifestation of an endangering supernatural power, exercised by a strong (hot) person on a weak victim (in most cases: a child). The effect of the power (and not the attributes of "hot and drying") seems to determine the conceptualization of folk illness and therapy in this context.

Spirit Possession

The influence, sometimes as well as the intrusion of spirits and supernatural powers into the body is frequently mentioned in the Spanish data. According to the literature, *meigallo* and *ende-moniado* are forms of spirit possession, reported especially from Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country. In some cases, these phenomena are perceived as effect of witchcraft (Lisón 1981:213; Lis 1949:229-237; Liste 1981:108; Erkoreka 1987:69)¹³.

In the most frequently reported cases, demons take possession of a human body by penetrating the orifices. Thereby they cause illness (Liste 1981:135; Erkoreka 1987:64). In most cases, these demons are identified as nature spirits, associated with caves and springs (like the *lamina*), and other spirits of folk tradition. A great variety of such Basque spirits are listed (Barandiaran 1984:144ff; 1983:78; Donostia 1972:31). Today, other nature spirits are mentioned in proverbial sayings.

"Vagrant" spirits of deceased persons are another type of attacking spirits. Certain persons, mostly women, are especially susceptible to the intrusion of such spirits. They are called "open bodies" (*cuerpos abiertos*)¹⁴. These people are predominantly specialized in folk medical therapy and séances. They "close" the patient's body (see Liste 1981:136f; Lisón 1981:214; 223; 225f; 1983:222f). In this respect, the "openness" of the specialist is esteemed for therapeutical purposes.

In some cases of spirit possession the therapy consists of rituals of exorcism. In the moment of exorcism (which is achieved by the means of prayer and conjuration) the "disturbed balance" is restored. Orthodox medicine tends to call these phenomena

¹² Apart from obvious influences (for example of moisture on the etiology of rheumatism).

¹³ Therefore witches could be conceptualized as "posessed". Their "balance" is irritated by the acquisition of an auxiliary spirit whose supernatural powers the witches can dispose of in addition to their own (see Barandiaran 1983:79; 1984:117).

¹⁴ An "open body" is susceptible to supernatural influences. It establishes contact with the dead. Renee Hirschon offers an interesting approach for the study of symbolism on the "open and closed body". She found associations of the female body concept with the female social role in Greece (depending on the female life-cycle) (see 1978:76;86).

"hysteria, schizophrenia, phsychological neurosis" (Gonzalez Quevedo 1977:47; Castillo 1958:67).

According to some authors, the syndrome seems to discharge this person of social stress caused by role-conflicts (Lis 1947:521). This is demonstrated by the special character of the sick-role and the form of exorcism taking place at pilgrimages or applying Christian symbolism (see Lisón 1983:253ff; Lis 1947:493;496; Liste 1981:126f).

In Galicia and the Basque Country, predominantly young women and girls seem to be the victims of "spirit possession" (Lis 1947:521; 1949:229f; 1945:314; Erkoreka 1987:69).

In Catalonia and Valencia young men also seem to be affected (Seijo Alonso 1974:93). A certain coincidence with specific forms of conflict on the level of social roles and norms might be suggested. The regional differences lend themselves to an approach for a separate investigation¹⁵.

Cases of spirit possession are therefore perceived as "disorder" of the physical and psycological balance. The disorder might be articulated on the proverbial level (as in the case of a multitude of Basque demons and nature spirits). Also it might refer to the "real" intrusion of a spirit, which is frequently interpreted as conflict of role and is accompanied by therapeutical measures.

A "spirit possession" in chronic form is characterized by a special process of sensitization. The *cuerpo abierto* becomes the medium to the supernatural sphere. Therefore some kind of spirit possession obtains a therapeutical function.

In this line of interpretation, exorcisms in the case of "possession" by the spirits of the dead and the institutionalization of the state of illness (in this case: the process of becoming a medium) are considered as forms of reestablishment of his and her balance in the individual. A medium "controls hisandher spirits" (see Lisón 1983:225f).

Susto and Soul-loss.

This concept of illness plays an important role in the discussion of folk concepts in Latin America. Especially US-American anthropologists participated in the discussion of its origin and meaning in different ethnic contexts (Gillin 1948; Foster 1953; Simmons 1955; Clark 1959; Rubel 1960; 1977; 1984; Adams 1964; Adams and Rubel 1967; O'Neill and Selby 1968; Kiev 1972; Uzzell 1974; O'Neill 1975). In the following text, the Spanish concept is compared to the Latin American, in order to explain origin and meaning in the different contexts.

In Spanish *susto* means fright, shock, sudden fright or dismay. Regarded on its own, this phenomenon does not cause illness. In Spain, this state of emotion is regarded as a cause for the weakening of the "physical equilibrium" of persons, especially children. This weakness offers an occasion for various illnesses

¹⁵ Can a relationship between the small-scale agriculture of the Basque Country and Galicia (which puts strong emphasis on the female economical responsibility) and the occurrence of spirit possession among women be established?

and their causing agents to attack the person (see Liste 1981:135). Attacking illnesses or agents in this sense are *mal aire*, "entrance of cold into the body" and spirit possession (Comelles 1972:65; Kenny 1980:72; Lisón 1983:156). *Susto* in this context is caused by natural as well as by unknown phenomena.

