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THE WATERS OF DAPHNE *OR* THE *DRAKŌN* SOURCE AGAIN

Résumé. — Le *drakōn* est le continuateur grec du dragon. Cet article revient (à partir de D. OGDEN [2013a]) sur le lien généralement établi entre les *drakontes* et les sources, avant s'intéresser plus particulièrement à trois *drakontes* en lien avec des fleuves que l'on trouve dans un groupe de mythes de fondation du début de l'époque ptolémaïque et séleucide. Cinq exemples du lien général sont examinés : (1) le *drakōn* de Delphes, dans ses aspects masculin et féminin ; (2) le *drakōn* de Némée ; (3) le *drakōn* d'Arès ; (4) l'Hydre ; et (5) Lamia-Sybaris. Le groupe des mythes de fondation hellénistiques étudiés comprend : (1) celui d'Alexandrie, en relation avec le fleuve et le *drakōn* Agathos Daimon ; (2) celui des villes de la Tétrapole syrienne, Antioche en particulier, en relation avec le serpentiforme fleuve Oronte, tenu lui-même comme provenant du puissant Typhon ; et (3) celui de l'oracle de Daphné, en relation avec un *drakōn* sans nom, qui serait prétendument une incarnation de la rivière locale Ladon, père de Daphné, la nymphe éponyme.

Abstract. — The *drakōn* is the Greek reflex of the dragon. This paper revisits (after D. OGDEN [2013a]) the general association of *drakontes* with water sources, before turning to a particular study of three river-related *drakontes* found in a group of early Ptolemaic and Seleucid foundation myths. The general cases considered are those of: (1) the Delphic *drakōn*, in both its male and female aspects; (2) the *drakōn* of Nemea; (3) the *drakōn* of Ares; (4) the Hydra; and (5) Lamia-Sybaris. The focal group of Hellenistic foundation myths comprises: (1) that of Alexandria, in connection with the river and *drakōn* Agathos Daimon; (2) that of the cities of the Syrian Tetrapolis, Antioch in particular, in connection with the serpentine river Orontes, itself held to have originated in the mighty Typhon; and (3) that of the oracle of Daphne, in connection with an unnamed *drakōn*, which, it is contended, may be an incarnation of the local river Ladon, father to Daphne, the eponymous nymph.

This paper looks again at the association between *drakontes* and water-sources, and in particular at the association between *drakōn* and river in connection with an important group of early Hellenistic foundation myths.

Dragons are associated with water sources in many cultures [1]. In our own western tradition we have only to think of St George, in the earliest-attested version of whose well known tale (that of the eleventh century AD), the pestilential dragon in question has taken up residence in the lake upon which the city of Lasia depends, and so deprives its citizens of their water [2]. Further back, we may point to the fierce dragon that the ca. AD 770 *Conversion and Passion of St Afra* tells us guarded a spring in the Julian Alps; it was destroyed by St Narcissus of Gerundum when he tricked a demon into taking its soul in exchange for that of the fallen woman Afra; the demon was much chagrined at the forced betrayal of his colleague in evil [3]. Further afield, Indra's killing of Vritra in the Sanskrit *Rig Veda* (ca. 1,500-1,000 BC) released the world-waters he controlled. It was at the headwaters of a river that the Japanese hero Susanoo delivered the princess Kushi-nada-hime from an eight-headed dragon, slaying it after rendering it drunk on sake concentrated eight times over, in a tale first attested in the eighth century AD. In Chinese tradition dragons most typically function as benign water spirits, the guardians of rivers, lakes and seas and the disbursers of rain and its associated wealth to mankind. And in Australian Aboriginal Dreamtime stories the so-called 'Rainbow Serpent' has a special affinity for waterholes [4].

1. There is no need to waste words here on the definition of the term 'dragon'. So far as the Greek material is concerned, the key and pervasive (though not exclusive) term of interest is *drakōn*, which of course ultimately lies behind the English term anyway. For the definition of the *drakōn* (and its Latin derivative *draco*) in their ancient contexts, see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 2-4, with the works cited there, to which D. RIAÑO RUFILANCHAS (1999) should be added.

2. The tale is first found in an eleventh-century Georgian MS: Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem, cod. 2; C. WALTER (2003), p. 140-142 provides an English translation derived from the intervening Russian one at E. PRIVALOVA (1977), p. 73. This text evidently represents an edited-down version of the fuller account first found in Greek in the following century, in the *Miracula Sancti Georgii* of the *Codex Romanus Angelicus* 46, §12; the text is printed at J. B. AUFHAUSER (1911), p. 52-69; an English translation is offered at D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 249-252 (no. 160). It remains moot whether the tale originated in Greek or Georgian. The tale acquired its fame after its inclusion (in Latin) in Jacobus de Voragine's influential *Golden Legend*, §58 (1263-1267 AD). However, St George is associated with dragon-slaying tout court in iconography rather earlier than all this, and first from the seventh or the eighth century AD: see C. WALTER (2003), p. 52-53, 125 and figs. 24, 27.

3. *Conversio et passio ii, S. Afrae*, *MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, III, 60, §7.

4. Vritra: *Rigveda* 1.32. Susanoo: the myth is translated at W. G. ASTON (1896), I, p. 52-53. China: see the tales recorded in S. SHOUQUAN (1989), *passim*. Australia: the standard article remains A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1926). The motif of the dragon's water in folktake: Sir James G. FRAZER (1898) on Pausanias, 9, 10, 5 (V, p. 44-45, adducing many cross-cultural examples); ID. (1911-1915), I, p. 2, 156; L. RÖHRICH (1981), p. 791-792.

