HERACLIDES’ EPITOME OF ARISTOTLE’S CONSTITUTIONS AND BARBARIAN CUSTOMS: TWO NEGLECTED FRAGMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The Aristotelian Πολιτείαι collected information on the history and organization of reportedly 158 city-states. Of these only the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία survives almost in its entirety on two papyri.1 All that remains of the other constitutions is the epitome by Heraclides Lembus (second century B.C.E.)2 and about 130 fragments. This article will look at the transmission of Heraclides’ epitome (itself preserved as excerpts) and explore the possibility of identifying further fragments of the original text.

2. THE TRANSMISSION OF HERACLIDES’ EPITOME

In all manuscripts, Heraclides’ epitome is transmitted together with Aelian’s Varia historia.3 The stemma codicum for these two works consists of two families. For one of the two families the hyparchetypus survives in Parisinus suppl. gr. 352 (olim Vaticanus gr. 997) (V). The other family goes back to a now lost paper codex which was preserved in the Vatican Library (x) and

1 P.Lond. 131 and P.Berol. P. 5009 (formerly P. 163).

2 The identification of the author as Heraclides Lembus was demonstrated by H. Bloch, ‘Herakleides Lembos and his Epitome of Aristotle’s Politeiai’, TAPhA 71 (1940), 27-39 and is now commonly accepted.

3 See especially M.R. Dilts, ‘The manuscript tradition of Aelian’s Varia Historia and Heraclides’ Politiæ’, TAPhA 96 (1965), 57-72.
is assumed to have been destroyed in the sack of Rome in 1527.\textsuperscript{4} For the text of Aelian and Heraclides, four copies of this lost manuscript survive, which thus allow us to reconstruct its text: Laurentianus 60.19 (d), Ambrosianus C 4 sup. (gr. 164) (g), Parisinus gr. 1693 (a) and Parisinus gr. 1694 (b). The manuscripts of both families indicate that, already in the archetype, the title of Heraclides’ work was ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου περὶ πολιτειῶν. In other words, what

\textsuperscript{4} Dilts (n. 3), 64. On the lost Vatican codex, see especially P. Canart, ‘Démétrius Damilas, alias le “librarius Florentinus”’, \textit{RSBN} N.S. 14-16 (1977-1979), 281-348, at 287-307. The Vatican codex is described in a number of old catalogues written between 1475 and 1518, published in R. Devreesse, \textit{Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V} (Vatican City, 1965): Devreesse p. 54 no. 221 (1475), p. 108 no. 616 (1481), p. 143 no. 605 (1484) and p. 221 no. 709 (1518). See also Canart, 318-20, E. Müntz and P. Fabre, \textit{La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV\textdegree{} siècle d’après des documents inédits} (Paris, 1887), 232 (on the 1475 catalogue) and M. Bertòla, \textit{I due primi registri di prestito della biblioteca apostolica Vaticana. Codici Vaticani Latini 3964, 3966. Pubblicati in fototipia e in trascrizione con note e indici} (Vatican City, 1942), 52 n. 2 (on the 1518 catalogue). The codex is also mentioned in several loan records: Bertòla Registro I fol. 27\textsuperscript{v} p. 27.21-22, fol. 33\textsuperscript{v} p. 35.18-22; Registro II fol. 9\textsuperscript{v} p. 52.1-6, fol. 19\textsuperscript{v} p. 61.4-7, fol. 40\textsuperscript{v} p. 77.28-30, fol. 45\textsuperscript{v} p. 83.20-24, fol. 84\textsuperscript{v} p. 107.1-5. These documents show that the codex included the Pseudo-Aristotelian \textit{Physiognomonica} and \textit{De mirabilibus auscultationibus}, Aelian’s \textit{Varia historia}, Heraclides’ Περὶ πολιτειῶν, the Pseudo-Plutarchean \textit{Vitae decem oratorum}, the epitome of Athenaeus’ \textit{Deipnosophists} and excerpts from Stobaeus.
survives are merely extracts from Heraclides’ original text. This is further shown by the occasional use of ὅτι to introduce new extracts, a feature common in excerpts. One of the key questions is to what extent the extracts reflect Heraclides’ original text and especially how much has been omitted. Comparison with the transmission of Aelian’s Varia

5 There is one red herring. In the codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 352 (V), Aelian’s De natura animalium is cited as ἐκ τῶν Ἀιλιανοῦ περὶ ζῴων ἱδιότητος βιβλίων πρῶτον (fol. 23v), even though the manuscript contains the entire text of Aelian’s De natura animalium: see E.L. De Stefani, ‘I manoscritti della “Historia animalium” di Eliano’, SIFC 10 (1902), 175-222, at 182. This could technically mean that Heraclides’ work, too, might be preserved in its entirety. However, the other manuscripts of De natura animalium (De Stefani’s β family) show that, in all likelihood, the archetypus (which included De natura animalium, Varia historia and Heraclides) had Ἀιλιανοῦ περὶ ζῴων ἱδιότητος. Further, the presence of the title ἐκ τῶν Ἀιλιανοῦ περὶ ζῴων ἱδιότητος βιβλίων πρῶτον in Parisinus gr. 1694 (Dilts b = De Stefani E) (fol. 73r) is no counterevidence, since b is known to have copied De natura animalium (which was not part of the lost Vatican codex) from Parisinus suppl. gr. 352 (V): see De Stefani, 183-4.

6 Heraclides Lembus Excerpta Politiarum 15 (ὅτι τοὺς Εὐλωτας κατεδούλωσαντο ποτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Θεταλοὶ δὲ τοὺς Πενέστας); 23 (ὅτι Ἀμαυρός χωλὸς τοὺς πόδας ἐβασάλωσε ταύτης); 31 (ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Σαμίοις ἑφάνη λευκὴ χελιδὼν οὐκ ἐλάττων πέρδικος). See M. Polito, Dagli scritti di Eraclide sulle costituzioni. Un commento storico (Naples, 2001), 232.

