



*Original paper*



**Il'ya N. Popov**

# **Essays on the History of Sacred Geography of Ancient Palestine: The City of Joppa and the Legends of Perseus, Andromeda, and Jonah**

## **Abstract**

As a result of several centuries of intellectual “restoration” work, the myth turns into a historically proven and even a kind of museumified event. The myth is historicized. We see that over many centuries, a certain system of features is constructed for an initially fictitious or self-evident story that should testify to the truthfulness, historicity, cultural and religious importance of its plot. Thus, a tradition of memory of this story or event arises. In this case, the initial falsity or reality of the event is not very important. What is important is that the culture wants to present this event as genuine and historical. That is, truth and falsity, historicity and fiction in this case depend on the opinion of people, society, and tradition, which acquires a self-sufficient meaning. Society itself constructs its history, and chooses to remember it in the form that is convenient for itself. There is a competitive struggle between different traditions (in this case, between the Greco-Roman and Jewish). The Jews promote a certain set of criticisms of the Greco-Roman tradition, but their criticism of the “pagan” “mythological thinking” in favor of “Jewish” (monotheistic) piety in this case does not consist in the rejection

of the myth or the struggle against it, but only in the creation of their own version of a similar myth. From this point of view, the monuments of the myths of Perseus, Andromeda and Jonah, which were shown to travellers in ancient Joppa, represent a typical model of the development of sacred geography. They are like many other monuments of Christian, Muslim and other religious traditions.

**Keywords:**

Cultural Memory, Historicization of Myth, Greco-Roman, Jewish Myth-Making Traditions, Palestine, City of Joppa, Perseus, Andromeda, Jonah

**For Citation:**

Popov И'ya N. Essays on the Sacred Geography of Ancient Palestine: the City of Ioppa and the Legends of Perseus, Andromeda, and Jonah // The Historical Reporter. 2025. Vol. LIII. P. 118–145. DOI: 10.35549/HR.2025.2025.53.002



ancient Palestine, as a sacred land of many religious traditions and sacred geography, has long been the subject of continuous study. It is well known that in antiquity, traditions of shrine veneration and pilgrimage developed among the Jews in Palestine and later among the Christians who followed them; in the Middle Ages, these were supplemented by the Muslims. These cultural traditions, themselves highly complex and multifaceted, are regularly discussed in various aspects by modern scholars, including in some of our own publications. Yet, alongside these traditions, in the history of Palestine's sacred geography there exists another one, conventionally defined as “pagan”, which to this day remains somewhat in the shadows of scholarly interest.

The multilingual culture of ancient Palestine had been shaped from early times under the strong influence of both Phoenicia and ancient Egypt. Later, in the Hellenistic era, the Greek world supplanted them. The Greeks and then the Romans were present in Palestine for a long time — over a millennium — and their religious views, tied to the local geography, left significant traces in the region. Certainly, for all these peoples — Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans — Palestine was always on the margin of their cultural spheres and interests. Within Palestine itself, the Hellenized population primarily occupied peripheral areas — the Mediterranean coast and Transjordan.

Nevertheless, in the context of Greco-Roman culture, several holy sites had emerged here, which were developed into significant temple complexes and attracted pilgrims. Among these sites, perhaps the most important are the following three:

1. The city of Paneas, or Caesarea Philippi—the site of a sanctuary to Pan and many related miracles<sup>1</sup>;
2. Mount Carmel — a site of a centuries-old tradition of veneration of a solar supreme deity by the Phoenicians, Jews, and later the Greeks and Romans<sup>2</sup>;
3. The city of Joppa (modern-day Jaffa within Tel Aviv).

It was with this last city that the famous myth of Perseus and Andromeda became associated in ancient tradition. In the present study, we propose to examine in detail this vivid chapter of Palestine's culture, closely tied to classical antiquity.

Joppa was known in written sources beginning from the 15th century BCE<sup>3</sup>. It is first mentioned in the annals of the campaigns

<sup>1</sup> Тарханова Р.В. Кесария Филиппова // Православная энциклопедия. Т. 32. М., 2013. Р. 557–564; Πανιάς // Pauly's Realencyclopädie (*Pauly, Wissowa*). Hbd. 36. 1949. Col. 594–600; Wilson J.F. Caesarea Filippi: Baniyas, the Lost City of Pan. L.; N.-Y., 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Тарханова Р.В., Лисовой Н.Н. Кармил // Православная энциклопедия. Т. 31. М., 2013. С. 237–247; Karmel // Pauly's Realencyclopädie (*Pauly, Wissowa*). Hbd. 20. 1919. Col. 1957–1960.

<sup>3</sup> Joppe // Pauly's Realencyclopädie (*Pauly, Wissowa*). Hbd. 18. 1916. Col. 1901–1902; *Tolkowsky S.* The Gateway to Palestine: A History of Jaffa. L., 1924; *Abel F.-M.* Geographie de la Palestine. Vol. 2: Geographie politique. Les villes. P., 1938<sup>2</sup>. P. 355–356; *Schuerer E.* The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175BC–135AD). 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1973–1979. Vol. 2. P. 110–

of the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmose III among the places conquered by the Egyptians. In the 1st millennium BCE, Joppa was a colony of Tyre of Phoenicia. The primary deity of Joppa at that time was Dagon, widely worshipped along the Palestinian coast. The veneration of Dagon is attested by the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Eshmunazar (4th century BCE) and the stele of the Assyrian king Sennacherib from 701 BCE, which lists Beth-Dagon, a suburb of Joppa, among the lands subjugated by Assyria.

Joppa did not fall within the influence of the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In the Bible, it is mentioned in the description of the territorial boundaries of the tribe of Dan as a city clearly beyond the reach of ancient Judean tribal expansion (Joshua 19:46). It also served as a port used for transporting timber from Lebanon (Phoenicia) for the construction of the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 2:15; Ezra 3:7). A significant role is assigned to Joppa only in the relatively late *Book of Jonah* (4th–3rd centuries BCE).

During the Hellenistic era, Joppa began to be settled around the same time by Greeks and Jews, partially displacing the earlier Phoenician colonists. And it was during this period — between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE — that a remarkable encounter occurred between two (or even more) vastly different ancient cultures, giving rise to the enigmatic circumstances we will attempt to explore below.

\*\*\*

The story of Perseus rescuing Andromeda from the jaws of the sea monster Cetus was in ancient times and remains to this day one of the most popular tales of Greco-Roman mythology<sup>4</sup>.

---

114; Keel O., Kuechler M. Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Ein Handbuch und Studienteisefuehrer zum Heiligen Land. Bd. 2: Der Sueden. Zurich et al., 1982. S. 12–28; New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land (NEAEHL). Jerusalem, 1993. II. P. 655–659; Jafo // Neues Bibel-Lexikon. II / Hrsg. M. Goerg, B. Lang. Zurich; Dusseldorf, 1995. P. 256–257.

