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BNJ 317 Aristippos

This entry was prepared by Maria Elena De Luna, *Brill's New Jacoby,* Leiden, Brill, 2021

Historian:	**Aristippos**
Jacoby number	317
Historian's work	Ἀρκαδικά (F1)
Historian's date	3rd-2nd century BC
Historical focus	History of cities and peoples (Horography and Ethnography) | Authors on single cities and regions | Arcadia
Place of origin	unknown

***BNJ* 317 T 1**	
Source	Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 2.83
Historian's work	Τὰ περὶ Ἀρκαδίας
Source date	2nd - 3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Antiquities, Biography, Philosophy
Fragment subject	Biography
Edition	T. Dorandi (ed.), *Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Cambridge 2013).
γεγόνασι δ' Ἀρίστιπποι τέσσαρες· περὶ οὗ τε ὁ λόγος, καὶ1 δεύτερος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ἀρκαδίας γεγραφώς· τρίτος ὁ Μητροδίδακτος, θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ πρώτου· τέταρτος ὁ ἐκ τῆς νεωτέρας Ἀκαδημείας. τοῦ δὴ Κυρηναϊκοῦ2 φιλοσόφου φέρεται βιβλία τρία μὲν ἱστορίας τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, ἀπεσταλμένα Διονυσίῳ3 (...).	There were four men called Aristippos: the subject of this *Life*; secondly, the author of a treatise entitled *On Arcadian matters*; tirth the *Metrodidaktos* ['Mother-taught'], grandson, on his mother's side, of the first Aristippos; fourth, the scholar of the New Academy. As for the philosopher from Cyrene, three books of a history of the events of Libya, dedicated to Dionysios, are handed down under his name, dedicated to Dionysios (...).

1 καὶ om. F
2 Κυρηναϊκοῦ BPF : Κυρηναίου Mannebach (*Aristippi et Cyrenaicorum fragmenta*, Leiden 1961, p. 87)
3 Διονυσίῳ : τῷ Διονυσίῳ P^4

317 T 1 Commentary

The name Aristippos is well attested in Arcadia, as shown for instance by a group of inscriptions spanning from the second half of 4th to the 2nd century BC (*IG* V.2, 41. 142. 323b. 549); however, it is also possible that the homeland of the compiler of a treatise about Arkadia (ὁ τὰ περὶ Ἀρκαδίας γεγραφώς) was Argos (cf. the *Biographical essay*).

***BNJ* 317 F 1**	
Source	Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1.106.4 (= Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 10.12.24)
Historian's work	Ἀρκαδικά
Source date	2nd century AD - 3rd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Antiquities, Philosophy
Fragment subject	Mythology; City foundations
Edition	O. Stählin (Hrsg.), *Clemens Alexandrinus*, II: *Stromata Buch I-VI* (Leipzig 1906)
Ἆπις τε ὁ Ἄργους βασιλεὺς Μέμφιν οἰκίζει, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀρκαδικῶν. τοῦτον δὲ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐπονομασθῆναί φησι Σάραπιν, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι σέβουσιν (...).	Apis, the king of Argos, colonizes Memphis, as Aristippos says in the first book of the *Arkadika*. Aristeas of Argos says that he was nicknamed Sarapis and that he was the one whom Egyptians worship (...).

317 F 1 Commentary

Commentary on the text

F1 is the assembly of two quotations that, although coming from different sources (Aristippos and Aristeas respectively), need a joint analysis.

Commentary on the fragment

The cult of Sarapis in Argolis is mentioned by Pausanias, in conjunction with that of Isis, in 2.4.6 and in 2.34.10, but the most significant *locus* is *Perieg.* 1.18.4, where he speaks of the temple of Sarapis on the North-East slopes of the Acropolis and writes that in Egypt the most important temple of this god was at Alexandria, but the oldest was at Memphis, and in connection with this temple Apis is also mentioned. This passage from *Periegesis* mentions the same elements of the passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, *sub voce* of Aristippus and Aristeas: Apis, Memphis, and Sarapis (on the different interpretations expressed by scholars

on Aristea's intentions in relation to the cultural, political and religious context of his time, cf. J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the early Ptolemies* (Leiden 1972), 68-74).