7 Scholarship has usually revolved around the debate whether Heraclides’ transmitted text offers excerpta excerptorum (Schneidewin) or fragmenta excerptorum (Holzinger). See also F. Susemihl, ‘Bericht über Aristoteles und die ältesten Akademiker und Peripatetiker für 1891’, Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft 75 (1894), 80-114,
at 133; V. von Schöffer, ‘Bericht über die im Jahre 1891 und der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1892 erschienene Litteratur zu Aristoteles’ Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία’, Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft 75 (1894), 1-54, at 39-40; Polito (n. 6), 230-3. This terminology is somewhat confusing, however. By fragmenta exerptorum C. von Holzinger, ‘Aristoteles’ athenische Politie und die Heraklidischen Excerpte’, Philologus 50 (1891), 436-46, at 444 means that Heraclides merely made an anthology of loose excerpts from Aristotle’s Πολιτείαι and Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά (this is the excerptorum part) without paying any attention to transitions. In other words, already Heraclides’ text itself was no continuous text but consisted merely of excerpts. Of these excerpts, according to Holzinger, a small number have survived the course of transmission (this is the fragmenta part). This essentially eliminates the existence of a later excerptor, since Holzinger considered the selection of what survived to be the result of sheer coincidence rather than the deliberate choice of an excerptor. Holzinger’s comments are explicitly directed against F.G. Schneidewin, Ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου περὶ πολιτειῶν. Heraclidis Politiarum quae extant (Göttingen, 1847), xli, who called Heraclides’ text excerpta exerptorum. Schneidewin seems to have meant that Heraclides’ text was an epitome of an epitome. Holzinger’s discussion is misguided, however. Comparing Heraclides’ section on Athens with Aristotle’s Athenian Constitution, Holzinger explained that a twofold process of ‘excerpting’ (read ‘epitomizing’) was unlikely, since it would have changed the text more with regard to Aristotle’s original text. Holzinger justified this by claiming that excerpting is a more loose way of transmitting a text than copying it. However, Heraclides’ section on Athens can hardly be considered a real excerpt from the original Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία; despite sharing some vocabulary with the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, it is clear that Heraclides has almost always rephrased the text, sometimes introducing errors in the process: see Polito (n. 6), 201-13. Moreover, if the extant text were truly mere pieces which happen to survive, the scribe would not have
**historia** offers us a few hints. The scribe of the archetypus copied the full text of Aelian’s *Varia historia* for the first two books but from the third book onwards started making excerpts from the text. This can be seen from quotations and extracts of Aelian in later writers. Stobaeus and the *Suda* quote Aelian’s *Varia historia* eight times with text not preserved in direct transmission:

- Aelian F 1 Domingo-Forasté = Stobaeus 3.17.28
- Aelian F 2 Domingo-Forasté = Stobaeus 4.25.38
- Aelian F 3 Domingo-Forasté = Stobaeus 4.55.10
- Aelian F 4 Domingo-Forasté = Stobaeus 2.31.38
- Aelian F 5 Domingo-Forasté = *Suda* α 4140 s.v. ἀσέλγεια
- Aelian F 6 Domingo-Forasté = *Suda* δ 1478 s.v. δός
- Aelian F 7 Domingo-Forasté = *Suda* φ 445 s.v. φιλωθέντες
- Aelian F 8 Domingo-Forasté = *Suda* κ 146 s.v. κάκη

The *Suda* further includes a large number of citations of Aelian without a book title (F 28-351 Domingo-Forasté), many of which are likely to derive from the original version of Aelian’s *Varia historia*. In addition, Stobaeus’ quotations of text preserved in direct transmission often introduced the text with ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου in the title but would probably have written simply Ἡρακλείδου περὶ πολιτειῶν or perhaps no title at all. To avoid further confusion, it is better to avoid the terminology used by Schneidewin and Holzinger and instead dub the text excerpts from Heraclides’ epitome.

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8 Other lost works of Aelian cited by the *Suda* are Περὶ προνοίας (F 9-10 Domingo-Forasté) and Περὶ θείων ἐναργείων (F 21-24 Domingo-Forasté).
provide a more complete version of the text.\textsuperscript{9} Comparison with the text of Aelian thus shows that the interventions by the scribe range from the transposition and omission of a few words to the omission of larger sections; occasionally, he rephrases the text.\textsuperscript{10} Since, in the archetype, Aelian seems to have preceded Heraclides, the scribe probably continued excerpting when copying Heraclides’ text, this time indicating that he is making excerpts rather than copying the original text by giving it the title \textit{ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείδου περὶ πολιτειῶν}.

3. ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS OF HERACLIDES’ EPITOME

The observation in the preceding section that the transmitted text of Heraclides’ epitome consists of excerpts raises the question whether additional fragments exist outside of the medieval text, as is the case for Aelian’s \textit{Varia historia}. Among the fragments of Heraclides as collected by Müller, five fragments are included as belonging to Heraclides’ lost \textit{Ἱστορία}, a historical work in at least 37 books. Three of these fragments explicitly cite the title and book number.\textsuperscript{11} The two other fragments cite only Heraclides’ name and, as I will argue, are more likely to be fragments of Heraclides’ \textit{Περὶ πολιτειῶν}.

\textsuperscript{9} See Stob. 4.44.63 ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 3.3; Stob. 3.22.33 ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 3.28; Stob. 3.29.60 (= Ael. \textit{VH} 7.7b) ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 7.7a; Stob. 2.46.14 ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 9.18; Stob. 4.25.39 (= Ael. \textit{VH} 9.33b) ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 9.33a; Stobaeus 4.8.24 ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 10.5; Stob. 3.13.67 (= Ael. \textit{VH} 14.3b) ~ Ael. \textit{VH} 14.3a.