In the moment of *susto*, supernatural spirits and forces may penetrate the body (Lisón 1983:156). Consequently there is a great variety of resulting disorders. Certain magical powers can manifest themselves in the body and therefore cause illness.

The phenomenon of *susto* may be limited to the psychological level and cause a state of nervousness. In this case, there is no need for a complex therapy - home remedies like saffron water are employed (Seijo Alonso 1974:217)¹⁶.

In Latin American data an abduction of the soul (as occurring in Mexico and Guatamala) can only be reversed by employing shamanistic techniques, which are employed to call it back¹⁷.

The available information suggest that the concept of soul-loss or soul-abduction is conceptualized only among the Indian population¹⁸. The concept of *susto* seems to be different among ladinos, as it does not include the component "soul-loss" and/or "soul-abduction".

Among Ladinos, *susto* is caused by a sudden fright which exposes a "weak" person to illness (Adams 1964:207; Rubel 1964:122; Adams and Rubel 1967:347; Orso 1970:77). Weak persons are considered to have a "weak emanation". Women, children and persons weakened by special circumstances like "sweating" are especially affected (Adams and Rubel 1967:352).

The experience of *susto* can in some cases be traced back to past incidents. Symptoms are then reinterpreted (O'Neill 1975:46;51). Therefore O'Neill distinguishes "spontaneously appearing symptoms" and "rationalized states of fright". The former relate to fright caused by interhuman relationships, the latter occur later in time and are caused by supernatural influence. In the latter case, the sick-role is adapted consciously. This seems to indicate a conflict of social role (see 1975:53).

¹⁶ Iglesias (1986:41-58) lists herbal remedies employed in Ecuador against *susto*, partly being the same as the remedies against *mal aire* and *mal de ojo*.

¹⁷ Weitlaner (1961:69) describes a ceremony called *levantar la sombra*, which is connected with the concept of soul-loss (*espanto*). The Mexican soul-concept of *tonalli* (shadow) is decisive. The *espanto* is caused by witchcraft, divine influence or meeting with the alter ego (*nahuatl*). The soul is called back by the shaman who invokes the four directions of the universe at the site where the *espanto* occurred.

¹⁸ The terms Indian/indigenous or *ladino* refer more to a self-definition of ethnicity, less to a determination of group or individual descentance. The ethnicity of an *indio* or *ladino/mestizo* is determined by cultural aspects such as the proficiency of language, life-style, clothing and professional category. The model of *ladino/mestizo* is aspired to by individuals rising socially (see Pitts 1973).

Other investigations found different effects of the conflict of social role on men and women. Women in general seem to be affected more intensely by it than men, because their social roles are defined more narrowly and offer less possibilities for escape (O'Neill and Selby 1968:103).

Comparing this model to those referring to Latin America, the lack of the component "soul-loss"¹⁹ in the Spanish concept becomes evident. Even during sleep, soul-loss seems to appear rarely (see Risco 1946:388). Also, it is not a consequence of abduction (caused by witchcraft), as is frequently reported in Mexican and Peruvian data (Foster 1948:266; Adams 1957:366; Simmons 1955:61).

The traits of the "ladino-model" of *susto* above mentioned are congruent with the Spanish data. Fright (*susto*) conditions the appearance of other syndromes of illness. It is the moment at which the body is "open", therefore, predisposed. Appearing without other phenomena, *susto* is not considered to be a pathological condition and is treated with home remedies.

Investigations on the aspect of "conflict of social role" have not yet been conducted in Spain. Following the suggestions of the approach of O'Neill and Selby 1968, a sexual division in conflict behaviour might be constructed by distinguishing phenomena of "spirit possession" (in the case of women) from St. Vitus's dance (in the case of men) (Lis 1947:521; 1949:230; Gallardo 1943:293ff; Castillo 1958:333f;329; 1943:111).

The syndromes caused at the moment of *susto* seem to be placed in the foreground of Spanish folk medical conceptualization.

If an independent concept of *susto* should have existed in the past, nowadays it seems to play a secondary role and appears only on the proverbial level.

Social Norms.

According to Parsons' functionalist approach, general social and sexual norms determine the interpretation of illness as disorder or deviant behavior (see 1951:476f). The perfect body and its perfect use conform to the ideal of normality, of health.

The ideals of "honor" (associated with male) and "shame" (female) are perceived as dualistic norms. This approach developed out of anthropological investigation characterized by the perspective of "male bias"²⁰ (Kenny 1962; Pitt-Rivers 1971;

¹⁹ Shamanistic concepts of transmigration of the soul are only reported from Galicia. They are employed by the specialist for diagnosis and cure "from distance". In this context, a concept of soul-abduction does not exist. The "transmigration of soul" is understood and therapeutically employed in order to establish contact with the dead who transmit advice to the living (Risco 1946:381f; Lison 1983:223).