According to Pausanias, Apis was a son of Telchis and a descendant of the Sycionian king Aegialeus; he would have become so powerful that all the region south of the Isthmus was called, after him, Apia [2.5.6-7; cf. Eus. (Arm.), *Chron.* p. 83, 33-34 Karst (= Kastor of Rhodes, *BNJ* 250 F3)]. In [Apollodoros]' *Library*, on the contrary, Apis is a son of Phoroneus, in turn a brother of Aegialeus and heir of Inachos' rule on the Peloponnese (1.76; 2.1.1); after his death, he was divinized with the name Sarapis (2.1.1: ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάραπις). The cult of the Egyptian Sarapis (sometimes identified with Epaphos son of Ios: cf. *e.g.* Aeschyl., *Suppl.* 312; Hdt. 2.153) is well attested in the Argolis: see *e.g.* Ph. Borgeaud & Y. Volokhine, 'La formation de la légende de Sarapis: une approche transculturelle', *ARG* 2.1 (2000), 37-76. But (and this is important) the Arcadians knew also another Apis, whose origins were in the Mainalian city of Pallantion (Th. H. Nielsen, 'Arkadia', in M.H. Hansen - Th. H. Nielsen (ed.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004), 526), who had been accidentally killed by Aetolos during a chariot competition in honor of Azanes (Paus. 5.1.8; M.E. De Luna, *Arkadika. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Tivoli 2017), 207-8.

From all this evidence we can advance the following considerations: 1) although Aristippos' tradition on Apis' foundation of Memphis has no parallels in our sources, the formation of this legend is understandable: once the Argive Apis was associated with an Egyptian figure linked to Sarapis, because of the presence of this cult in Argolis, it was a short step to portray him also as the founder of Memphis, the city hosting the oldest Sarapeion. Furthermore, as has been highlighted, the link between the foundation of Memphis and an Argive hero finds an example in the [Apollod.], *Bibl.* 1.1.10: Epafos, son of Io, became king in Egypt, husband of Memphis, daughter of the Nile, and founder of Memphis. The links between Greece and Egypt in the Argive myth will have facilitated the attribution to Apis king of Argos of the foundation of Memphis in Egypt (see Jost - Roy, s.v. *Aristippos* (317), in *BNJ*, Commentary on F 1). 2) Aristippos, speaking of the Arcadian Apis in the *Ἀρκαδικά*, could have also mentioned the more famous Apis of Argos (for a detailed discussion on the historical links between Argolis and Arcadia cf. De Luna, *Arkadika,* 203-10). Alternatively, we can conjecture that Aristippos could have been influenced by an etiological tradition connecting a well-known data, the antiquity of the Arcadian people, to its origin from Apis [cf. *e.g.* Ap. Rhod. 4.263-6, where they are called Ἀπιδανῆες, *i.e.* "those from Apis", and the *schol. ad loc.*: Ἀπιδανῆας δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἀπὸ Ἄπιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως. See also M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985), 375 and note 7].

L. Bricault (Isis Pelagia: Images, Names and Cults of a Goddes of the Seas (Leiden - Boston 2020), 232-35) recalls the attempt of the *Ptolemies* to see recognized their legendary kinship with the royal house of Argos, the Argeads and accordingly with Alexander the Great; in this perspective we understand the tradition that viewed Apis, king of Argos and descendant from Inachus as the founder of Memphis, (cfr. S.H. Aufrère, 'Dualism and Focalization in Alexandrian Religious Thougth in Egypt at the Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period: Manetho of Sebennytos and the Argive Myth', in A. Lange *et alii, Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World* (Göttingen 2011), 51-3; on the role of Manetho and on the relationship between the king, likely Ptolemy I, and the Egyptian clergy vd. F. Muccioli, *Storia dell'Ellenismo* (Bologna 2019), 234-38 with bibliography).

BNJ 317 F 2	
Source	Scholia on Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautika* 3.1086-9c

Historian's work	*Arkadika* (F2)
Source date	medieval period
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Commentary
Fragment subject	Mythology, Genealogy, Greek
Edition	C. Wendel (ed.), *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium vetera*, Berolini 1935.
ἔνθα Προμηθεὺς / Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Δευκαλίων, περὶ οὗ Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Μίνωος, περὶ οὗ Φερεκύδης· καὶ δ΄ ὁ Ἄβαντος, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀρίστιππος ἐν Ἀρκαδικοῖς.	There Prometheus son of Iapetion / begat the noble Deukalion'. There is also another Deukalion, of which Hellanikos reports the history (*BNJ* 4 F 114). And another is the son of Minos, of which Pherekydes speaks (*BNJ* 3 F 85). And a fourth is the son of Abas, whom Aristippos mentions in the *Arkadika*.