But it is the Classical world with which we are concerned here. The classical reflex of the dragon, the *drakōn*, was frequently associated with a spring. To begin with, let us consider three cases in which a *drakōn* is strongly presented as the guardian of a spring. First, in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* we learn that the baby Apollo killed the Delphic *drakaina* ('she-dragon') at a 'sweetly flowing spring', i.e. Castalia, probably (though Delphi boasted many springs)[5]. A spring appears too in association with her male counterpart Python in his relatively meagre iconography: in a (lost) Apulian amphora of the earlier fourth century BC, for example, we meet a coiling, rampant Python confronting Leto, her two babies in her arms, before two triangular stone structures: on the left, his cave, and on the right, the conical pile of stones representative of a spring (the twin peaks of Delphi's Phaedriades may also be evoked; **fig. 1**)[6].

Fig. 1. Python challenges Leto, with babies Apollo and Artemis.
Lost Apulian red-figure neck-amphora, earlier IV BC.
Drawing by J. H. W. TISCHBEIN, at Sir W. HAMILTON and J. H. W. TISCHBEIN (1791-1795), vol. 3, pl. 4 = *LIMC* Apollon 995 = Leto 31 = Python 1.
<bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idviewer/12901/8>

5. *Homeric Hymn* (3) *to Apollo* 300-306. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1234-1257, esp. 1256, certainly implies that the spring in question is Castalia, but admittedly he has the rather distinct Python tale in view. J. FONTENROSE (1959), p. 372 identifies the *Homeric Hymn*'s spring rather with Telphusa. On the Delphic *drakōn* see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 40-48, for discussion and further bibliography, and ID. (2013b), p. 39-44, for the major sources in translation.

6. *LIMC* Apollon 995 = Leto 31 = Python 1. On a coin of Trajan Decius (r. 249-251 AD) Apollo shoots at a rampant Python standing before a pile of rocks, out of which grows a tree, and on top of which sits a naiad (*LIMC* Apollon 1001c).

Secondly, when the Seven against Thebes asked the nurse Hypsipyle to fetch them water from the spring of Langia at Nemea, the *drakōn* that guarded it killed the child she had put down in the grass in order to do so, Opheltes-Archemorus, as we first learn from Euripides [7]. A ca. 350 BC Apulian volute crater from Ruvo by the Lycurgus Painter shows the serpent in the act of protecting its spring more directly. It coils around the base of a tree which grows out of the indicative conical pile of rocks, whilst under attack by a pair of warriors from the Seven [8].

Thirdly, the *drakōn* of Ares was tightly associated with the spring of Dirce or Thebe, which it guarded. Cadmus encountered the serpent when he sought water to make sacrifice in advance of his foundation of Thebes. The serpent's guardian role is explicit already in Euripides' *Phoenissae* of 409 BC and repeatedly adverted to in the subsequent tradition [9]. From ca. 470 BC onwards vases often show the serpent at its spring. Worthy of mention here is a fine Paestan vase of ca. 330 BC, which shows the serpent coiling and rampant before its spring, the latter indicated (again) by a pile of rocks and a tree. [10] The serpent's guardianship of the spring is expressed in other ways too in the iconography. On a series of vases beginning ca. 450 BC it is shown towering protectively over a seated female figure: this is the spring again, now personified as or embodied in a naiad [11]. One of these vases in particular, a ca. 420-10 BC *hydria* in the Louvre (**fig. 2**), makes particularly interesting reading. For here the naiad-spring of Dirce-Thebe seems to welcome Cadmus, to beckon him to approach, and to offer to fill his *hydria* for him. She may be making a forlorn attempt to evade her serpent guard. But it

7. Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, fr. 754a *TrGF* = F18 (Bond); cf. also t. III a *TrGF*; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 74.

8. *LIMC* Archemoros 8 = Hypsipyle 3 = Nemea 14 = Septem 13. On the Nemean *drakōn* see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 54-58, for discussion and further bibliography, and ID. (2013b), p. 119-124, for the major sources in translation.

9. Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 658-661 (δράκων, φύλαξ, ἐπισκοπῶν), 932 (Δίρκης ναμάτων ἐπίσκοπος); Hellanicus, fr. 51 (Fowler); Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 3, 1176-1190; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3, 28-38; [Plutarch], *On Rivers*, 2, 1 (τὸν κρηνοφύλακα δράκοντα); Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3, 4, 1; Pausanias, 9, 10, 1 & 5; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 6, 178; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 4, 398-399 (the *drakōn* is the φυλάκτωρ of Dirce; cf. 4, 356 and 5, 4, where Dirce is δρακοντοβότος, '*drakōn*-nurturing'); Photius, *Lexicon* and *Suda*, *s.v.* Καδμεία νίκη. For the *drakōn* of Ares and its spring, see J. FONTENROSE (1959), p. 311 and F. VIAN (1963), p. 104-109. On the *drakōn* of Ares more generally, see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 48-54, for discussion and further bibliography, and ID. (2013b), p. 109-118, for the major sources in translation.

10. *LIMC* Kadmos I 13 (= Archemoros 11 = Hesperie 1), 15, 17, 19-25 (15 = Harmonia 1; 17 = Harmonia 4; 19 = Harmonia 2; 23 = Harmonia 6; 24 = Harmonia 7; 25 = Harmonia 5 = F. VIAN [1963], plate IX, the Paestan vase).