<sup>4</sup> For the myth of Perseus and Andromeda, its possible interpretations, as well as the incredibly rich artistic tradition around this theme, have been widely discussed by scholars; see: Hartland E. S. The Legend of Perseus. 3 vols. L.,

It is worth briefly recounting the story. Perseus, the son of Zeus and Danaë, returns from the far western edge of the inhabited world on the winged sandals of Hades, carrying the head of the slain Gorgon Medusa. Flying past a seashore, he sees a bound maiden and soon learns that this is Andromeda, the daughter of the royal couple Cepheus and Cassiopeia. She had been offered as a sacrifice to the sea monster on the command of the oracle of Ammon, as retribution for Cassiopeia's boast that she was more beautiful than the Nereids, thus angering Poseidon. The sea god sent a flood and set a monster upon the land. Perseus secures a promise from Cepheus and Cassiopeia that if he defeats Cetus, Andromeda will be given to him as his wife, despite her prior betrothal to King Agenor, Cepheus's uncle (in Ovid's version, to Phineus, Cepheus's cousin). Perseus slays the monster with the help of the miraculous adamantite sickle sword previously gifted to him by Hermes.<sup>5</sup> Afterward, a wedding is held in the royal palace for Perseus and Andromeda, though Cepheus and Cassiopeia agree reluctantly, foreseeing inevitable complications with Agenor. Indeed, Agenor soon arrives at the wedding with his court and army, demands Andromeda, and is supported by Cepheus and Cassiopeia. A battle ensues in which Perseus kills many of Agenor's warriors and turns Agenor himself, along with 200 others, to stone using Medusa's head. Perseus then returns to Greece with Andromeda and becomes king of Seriphos and later Argos.

Such is the myth. Its fullest versions are found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (late 1st century BCE), *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus (1st century CE), and *Genealogiae (Fabulae)* of Pseudo-Hyginus

---

1894–1896; Woodward J.M. Perseus. Cambr., 1937; Langlotz E. Perseus. Heidelberg, 1951; Dugas C. Observations sur la légende de Persée // REG. Vol. 69. 1956. P. 1–15; Грейвс Р. Мифы древней Греции. Екатеринбург, 2005. P. 340–347; Тахо-Годи А.А. Андромеда, Кассиопея, Кефей, Персей // МНМ. 1988. Т. 1. P. 82, 626, 645; Т. 2. P. 304–305.

<sup>5</sup> According to Nonnos (5th c.), Perseus showed the Gorgon's head to the monster and it turned to stone; see: Nonnos *Panopolitanus*. Dionysiaca / Ed. D. F. Graefe. Lipsiae, 1819–1826. XXV.80–84. Vol. 2. P. 80 (рус. пер.: Нонн Панополитанский. Деяния Диониса / Пер.: Ю. А. Голубец. СПб., 1997. P. 244).

(early 3rd century CE)<sup>6</sup>. Despite its popularity, this story is not among the oldest in Greek mythology<sup>7</sup>.

As observed by numerous scholars of antiquity, the tale of Andromeda's rescue shares many parallels with other Greek and Near Eastern myths, most of which are older in origin. For example, one of Heracles' labors involved freeing the Trojan princess Hesione, similarly offered as a sacrifice to Poseidon's wrath and exposed on the shore<sup>8</sup>.

Some resemblance to this feat can also be seen in Heracles' victory over the Lernaean Hydra. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, another hero, Bellerophon, similarly defeats the Chimera<sup>9</sup>. Here, it is worth noting a feature of these myths that will later prove important for our discussion. According to some versions of the stories about Greek heroes overcoming sea monsters, during the struggle, the heroes could find themselves inside the creature's stomach and destroy it only by tearing open its belly from within<sup>10</sup>. In the myth of Perseus's feat as

<sup>6</sup> *Ovidii Nasoni. Metamorphoseon libri XV* / Rec. H. Magnus. B., 1914. IV.663–803, V.1–235. P. 157–177 (рус. пер.: *Овидий. Метаморфозы* / Пер.: Р. Шервинский // *Овидий. Собр. соч.* СПб., 1994. Т. 2. С. 93–104); *Apollodorus. The Library* / Ed. J.J. Frazer. L., 1921. II.4.3. Vol. 1. P. 158–160 (рус. пер.: *Аполлодор.* 1993. P. 43–44); *Iulius Hyginus Augustus. Fabulae* / Rec. I. Micyllus. Basel, 1535. 64. P. 24 (рус. пер.: *Гигин. Мифы* / Пер.: Д.О. Торшилов. СПб., 2000<sup>2</sup>. P. 84).

<sup>7</sup> Perseus is first mentioned in the “*Iliad*” (XIV.319–320) as the son of Danaë and Zeus and the most glorious of men. However, early Greek sources before the 5th century BCE are silent about Andromeda.

<sup>8</sup> *Грейѳс.* 2005. P. 701–709.

<sup>9</sup> *Грейѳс.* 2005. P. 356–359; *Hesiodus. Theogonia. 319–325* // *Hesiodi Carmina* / Ed. A. Rzach. Lipsiae, 1908. P. 19 (рус. пер.: *Гесиод. Полное собрание текстов* / РеД.: В.Н. Ярхо. М., 2001. P. 30).

<sup>10</sup> The 12th-century Byzantine philologist John Tzetzes, in his scholia on Lycophron's poem, describes the myth of Heracles saving Hesione (Σχόλια εἰς Λυκοφρόνα. 34 // 1811. P. 327–329). Heracles was swallowed by a whale (Tzetzes identifies it with Typhon) and spent three days in its belly. After defeating the monster, he lost all his hair. (This version is also found in Hellanicus of Mytilene (second half of 5th century BCE: *Hellanicus. Fr. 136* // *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* / 1841. Vol. 1. P. 64). The version where Jason is swallowed by a dragon guarding the Golden Fleece is known from Attic vase paintings but absent in mythographic texts (see: *Carpenter Th. H. Art and Myth in Ancient Greece.* L., 1991. P. 184–195, Pl. 277). Most frequently in this context, the red-figure cup painted by Douris from Cerveteri, ca. 470 BCE, is recalled.

we have recounted it, this motif of being swallowed seems absent, but, as will become clear, it existed somewhere in the shadow of the official versions recorded by mythographers<sup>11</sup>.

The picture is no less fascinating in the myths of the Near East from the 3rd to the 2nd millennium BCE. Here, the earliest known versions of the hero's battle with a certain aquatic serpent-like creature are found in the Sumero-Akkadian tradition, where Marduk defeated Tiamat<sup>12</sup>. In the Ugaritic epic, one of the deeds of the hero Ba'lu (Baal) was his victory over the seven-headed serpent Litanu (Lotan).<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly, the influence of the Ugaritic and, more broadly, Phoenician epic is reflected in the biblical depictions of Yahweh's struggle with the serpent Leviathan (*Book of Isaiah*, *Book of Job*, and *Book of Psalms*)<sup>14</sup>.

