

[Accueil](#)[Revenir à l'accueil](#)[CollectionBoite\\_023 | Notes de la fin de sa vie pour ses derniers livres.](#)[CollectionBoite\\_023-17-chem | Epicuriens.](#) Item[Arnaldo Momigliano - suite]

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But before we reach our conclusion, something must be said on two individuals whose identification I consider hopeless. L. Lucceius (*Fam.* v, 14-15) was possibly an Epicurean and certainly a Pompeian, but whether he was also a follower of Brutus depends on an uncertain text of Appian (iv, 26, 109), where a Λεύκιος appears, as a victim of the proscriptions (cf. F. Münzer, *P-W s.v.*, 1558). The Varus of *Eclogue* vi apparently fought 'tristia bella'—possibly the civil wars—but we do not know who he was and for whom he fought. He is usually identified with P. Alfenus Varus, who, if not for the part he may have had in the land-distribution of the 'Triumvirs, at least for his position as a *consul suffectus* in 39 B.C., must be considered a certain opponent of Brutus in 42 (see Frank, *Vergil*, 124 and J. Bayet, *Rev. Ét. lat.* vi, 1928, 271, with R. Syme's warning, *Rom. Revolution*, 235, n. 8 and *CQ* xxxii, 1938, 39, n. 2). T. Frank (*Class. Phil.* xv, 1920, 114-15) chiefly objected that, as the *Eclogue* is largely Epicurean in its motives, the man whom it suited is the Epicurean Quintilius Varus (cf. besides the Vergilian lives, Servius *Ecl.* vi, 13 and the papyrus of Philodemus in *Rh. Museum*, xlv, 1890, 172). That the sixth *Eclogue* is Epicurean has been denied (H. Disch, *De poetis aevi Augusti Epicureis*, diss. Bonn 1921, 24 ff.; G. Jachmann, *Hermes* lviii, 1923, 290), but even if we take it as Epicurean, the question will still be complicated by an element which does not admit of any certain solution. There is a fragment of Alfenus Varus in *Dig.* v, 1, 76, which, if genuine, would show him well acquainted with Epicureanism: indeed the hand-books *ex parte philologica* (P-W, Schanz-Hosius) almost call him an Epicurean. But the jurists have a different opinion, as Professor F. Schulz points out to me, because they suspect the passage as an interpolation (cf. O. Lenel, *Zeits. Sav.-Stift.*, Roman. Abt., xxxix, 1918, 147; G. v. Beseler, *Tijds. v. Rechtsgeschied.* x, 1930, 202, 213; id. *Beiträge zur Kritik der Römischen Rechtsquellen* v, 1931, 18; F. Schulz in his forthcoming "History of Roman Jurisprudence". I have not seen L. De Sarlo's book, *Alfeno Varo e i suoi Digesti*, Rome 1940 (?). Before we choose between Alfenus Varus and Quintilius Varus we have still to decide whether Alfenus Varus was acquainted with Epicureanism.

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Surely, the last struggle for Roman aristocratic government cannot be reduced to ideological formulae. Mr. Syme's book 'ab ista oratione deterret'. Yet it was also a philosophical *affaire*. Three people with philosophical cast of mind became leaders. Brutus, Cassius, and Cicero—and one of them was an Epicurean. Their shortcomings are partly connected with their intellectual background, as a much needed study of the *Philippics* would show. At that moment, the tradition of Roman *libertas*, by association with Greek philosophy, obtained deeper content. That was natural enough for Stoicism and the Academy, but calls for some further observation in the case of Epicureanism. For the first and last time the Epicureans deserted *en masse* their *hortulus* and became eminently political. A few of them displayed a consistent allegiance to Caesar. An impressive number fought for liberty. I know only three other cases of politically active Epicureans, but two of them do not provide a comparison. Antiochus IV Epiphanes was an Epicurean convert of Philonides (W. Crönert, *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.*, 1900, 953; *Jahresh. Oest. Inst.* x, 1907, 147); a Lysias became tyrant of Thasos, a very un-epicurean thing to do (*Athen.* v, 215b). The only legitimate comparison is the Epicurean 'tyrant' of Athens, Aristion in 87 B.C. (*App. Mithr.* 28), if he is to be distinguished from the Peripatetic Athenion (Posidonius fr. 36; cf. Wilamowitz *Sitz. Preuss. Akad.* 1923, 39 = *Kl. Schr.* v, 1, 204; other bibliography in Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. hist. of the Hellen. World*, iii, 1557). It seems fair to admit that Aristion had a serious interest in freedom. The expulsion of Epicureans from Rome, Messene and Syria (*Athen.* xii, 547 from Posidonius?) does not presuppose direct political activity.

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