11. *LIMC* Kadmos I 9 = Harmonia 3, Kadmos I 14, Kadmos I 15 = Harmonia 1, Kadmos I 16, Kadmos I 17 = Harmonia 4, Kadmos I 18, F. VIAN (1963), plate X, no.1.

is also possible that is she knowingly and maliciously leading Cadmus into a trap, in close cahoots with her serpent guard. The model of action here may be akin to that found in the case of Dio Chrysostom's wonderful *lamiai* of Libya. These creatures are terrible serpents whose tails culminate in effigies of beautiful naked women. They ensnare their chosen food of vigorous young men by concealing themselves behind sand dunes and waving their tails seductively at passing victims. Once the men are thus attracted within range, they wheel round, grabbing them with the claws with which they are also endowed, envenom them and devour them [12]. If the reading of the vase and the comparandum given here are cogent, then it is suggested that there is a sort of identity between the spring and the serpent – something that will be more self-evidently true in the following cases we consider. The *drakōn* of Ares tale also constitutes our first example of a further phenomenon that will recur: the association between the slaying of a serpent and an act of foundation.

Fig. 2. The spring of Dirce, personified, offers to fill Cadmus' water-jar; the serpent lurks. Red-figure hydria, ca. 420–410 BC. Musée du Louvre M 12 = N 3325 =MN 714 = LIMC Kadmos i 18. Redrawn by Eriko Ogden.

The Hydra was tightly associated and indeed identified with the spring of Amymone and the Lernaean marsh to which it gave rise [13]. Apollodorus

12. Dio Chrysostom, *Orations*, 5, *passim*, esp. 12-15, 24-27.

13. For the identity between the spring and the marsh, see Strabo, C371. Propertius, 2, 26, 45-50 explicitly locates the spring of Amymone within the Lernaean marsh. Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 30, 3 and 151, 1 refers to 'the Lernaean spring'. On the Hydra, see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 26-33, for discussion and further bibliography, and ID. (2013b), p. 50-56, for the major sources in translation.

tells that she was reared in the swamp (ἕλος) of Lerna, and that she had her lair beside the springs (πηγαί) of Amymone. Pausanias tells that a plane tree grew at the spring (πηγή) of Amymone, and that the Hydra was reared under it [14]. For some authorities the spring was created when the Danaid girl Amymone dropped the golden vessel she had brought in which to take the water, and it struck the rock and released the spring. For others it was created when Poseidon stuck his trident in the ground, thereby releasing its three-fold streams, to provide the girl with the water she sought, or alternatively in the course of driving off the satyr that was attempting to rape her [15]. The source of Amymone, bursting forth in multiple streams, salutes not only the physical configuration of the trident that sometimes creates it, but more particularly that of the Hydra that came to protect it, with her multiple necks springing forth from her central body, and typically in multiples of three – canonically nine, in fact, three by three. Furthermore, Propertius suggests that one of Amymone's streams flowed forth through the golden vessel that the girl dropped [16]. This curious detail must be linked with Aristonicus of Tarentum's information that the Hydra's middle head – her immortal one, according to Apollodorus – was golden [17]. The underlying notion was evidently that the Hydra's central head had somehow originated in the water-pot, and that she was accordingly in her whole an embodiment of the spring itself. I hesitate to suggest that the tradition may be making word-play between *Hydra* and *hydria*, the usual Greek term for a water-pot, since the latter term does not actually feature in any of the relevant literary sources. By the time of the rationalising late Latin tradition, the Hydra has become completely identified with her spring: Servius and others tell that she was an imaginative elaboration of a spring that had burst forth to deluge a local city

14. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2, 5, 2. Pausanias, 2, 37, 4, incorporating Pisander of Camirus, *Heraclea*, fr. 2 (West); M. L. WEST (2003), *ad loc.*, takes the detail to derive from Pisander. Note also the slightly oddly phrased scholium to Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1137: ἐν Λέρνῃ γὰρ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ κρήνῃ ἀνεφύη ἡ ὕδρα. At the end of antiquity Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 25, 196-212 was to note that Heracles liberated the spring from the Hydra.

15. Pindar, *Pythians*, 9, 112-114; Aeschylus, *Amymone*, frr. 13-15 *TrGF*; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 185-189; Propertius, 2, 26, 45-50; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2, 1, 4; Lucian, *Dialogues in the Sea*, 8; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 169; 169a; Philostratus, *Imagines*, 1, 8 ; First Vatican Mythographer, 1, 45 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 200. For the iconography, which commences ca. 470 BC, see *LIMC* Amymone, with E. SIMON (1981) and T. GANTZ (1993), p. 207-208.

16. Propertius, 2, 26, 45-50.

17. Aristonicus of Tarentum *apud* Photius, *Bibliotheca,* cod. 190 (Ptolemy Chennos) 147b22-28. Aristonicus can only be dated by the *terminus ante* constituted by Ptolemy Chennos himself, whose floruit coincided either with the Neronian-Flavian one (54-96 AD) or the Trajanic-Hadrianic one (98-138 AD): see *Suda*, *s.v.* Ἐπαφρόδιτος and *s.v.* Πτολεμαῖος respectively. Immortality of the middle head: Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2, 5, 2; cf. Pediasimus, 2.

with its torrential waters; every time Heracles tried to stop up one of its channels, i.e., cut off one of her heads, many more burst forth; eventually he dried it up by setting fire to its surrounding environment (this reflecting the motif of Iolaus searing the Hydra's neck-stumps as Heracles cut, or the motif of the pair driving the Hydra into a burning grove) [18].

Nicander told of the Lamia-Sybaris monster that had made depredations against the Delphians, and had had to be appeased with the regular sacrifices of beautiful boys. When Eurybatus fell in love with her latest victim and threw her off Mt Crisa, she was transformed into the spring of Sybaris as she struck the rocks below. In due course the South-Italian colony of Sybaris was to derive its name from this spring [19]. The monster is given no physical description, but we may be confident that she was a *drakōn*, or rather a *drakaina*. This is indicated both by the name Lamia and also by her modus operandi, which resembles precisely that of the *drakōn* of Thespiae (the creature being explicitly so termed by Pausanias), which similarly had to be placated with the sacrifice of beautiful boys and was similarly destroyed by its latest victim's lover [20]. In the case of Lamia-Sybaris serpent and spring are again fully identified. And once again, the slaying of the serpent is associated explicitly, albeit tenuously, with a city-foundation.