In its most general form, this narrative is defined as the "hero's battle with the serpent"<sup>15</sup>. In one variation or another, it is present in most of the world's folkloric traditions. The structural analysis of this narrative, most significant for shaping modern scholarly understanding of it, was conducted by V. Ya. Propp in the 1920s–1940s<sup>16</sup>. According to him, the most ancient form of this myth was the story of the hero being swallowed by a supernatural being, which was typically perceived as something fish-or serpent-like. Inside the belly of this creature, the hero acquired some

<sup>11</sup> This is alluded to by Lycophron in the poem *Alexandra* (III–II вв. до н. э.) (*Lycophron. Alexandra*. 837–839 // Ed. A. W. Mair. L., 1921. P. 562–564 (рус. пер.: *Ликофрон. Александра* // ВДИ. 2011. № 2. С. 247)). Lycophron's commentator John Tzetzes interpreted this passage in exactly this way.

<sup>12</sup> Когда Ану сотворил Небо: Литература древней Месопотамии. 2000. P. 41–47; МНМ. 1988. Т. 2. P. 505; *Грейвс*. 2005. P. 707.

<sup>13</sup> О Ба'лу: Угаритские поэтические повествования / Пер., введ. и коммент.: И.Ш. Шифман. М., 1999 (ПГВ. Т. 105.2). P. 143, 157–158. This plot is most similar to the story of Heracles' victory over the Lernaean Hydra (*Day*. 1985).

<sup>14</sup> Isaiah 27:1; Psalm 74:13–14 (God's victory over Leviathan); Book of Jobe 40.20 – 41.26 (man's inability to defeat the serpent); Psalm 103.25–26 (Leviathan as a creation of God, like everything else).

<sup>15</sup> For the main bibliography, see: *Иванов В.В. Дракон, Змей* // МНМ. 1988. Т. 1. P. 394–395, 468–471.

<sup>16</sup> *Пропп В.Я. Исторические корни волшебной сказки*. М., 2004 (Л., 1946). P. 183–241.

new higher knowledge or miraculous gifts. In the end, the monster would vomit the hero back out, without either him or the creature suffering any harm from their encounter. The reproduction of this myth is known in initiation rituals among various tribes across all continents<sup>17</sup>.

In later stages of development, the creature that swallows the hero begins to be perceived as an embodiment of evil, and the hero, finding himself in its stomach, starts to fight it by drawing a knife or sword to wound its innards or by kindling a fire inside. Gradually, the swallowed hero was supplanted by the hero who manages to defeat the devouring monster. Further still, the swallowing of the hero—now seen as an undesirable sign of his weakness — is replaced by the swallowing of some substitute. For instance, in battle, the hero begins to throw red-hot stones into the monster's belly or, optimally, the monster swallows a maiden whom the hero must rescue. In the final stage of the myth's development, according to Propp, the motif of swallowing disappears entirely, leaving only the description of the hero's duel with the monster to save a maiden doomed to die for some reason. It is in this stage that we encounter this myth among the classical Greeks. However, we have also seen that among the Greeks, alongside serpent-slaying, the idea of swallowing persisted, too, resurfacing repeatedly in various versions of myths. On the other hand, in the myths of Mesopotamia, which are significantly older than the Greek ones, the swallowing motif is expressed much more distinctly<sup>18</sup>.

Thus, given this extensive contextual development of the myth, it can be said that the myth of Perseus and Andromeda was formed on the basis of the motifs widely recurring in the folklore and literature of numerous ancient peoples. The classical form of the myth is the result of the Greeks borrowing from the Semitic peoples of

<sup>17</sup> Propp (2004, pp. 191–192) gives as examples the initiation rites of Australian aborigines (according to Radcliffe-Brown), natives of New Guinea (according to Schürtz and Nevermann), Oceania (according to Frobenius), Indians of Queensland (Canada; according to Webster), as well as African tribes of Senegambia and the Poro (according to Leo Frobenius).

<sup>18</sup> Пропп В.Я. 2004. С. 206.

Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine during the era of the great Greek colonization (circa 7th–6th centuries BCE).

\*\*\*

One of the most intriguing questions related to the Perseus and Andromeda myth is its geographical dimension. Where exactly was Andromeda destined to be sacrificed and then rescued? As it turns out, ancient authors were also interested in it. Ovid, Pseudo-Apollodorus, and Pseudo-Hyginus point to the land of Ethiopia. However, many other authors were convinced that Perseus's feat took place near the city of Joppa, where King Cepheus ruled. Let us attempt to clarify this issue.

The earliest evidence of the Greeks' interest in the story of Andromeda's rescue is the depiction of Perseus's feat on a Corinthian black-figure amphora from the first half of the 6th century BCE (Berlin Museum, F 1652, Neg. No. 6959). The amphora had been created long before any surviving literary accounts of the myth. It depicts, from left to right, a monster labeled as *κῆτος* (something between a dog and a pig), Perseus fighting it, and Andromeda tied to something by her shoulders and elbows.

The first author known to have described this myth was Pherecydes of Athens (mid-6th century BCE), who composed the treatise *Heptamychos* ("Seven-Chambered Cosmos") on the origins of the gods. His treatise has not survived, but Pseudo-Apollodorus references it, asserting that the events took place in Ethiopia.<sup>19</sup> Thus, what Pherecydes himself had thought remains unknown, as it is impossible to determine how accurately Apollodorus conveyed his version.

By the mid-5th century BCE, Perseus and Andromeda were well known to Herodotus and his Athenian audience. Herodotus does not retell the myth but repeatedly attempts to interpret it. Accord-

---

<sup>19</sup> *Apollodorus*. II.5.9 / Ed. Frazer. Vol. 1. P. 204–208 (рус. пер.: *Аполлодор*. 1993. P. 55–56).

ing to his account, Perseus's lineage originated in Egypt, and in the city of Chemmis near Thebes, he was worshipped as a hero. At the same time, Perseus was also the ancestor of the Persians, since one of his and Andromeda's sons was named Perses. From Greek legends, it was known that Perseus's descendants were kings of Argos. In connection with this, Herodotus claims that during Xerxes' invasion of Greece, the Persians even made a peace agreement with the Argives, allegedly considering each other kin<sup>20</sup>. Herodotus does not concern himself with the geography of the myth, nor does he mention Joppa, but his broad associations of Perseus with Egypt, Argos, and his clearly strained reasoning about Persian origins suggest that the historian knew of no specific location that could be linked to this myth.

In the 5th century BCE, the three greatest Athenian playwrights — Phrynichus, Sophocles, and Euripides — each wrote tragedies titled *Andromeda*; none of them have survived. Their content can only be inferred from a few fragments and indirect sources. There is Aristophanes' comedy *Thesmophoriazussae* (411 BCE), in which Euripides' lost work is parodied: the figure of Andromeda is transformed into a character played by Mnesilochus, who accidentally stumbles upon a women's gathering, is tied to a post like the ancient maiden, but then narrowly escapes the looming danger.