\textsuperscript{11} Heraclides Lembus \textit{FHG} III, 168 F 3 = Ath. 8.333a-b (Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἐικοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν; on a frog plague in Paeonia and Dardania); F 4 = Ath.
3.1. Heraclides on the foundation of Rome

The first fragment is found in Festus’ *De verborum significatu*, Servius auctus and Solinus’ *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* and deals with the foundation of Rome.

F 1 = Aristotle F 609(3) Rose³ = F 702.1 Gigon = *FGrHist* 840 F 13b

*Lembos qui appellatur Heraclides existimat, revertentibus ab Ilio Achivis, quosdam tempestate deiectos in Italiae regiones secutos Tiberis decursum pervenisse, ubi nunc sit Roma; ibique propter taedium navigationis, impulsas captivas auctoritate virginis cuiusdam tempestivae nomine Rhomes, incendisse classem; atque ab ea necessitate ibi manendi urbem conditam ab is, et potissimum eius nomine eam appellatam, a cuius consilio eas sedes sibi firmavissent.*¹²

¹² I quote the text as edited by W.M. Lindsay, *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome* (Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1913), 329 with one exception: I have adopted Ursinus’ conjecture *quosdam* for the corrupt *quendam* in *quosdam tempestate deiectos in Italiae regiones secutos*. L. Havet, *Notes critiques sur le texte de Festus* (Paris, 1911), 11-2, in contrast
Lembus, who is named Heraclides\textsuperscript{13}, thinks that, when the Achaeans were returning home from Troy, some of them were hurled into the regions of Italy; they followed the course of the Tiber and arrived at the location where Rome is now. And there, because they were tired of sailing around, the captive women, persuaded by a certain girl at marriageable age\textsuperscript{14} called Rhome, burnt down the fleet. And since they were forced to stay there, the Achaeans founded a city; most notably, (Heraclides says that) the city was called after that woman, by whose advice they had fixed this location as their home.

Serv. Dan. Aen., commentary on Virgil’s Aeneid 1.273 = FGrHist 840 F 40d = Aristotle F 702.2

Gigon\textsuperscript{15}

assumed a lacuna after quendam, which contained the name of the founder and a phrase et eius socios or the like.

\textsuperscript{13} Festus (or perhaps already Verrius Flaccus, whose work Festus epitomizes) seems to think that Lembus is Heraclides’ proper name, whereas, in fact, Λέμβος was his nickname: see Diog. Laert. 5.94. The expected way of referring to Heraclides would be Heraclides qui appellatur Lembos.

\textsuperscript{14} G.S. Bucher, BNJ 840 F 13b translates auctoritate virginis cuiusdam tempestivae nomine Rhomes as ‘by the authority of a certain girl opportunely named Rhome.’ However, it is more likely that tempestivus is a translation of the Greek ὀραῖος ‘of marriageable age’ here: see K.O. Müller, Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatione quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome (Leipzig, 1839), 268 n. 26.

Heraclides says that Rhome, a noble captive Trojan woman, disembarked here and, because she was tired of the sea, advised this place as their home; the city was called after her.

Solinus 1.2 = Aristotle F 702.3 Gigon

Heraclidi placet, Troia capta quosdam ex Achivis in ea loca ubi nunc Roma est devenisse per Tiberim, deinde suadente Rome nobilissima captivarum quae his comes erat, incensis navibus posuisse sedem, instruxisse moenia et oppidum ab ea Romen vocavisse.17

Heraclides thinks that, after Troy was taken, some of the Achaeans, sailing along the Tiber, arrived at that location where Rome is now. Next, on the advice of Rhome, the most noble of the captive women who accompanied them, after the ships were burnt down, the Achaeans established their home there, built walls and called the city Rome after her.

16 I quote the text as edited by G. Thilo, Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii, vol. 2: Aeneidos librorum VI-XII commentarii (Leipzig, 1881), 102.

17 I quote the text as edited by T. Mommsen, C. Iulii Solini collectanea rerum memorabilium (Berlin, 1895), 1.
All three texts are part of a list of stories about the foundation of Rome,\(^{18}\) which seems to go back to a common source.\(^{19}\) The attribution of the three fragments to Heraclides’ Περὶ πολιτειῶν is suggested by a parallel with a fragment of Aristotle, cited in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Antiquitates Romanae*.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.72.3-4 = Aristotle F 609(1) Rose\(^{3}\) = F 700

Gigon = *FGrHist* 840 F 13a

\[\text{Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος Ἀχαιών τινας ἱστορεῖ τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀνακοιμησάμενων περιπλέοντας Μαλέαν, ἔπειτα χειμῶν βιαίῳ καταληφθέντας τέως μὲν ύπὸ τῶν}\]

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\(^{18}\) In addition to the canonical story about Romulus and Remus, there are numerous traditions (both Greek and Roman) about the foundation of Rome. The most important sources on those ancient traditions are Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72-73 (= *FGrHist* 840 F 40a), Festus 17 p. 326-330, *Serv. Dan. Aen.* 1.273 (= *FGrHist* 840 F 40d) and Solin. 1.1-3. Some of these traditions also involve women burning the ships: see Hellanicus Lesbius *FGrHist* 4 F 84 = 840 F 8 and Damastes Sigeus *FGrHist* 5 F 3 = 840 F 9 (= Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2) and the authors cited in n. 28.