Let us turn now, finally, to the Hellenistic foundation myths. The A text of the *Alexander Romance* dates to the third century AD, but its account of the foundation of Alexandria is generally held to reflect early Ptolemaic material. It tells how Alexander's architects marked out the projected city of Alexandria to extend between the rivers Drakon and Agathodaimon (the latter in fact being the name given to the Canopic branch of the Nile in several inscriptions and in the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy). As the builders got to work on constructing the city on the Middle Plain:

> A *drakōn* which was in the habit of presenting itself to people in the area kept frightening the workmen, and they would break off their work upon the creature's arrival. News of this was given to Alexander. He gave the order that on the following day the serpent should be killed wherever it was caught. On receipt of this permission, they got the better of the beast when it presented itself at the place now called the Stoa and killed it. Alexander gave the order that it should have a precinct there, and buried the serpent. And he

18. Servius on Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, 287; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Thebaid*, 1, 384; First Vatican Mythographer, 1, 62.

19. Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 8 (after Nicander). For Lamias in their serpentine aspects, see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 86-92, for discussion and bibliography, and ID. (2013b), p. 97-108, for the major sources in translation.

20. Pausanias, 9, 26, 7-8.

> gave the command that the neighborhood should be garlanded in memory of the sighting of Agathos Daimon ('Good Demon').
>
> (*Alexander Romance* [A], I, 32.)

A *heroon* is accordingly built for this Agathos Daimon serpent (for whose image see **fig. 3**). When an inscribed stele is mounted within it, there leaps out from it a host of smaller snakes which run off and crawl into the houses that have so far been built for the city, to become the foundational house-snake *agathoi daimones* ('good demons'), the benign presences that protect individual houses and families. At Alexander's command, these snakes are given sacrifices of porridge. Here the identification between the river and the serpent is clear and emphatic, as is the association between serpent-slaying and foundation [21].

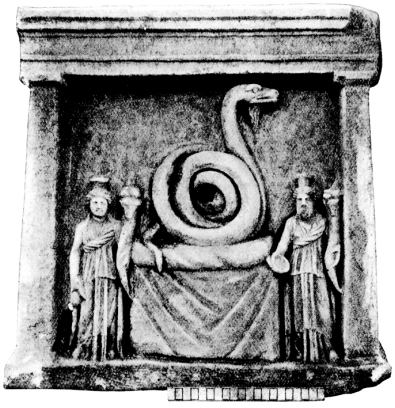

Fig. 3. Agathos Daimon coils on his draped altar.
Domestic relief from Delos, Hellenistic. Delos Museum, *LIMC* Agathodaimon 3. *BCH* 31 (1907), p. 526, fig. 24.

21. *AR* (A) I, 31-32 ≈ *AR* (Arm.) §§ 86-88. For the Agathodaimon river see *OGIS* no. 672, with further references *ad loc.*; Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*, 4, 5. For discussion of Agathos Daimon in general see J. HARRISON (1912), p. 277-316 ; A. B. COOK (1914-1940), II, 2, p. 1125-1129 ; R. GANSCHINIETZ/GANSZYNIEC (1918) ; ID. (1919) ; O. JAKOBSSON (1925), esp. p. 151-75 ; E. ROHDE (1925), p. 207-208, n. 133 ; W. W. TARN (1928) ; L. R. TAYLOR (1930) ; C. E. VISSER (1938), p. 5-8, 65-66 ; M. P. NILSSON (1967-1974), II, p. 213-218 ; A. BERNAND (1970), I, p. 82-99 ; P. M. FRASER (1972), I, p. 209-211, with associated notes ; J. QUAEGEBEUR (1975), p. 170-176 and *passim ;* E. MITROPOULOU (1977), p. 155-168 ; F. DUNAND (1969) ; ID. (1981), with bibliography ; M. PIETRZYKOWSKI (1978) ; G. SFAMENI GASPARRO (1997) ; T. W. HILLARD (1998) ; ID. (2010) ; C. JOUANNO (2002), p. 75-76, 105-108 ; R. STONEMAN (2007), p. 532-534 ; ID. (2008), p. 56-58 ; D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 286-308.

As the Ptolemies were constructing a foundation myth for Alexandria around the Agathos Daimon serpent and its river, the Seleucids were seemingly doing something similar for the cities of their Syrian Tetrapolis, specifically the three cities of Seleucia-in-Pieria, Antioch-on-the-Orontes and Apamea. The myth of Zeus' battle with the primeval Typhon, in which he destroyed him with his thunderbolts, effectively originated in an *interpretatio Graeca* of a mythical battle between a storm god and a dragon that had been located since at least the fourteenth century BC on ancient Syria's (modern Turkey's) towering Mt Kasios, now the Jebel Aqra[22]. This had been the location of the great battle between the storm-god Baal-Sapon against Yam and his serpent ally Litan or Lotan (a cousin of the Biblical Leviathan) as recorded in the fourteenth-century BC tablets from Canaanite Ugarit[23]. In a Hittite-preserved Hurrian myth, which similarly derives from the fourteenth century BC at the very latest, it was the location of the battle between the storm-god Teshub (Teššub) and the voracious sea-serpent Hedammu[24]. And then in a Hittite-proper myth, attested in two interesting variants in the thirteenth century BC, it was the location of the fight between the storm-god Tarhunna and the dragon Illuyanka[25]. Typhon himself was most typically conceived of as an anguipede, with a winged human upper body supported upon writhing coils of serpents, though he was also held to

22. On Typhon more, see D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 69-80, for discussion and bibliography, and ID. (2013b), p. 19-28, for the major sources in translation.