It is considered highly probable that Euripides was the first to specify Ethiopia as the setting for the myth. The Alexandrian astronomer Pseudo-Eratosthenes (1st century BCE) mentions Ethiopia as the location in Euripides' tragedy<sup>21</sup>. By "Ethiopia", we should likely understand not the known country in East Africa but rather a region of Libya somewhere on the southern Mediterranean coast, between Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. Apparently, neither Euripides nor his successors provided any more precise geographical coordinates. Why Euripides might have done this — why he needed the vague Ethiopia — remains impossible to determine. However,

<sup>20</sup> Геродот. История. II. 91; VI. 53–54; VII. 61, 150.

<sup>21</sup> Pseudo-Eratosthenes. *Catasterismi*. 15 / Ed. A. Olivieri. 1897. P. 19.

Euripides' authority as a playwright and mythographer in antiquity had been so great that this possible innovation of his gained many adherents among the later writers. Meanwhile, Ovid renamed Agenor, Perseus's rival for Andromeda's hand, to Phineus, thereby clearly linking the events to Phoenicia. Among the early Byzantine writers, the Antiochene chronicler John Malalas (6th century CE) also touched upon the myth, mentioning that Andromeda had been rescued in Ethiopia<sup>22</sup>.

At the same time, by the end of the classical era, evidence emerges of an alternative interpretation of the myth, which unequivocally states that Cepheus and Cassiopeia ruled a land on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, with their capital in the city of Joppa. To create this alternative interpretation — as it was often done — the common phonetic similarity between “Ethiopia” (Aithiopia) and “Joppa” (Ioppē) was exploited. It is evident that the idea of linking the myth to Joppa arose after the appearance of the “Ethiopian” version. Yet it cannot be denied that the unknown authors of the new “Joppa” localization demonstrated a very subtle knowledge of mythological tradition. The ancestral connections of Cepheus — son of Belus (king of Assyria) and nephew of Agenor (Phineus, king of Phoenicia) — pointed to the myth's original close ties with the Syro-Phoenician context. Cepheus was a close relative of several major mythical royal families of Tyre, Sidon, Assyria, and Cyprus. It was precisely these genealogical connections, it seems, that mythographers used as the main argument in favor of recognizing Joppa as Cepheus's domain. The phonetic similarity between “Ethiopia” and “Joppa” likely served only as a pretext for this decision.

By whom, how, and when was this version made public? For what purpose? It is currently impossible to say. It is clear, however, that in the ancient world, such speculations on religious-mythological themes usually had political undertones. The “Joppa” version evidently emerged after the staging of Euripides' tragedy in Athens in 412 BCE. The first author to mention Joppa as the site of Perseus's

---

<sup>22</sup> *Ioannes Malalas. Chronographia / Ed. L. Dindorf. Bonn, 1831. P. 36.*

feat was the geographer Pseudo-Scylax, author of the *Periplus of the Mediterranean Sea* (late 4th–3rd century BCE)<sup>23</sup>. Thus, the idea of linking Joppa to the myth could have arisen during the long and historically turbulent period between the late 5th and late 4th century BCE.

Later sources show that the idea of associating the myth with Joppa had gradually gained many adherents and became firmly established in the Hellenistic and Roman world. A decisive *terminus ante quem* for the history of the myth's veneration in Joppa is provided by Pliny the Elder (mid-1st century CE), who reports that in 58 BCE, by decree of the Roman aedile Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, the bones of the sea monster once slain by Perseus were transported from Joppa to Rome, where they had long been venerated as relics. According to Pliny, the skeleton measured 40 feet in length<sup>24</sup>. Thus, by the mid-1st century BCE, the connection between Joppa and the myth of Perseus and Andromeda had already been widely accepted and even bolstered by “proof” in the form of relics in Joppa.

Meanwhile, apart from Pseudo-Scylax, we have no direct references to Joppa in Hellenistic literature. Of particular interest is the poet Lycophron of Chalcis, author of the eschatological poem *Alexandra*, who likely worked in Alexandria in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE<sup>25</sup>. In the poem, Cassandra prophesies about the future of the world after the Trojan War. Among other things, she mentions that Menelaus, in his search for Helen, must visit the abode of Typhon (i.e., Mount Casius near Antioch), the place where an old woman was turned to stone (i.e., Cyprus, where Aphrodite petrified the old woman who had betrayed her hiding place to the giants), the jutting shores of the Erembi (most likely the Arabian

<sup>23</sup> *Pseudo-Scylax*. *Periplus*. § 104 (*Lipinski E. Itineraria Phoenicia*. Leuven; P., 2004. P. 268, 328).

<sup>24</sup> *Plinius Senior*. *Historia naturalis*. IX.4 (*Pliny*. *Natural History* / Eds. E.H. Warmington e. a. L., 1967. Vol. 3. P. 170); *Solinus*. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. 34.1 / Ed. Th. Mommsen. B., 1895. P. 153.

<sup>25</sup> *Lycophron*. *Alexandra*. 820–843 // Ed. A.W. Mair. L., 1921. P. 562–564 (рус. пер.: *Ликофрон*. *Александра* // ВДИ. 2011. № 2. С. 247).

lands)<sup>26</sup>, which frightened sailors, the city of unhappy Myrrha (i.e., Byblos, already well known to us), the tomb of Gavanthus mourned by the goddess (i.e., Adonis in Afqa, here disguised under the epithet Gavanthus), the towers of Cepheus (i.e., most likely Tyre; see below), the place where the foot of Hermes<sup>27</sup> had once trod, and also the two rocks where a woman had been bound, freed by the golden-born eagle in winged sandals (i.e., Andromeda, rescued by Zeus's son Perseus)<sup>28</sup>.

The text shows that Lycophron directs his readers to various locations in the Eastern Mediterranean, and it seems logical that in mentioning Perseus and Andromeda, he meant Joppa<sup>29</sup>. The city is not directly named, but Lycophron rarely speaks plainly. On the other hand, the mention of two rocks to which Andromeda was tied is somewhat revealing. Twin rocks are a vivid symbol of Tyre. Thus, it is possible that Lycophron's "towers of Cepheus" referred specifically to Tyre. After all, Cepheus was considered an ancient king not so much of Joppa as of all Phoenicia. In the Hellenistic era, Tyre was perceived by the Greeks as the center of Phoenicia. These towers most likely stood on the island of Tyre.

Thus, in Lycophron, we encounter the "Joppa" version of the myth, most likely still in the process of formation. At this stage, it remains unclear whether Andromeda was chained to one rock or two, how exactly Perseus's battle with the sea monster (*cetus*) unfolded — whether the monster swallowed the hero or not — and, more

<sup>26</sup> The term "shore of Arabia" in the broad sense could refer to the entire southern part of the Syro-Palestinian coast.