²⁰ From the feminist point of view, the ascription of "honour and/or shame" to a certain sex and consequently the limitation to certain modes of behaviour does not seem definite. Since Peristiany (1966), anthropologists tended to find such a dichotomy in the normative systems of Mediterranean societies.

1977). The resulting definitions of the respective sex roles tend to be rigid constructions.

Women are expected to take care of the physical and psychological well-being of the family. Men are expected to represent the family in the wider society. Behind these ideals, Kenny assumes the more general ideals of "immaculate motherliness" (Madonna) and the "honorable manliness" (associated with aggression and defense of honor) (1962:281)²¹.

In case of grave or chronic illness, "normal" social behaviour, according to the individual's appropriate role, cannot be maintained anymore. Illness is sometimes perceived as imperfection and lack of divine grace (*gracia*) and considered as shameful (Kenny 1962:282f; Pitt-Rivers 1971:198). In this context, the connotation of anti-social behaviour and repeated deviation from social norms with the terminology of sickness is decisive. The kind of illness and its immanent "prestige" determine the degree of "social marginality" of the sick (Kenny 1962:283f).

Therefore the ideas about health and sickness correlate to specific cultural traits. The ideal of a physical and psychological balance (including the possession of *gracia*) is disturbed in case of sickness. The aim of therapy is to restore the balance.

Rituals in this connection have the function to reestablish the "divine order" (Irimia Fernandez and Fernandez de Rota 1976:430). The symbols used in conjurations and ritual behaviour contribute to this idea.

Summary

Some problems discussed still remain unsolved. The theoretical approaches or approaches derived from investigations in other regions offer interesting working hypotheses. They help to clarify the meaning of concepts and procedures of Spanish folk medicine.

The discussion of the body concept, as visible in the Spanish folk medical concepts, demonstrates the use of naturalistic and personalistic principles (according to Foster and Anderson 1978:53) in Spanish folk medical concepts in general.

In addition to this, the functionalist approach focusing on the view of health as balanced order or "ideal system", is contributing to the discussion of sex norms. Thereby, it broadens the analytical approach and offers "sociological" explanations for the phenomena and an insight into the cultural meaning of sickness.

This dualism represents the "ideology of control over women".- More recently, the different frequency of these norms in daily discourse was studied in Morocco (Wikan 1984:637f). One may ask how Spanish women define their roles. There is reason to suppose supplementary aspects on many levels and no strict dualistic principle. The sick-role might be object of a similar complementarity of norms.

²¹ The female role is defined more narrowly. In this context, "spirit possession" is perceived as a form of expressing a conflict with the social role (see Lis 1949:229-237).

Generally, the work on this topic contributes to the discovery of fields of investigation. At present, detailed regional investigation or - when very specific phenomena are to be studied - the application of comparative approaches is necessary.

Such an investigation should be imbedded in intensive field-work. By applying cognitive approaches (starting from the study of discourse in representative parts of the population, as conducted by McLane 1980) the significance of knowledge and practice of folk medical concepts could be better assessed.

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Summary: This article deals with the concept of "body" as one important component of concepts of illness frequent in Spanish folk medicine. On the other hand, in the thesis as a whole an actual inventory and synthesis of folk medical concepts and practices is created. Here, analytical models (mainly originating in "Cultural Anthropology" and sociological models) are discussed. Special syndromes are understood as "disruption of order". They are enlightened by comparing them with concepts of illness frequent in Latin American investigation. Thereby, the present material (mostly of a descriptive kind) gets new analytical importance.

Zusammenfassung: Dieser Artikel behandelt den Bereich des Körperkonzeptes als Bestandteil der Krankheitskonzepte der spanischen Volksmedizin. In ihm wird eine aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme und Synthese aktueller volksmedizinischer Konzepte und Praktiken vorgenommen. Die diskutierten analytischen Modelle stammen besonders aus der "Cultural Anthropology" und der Soziologie. Spezielle Krankheitssyndrome, verstanden als "Gleichgewichtsstörungen" verschiedener Art, werden so im Vergleich mit Krankheits-

konzepten aus der Lateinamerika-Forschung analytisch erhellt. Das vorliegende, meist deskriptive Datenmaterial bibliographischer Art erhält so eine neue Relevanz.

Resumen: Ese artículo trata el concepto de cuerpo como parte de conceptos de enfermedad frecuentes en la medicina popular española. En ello, también se trata de formar un inventario y un síntesis de conceptos y prácticas generales de medicina popular. Los modelos analíticos puestos en discusión tienen su origen especialmente en principios de la "Cultural Anthropology" y de la sociología. Así, síndromes especiales de enfermedad, entendidos como perturbaciones del "orden", son analizados mediante la comparación con conceptos de enfermedad de la investigación sobre América Latina. Entonces el material bibliográfico de medicina popular española, en la mayoría de tipo descriptivo, obtiene una nueva relevancia.