23. *KTU* I, 1-2 (= *CTA* 1-2), *KTU* I, 3 (= *CTA* 3) iii 35-52 and I, 5 (= *CTA* 5) i, 2•-3. For the text see M. S. SMITH (1994); for translations see M. D. COOGAN (1978), J. C. L. GIBSON (1978), superseding *ANET*[3] p. 129-142 (H. L. Ginsberg) and A. CAQUOT *et al.* (1974) (French). The above summary is derivative of D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 259 (A5).

24. *CTH* 348, esp. fr. 11.1-3, fr. 12.1-2, fr. 14, fr. 16.1-3. For the text see J. SIEGELOVA (1971), p. 38-71, and for translations see H. A. HOFFNER (1998), p. 51-55 ; J. SIEGELOVA (1971), p. 38-71, esp. p. 44-45, 54-61 ; *TUAT* III, p. 856-8 (German). Discussion at P. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE (1991), p. 109-120. The above summary is derivative of D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 259-60 (A6).

25. *CTH* 321. Text: G. BECKMAN (1982), p. 12-18. Translations: G. BECKMAN (1982), p. 18-20, H. A. HOFFNER (1998), p. 11-14, superseding *ANET*[3] p. 125-6 (A. Götze). The above summary is derivative of D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 260-1 (A7). These three Hittite-preserved tales are thought to have had a special association with Mt Kasios principally because of the striking correspondences between details in them and details in three later Greek narratives of Zeus' battle against Typhon, the battle that Strabo, C750-751 locates in the region of Mt Kasios: these are found at Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1, 6, 1-3 ; Oppian, *Halieutica*, 3, 16-25 and Nonnus, *Dionysiaca,* 1-2, *passim*. For the case see P. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE (1991) ; R. LANE FOX (2008), p. 295-304 ; D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 75-8.

sport countless additional heads, serpentine and other [26]. However, he is surely to be identified in the form of the pure serpent at which Zeus aims his thunderbolt on a recently published Corinthian *alabastron* of ca. 575-50 BC; indeed the image type has something in common with Near-Eastern depictions of the battle between the storm-god and the dragon [27].

By AD 24, when Strabo wrote, the river Orontes, the great serpentine waterway that flowed beneath Mt Kasios and effectively linked Seleucus' cities of Seleucia-in-Pieria, Antioch and Apamea, had become identified with this dragon:

> The river Orontes flows past the city [of Antioch]. It originates in Coele-Syria, and thence it is taken underground, but it returns its stream to the surface, and, advancing through Apamea to Antioch, flows close to the city and then debouches into the sea near Seleucia. The river was formerly called Typhon, but changed its name to that of the man who built a bridge across it, Orontes. They tell that somewhere here occurred the events concerning Typhon's being blasted with the thunderbolt and the Arimoi, about whom we have also spoken above. They say that Typhon was struck by the thunderbolts (he was a *drakōn*) and he fled in search of a way underground. He cut into the earth with his coils, making the channel for the river, and by diving into the earth he broke open the spring. The name of the river derived from this.
>
> (Strabo, C750-751 [28].)

John Malalas, writing in the sixth century AD, was to tell that the river actually had four names in all: Orontes, Drakon, Typhon and Ophites, the last again signifying 'Snake River' [29]. The identification of the river with the dragon, if it is not very ancient indeed, was presumably made early in the Seleucid era.

The fourth-century AD Pausanias of Antioch records a tale about Perseus and the Orontes in which the hero typologically re-enacts his father Zeus' battle against Typhon. The river, at this point called the Drakon, floods disastrously, and Perseus advises the local Iopolitans to pray. In answer to their prayers a ball of fire comes down from heaven which dries up

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26. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 820-880; Pindar, *Pythians*, 1, 15-28; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1, 6, 1-3, Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 1-2, *passim*. For the iconography of Typhon see *LIMC* Typhon 1-30, with O. TOUCHEFEU-MEYNIER and I. KRAUSKOPF (1997). For Typhon more generally see J. SCHMIDT (1884-1937) ; M. L. WEST (1966), p. 379-397 (on ll. 820-880) ; ID. (1997), p. 300-304 ; F. BLAISE (1992) ; C. WATKINS (1995), p. 448-463 ; W. F. HANSEN (2002), p. 305-301 ; D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 69-80 ; ID. (2013b), p. 19-38.

27. The Corinthian *alabastron*: Athens, NM 703-704; cf. the important discussion of A. ARVANITAKI (2012) (with the vase reproduced at p. 173).

28. This translation is taken over from D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 34 (9).

29. Strabo C750-751; cf. Pausanias, 8, 29 ; John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 197 Dindorf.

the flood. Like his father Zeus before him, Perseus, famous destroyer of anguiform monsters (the Gorgons, the serpentine sea-monster from which he delivers Andromeda), fights the *drakōn*-river with fire from the sky [30].