<sup>27</sup> According to legend, Hermes, during his search for Io in Ethiopia, struck a spring from the ground with his foot. During her wanderings, Io visited Joppa (Graves, 2005, p. 279). Where exactly the footprint of Hermes was worshipped in this case is unclear. Nevertheless, its mention by Lycophron cannot be coincidental.

<sup>28</sup> *Lycophron*. Alexandria. 837–839 // Ed. A.W. Mair. L., 1921. P. 562–564 (рус. пер.: Ликофрон. Александра // ВДИ. 2011. № 2. С. 247).

<sup>29</sup> The Russian translator (Surikov) does not suggest linking the events to Joppa, referring instead in the commentary to the "Ethiopian" version of the myth. Nevertheless, considering the geographic context in which the myth is mentioned, correlating it with Joppa or at least with the Phoenician region as a whole seems logical and promising.

broadly, whether Perseus's feat should in some way be linked to the symbolism of Tyre's foundation myth. The obscurity of Lycophron's text, which clearly reflects second- or third-hand information about the sacred places of the Syro-Phoenician region, prevents us from resolving these ambiguities. Moreover, Lycophron himself may have been uncertain about many details. Unfortunately, no other sources exist that could clarify Lycophron's symbolism.

Another — euhemeristic — version of the myth was contained in Conon's *Narrations* (late 1st century BCE), preserved only in a summary by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Photius (mid-9th century CE)<sup>30</sup>. According to Conon, Cepheus ruled a land later called Phoenicia. Andromeda was courted by Phineus and Phoenix. The latter, in a secret agreement with Cepheus, abducted Andromeda on a ship named *Ketos* ("Sea Monster") while she was making a sacrifice to Aphrodite on a deserted islet. Andromeda cried out, and Perseus, who happened to be sailing by, intervened. Terrified of him, Phoenix and his companions nearly turned to stone. Perseus slaughtered them all and destroyed the ship.

This somewhat anecdotal version was likely Conon's own invention, influenced by rationalistic criticism of tradition, while also aware of the intense scholarly work on various versions of the myth conducted between the 5th and 2nd centuries BCE. For our purposes, it is significant that Conon confidently identifies Phoenicia as the setting, thereby implicitly endorsing the "Joppa" version of the myth.

Strabo (late 1st century BCE) is the first author after Pseudo-Scylax to directly link the myth to Joppa, though he treats the "Joppa" version with great skepticism. Strabo writes that the story of Andromeda's rescue in Joppa ranks among the most implausible tales propagated by mythographers<sup>31</sup>. Nevertheless, despite his disdain for such fables, Strabo can do nothing to counter the established veneration of Joppa as the site of Andromeda's rescue and dutifully records the existence of this cult there.

<sup>30</sup> *Photius*. Bibliothèque. Cod. 186 (138b) / Ed. R. Henry. P., 1962. T. 3. P. 29–30.

<sup>31</sup> *Страбон*. География. I.2.35, XVI. 2.28.

Most authors of the Roman era (excluding Ovid, Pseudo-Apollodorus, and Pseudo-Hyginus) accept the connection between Joppa and the myth of Andromeda as an established fact. These include Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela, Josephus (all 1st century CE), Pausanias (2nd century), Gaius Julius Solinus (3rd century), and St. Jerome (late 4th–early 5th century)<sup>32</sup>.

\*\*\*

The myth's rich ancient iconography<sup>33</sup> provides additional insights into its reception. Art historian Kim Phillips<sup>34</sup> partially analyzed this material.

All known depictions of Perseus's feat on the Greek vases from the 6th–5th centuries BCE show Andromeda tied between two posts. However, by the 4th century, images appear of Andromeda bound (or chained) in a cave or simply to a rock. The reason for this shift — from posts to a cave and then to a rock<sup>35</sup>—remains unclear. The loss of the three great classical tragedies from the 5th century BCE once again leaves us without definitive answers.

<sup>32</sup> *Plinius Senior*. *Historia naturalis*. V.14, VI.35, IX.4 (*Pliny*. *Natural History* / Eds. E.H. Warmington e. a. L., 1961–1967. Vol. 2. P. 272, 474; Vol. 3. P. 170); *Помпоний Мела*. *Хорография*. I.64 / Реда.: А. В. Подосинов. М., 2017. С. 58–61; *Josephus Flavius*. *The Jewish War*. III.9.3 // *Josephus*. 1956. Vol. 2. P. 694–695 (рус. пер.: *Иосиф Флавий*. 1991. P. 249); *Pausanias*. *Graeciae descriptio*. IV.35.9 (рус. пер.: *Павсаний*. 2002. Т. 1. С. 328); *Solinus*. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. 34.1–2 / Ed. Th. Mommsen. B., 1895. P. 153; *Hieronymi Commentaria in Jonam Prophetam*. I.3 // PL. T. 25. Col. 1123 (рус. пер.: *Блж. Иероним*. *Одна книга толкований на прор. Иону* // *Блж. Иероним*. *Творения*. Киев, 1898. Ч. 13. С. 208).

<sup>33</sup> *Carpenter*. 1991. P. 103–116, 248.

<sup>34</sup> *Phillips Jr. K. M.* *Perseus and Andromeda* // *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 72. N. 1. 1968. P. 1–23. However, many of the scholar's conclusions raise questions and cannot be accepted uncritically.

<sup>35</sup> *Phillips*. 1968. P. 11. This refers to a krater from Caltagirone (380–e–370–e rr.; *Arias P.* *Una nuova scena del mito di Perseo e di Andromeda* // *Dionisio*. Vol. 36. N. 1–2. 1962. P. 50–57), a pelike from Apulia (mid-4th c. BCE; Würzburg, M. von Wagner-Museum. 885), and a loutrophoros from Apulia (last quarter of the 4th c. BCE; Bari Museum, No. 5591).

However, in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, Mnesilochus is tied to a post in a rocky cave, which likely corresponds to Euripides' staging and matches several vase paintings from the 4th century. Thus, by the late 5th century, the iconographic evolution had already begun.

The subsequent stages of this evolution are evident in Pompeian frescoes (2nd century BCE–mid-1st century CE), which replicate various early Hellenistic paintings. In all variants where landscape details are discernible, Andromeda stands chained to a rock by a body of water, while Perseus either flies toward her through the sky or fights the monster knee-deep in water<sup>36</sup>. This later tradition clearly contradicts the classical vase depictions. The changes in iconography are likely connected to the same mythic reform that saw the competing “Ethiopian” and “Joppa” versions in the late 5th–4th centuries BCE.