\(^{19}\) This source might have been Varro. Indeed, Varro was an important source for Verrius Flaccus, whose work Festus epitomized. However, Verrius often did not cite Varro by name but tacitly adopted material from him: see F. Glinister, ‘Constructing the past’, F. Glinister et al. (edd.), *Verrius, Festus & Paul. Lexicography, Scholarship, & Society* (London, 2007), 11-32; M.-K. Lhommé, ‘Varron et Verrius au 2\(^{ème}\) siècle après Jésus-Christ’, ibid., 33-47. A. Kiessling, *De Dionysii Halicarnasei Antiquitatatum auctoribus Latinis* (Leipzig, 1858), 41-2 assumed Varro to also be the source of Dionysius, but see A. Jacobson, ‘Das Verhältnis des Dionys von Halicarnass zu Varro in der Vorgeschichte Roms’, in *Jahresbericht der Drei-König-Schule (Realgymnasium) zu Dresden-Neustadt* (Dresden, 1895), 3-18, at 10-1.
Aristotle the philosopher recounts that some of the Achaeans returning home from Troy, as they were sailing around Malea, were suddenly taken by a violent storm. For a long time, they wandered around many places of the sea, carried around by the winds. Eventually they arrived at that place in the land of the Opici\textsuperscript{21} which is called Latinium and is situated near the Tyrrhenian Sea. Happy to see land, they pulled their ships ashore at that location and spent the winter season there, preparing to sail at the beginning of spring. But when their ships were set on fire at night, not knowing how they could set sail, they were forced against their will to settle their abode in the place where they had disembarked. This happened to them because of female prisoners, whom they happened to be carrying along from Troy. These women had burnt down the ships out of fear for the Achaeans’ return home, believing that they would be carried into slavery.


\textsuperscript{21} I.e. the Oscans.
This story was probably found in Aristotle’s section on Rome in the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά.\textsuperscript{22} Indeed, Heraclides’ epitome seems to have covered both Aristotle’s Πολιτείαι and his Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά.\textsuperscript{23} The procedure of writing an epitome covering more than one work is also seen in Heraclides’ epitome of the biographer Hermippus of Smyrna, which covered Hermippus’ Περὶ νομοθετῶν, Περὶ ἑπτὰ σοφῶν and Περὶ Πυθαγόρου.\textsuperscript{24} Rose and Gigon were therefore right to include these fragments in their editions of Aristotle.\textsuperscript{25} This also implies that Heraclides’

\textsuperscript{22} It is possible that the section on the Romans at one point circulated as a separate work. This is suggested by the fact that Νόμιμα Ῥωμαίων is mentioned separately in the so-called appendix of the \textit{Vita Aristotelis Menagiana}, no. 186 p. 18 Rose\textsuperscript{3} = p. 89 Düring = p. 28 Gigon.

\textsuperscript{23} There are four sections in Heraclides’ epitome which concern non-Greek nations: Heraclides Lembus \textit{Excerpta Politiarum} 43 (Lycians); 44 (Etruscans); 48 (Lucanians); 58 (Thracians). This is further indicated by F 607 Rose\textsuperscript{3} = F 472 Gigon = Ath. 1.23d (Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Τυρρηνῶν Νομίμωι), a fragment of Aristotle’s Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά, which overlaps with Heraclides’ section on the Etruscans.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{P. Oxy.} 1367 = Hermippus, \textit{FGrHist} 1026 T 5 + F 3.

\textsuperscript{25} V. Rose, \textit{Aristoteles pseudepigraphus} (Leipzig, 1863), 541-2; id., \textit{Aristotelis opera}, vol. 5: \textit{Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta. Scholiorum in Aristotelem supplementum. Index Aristotelicus} (Berlin, 1870), 1571; id., \textit{Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta} (Leipzig, 1886), 369. Assuming that the fragment of Heraclides belonged to his Ἰστορία, Bloch (n. 2), 38 claimed that Heraclides drew on Aristotle in writing his Ἰστορία and therefore concluded that Heraclides made the epitome of Aristotle in preparation of writing his Ἰστορία. So also G. Ottone, \textit{Libyka. Testimonianze e frammenti} (Tivoli, 2002), 72. However, this logically implies that the fragment ultimately goes back to Heraclides’ epitome. S. Schorn, \textit{Studien zur
epitome originally contained a section on the Romans, which the later excerptor surprisingly omitted.26

There is one problem, however. There is another fragment of Aristotle, cited in Plutarch’s Quaestiones Romanae, which also comments on the foundation of Rome and offers a similar but fundamentally different version of the story.

Plutarch Quaestiones Romanae 265b-d = Aristotle F 609(2) Rose3 = F 701 Gigon = FGrHist 840 F 13c

Διὰ τί τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῷ στόματι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες; (...) ἢ δὲ ἢν Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος αἵτινες ἱστόρηκε; τὸ γὰρ πολυθρόλλητον ἐκεῖνο καὶ πολλαχοῦ γενέσθαι λεγόμενον, ὡς ξοικεία, ἐτολμήθη ταῖς Τρῳάδι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τῶν γὰρ ἄνδρων, ὡς προσέπλευσαν, ἀποβάντων ἐνέπρησαν τὰ πλοῦτα, πάντως ἀπαλλαγήναι τῆς πλάνης δεόμεναι καὶ τῆς θαλάττης· φοβηθεῖσα δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡ παλαίζοντο τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλείν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας. παυσάμενον δὲ τῆς ὅργης καὶ διαλλαγέντων ἐχρώντο καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ταῦτα τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ πρὸς αὐτοῦς.27

Why do women kiss their relatives on the mouth? (...) Or is it for the reason which Aristotle the philosopher has recounted? For that well-known deed, which is said to

hellenistischen Biographie und Historiographie (Berlin - Boston, 2018), 296 n. 59 is also skeptical about Bloch’s theory.