As we learn from Libanius and John Malalas again, Seleucus' foundations of Antioch and Seleucia-in-Pieria had been typologically associated with these great dragon-slayings by a suite of further myths, which projected him into the footsteps of Zeus and Perseus in his acts of foundation. These told how the foundations were accompanied either by thunderbolts falling from heaven at the appropriate sites along the Orontes, or by Zeus' eagles, his thunderbolt-bearers of course, dropping ersatz thunderbolts at the appropriate sites, these consisting of flaming ox-thighs snatched from Seleucus' preliminary sacrifices [31]. The symbolic equivalence of the flaming ox-thigh and the thunderbolt is made clear in Syrian coinage of the imperial period, long after the disappearance of the Seleucids, where highly similar series of reverses issued under Marcus Aurelius show eagles bearing either lightning bolts or ox-thighs in parallel configurations (**figs. 4-5**). [32] Accordingly, Seleucus is projected as yet another conqueror, a third at least, of the Drakon-river as he masters it with his foundations.

30. Pausanias of Antioch, *FGrH* 854 fr. 9 = John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 37-38 (Dindorf). Cf. R. LANE FOX (2008), p. 262, 270-272 ; D. OGDEN (2008), p. 110-112 ; B. GARSTAD (2011), p. 677-678 and S. R. ASIRVATHAM at *BNJ* 854 (Pausanias of Antioch), fr. 9. For Perseus against the Gorgons see, e.g., Hesiod, *Theogony*, 270-294; Pindar, *Pythians*, 10, 29-48 ; 12, 6-26; Pherecydes, fr. 11 Fowler; Herodotus, 2, 91, 2-5; Palaephatus, 31; [Eratosthenes], *Catasterismi*, 1, 22; Diodorus, 3, 54, 4 - 3, 55, 3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4, 607 – 5, 268; 6, 119-120; Strabo, C19; Lucan, 9, 619-699; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1, 2, 7; 2, 4, 1-5; 2, 7, 3; 3, 10, 3; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 64, 151; *De astronomia*, 2, 12. For Perseus against the sea-monster or κῆτος see, e.g., Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 135 MW; Pherecydes, fr. 12 Fowler; Sophocles, *Andromeda*, frr. 126-136 Pearson/*TrGF* (with arguments); Euripides, *Andromeda*, frr. 114-56 *TrGF*; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, 1009-1135; [Eratosthenes], *Catasterismi*, 1, 15, 16, 17 & 36; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 834-846 (with Tzetzes on 836-839); Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4, 663 - 5, 268; Strabo, C42-43, 75; Manilius, 5, 504-634 & 834-846; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2, 4, 3; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 64; *De astronomia*, 2, 9-11, 31; Lucian, *Dialogues in the Sea*, 14; Philostratus, *Imagines*, 1, 29. For discussion of both traditions see D. OGDEN (2008), *passim*; ID. (2013a), p. 92-98, 123-129; ID. (2013b), p. 82-96, 162-178.

31. Libanius, *Orations*, 11, 85-88; John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 198-200 (Dindorf).

32. A. DIEUDONNÉ (1929), with plate II (IV). Note especially 16 (eagle with thigh) and 18 (eagle with thunderbolt).

Fig. 4. Syrian coin of Marcus Aurelius
(A. DIEUDONNÉ [1929], plate ii [iv], no. 16).
Reverse: an eagle carries flaming ox-thigh.

Fig. 5. Syrian coin of Marcus Aurelius
(A. DIEUDONNÉ [1929], plate ii [iv] no. 18).
Reverse: an eagle carries a thunderbolt.

Such is the case in a nutshell. But the typological background to Seleucus' work was elaborated in many further ways too. Let us speak of just one. A further model for Seleucus' own supposed battle against the river was found in a yet greater son of Zeus, Heracles. Oppian of Apamea tells how the river Orontes fell in love with the lake Meliboea on the plain of Amyce, that is, the plain of Apamea, and so tarried there and refused to flow out to the sea, flooding the plain. Heracles accordingly broke a path through the mountains at the north end of the plain with his traditional club in order to force the river to flow out against its will, and so liberated the plain [33].

The notion of Seleucus' mastery of the great river with his city-foundations was embodied already in his own lifetime in the statue of the Tyche of Antioch that Eutychides of Sicyon made for 'the Syrians on the Orontes', as Pausanias Periegetes tells us [34]. Eutychides' distinctive image survives in many copies: it consists of a dignified female figure wearing a crown consisting of city walls, from a horizontal position underneath which there reaches up the smaller figure of a youth, embodying the Orontes. It is quite appropriate that the Tyche of Antioch – effectively the embodiment of Antioch itself – should sit directly over the Orontes, for the city itself straddled and bridged the river. It is appropriate too that the youth, in representing the all-too vigorous and fast-flowing river, should be raising his arm in a powerful crawl-type swimming stroke [35]. But the position of the seated, stately Tyche over the smaller figure of a youth, together with the foot she has firmly planted on his shoulder, speak of absolute domination and control [36], and indeed Orontes' arm, raised for swimming, equally resembles the raised arm of one writhing in agony or writhing to escape. His

33. Oppian of Apamea, *Cynegetica*, 2, 109 & 112-153 (cf. the helpful schol. at 2, 109). For discussion of this text from the perspective of the Seleucid dynasty see J. BALTY (2003), p. 211-215; A. PRIMO (2009), p. 95-98; S. BARBANTANI (2014), p. 54-59 and P. J. KOSMIN (2014), p. 232-233. For a more general commentary upon it, see A. N. BARTLEY (2003), p. 186-196.