The triumph of the “chained Andromeda” motif is also confirmed by literary sources. The first direct reference to Andromeda being chained to a rock comes from Lycophron, who places the princess between twin rocks<sup>37</sup>. Later, Accius (mid-2nd century BCE), Proper-

<sup>36</sup> The main iconographic variants are seen in Pompeian frescoes. The iconography of images depicting Perseus flying through the sky is associated with Euanthes (frescoes from the Villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase — New York, MMA, 20.192.16; from house no. 9.7.16 — German Institute, negative 53.493). Another step in the iconographic evolution is that Andromeda is no longer depicted inside a grotto but instead is chained to a rock or large stone. The earliest supposed depictions of Andromeda at a rock include: an Apulian amphora from Ruvo (third quarter of the 4th c. BCE; University of Halle — in reality the same grotto); a Campanian hydria (second quarter of the 4th c. BCE; Berlin Museum, No. 3238 — possibly the same cave, depicted as a light patch — but close to the Pompeian iconography, as Perseus fights a sea monster below); a terracotta figurine probably from Athens (likely 4th c. BCE; Berlin Museum, No. 7042), where Andromeda is also chained to a flat rock, possibly within a cave. The dating is unclear — why not the Roman period? The iconography of Andromeda undergoes a fundamental transformation when the image of her “between columns” is replaced with “between rocks” (Philips. P. 22).

<sup>37</sup> *Lycophron*. Alexandra. 836–839 // Ed. A.W. Mair. L., 1921. P. 562–564 (рус. пер.: Ликофрон. Александра // ВДИ. 2011. № 2. С. 247).

tius, Ovid (both late 1st century BCE), and Pseudo-Apollodorus<sup>38</sup> — all describe Andromeda chained to a rock or rocks. Thus, unlike the localization of the myth in Joppa, which long faced skepticism, the image of Andromeda chained to a rock achieved complete dominance, gradually displacing all other variations. Despite its apparent acceptance by classical dramatists, the motif of Andromeda tied between posts or to a single post was abandoned. Instead, she was placed in a seaside cave or grotto, between two rocks, or — most commonly — chained to a single rock, exposed to the sea monster and the approaching Perseus. These significant shifts in iconography reflect an intense, though now obscure, reworking of the myth by Greek mythographers and priests, likely centered on the “Joppa” version.

\*\*\*

Thus, during the Hellenistic period, a tradition venerating Perseus’s feat took shape in Joppa. The city produced a class of intellectuals (priests, writers, possibly politicians) who narrated this memorable event to the local populace, stirring enthusiasm for their city’s newly rediscovered ancient glory. At the same time, “antiquarians” — early “archaeologists” — emerged, soon “discovering” evidence to substantiate the myth. Joppa developed a range of relics tied to the story, which were treated as attractions, shown to visitors, and accorded religious reverence, given Perseus’s divine lineage (he had been Zeus’s son) and the involvement of other gods in the myth.

The culmination of this process, as noted earlier, is marked by Pliny the Elder’s account of the sea monster’s bones (or a portion of them) being transported from Joppa to Rome in 58 BCE. But the bones were not the only relic.

<sup>38</sup> *Accius*. *Andromeda* // *Remains of Old Latin*. Vol. 2. 1936. P. 350; *Секст Проперциий*. ЭЛЕГИИ. I.3.3–4, III.22.29, IV.7.63–66 (2004. P. 18–19, 170–171, 206–207); *Ovidii Nasoni* *Metamorph.* IV.672–673. P. 158 (рус. пер.: *Овидий*. 1994. С. 93); *Apollodorus*. II.4.3 / Ed. Frazer. Vol. 1. P. 158–160 (рус. пер.: *Аполлодор*. 1993. С. 43).

What exactly did Roman-era visitors to Joppa see in connection with the myth of Perseus and Andromeda? Sources allow us to compile a substantial list of such attractions<sup>39</sup>.

First, the aforementioned bones. Beyond Pliny's report, little else is known. They had evidently appeared in Joppa during the Hellenistic period and by the mid-1st century BCE were a recognized and widely known relic, even attracting interest in Rome. Pomponius Mela<sup>40</sup> mentions them in the 1st century CE, and Gaius Julius Solinus<sup>41</sup> repeats the information in the 3rd century. After this, the relic disappears from record, having been possibly lost in the Great Fire of Rome under Nero in 64 CE.

The second notable attraction was the "Rock of Andromeda", where visitors were shown the marks of her chains. Ancient writers mentioning this rock and the chains include Pliny the Elder, Josephus, Solinus, and St. Jerome<sup>42</sup>. However, by the late 4th–early 5th century, Jerome no longer refers to the chains, only to the rock, which nevertheless continued to draw visitors.

Another curious object of veneration, noted by Pausanias (2nd century CE)<sup>43</sup>, was a spring in Joppa whose water turned red at cer-

<sup>39</sup> A similar list concerning Joppa is partially found in the article by M. Mulzer, "Andromeda und Jona in Jafo" // *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. Bd. 122. 2006. P. 46–60. Our arguments in this section are partly based on the rich material of this publication by Mulzer. However, it is not without significant flaws. Firstly, it does not consider the data presented here on the history of the development of the cult of Perseus and Andromeda in Joppa. Secondly, it neglects known temples and other cultic sites of the city, which, like relics, played a role in the system of city landmarks.

<sup>40</sup> *Помпоний Мела*. Хорография. I.64 / Ред.: А. В. Подосинов. М., 2017. P. 58–61.

<sup>41</sup> *Solinus*. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. 34.1 / Ed. Th. Mommsen. B., 1895. P. 153.

<sup>42</sup> *Plinius Senior*. *Historia naturalis*. V.14 (*Pliny*. *Natural History* / Eds. E.H. Warmington e. a. L., 1961. Vol. 2. P. 272); *Josephus Flavius*. *The Jewish War*. III.9.3 // *Josephus*. 1956. Vol. 2. P. 694–695 (рус. пер.: *Иосиф Флавий*. 1991. С. 249); *Solinus*. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. 34.1 / Ed. Th. Mommsen. B., 1895. P. 153; *Hieronymi Commentaria in Jonam Prophetam*. I.3 // PL. T. 25. Col. 1123 (рус. пер.: *Блж. Иероним*. Одна книга толкований на прор. Иону // *Блж. Иероним*. Творения. Киев, 1898. Ч. 13. С. 208).

<sup>43</sup> *Pausanias*. *Graeciae descriptio*. IV.35.9 (рус. пер.: *Павсаний*. 2002. Т. 1. С. 328).

tain times, believed to be the blood of the monster slain by Perseus. This closely resembles the well-known “Spring of Adonis” at Afqa in Lebanon and two similar springs near Tyre<sup>44</sup>. No such spring exists in modern Tel Aviv, but there is no reason to doubt Pausanias’s account.

Joppa and its surroundings also housed several temples linked to the myth. According to Ovid, Perseus himself founded altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Mercury — his divine patrons<sup>45</sup> — to commemorate his victory. No other records of such dedications survive. Nevertheless, other temples abounded. In the Roman era, a civic cult of Tyche, Perseus, and Athena existed. Their images against a to-story building (likely a temple) appeared on coins minted under Caracalla, Macrinus, Diadumenian, and Elagabalus (211–222 CE). The same iconography was used for city coins of Ptolemais (Akko) to the north, under Elagabalus.