26 So also M. Hose, Aristoteles Werke in deutscher Übersetzung, vol. 20.3: Die historischen Fragmente (Berlin, 2002), 256.

have taken place in many locations,\textsuperscript{28} was dared – it seems – by the Trojan women in Italy as well. When, after disembarking, the men had gone off, the women set the ships on fire, since they wanted to bring an end to their wanderings at sea by any means

\textsuperscript{28} See also Strabo 6.1.14 p. 264 C. The story of Trojan women setting Greek or Trojan ships on fire was also set at the following locations:

\begin{itemize}
  \item the Neaethus (or Nauaethus) river (‘Ship Burner’) near Croton (Strabo 6.1.12 p. 262 C; Ps.-Apollod. \textit{Epit.} 6.15c = schol. Lycophr. 921; \textit{Etym. Magn.} s.v. Ναύαιθος p. 598 Kallierges; schol. Theoc. 4.24a-b Wendel)
  \item the Caieta harbor (Serv. \textit{Aen.} 7.1; 10.36; [L. Iulius] Caesar [omitted in \textit{Fragments of the Roman Historians: Appendix 1 A24] and [C.] Sempronius [Tuditanus; \textit{Fragments of the Roman Historians} 10 F 5 C.J. Smith] = \textit{Origo gentis Romanae} 10.4)
  \item Sybaris (Lycoph. 1075-1082; \textit{Etym. Magn.} s.v. Σηταίον p. 711 Kallierges; Steph. Byz. Σ 124 s.v. Σήταιον; Tzetz. schol. Lycoph. 1075)
  \item Pisae (Serv. \textit{Dan. Aen.} 10.179)
  \item Sicily (Dion. Hal. \textit{Ant. Rom.} 1.52.4; Verg. \textit{Aen.} 6.604-699)
  \item Crete (Zenobius Vulgatus 5.50 = Zenobius Athous 2.7 Bühler \textasciitilde{} \textit{Suda} ot 83 s.v. οἱ Κρήτες τὴν θωσίαν \textasciitilde{} \textit{Recensio Bodleiana} B 719 Gaisford)
  \item Daunia (Ps.-Arist. \textit{Mir. ausc.} 109)
  \item Pallene (Conon \textit{FGrHist} 26.13 = Phot. \textit{Bibl.} codex 186 p. 133a Bekker; Strabo 7 F 14a Radt = F 25 Jones; Polyaenus \textit{Strat.} 7.47)
\end{itemize}

necessary. Fearing the men, they greeted their relatives and other members of the household by kissing and embracing whoever encountered them. And when the men had put an end to their anger and had been reconciled, the women continued to use this way of greeting them.

Although the story is similar to that of the aforementioned sources, the fundamental difference is that, in Plutarch, it are not Achaeans but Trojans who wandered around and ended up in Italy; so the Trojan women were not captives. In fact, the custom described by Plutarch, according to which women kiss their male relatives on the mouth by way of greeting, only makes sense if the Trojan women were brought to Italy by their own family. Otherwise, there are no male relatives to kiss, which is the whole point of Plutarch’s aition.

The question is therefore whether Dionysius or Plutarch gives the correct Aristotelian version of the story. A priori, Dionysius is expected to be more reliable than Plutarch in citing earlier writers, especially in the first book of the Antiquitates Romanae, to which the fragment of Aristotle belongs. In the first book, Dionysius meticulously cites his sources, often quoting their verba ipsissima and stating the same information twice (viz. a paraphrase, followed by a verbatim quotation).29 Plutarch, in contrast, has a more loose way of citing authors.30 It is possible that Plutarch is mixing up different traditions, modifying Aristotle or simply


misremembering what he read.\textsuperscript{31} Alternatively, it is possible that Aristotle reported a second version of the story (whether in the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά or elsewhere), as Martínez-Pinna has claimed.\textsuperscript{32} Indeed, discrepancies also recur, for instance, between the \textit{Politics} and the Αθηναίων πολιτεία.\textsuperscript{33} The less likely alternative is to assume that Dionysius draws on Heraclides for the citation of Aristotle, and the error was introduced by Heraclides, as he occasionally does elsewhere in the epitome.\textsuperscript{34}


\textsuperscript{32} Martínez-Pinna (n. 28), 31-3; id., \textit{Las leyendas de fundación de Roma. De Eneas a Rómulo} (Barcelona, 2011), 33-4.


\textsuperscript{34} See Polito (n. 6), 201-28.
Before I move on to the next fragment of Heraclides, it is necessary to briefly discuss Basto’s views on the relation between Aristotle and Heraclides Lembus with respect to the story of the foundation of Rome. According to Basto, Heraclides actually combines Aristotle’s account with that of Hellanicus, who also has Trojan women set fire to the ships: 

Hellanicus Lesbius FGrHist 4 F 84 = 840 F 8 = Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.72.2

ο δὲ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργείᾳ καὶ τὰ καθ’ ἐκάστην πρακτόντα συναγαγὼν (sc. Ἐλλάνικος) Ἀινείαν φησίν ἐκ Μολοσσών εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα μετ’ Ὄδυσσεος οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ὄνομάσαι δὲ αὖτήν ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν Ἰλιάδων Ῥόμης· ταύτην δὲ λέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις Τρωάσι παρακελευσμένην κοινὴ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσαι τὰ σκάφη βαρυνομένην τῇ πλάνῃ ὁμολογεῖ δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγείες καὶ ἄλλοι τινές.

The man who compiled the Priestesses at Argos and the events during the tenure of each of them (sc. Hellanicus) says that Aeneas went with Odysseus from the land of the Molossians to Italy; he founded the city and named it after Rhome, one of the Trojan women. This woman, he says, urged the other Trojan women on and, together with them, she set the ships on fire, since she was tired of wandering around. Damastes of Sigeum and some other people also agree with him.

35 Basto (n. 28), 29-30; 7-44; 55-8.

36 So also W.A. Schröder, M. Porcius Cato. Das erste Buch der Origines. Ausgabe und Erklärung der Fragmente (Meisenheim am Glan, 1971), 70 and Martínez-Pinna (n. 31), 33.