317 F 2 Commentary

Commentary on the text

The list of 'Deukalions' is not complete: to the homonyms mentioned in the scholium, one must add the Argonauts Deukalion and Amphion, sons of Hypso; a Trojan Deukalion killed by Achilles; furthemore, a fourth Deukalion, mentioned by Pherekydes, is the father of the hero Idomeneus (cf. W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884-1937), s.v. 'Deukalion').

Commentary on the fragment

The first Deukalion is the famous hero who survived the flood by which Zeus put an end to the bronze Age of the Hesiod'myth (see G. Guidorizzi, *Apollodoro. Biblioteca* (Milano 1995), 200; interesting remarks in C. Calame, *Qu'est-ce que la mythologie grecque* (Paris 2015), 192-94). The identity of the second Deukalion, of which Hellanicus spoke, is not specified. The third, according to Pherecydes, was the son of Minos; the source of this myth is Pherekydes, but it also flowed into [Apollod.], *Bibl.* 3.1.2 (cf. also 3.3.1; *Epit.* 3.13). The tradition concerning Deukalion son of Abas is not otherwise attested, and it is impossible to reconstruct the context in which Aristippos mentioned him. In fact, there are two known Abas: one – the son of Lyncaeus, king of Argos, and Hipermestra – fathered the twins Acrisius and Pretus [Apollod.], *Bibl.* 2.2.1); the other, the son of Melampus, Lysimacha (*Bibl.* 1.9.13).
It is also unlikely, according to Jacoby (*FGrHist* IIIb, Text, p. 72), that the Deukalion son of Abas had any connection with the flood: Prometheus and his son were too well known as cultural heroes (cf. Hellan., *FGrHist* 4 F6a-b) and too closely linked (see Hes. frr. 2 and 4 M.-W.) for an alternative genealogical tradition to emerge (see De Luna, 210-11). The Deukalion

son of Abas, therefore, falls within a secondary line of traditions concerning the descendants of the two (best known) Abas mentioned above: an example, among others, of that continuous transformation of the mythological (see P. Scarpi, *Apollodoro. I miti greci* (Milano 1996), 454) which is expressed through missing genealogical pieces or differences in genealogical chains, or, as in this case, through onomastic multiplication.

***BNJ* 317 F 3**	
Source	Scholia on Theocritus, *Idyllia* 1.3-4c
Historian's work	Ἀρκαδικά
Source date	2nd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Commentary
Fragment subject	Mythology, Genealogy
Edition	C. Wendel (ed.), *Scholia in Theocritum vetera*, Lipsiae 1914
τὸν Πᾶνα οἱ μέν φασιν υἱὸν Πηνελόπης καὶ πάντων τῶν μνηστήρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι καὶ Πᾶνα1· ᾽Επιμενίδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι2 Διὸς καὶ Καλλιστοῦς Πᾶνα καὶ ᾽Αρκάδα διδύμους. ᾽Αρίστιππος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ᾽Αρκαδικοῖς3 Διὸς4 καὶ νύμφης Οἰνηίδος	Some say that Pan is the son of Penelope and all her suitors and for that reason is called Pan: but Epimenides in his poems (*BNJ* 457 F 9) says that Pan and Arkas are the twin sons of Zeus and Kallisto, and Aristippos in his *Arkadika* says that Pan is the son of Zeus and a nymph Oineïs.

1 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι καὶ Πᾶνα om. P
2 ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι om. P
3 ἐν τοῖς ᾽Αρκαδικοῖς : om. P, τοῖς ᾽Αρκαδικοῖς Wendel, τῷ Ἀρκαδικῷ vel τῷ ‹α΄› Ἀρκαδικῶν Toup
4 Διὸς : Αἰθέρος Ahrens (cfr. *Schol. A in Eur. Rhes.* 36 = Ariaethus Teg., *FGrHist* 316 F4)

317 F 3 Commentary

Commentary on the text

The scholiast comments on the verse with which Thyrsis, in the first *Idyll* of Theocritus, praises the goatherd's ability to play the bagpipe, judging him second only to Pan: hence, the list of the parents attributed to the god.