It is plausible that the city goddess Tyche of Joppa was associated or even identified with Aphrodite-Atargatis, a major deity in nearby Ascalon. Joppa also had a large nymphaeum with a statue of Aphrodite (or Tyche, closely linked to her)<sup>46</sup>, renowned for its miracles.

Melzer suggests that Joppa may have had a temple dedicated to the sea monster<sup>47</sup> (Ketos or Ceto). Pliny’s brief mention that “the Ceto celebrated in myth is worshipped there”<sup>48</sup> could indicate a religious cult, though it may simply refer to the monster’s bones as a local respected and venerated attraction. With no other evidence, the temple’s existence remains hypothetical.

Nevertheless, marine deities were undoubtedly venerated in Joppa. The Hellenistic era saw the worship of Poseidon, likely a Hellenized version of the Phoenician sea god Yamm. In the myth, Ce-

<sup>44</sup> For springs near Tyre, see: *Schmidt H. Jona. Eine Untersuchung zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte // Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Bd. 9. Göttingen, 1907. S. 16. Anm. 2.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ovidii Nasoni Metamorph. IV.753–756. P. 162 (рус. пер.: Овидий. 1994. С. 95).*

<sup>46</sup> *Ovadiab, Turnheim. 2011. P. 95–96.*

<sup>47</sup> *Melzer. 2006. Op. cit. P. 54–55.*

<sup>48</sup> *Plinius Senior. Historia naturalis. V.14 (Pliny. Natural History / Eds. E.H. Warmington e. a. L., 1961. Vol. 2. P. 272).*

pheus and Cassiopeia were Poseidon's devotees, and their disrespect for him triggered the need for Andromeda's sacrifice.

Thus, in the Roman Imperial period, Joppa functioned as a kind of open-air museum. The city and its environs boasted numerous landmarks commemorating Perseus and Andromeda for locals and visitors alike. The tradition of cultural memory surrounding the myth proved remarkably durable. Although most relics and sites are attested in sources from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE, some persisted into the early 5th century.

\*\*\*

The history of Joppa's relics is not confined to the Greco-Roman context. The pagan holy sites of Palestine had a formidable competitor — the Old Testament religion of the Jews.

Joppa features prominently in the *Book of Jonah* of the Old Testament<sup>49</sup>. Structurally, the events in it are set during the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel (mid-8th century BCE)<sup>50</sup>. However, linguistic analysis dates the book's composition to the 4th–3rd centuries BCE<sup>51</sup>, contemporary with the “Joppa” version of the Perseus myth.

As is known, in the book Jonah receives a command from Yahweh to go and preach in Nineveh. However, afraid, he flees “from the

<sup>49</sup> Ион. 1–2; Лебедев П.Ю., Петров А.Е., Эйделькин Я.Д., Мусеева Р.А., Макаров Е.Е., Журавлева И.А., Орецкая И.А. Иона // ПЭ. Т. 25. М., 2010. С. 372–392. As typical for the *Biblical Encyclopedia*, a somewhat conservative but well-balanced approach to analyzing the text and its tradition is demonstrated; dating: 5th–3rd c. BCE.

<sup>50</sup> The prophet Jonah is mentioned in “2 Kings” (2 Kings 14:25) as living during the reign of Jeroboam II and advising him. However, the author of the *Book of Jonah* does not mention Jeroboam and does not provide any clear dating, except for the story about Nineveh, which, as is known, was destroyed in 612 BCE. The author's position can be interpreted as an attempt to place the work within the chronology of the historical books of the Old Testament — unobtrusively, without insisting.

<sup>51</sup> ПЭ. Т. 25. М., 2010. P. 374 (V — III вв.); Zenger E. Das Buch Jona // Zenger E. e. a. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Stuttg., 1998<sup>3</sup>. S. 501 (IV–III вв.); Vanoni G. Jona, Jonabuch // LTK<sup>3</sup>. Bd. 5. 1996. 986–987 (IV в.).

presence of the Lord” to Joppa and boards a ship bound for Tarshish. At sea, a storm overtakes them, and Jonah, seeing this as punishment for his disobedience to the voice of God, asks the sailors to throw him overboard as a sinner in order to save the ship. In the water, Jonah is swallowed by a giant whale, and the prophet spends three days and three nights in its belly, as if in the underworld. There he prays to the Lord for salvation. He fully surrenders to God’s will, reminds the One God of his unwavering service, and begs for His mercy and forgiveness. Finally, by divine command, Jonah is expelled from the whale’s belly onto the shore, after which he obediently sets out for Nineveh<sup>52</sup>.

The structural parallels with the Greek myths — particularly the “hero vs. serpent” motif — are evident<sup>53</sup>. The sea monster serves as a divine instrument, whether for Poseidon’s wrath towards Cepheus family (in Perseus’s myth) or Yahweh’s harsh discipline (in Jonah’s).

Naturally, the ideological weight of the myth of Jonah appears fundamentally different from that of the Greek legends. Perseus, Heracles, and other Greek heroes, although aided by the gods, strive to fight for their lives and destinies on their own. They rely on their own strength, courage, and intelligence and play an active role in

<sup>52</sup> Ион. 1–2. Josephus Flavius, in his retelling of the Bible, claimed that Jonah ended up on the shore of the Euxine (Black Sea) (*Josephus Flavius. Jewish Antiquities. IX.10.2 // Josephus. 1958. Vol. 6. P. 110–112; рус. пер.: Иосиф Флавий. 1999. Т. 1. С. 618–619*). However, this detail is not found in the original *Book of Jonah*, and it is more plausible to assume the events took place on the coast of Palestine.

<sup>53</sup> It is difficult to determine who first drew attention to the similarity between the motifs of Perseus and Jonah; the idea was discussed as early as the late 19th century. Comparison of the stories: *Schmidt H. Jona: Eine Untersuchung zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte // Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Bd. 9. Göttingen, 1907. P. 12–22; Wolff H. W. Studien zum Jonabuch // Biblische Studien. Bd. 47. Neukirchen-Vlyun, 1965; Day. 1985; Harvey P.B. The Death of Mythology: The Case of Joppa // Journal of Early Christian Studies. Vol. 2. 1994. P. 1–14 (особ. 6); Hamel G. Taking the Argo to Nineveh: Jonah and Jason in a Mediterranean Context // Judaism. Vol. 44. N 3. N.-Y., 1995. P. 341–359 (347, 349); Пронн В. Морфология волшебной сказки. 1998. С. 312–313; Десницкий А.Р. Книга прор. Ионы — старая сказка? // Мир Библии. 1997. Вып. 4. С. 58–61.*

shaping their fate. Jonah, by contrast, assumes an overtly passive and weak position. He remains constantly in fear — of God, of the sea monster, and of death. His only recourse is to trust in divine will and salvation, which ultimately guides him, revealing to the reader the omnipotence of God, who is capable of rescuing a believer — one who has wholly surrendered to Him — even from the belly of a whale and the depths of the sea. Divine will thus emerges as the sole operative force behind all events. All the characters, active agents, and the cosmos itself are depicted as being entirely governed by the one true God, in accordance with the Judaic Old Testament doctrine.