34. Pausanias, 6, 2, 7.

35. For the art history of Eutychides' Tyche of Antioch and other Hellenistic city Tychai, see the major studies of T. DOHRN (1960), J. BALTY (1981) (= *LIMC* Antiocheia), E. CHRISTOF (2001) and M. MEYER (2006) (an enormous work); cf. also G. L. DOWNEY (1961), p. 73-76, 216-217; F. W. NORRIS (1990), p. 2342-2344. G. M. COHEN (2006), p. 87, importantly notes that Tychai do not appear on the coins of the Seleucid kings, but only arrive on the coins of their cities after they are gone. In Roman times the Tyche of Antioch was closely assimilated to the muse Calliope, who was represented there in a similar fashion: see Julian, *Misopogon*, 357c; Libanius, *Orations*, 1, 102; *Or.*, 15, 79; *Or.*, 20, 51; *Or.,* 60, 13; *Epistles*, 811 & 1192; John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 276 (Dindorf); cf. G. L. DOWNEY (1961), p. 217-18; J. BALTY (1981), p. 840-842; F. W. NORRIS (1990), p. 2346-2348; B. CABOURET (1997), p. 1015-1017; G. M. COHEN (2006), p. 81 & 87-88, n.13.

36. For this reading of the foot, cf. G. FATOUROS and T. KRISCHER (1992), p. 114.

facial expression appears to match this too. The message given out by the group is therefore one wholly consonant with the message of the Tetrapolis foundation legends: that the foundations of the cities represent the imposition of subjection and control upon the wild river. Eutychides' statue accordingly renders it quite likely that these foundation myths, with their similar underpinning notions, were also developed in Seleucus' own age.

After speaking of the foundation of Antioch itself, Libanius proceeds to speak of Seleucus' foundation of its external shrine of Apollo at the lush Daphne (the modern Harbiye). This was the place, Seleucus discovered, where Apollo had pursued the nymph Daphne, and she had been transformed into the laurel. When Seleucus was hunting in the area and came to Daphne's tree, his horse stalled and beat the ground, which in response threw up a golden arrowhead inscribed with the name 'Phoebus.' Then:

> As soon as Seleucus picked up the arrowhead, he saw a *drakōn* darting straight at him, rampant and hissing. But as it came near it looked at him gently and disappeared. When the *drakōn* was added to what had appeared from the earth, he was all the more confident that the god frequented the place. At once a sacred enclosure was marked out and endowed with trees and temples. Soon the grove began to flourish and was kept safe by strong prayers.
>
> (Libanius, *Orations*, 11, 98 [37].)

What or who was the *drakōn*? Here, I shall concentrate on one possible reading only, one that accords with the theme in question.

The serpent seemingly comes to guard the golden treasure, which is associated with a tree, the tree of Daphne. As such, it resembles two of the great *drakontes* of myth, who hang in trees to guard their golden treasures: the *drakōn* of Colchis, who hangs in his tree in Aeetes' garden to guard the golden fleece that also hangs in its branches (**fig. 6**) [38]; and the *drakōn* of the Hesperides, who hangs in his apple tree to guard its golden apples (**fig. 7**) [39].

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37. See Libanius, *Orations*, 11, 94-100 for the story in its entirety.

38. Pindar, *Pythians*, 4, 242-250; Pherecydes, fr. 31 (Fowler); Euripides, *Medea*, 480-482; *Hypsipyle*, fr. 752f *TrGF* ll, 19-25 (fr. I.II.24 Bond, p. 26); *Naupactica*, frr. 6, 8 (West); Herodorus, frr. 52-54 (Fowler); Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 4, 123-166; Diodorus, 4, 48; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7, 149-158; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, 8, 54-121; Martial, 12, 53; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1, 9, 23; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 22; *Orphic Argonautica*, 887-1021. Discussion at D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 58-63, 201-206, with the scholarship there cited; cf. also D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 125-133.

39. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 333-336; Pisander of Camirus, *FGrH* 16, fr. 8 = fr. dubia 3 Davies *apud* schol. Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 4, 1396 [not in West]; Panyassis, fr. 10 Davies = fr. 15 (West); Pherecydes, frr. 16-17 (Fowler); Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1089-1100; Euripides, *Heracles,* 394-400; Herodorus of Heracleia, fr. 14 Fowler; [Eratosthenes], *Catasterismi*, 1, 3; Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 46; Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 4, 1396-1407; 4, 1433-1435, with schol.; Euphorion, fr. 154 (Powell) = fr. 148

6. Medea drugs the Serpent of Colchis from her *phialē* (detail).
Red-figure volute crater, ca. 320-310 BC.
Naples Museo Nazionale 82126 (H3248) = *LIMC* Iason 42.

(LIGHTFOOT); Agroetas, *FGrH* 762, fr. 3; Diodorus 4, 26; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4, 480-486, with Servius on 484; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4, 643-648; 9, 188-190; Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 530-532; Lucan, 9, 360-367; Probus on Virgil, *Georgics*, 1, 205 & 244; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 2, 5, 11; Pausanias, 6, 19, 8; Heraclitus, *De incredibilibus*, 20; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, praefatio 39, §30, 12, §51; *Astronomica*, 2, 3 & 6; *Tabula Albani* = *FGrH* 40, fr. 1c (Antonine?); Quintus Smyrnaeus, 6, 256-259; schol. Germanicus, *Aratea*, p. 117 (Breysig); Solinus, 24, 4-5; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Thebaid*, 2, 280-281; First Vatican Mythographer, 1, 38; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 2, 36, 358-395; Pediasimus, 11. Discussion at D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 33-40, with the scholarship there cited; cf. also D. OGDEN (2013b), p. 57-62.

7. Ladon in his apple tree, fed from a *phialē* by the Hesperides.
Campanian red-figure hydria, ca. 350-340 BC.
Private Collection = *LIMC* Ladon i 8. Redrawn by Eriko Ogden.