37 I quote the text as edited by Fromentin (n. 20), 184-5. However, unlike Fromentin, I have adopted the reading Σιγείες, found in Eusebius (ap. Syncellus p. 227 Mosshammer; cf. also Euseb. arm. p. 132 Karst: der Sigeer), against the otherwise unattested form Σιγεύς, as it is read in the manuscripts of Dionysius.
Basto considered the following points to be the key differences between Aristotle and Hellanicus:  

(1) In Aristotle, the Trojan women are captives of the Achaeans; in Hellanicus, they accompany their families.

(2) In Aristotle, the Trojan women set the ships on fire, because they are afraid at the prospect of being carried off into slavery; in Hellanicus, they do this because they are tired of wandering around at sea.

(3) Aristotle does not specify the exact location or the name of the founder but deliberately speaks only vaguely of the ‘Latin land’ (Δατίνιον), certain Achaeans (Ἀχαιῶν τινας) and Trojan captive women (γυναῖκας αἰχμαλώτους); Hellanicus explicitly names Aeneas and Rhome and specifies that the city which is founded is Rome.

From this Basto concluded that Heraclides followed Aristotle in making the Trojan women captives of the Achaeans and adopted from Hellanicus the location (Rome), the person setting the ships on fire (Rhome) and the motivation for doing this (weariness of the sea). However, the argumentum ex silentio that Aristotle leaves the protagonists unnamed is less compelling than Basto claims. In fact, Dionysius cites Aristotle immediately after Hellanicus and may therefore have omitted the names to avoid repetition, citing only the differences (that is, 

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38 See the table in Basto (n. 28), 47.

39 E.J. Bickerman, ‘Origines gentium’, CPh 47 (1952), 65-81, at 78 n. 14 and N.M. Horsfall, ‘Some problems in the Aeneas legend’, CQ 29 (1979), 372-90, at 383 n. 88 also claimed that Aristotle did not mention Rome. Likewise, according to Perret (n. 31), 389 and Solmsen (n. 17), 105 n. 46, the Trojan woman named Rhome was not mentioned by Aristotle but was introduced by Heraclides Lembus.
Achaeans versus Trojans). Basto also overemphasized the difference in motivation between Aristotle (fear for slavery) and Heraclides (weariness of the sea). One explanation does not exclude the other. In Plutarch, too, the Trojan women are tired of the sea. In fact, more substantial discrepancies between Festus and Dionysius are also found in their citations of other writers. Furthermore, from Dionysius’ text, it does not necessarily follow that Aristotle did not mention Rome. But even if this was the case, Heraclides need not be drawing on

40 According to Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.72.1 (FGrHist 45 F 9 = 840 F 21), ‘Cephalon Gergithius’ (the pseudonym of Hegesianax) claimed that Rome was founded by Rhomus, one of Aeneas’ four sons (the other three being Ascanius, Euryleon and Romulus); according to Festus 17 p. 326 (FGrHist 45 F 10 = 840 F 40b), in contrast, Cephalon spoke only vaguely of a certain companion of Aeneas (ab homine quodam comite Aeneae). Similarly, according to Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.72.5 (FGrHist 564 F 5a = 840 F 14a), Callias, the court historian of king Agathocles of Syracuse, claimed that the Trojan woman Rhome married Latinus, king of the Aborigines, and their children (Romus, Romulus and Telegonus) later founded Rome, which they named after their mother. In Festus 17 p. 329 (who erroneously calls him ‘Caltinus’), however, Latinus is said to be one of the Trojans, is already married to Rhome, conquers Italy and founds Rome himself.

41 According to Basto (n. 28), 40, Aristotle deliberately did not mention Rome by name because he was suspicious of the invention of the eponymous woman. However, in his Πολιτεία, Aristotle himself does not shy away from such etymologies. Thus, the Ionians are named after Ion (Arist. Ath. Pol. F 381(1) Rose³ = Politeia 5 (Athen) F 1(2) Gigon = Harp. α 194 Keaney s.v. Ἀπόλλων πατρός ὁ Πόθιος; Arist. F 381(2) Rose³ = Politeia 5 (Athen) F 1(1) Gigon = Titel 143.1.1 Gigon = Heraclides Lembus Excerpta Politiarum 1), the Dryopes after Dryops (Arist. F 482 Rose³ = F 488 Gigon = Strabo 8.6.13 p. 373 C), the city Adramyteion after its
Hellanicus for that but may have substituted ‘Rome’ for ‘Latinion’\(^{42}\) himself. Such interventions are not uncommon in epitomes. In fact, Hellanicus is highly unlikely to be a supposed founder Adramytos (Arist. F 484 Rose\(^{3}\) = F 467 Gigon = Steph. Byz. α 60 s.v. Ἀδραμύτειον), the island Cephallenia after its settler Cephalus (Arist. F 504(1) Rose\(^{3}\) = F 509 Gigon = *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀρκείσιος p. 144 Kallierges = *Etymologicum Genuinum* α 765 Lasserre-Livadaras s.v. Ἀρκείσιος; Arist. F 504(2) Rose\(^{3}\) = F 510 Gigon = Tzetz. *Antehomerica* 479; Heraclides Lembus *Excerpta Politiarum* 45 = Arist. F 611.45 Rose\(^{3}\) = Titel 143.1.17 Gigon), the town Cius after its founder Cius (Arist. F 514 Rose\(^{3}\) = F 519.1 Gigon = schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.1177 p. 107 Wendel), the island Paros after its settler Paros (Heraclides Lembus *Excerpta Politiarum* 25 = Arist. F 611.25 Rose\(^{3}\) = Titel 143.1.8 Gigon), the island Ceos after its settler Ceos (Heraclides Lembus *Excerpta Politiarum* 26 = Arist. F 611.26 Rose\(^{3}\) = Titel 143.1.9 Gigon) and the city Croton after its founder Croton (Heraclides Lembus *Excerpta Politiarum* 686 = Arist. F 611.68 Rose\(^{3}\) = Titel 143.1.37 Gigon).