Commentary on the fragment

As F3 documents, the ancient commentators attribute to Pan numerous genealogies, of which the first one – which regard him as the son of Penelope and *all* her suitors – exploits the

wordplay between the name of the god and the meaning of the adjective πᾶς / πάσα / πᾶν. The multiplicity of Pan's is also attested in a *scholion* to Euripides' *Rhesum* (v. 36), unfortunately full of gaps, reported by the author of *Arkadika* Ariaithos of Tegea. It has at least one element in common with Aristippos' version in F3, for the writer mentions the nymph Oinoe (an onomastic form corresponding to Oineïs – an *hapax* – in Aristippos' text). Oinoe belongs to Arcadia; she is depicted on the altar of the temple of Athena Alea, at Tegea, as a nurse of Zeus (Paus. 8. 47. 3).
In the above cited passage Ariaithos of Tegea calls Pan the son of Aither, but Aither is the name assigned in Arcadia to Kronos (cf. *e.g.* Cic., *Nat. D.* III 53). To sum up: in Ariaithos Pan is the brother of Zeus (since both are sons of Aither-Kronos), while in Aristippos (*Scholia on Theokritos*) he is the son of Zeus. Even in the different degree of kinship, both historians clearly want to underline the link between the two most important gods of Arcadia.
Epimenides (*Scholia on Theokritos*) not only reaffirms the blood ties between Zeus and Pan, but emphasizes the regional identity of the latter, who is also the twin of the ancestor and eponym of the Arcadians (for a detailed analysis of the accounts on Pan's genealogy see De Luna, *Arkadika,* 131-49 with bibliography; but see also, for instance, M. Jost, 'À propos des généalogies de Pan', in L. Bodiou et alii (édd.), *Chemin faisant. Mythes, cultes et societé en Grèce ancienne.* Mélanges en l'honneur de Pierre Brulé (Rennes 2009), 173-80; M.-M. Mactoux, *Pénélope. Légende et mythe* (Paris 1975), 222; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford 1996), 163-68).

***BNJ* 317 F 4**	
Source	Scholia on Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 10.84e
Historian's work	Ἀρκαδικά
Source date	2nd century AD
Source language	Greek
Source genre	Commentary
Fragment subject	Mythology
Edition	A.B. Drachmann (rec.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, I: *Scholia in Olympionicas*, Lipsiae 1903.
<ὅτι> μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἤλιδος ἅλωσιν εἷς ἦν τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων ὁ Θησεὺς ἱστορεῖ Ἀρίστιππος· οὐχ ἅρματι δέ, ἀλλὰ παγκρατίωι.	Aristippos recounts that after the capture of Elis Theseus was one of those competing, not in the chariot-race but in the pankration.

1 ὅτι add. Drachmann
2-3 ἱστορεῖ Ἀρίστιππος post παγκρατίῳ trasp. Boeckh

Commentary on the text

This scholion, like others (*Schol. in Pind. Ol.* 10.76b-86c), comments on the verses devoted by Pindar to the winners of the Olympiad called by Heracles, among which the Arkadians Echemos of Tegea (the descendant of Aleos mentioned several times by Pausanias: cf. 8.5.1; 8.44.1; 8.44.3; 8.53.10), who won the struggle, and Samos of Mantinea, who won the chariot-race (Pind. *Ol.* 10.70; cfr. *Schol. in Pind. Ol.* 10.83a-c; 10.84a-d). After that, the scholiast quotes the fragment of Aristippos and introduces the reference to Theseus. Now, the mention of Samos of Mantinea and the circumstance that in *Schol. in Pind. Ol.* 10.84c we read ἀπὸ Μαντινείας καὶ ἅρμασιν ἐνίκα Θησεύς, raise a question: should we consider this Theseus a Mantinean? (see Jost - Roy, s.v. *Aristippos* (317), in *BNJ*, Commentary on F4, with sources

