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[Greek medecine in its relation to religion and magic - suite]

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is expressed also in the Hippocratic book on Regimen: "The nature of all things was arranged by the gods," and "all the things take place . . . through a divine necessity."²⁷ In the same way nature is thought of later. It is divine to the Platonic physician; to the Aristotelian physician it is at least demonic, the divine not being realized in an absolute degree.²⁸ The Stoic physician must find God everywhere in nature; for nature is identical with God; these are only different terms.²⁹ While there is a tendency to understand nature without referring to divine power, a more theological tendency also exists, nay even prevails, in antiquity.

This theological conception, however, seems to a certain extent self-contradictory. In the theory of the Hippocratic physicians rationalism and belief are interwoven with each other, naturalism and theology are combined into a unity; the same is valid for the ideas of the later physicians. Everything is natural, but in being so it is divine too, or to use another phrase it is supernatural; and proof of this is found in reasoning. The modern logical objection to such a theory apparently did not occur to the ancient mind; indeed, there was no opposition between God and nature.³⁰ At any rate, it seems impossible to contend that every form of supernaturalism was rejected by the Hippocratic physicians. On the contrary, they as scientists embraced a supernatural dogma.³¹ Equally unfounded, I believe, is the statement that the gods were not dethroned by these men, yet that nothing was left to them

²⁷ Jones, l. c., IV, pp. 249-51: φύσιν δὲ πάντων θεοὶ διεκόσμησαν. 237: πάντα γίνεσθαι δι' ἀνάγκην θέλῃν.

²⁸ Concerning Plato, cf. e.g., *Sophistes* 265c; concerning Aristotle, cf. E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie d. Griechen*, II, 2^a, 1879, pp. 330 sq.

²⁹ Cf. e.g., Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 322b9-12.

³⁰ One is reminded of the most significant metaphysical idea of the seventeenth century which is characterized by Dilthey as "Halbheit des rationalen Supernaturalismus; Kompromiss zwischen Dogmenglaube und Vernunftwissenschaft." (*Die Autonomie des Denkens im 17. Jahrhundert*, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 1929, p. 283). In spite of all the divergence caused by the Christian conception of divine revelation the attitude of that time, as far as I can judge, is best compared with that of the Greeks.

³¹ Th. Gomperz, *Griech. Denker*⁴, I, 1922, p. 257, says, "Mit ausserordentlicher Schärfe wird aber allem Supernaturalismus in zwei Erzeugnissen der Hippokratischen Schule (sc. the book on Water, Air and Places and the book on the Sacred Disease) der Krieg erklärt," although he admits that, according to the writers, "strenges Festhalten an ausnahmsloser Gesetzmässigkeit alles Naturgeschehens mit dem religiösen Glauben an einen göttlichen Urquell, aus dem im letzten Grunde eben dieses Naturgeschehen fiesse, vollkommen vereinbar sei." (p. 258). Concerning the book on the Sacred Disease and its attitude cf. p. 215, below.

but "the sole rôle of first cause in the physical world."³² God is indeed deprived of any direct and special interference; he is not supposed to act arbitrarily. But what he loses on one side he gains on the other: everything, being a natural event, is divine.

This theory of supernaturalism does not go uncontested even in the Hippocratic writings. The divine influence is still recognized, but it is understood to be only one factor just as is nature, which is a power of its own. So the author of the book on the Sacred Disease says: "This disease is not in my opinion any more divine or more sacred than other diseases, but has its nature and origin."³³ And the same is repeated with the addition that the "origin of this disease, like that of other diseases, lies in heredity," that "the cause of this affection, as of the more serious illnesses generally, is the brain."³⁴ The conclusion is that "there is no need to put the disease in a special class and to consider it more divine than the others; they are all divine and all human. Each has a nature and power of its own."³⁵ What does this mean? It means that all diseases are divine in so far as they are caused by sun and air and winds, which

³² W. H. Heidel, *The Heroic Age of Science*, 1933, p. 21. He recognizes that Greek science is not irreligious (p. 17) but the men of science maintain a common-sense attitude toward life (p. 20); for the time being the gods seem to be virtually excluded from the world of nature; so far as they receive a place in it, they find it under the shadow of Law or Custom (p. 21). Heidel, who stresses so much the importance of Greek medicine for the study of Greek science, does not refer to the author of the book on Regimen as a physician, but only as an intellectual leader (p. 21); this invalidates his argument concerning medicine. Almost all the more important Hippocratic books recognize the gods as a real factor in nature. It is impossible here to deal with every one of them. I need only refer to the book on Flesh in which the power of thinking is ascribed to warmth. The author apparently agrees with Diogenes of Apollonia (cf. K. Deichgräber, *Hippokrates über Entstehung u. Aufbau d. menschlichen Körpers*, 1935, p. 2, 10-14). Diogenes did not only expound the theological aspect, he bitterly opposed, as he had to, the physiologists, those men who thought they could explain everything by nature devoid of the divine spirit. In attacking them he maintains that the power of God creates the world, as Plato says (cf. *Sophistes* 265c). This, by the way, proves that the expression *τῆς φύσεως τὴν ἀνάγκην* cannot be understood as purely mechanical (contrary to Heidel, *Proceedings*, I, c., p. 100, 81), but it is rather to be understood in the sense of the book on Regimen. It is interesting that from the sixteenth century on some interpreters of Hippocrates refer to the book on Flesh if they want to prove the religiosity of the great physician (cf. Deichgräber, l. c., pp. 56 sq.).

³³ Jones, l. c., II, p. 139 (slightly altered): οὐδὲν τί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλωνθειοτέρη εἶναι νοῦσαν οὐδὲ ἱερωτέρη, ἀλλὰ φύσιν μὲν ἔχει καὶ πρόφασιν.

³⁴ Jones, l. c., II, p. 151: ἀρχεται δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ τὰλλα νοσήματα κατὰ γένος. 153: Ἄλλα γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ ἐγκέφαλος τοῦτου τοῦ πάθεος, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νοσημάτων τῶν μεγίστων.

³⁵ Jones, l. c., II, 183: ὥστε μὴδὲν δεῖ ἀποκρίνοντα τὸ νόσημαθειότερον τῶν λοιπῶν νομίσει, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα. φύσιν δὲ ἕκαστον ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ.