Apollonius of Rhodes uniquely (save for directly derivative sources) gives the *drakōn* of the Hesperides a name, Ladon [40]. Now at Daphne Ladon was none other than the principal river of the grove, and the father of the transformed nymph, as Philostratus tells us: 'For they say that Daphne the daughter of Ladon was transformed there, and they have a river Ladon flowing there [41].' The importance of this Ladon at Daphne is confirmed by his named appearance in a ca. AD 250-270 mosaic pavement from the House of Menander there, albeit in the form of a wholly conventional humanoid river god, reclining beside the 'Naiad Psalis' [42]. The identity of the nymph Daphne's river-god father varies with the localisation of her myth: according to Servius and many other later sources, Ladon was also Daphne's river

40. Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 4, 1396; the name is also found in the scholia *ad loc.* and in Probus' commentary on Virgil, *Georgics*, 4, 205 & 224. However, it was perhaps because of the riverine association of the name Ladon that Solinus, 24, 4 (fourth-century AD) rationalised the Serpent of the Hesperides into a meandering sea-inlet; cf. D. OGDEN (2013a), p. 184.

41. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 1, 16: τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Λάδωνος Δάφνην ἐκεῖ μεταφῦναι λέγουσι καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς ῥεῖ Λάδων. Arrian and Nonnus too named Ladon as the father of Daphne at Daphne: Arrian, *Bythinica*, fr. 40 (Roos and Wirth) *apud* Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes, 916 = *GGM* II, p. 379; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 42, 387 (cf. 33, 210-215; 40, 144-149, etc.).

42. Mosaic: Antakya Museum, no. 1015; cf. D. LEVI (1947), II, p. 205, 212-213; G. L. DOWNEY (1961), p. 84.

father in Arcadia [43]. But according to Ovid, Daphne's river-father in *Thessaly* was the Peneus. It is to Ovid that we owe the most expansive and now influential account of the tale of Apollo and the nymph Daphne. His narrative makes the importance of the role of the river-father in the myth clear, for it concludes with the nymph, almost caught, making appeal to her father Peneus to transform her, and he duly does so, into the laurel tree [44]. So might we imagine then that the serpent encountered by Seleucus at Daphne was an embodiment of the site's river Ladon? Did Apollonius of Rhodes indeed borrow the name Ladon for the Serpent of the Hesperides from Daphne, perhaps on the basis that both serpents protected a golden treasure?

On the basis of this kind of reading, the parallelism between the foundation narratives for the Tetrapolis and for Daphne grows tighter, for in both cases Seleucus encounters an entity that is at once both serpent and river. We have conjectured that Seleucus was projected as having metaphorically tamed the notoriously wild river of the Orontes with his foundations upon it. We may see the same thing here too. At Daphne the wild serpent, raising its head high, looks gently (ἥμερον) upon Seleucus upon realising who he is [45]: does Seleucus thereby tame the waters of Daphne too? It is noteworthy that it was for their gentleness above all that Philostratus praised the waters of Daphne: the ground there, he noted, gave forth springs that were both abundant and gentle (ἠρεμούσας), whilst Apollonius of Tyana, he reported, had made a *bon mot* about the amazing calmness (γαλήνην) and silence of the waters: 'The silence here permits not even the springs to give voice' [46].

The foundational *drakōn*-river evidently enjoyed a *grande fortune* amongst the Successors. We can only wonder whether such creatures were also once associated, in one way or another, with the unattested foundation myths of the other great Diadochic cities, such as Cassandria, Lysimachia,

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43. Servius on Virgil, *Eclogues*, 3, 63; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Thebaid*, 4, 289-290; Sozomen, *HE*, 5, 19 (Bidez/Hansen) = *PG* LXVII, p.1273 (where, though a daughter of Arcadian Ladon, she is pursued by Apollo to the site of Antioch), Fulgentius, *Mythologiae*, 1, 14; First Vatican Mythographer, 2, 15; schol. Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 6. Ladon is named as Daphne's (unlocated) father at Pausanias, 10, 7, 8; [Palaephatus], 41 and Servius on Virgil, *Aeneid*, 3, 91. Cf. G. L. DOWNEY (1961), p. 84.

44. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1, 452 (Daphne as daughter of the river Peneus); 1, 545-552 (she makes appeal to him for transformation); Fulgentius, *Mythologiae*, 1, 14 also knows the variant that Daphne was the daughter of the Peneus. At Libanius, *Orations*, 9, 94, the Daphne of Daphne is transformed in response to a prayer, but we are not told to whom the prayer was directed.

45. Libanius, *Orations*, 11, 98.

46. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 1, 16: perhaps also a sly suggestion that Daphne's water-based oracular powers had fallen silent, or had at any rate become ineffectual.

Demetrias and indeed the short-lived Antigonia that was itself usurped by Antioch [47].

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47. I would contend that Appian, *Syriakē*, 58, 299-308 preserves a foundation myth for Seleucus' first great city, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, albeit of a rather different, serpent-free, type. For discussion of this, see G. MARASCO (1982), p. 100-103; K. BRODERSEN (1989), p. 163-169; P. GOUKOWSKY (2007), p. 154-157, nn.740-754; J. D. GRAINGER (2014), p. 37-38 (implausibly historicising) and P. J. KOSMIN (2014), p. 212-214.

Abbreviations

ANET[3]	J. B. PRITCHARD (1969)
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
BNJ	I. WORTHINGTON (2012-…)
CTA	A. HERDNER (1963)
KTU	M. DIETRICH, O. LORETZ and J. SANMARTÍN (1995)
GGM	C. F. W. MÜLLER (1855-1882)
LIMC	L. KAHIL *et al.* (1981-1999)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica* (1826-…)
ML	W. H. ROSCHER (1884-1937)
OGIS	W. DITTENBERGER (1903-1905)
PG	J. P. MIGNE (1857-1904)
TrGF	B. SNELL, R. KANNICHT and S. RADT (1971-2004)
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (1982-…)

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