\(^{42}\) Λατινιόν is the reading of the manuscripts of Dionysius. The *Excerpta Eusebiana* (Anecd. *Ox.* vol. 2 p. 162 Cramer) and Syncellus (p. 227 Mosshammer), in contrast, have Λάτιον (Euseb. arm. p. 132 Karst has *Latinos*). See Perret (n. 31), n. 1. Kiessling ap. K. Jacoby, *Dionysi Halicarnasensis Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1885), 116 conjectured Λαούινιον (so Lavinium). R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu’au temps d’Auguste* (Paris, 1954), 71 corrected it to Λαβίνιον, but this transcription of the name is unlikely, since elsewhere Dionysius uses Λαούινιον and never Λαβίνιον. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 84 F 13a also considered correcting Λατίνιον to Λαύρεντον, so Laurentum, where Aeneas is said to have arrived according to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.45.1; 1.52.4; 1.53.3 and Strabo 5.3.2 p. 229 C. A much less likely conjecture is that of G. Capovilla, ‘Lazio prelatino e problema ligure-siculo laziale’, *RIL* 89 (1956), 505-58, at 544, who (while
source for Heraclides. In Hellanicus, there is no storm (unlike in Aristotle and Heraclides), but Aeneas comes to Italy with Odysseus (!),\(^{43}\) embarking from the land of the Molossians.

3.2. Heraclides on Sparta: a new fragment of Aristotle?

incorrectly stating that Hellanicus is Dionysius’ source) corrected Λατινιον to Λακίνιον as derived from the Attic hero Lacius. Another conjecture which has not received any following is that of L. Bayard, ‘Elpenor à Antium?’, MEFR 40 (1923), 115-22, who corrected Λατινιον to Ἀντιον (so Antium, an old harbor town in Latium).

\(^{43}\) It is debated whether Dionysius wrote μετ’ Ὄδυσσέως ‘with Odysseus’ or μετ’ Ὄδυσσεα ‘after Odysseus’ and whether this should be taken with εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα ‘Aeneas came to Italy with/after Odysseus’ or with οἰκιστήν γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως ‘Aeneas founded the city with/after Odysseus.’ The genitive Ὄδυσσέως is read by the codex Chisianus R VIII 60 (A), whereas the accusative Ὅδυσσεα recurs in the β family (which comprises the codex Urbinas gr. 105 [Bb] and the codex Marcianus gr. 3722 [S]). See the discussion in Perret (n. 31), 371-5; E.D. Phillips, ‘Odysseus in Italy’, JHS 73 (1953), 53-67, at 57-8; Horsfall (n. 38), 379-80; Basto (n. 28), 80-94; D. Musti, ‘Etruschi e Greci nella rappresentazione dionisiana delle origini di Roma’ (Rome, 1981), 27 n. 5; F. Solmsen, “‘Aeneas founded Rome with Odysseus’”, HSPh 90 (1986), 93-110, at 93-5; J. Martínez-Pinna, ‘Nota a Helánico, FGH 4F84: Eneas y Odiseo en el Lacio’, in Arqueólogos, historiadores y filólogos. Homenaje a Fernando Gascó, vol. 2 (Sevilla, 1995), 669-83; R.L. Fowler, Early Greek Mythography, vol. 2: Commentary (Oxford, 2013), 564-5; V. Costa on BNJ 5 F 3. Since the indirect transmission agrees with A (see Euseb. arm. p. 132 Karst: nach Italia gekommen mit Odysseus; Syncellus p. 227 Moshammer: εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα σῶν Ὅδυσσεί), the genitive is the most likely reading. This is now accepted by most scholars.
The second fragment traditionally attributed to Heraclides’ Ἰστορίαι is found in Athenaeus and deals with Sparta.

Athenaeus 13.566a = Heraclides Lembus FHG III, 168 F 2

'Ἡρακλείδης δ’ ὁ Λέμβος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Σπάρτην θαυμάζεται μᾶλλον ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ γυνὴ ἢ καλλίστη, καλλίστας γεννώσης τῆς Σπάρτης τὰς γυναίκας. διὸ καὶ φασὶν <περὶ> Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως, γυναικὸς αὐτῷ καλῆς φαίνομένης, ἐτέρας δὲ αἰσχρὰς καὶ πλουσίας, ὡς ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὴν πλουσίαν, ζημιώσας τοὺς ἐφόρους αὐτόν, ἐπιλέγοντας ὅτι βασιλίσκους ἀντὶ βασιλέων τὰ Σπάρτα γεννῶν προαιρεῖται.44

Heraclides Lembus records that, in Sparta, the most handsome man and the most beautiful woman are admired more, since Sparta produces the most beautiful women. This also why people say about king Archidamus that, when he was shown one beautiful woman and another ugly, rich one, and he was inclined toward the rich one, the ephors fined him, saying that he was choosing to beget kinglets for Sparta instead of kings.