and bibliography on the rich tradition about the Games; but see also P. Angeli Bernardini (cur.), *Lo sport in Grecia*, Roma - Bari 1988; S.G. Miller, *Arete. Greek Sports from Ancient Sources* (Berkeley - Los Angeles 2004). Sources frequently cite the conquest of Elis by Heracles (cfr. *e.g.* Pind., *Ol.* 10.23 ss.; Paus. 8.14.9; 8.15.5; 8.15.7; 8.25.10; [Apollod.], *Bibl.* 2.7), and they almost unanimously agree on attributing the institution of the Olympic game to him (cf. Pind., *Ol.* 3.3 ss.; 6.67 ss.; 10.43 ss.; Diod. 4.14.1 ss.; 5.64.6; Tzetz., *Schol. in Lyc.* 41; *Schol. ad Il.* 11.700; Hyg., *Fab.* 273. About Pausanias' opinion see 5.7.9; 5.8.1; 5.8.3, with G. Maddoli - V. Saladino, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro V: L'Elide e Olimpia* (Milano 1995), 219).

Commentary on the fragment

If in *Schol. in Pind. Ol.* 10.84c we read that Theseus won the same competition of Samos di Mantinea (i.e. the chariot-race), the *scholion* 10.84e rectifies: Theseus did not win the chariot-race but the pankration. Jacoby (*ad loc.*) attributes the words οὐχ ἅρματι δέ, ἀλλὰ παγκρατίῳ to the scholiast, reading the sentence as a correction to Aristippos. Nevertheless, the sentence could belong to Aristippos' fragment with a precise reason (see below).
Seeing the stele of Aphrodite in Tegea, Pausanias (8.48.1) writes that, according to what «it is said», Iasius won with the horse race when the Theban Heracles celebrated the Olympic festivals. From the same passage we learn that Kastor won the race, Pollux the boxing competition and Herakles himself the fight and the pankration (cf. Hyg., *Fab.* 273.5; see P. Angeli Bernardini, *Il soldato e l'atleta. Guerra e sport nella Grecia antica* (Bologna 2016), 171-73; De Luna, Arkadika. *Testimonianze e frammenti* (Tivoli 2017), 213-15). The link between the Athenian Theseus and Herakles is well attested in literary sources (cfr. *e.g.* [Apollod.], *Bibl.* 2.5 and *Epit.* 24; Plut., *Thes.* 6.9; 11.1; 25.5, on which see C. Ampolo, *Plutarco. Vita di Teseo* (Milano 1988), 211). If is Aristippos who specifies that Theseus did not compete in the chariot race, this could be explained just in the light of the tight relationship between Theseus and Herakles. The Athenian intellectuals could have modeled the legendary tales about the Athenian king in order to create a valid alternative to Herakles, the Doric hero *par excellence*. Therefore, if there was a tradition in which Heracles took part in in the Olympic Games as a παγκρατιαστής, Aristippos could have received an alternative version in which the winner of that competition was Theseus. It could be the most effective way to promote the portait of Theseus as an ἄλλος Ἡρακλῆς.
The link between Theseus and Herakles acquires special importance in Plutarch, who takes up some themes already present in the previous literature and in the *communis opinio*. It seems that the historian of Chaeroneia set the two *Bioi*, of which the *Life of Heracles* is lost, on similar characteristics. The relationship between the two heroes emerges strongly in the *Life of Theseus* in the direction of an evident *Imitatio Heraclis* by the Athenian hero since his adolescence (cf. ex. gr. Plut., *Thes*. 6.7-9; see extensively F. Muccioli, *La storia attraverso gli esempi. Protagonisti e interpretazioni del mondo greco in Plutarco* (Milano & Udine 2012), 99-105).

Biographical Essay

Very little is known about Aristippos. The surviving fragments deal only with figures of Arkadian mythology. M. Jost and J. Roy (s.v. *Aristippos* (317), in *BNJ*) suggested that the *terminus ante quem* of his literary work is given by Demetrios of Magnesia's treatise *On homonyms*, from which Diogenes Laertios could have draw information on the four Aristippos mentioned in T1. Then, Aristippos could belong to the 1st century BC, although Schwartz ('Aristippos (7)', *RE* 2 (1895), col. 902) dates him to the 2nd century BC (at latest).

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