44 The text is based on G. Kaibel, Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum libri XV, vol. 3: Libri XI-XV et indices (Leipzig, 1890), 247-8. However, I have not adopted Kaibel’s conjecture <ἀνήρ> ὁ κάλλιστος, since the quotation of Athenaeus in Eust. ad Il. 24.771 vol. 4 p. 985 van der Valk does not have ἀνήρ either: ἐθαυμάζετο δέ, φασί, καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην μᾶλλον ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ ἡ καλλίστη. Further, I have adopted the correction διὸ καὶ φασὶν <περὶ> Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως, found in the editio princeps. There might also be a lacuna between γυνὴ ἢ καλλίστη and καλλίστας γεννώσης τῆς Σπάρτης τὰς γυναίκας.
Heraclides comments on the fact that handsome men and beautiful women are admired in Sparta.\(^{45}\) Athenaeus then adds a story about king Archidamus II,\(^{46}\) which he probably adopted

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\(^{45}\) Sparta was famous for its beautiful women: see already Hom. *Od*. 13.412 (Σπάρτην ἐκ καλλιγύναικα). This reputation goes back to Helen, as Eust. *Od*. 13.412 vol. 2 p. 56 Stallbaum observes (ὅτι καλλιγύναικα τὴν Σπάρτην κάνταϊθα λέγει διὰ τὴν Ἑλένην). It is also seen in the oracle given by the Pythia to the inhabitants of Aegium: see H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1956), vol. 1, 82-3; vol. 2, 1-2; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses* (Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1978), 276-7. In reply to their question whether any nation was better than theirs, the oracle listed cities that were superior to Aegium, specifying in what regard the city in question was better and concluding that Aegium was not third, fourth or even twelfth best; Sparta is listed for its women (Λακεδαιμόνια τε γυναῖκες, with minor variations): see Mnaseas F 58 Cappelletto and Ion Chius F 88 Leurini = Zenobius Athous 2.35 Bühler, Phot. *Lexicon* v 47 Theodoridis s.v. ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὗτε τρίτοι οὕτε τέταρτοι = Suda v 108 s.v. ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὗτε τρίτοι οὕτε τέταρτοι, Tzetz. *Chil.* 9.291; Strabo 10.1.13 p. 449 C; Oenomaus F 11a Hammerstaedt = Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 5.29.1-7; Ath. 7.278e; Theodoretus *Graecarum affectationum curatio* 10.35; Eust. *in Dionys*. 473; Tzetz. *Chil*. 10.330; *Epistulae* 61 p. 92; 71 p. 102 Leone. According to an alternative version, it was the Megarians who consulted the oracle: see Deinias *FGrHist* 306 F 6 = schol. Theoc. 14.48/49a Wendel; *Anth. Pal.* 14.73; Phot. *Lexicon* v 47 Theodoridis s.v. ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὗτε τρίτοι οὕτε τέταρτοι = Suda v 108 s.v. ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὗτε τρίτοι ο垕τε τέταρτοι.

from Heraclides as well. The story goes that, when Archidamus had to marry, he chose a wealthy woman over a beautiful one and was fined by the ephors for doing this. Interestingly, the story recurs in Theophrastus, where Archidamus is fined for marrying a short woman (not a rich one, as in Heraclides). Indeed, the ephors’ reply that Archidamus would beget small children with her makes more sense in Theophrastus’ version of the story.

One reason to assign the fragment to Heraclides’ Ιστορίαι is that the other three fragments of Heraclides in Athenaeus are taken from this work. However, contrary to F 2, Athenaeus explicitly cites the title and book number for those three fragments. In fact, the parallel with Theophrastus suggests that, in this case, Aristotle might be the ultimate source for Heraclides. Indeed, a note on women and marriage is found often in Aristotle’s Πολιτεία and also recurs

47 Athenaeus does not explicitly say that Archidamus had to marry, but the parallel with Theophrastus suggests that this is the most likely context.

48 Theophr. F 605 FHS&G = Plut. Ages. 2.6. The same story recurs (without reference to Theophrastus) in Plut. Mor. 1d (De liberis educandis 2).

49 Heraclides Lembus βασιλέσκους ἀντὶ βασιλέων τὰ Σπάρτα γεννᾶν προαιρεῖται ~ Theophr. οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς, ἔφασαν, ὀμίν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια γεννᾶσει.

50 See n. 11.

51 On the Spartans, see Heraclides Lembus Excerpta Politiarum 13 and Aristotle’s discussion of Spartan women in Arist. Pol. 1269b12-1270a34. For other Aristotelian Πολιτεία/Νόμιμα, see Arist. F 503(2) Rose = Heraclides Lembus Excerpta Politiarum 73 (Iasians); Arist. F 547(1) Rose = F 554.2 Gigon = Polyb. 12.5.4-6, 12.6b.2-4, 12.6b.9/10 (Locrians); Arist. F 569 Rose = F 586 Gigon = schol. Pind. Ol. 7 inscr. Drachmann (Rhodians); Arist. F 607(1) Rose = F 472 Gigon = F 704 Gigon = Ath. 1.23d; Arist. F 607(2) Rose = Heraclides Lembus
in Xenophon’s *Spartan Constitution* and Nicolaus of Damascus’ Ἐθῶν συναγωγή. An alternative context for this fragment may have been a discussion of the relation between the kings and ephors at Sparta.

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Excerpta Politiarum 44 (Etruscans); Heraclides Lembus Excerpta Politiarum 28-29 (Ceians); 43 (Lycians); 53 (Athamanians); 58 (Thracians).


53 See Arist. *Pol.* 1270b6-1271a9; 1301b17-21; 1313a23-33; Heraclides Lembus Excerpta Politiarum 10. A similar involvement of the ephors recurs in the case of king Anaxandridas.
4. CONCLUSION

In this article, I have commented on Heraclides’ epitome of Aristotle’s Πολιτεία and Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά. I have taken the comparison with Aelian’s Varia historia, which is transmitted alongside Heraclides’ Περὶ πολιτείων, as my point of departure in order to show the extent to which the transmitted excerpts reflect Heraclides’ original text. I have then argued that two fragments of Heraclides which are commonly as signed to his Ἱστορίαι are more likely to belong to a more complete version of Heraclides’ original epitome. These two fragments should therefore probably be considered fragments of Aristotle. This also implies that Heraclides’ original work contained a section of Rome, which the later compiler omitted.

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(Hdt. 5.39-40). When he did not beget children with his first wife, the ephors attempted to force him to divorce her; ultimately, they agreed that he was allowed to keep his first wife but had to marry a second one. Ephors also had the authority to fine the kings: see Plut. Ages. 6.