Thus, Greek and Jewish traditions here present two diametrically opposed systems of religious and moral values: agency versus submission. This fundamental opposition between Hellenism and the ancient Eastern cultures — the so-called “Athens versus Jerusalem” — has long been acknowledged and extensively discussed by scholars<sup>54</sup>. We are not inclined to absolutize such dichotomies, as it is well known that, alongside these differences, Greek and Eastern cultures also shared numerous common features. Nevertheless, in the case of the myths of Perseus and Jonah, as well as their clearly perceived rivalry in Joppa, the ideological chasm between Hellenism and Judaism is made especially evident.

In this light, the story of Jonah may be seen as a response by Palestinian Jews to the burgeoning religious-mythological creativity of the Greeks and Phoenicians centered around Joppa. The author of the *Book of Jonah* appears to have been struck by the emergence of this new cult of Perseus's heroic feat and the rapid formation of a culture of veneration surrounding him, and thus found it necessary to construct a counter-narrative. This new narrative included the geographical setting of Joppa and the motif of the sea monster, whose bones, even by that time, may have

<sup>54</sup> In our view, this issue is most comprehensively reflected in Russian scholarly literature in the following works: *Аверинцев Р.Р. Поэтика ранневизантийской литературы*. М., 1974; *Вейнберг И.П. Рождение истории: Историческая мысль на Ближнем Востоке середины I тысячелетия до н. э.* М., 1993.

attracted considerable public attention. Yet the Old Testament narrative conveyed a fundamentally different attitude toward the figure of the hero. The praying, suffering, and God-seeking Jonah is clearly set in opposition to the self-assured Perseus and his cunning, and therefore (in the eyes of devout Jews) unprincipled Olympian patrons.

Our current state of knowledge does not permit us to judge the precise dynamics of interaction between these two competing mythological narratives. Nor do we possess sufficient information regarding the lives and relations of the pagan and Jewish communities in Joppa. What is clear, however, is that the Joppian stories of Perseus and Jonah emerged in close proximity, in full view of one another; they contain implicit references to each other, although these can now only be partially discerned. It is also evident that the rivalry between Perseus and Jonah persisted not only during the Hellenistic period, when these figures confronted one another in Joppa, but also over the following centuries. During this time, visiting Greeks and Romans were shown the chains of Andromeda and the bones of the whale, while local and visiting Jews, gazing upon the same relics, would recall Jonah and his unshakable faith in the Almighty.

In light of this situation, Propp's explanatory model for the development of mythological motifs requires significant revision. We observe that the evolution of myth does not always conform to a simple linear development. Rather, it is driven not by abstract and logical stages of societal progression, but by a fragmented picture of interaction and dialogue within an infinite sea of diverse traditions. The forms that myths ultimately take reflect the memory of peoples concerning one another — the course and outcome of their interactions, whether friendly or hostile — and the ability of one group to persuade another of the superiority of its tradition, or else to recognize the value of the other's tradition and seek to improve, reform, or enrich their own.

### **Conflict of interests**

The author declares no relevant conflict of interests.



## References

1. Apollodorus. *The Library* (in 2 vols.) (Ed. by J.J. Frazer). London: William Heinemann Ltd.; 1921.
2. Hieronymi Commentaria in Jonam Prophetam. I. 3, in: *PL*. T. 25. Col. 1117–1151.
3. *Hesiodi Carmina* (Ed. by A. Rzach). Lipsiae: B.G. Teubner, 1908. 263 p.
4. Iulius Hyginus Augustus. *Fabulae* (Rec. by I. Micyllus). Basel, 1535.
5. Graves R. *Myths of Ancient Greece*. Yekaterinburg: U-Faktoriya; 2005. 956 p. (in Russ.).
6. Desnitskiy A.S. The Book of prov. Jonah – is it an old fairy tale? *The World of the Bible*. 1997;(Iss. 4):58–61 (in Russ.).
7. Josephus Flavius. The Jewish War, in: *Josephus* (in 9 vols.) (Ed. by T.E. Page et al.). Vols. 2–3. Cambridge (Mass.): Cambridge University Press; 1956. Series: The Loeb Classical Library.
8. Josephus Flavius. Jewish Antiquities, in: *Josephus* (in 9 vols.) (Ed. by T.E. Page et al.). Vols. 4–7. Cambridge (Mass.): Cambridge University Press; 1957–1961. Series: The Loeb Classical Library.
9. *When Anu created the sky: The literature of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Transl. by V.K. Afanasyeva, I.M. Dyakonov). Moscow: Aleteya; 2000. P. 41–47 (in Russ.).
10. Lebedeva P.Yu., Petrov A.E., Eidelkind Ya.D. et al. Jonah, in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 25. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2010. P. 372–392 (in Russ.).
11. Lycophron. Alexandra, in: *Callimachus, Lycophron, Aratus* (Ed. by A.W. Mair). London: Harvard University Press; 1921. Series: The Loeb Classical Library.
12. *Myths of the peoples of the world* (in 2 vols.) (Ed. by S.A. Tokarev). Moscow: Sovetskaya entsiklopediya; 1988. 675 p.; 732 p. (in Russ.).
13. Nonnos Panopolitanus. *Dionysiaca* (Ed. by D.F. Graefe). Lipsiae, 1819–1826.
14. Ovidii Nasoni. *Metamorphoseon libri XV* (Rec. by H. Magnus). Berlin, 1914.

15. Pausanias. *Graeciae descriptio* (in 3 vols.). Leipzig, 1903.
16. *About Ba 'lu: Ugaritic poetic narratives* (Transl., introd. and comment. by I.Sh. Shifman), Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura; 1999. 536 p. Series: Monuments of Oriental Writing (in Russ.).
17. Pomponius Mela. *Chorography* (Ed. by A.V. Podosinov). Moscow: Russian Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Science; 2017. 512 p. (in Russ.).
18. Popov I.N. Palestine, in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 54. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2019. P. 277–286 (in Russ.).
19. Propp V.Ya. *Historical roots of a fairy tale*. Moscow: Labirint; 2004 (in Russ.).
20. Propp V.Ya. *Morphology of a fairy tale*. Moscow: Labirint; 1998. 520 p. (in Russ.).
21. Sextus Propertius. *Elegies* (Transl. by A.I. Lyubzhin). Moscow: The Greek–Latin study of Yu.A. Shichalin; 2004. 270 p. (in Russ.).
22. Tarkhanova S.V. Caesarea Filippova, in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol.32. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2013. P. 557–564 (in Russ.).
23. Tarkhanova S.V., Lisovoy N.N. Karmil, in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol.31. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2013. P. 237–247 (in Russ.).
24. Abel F.-M. *Geographie de la Palestine* (in 2 vols.). Vol. 2: *Geographie politique. Les villes*. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie; 1938. P. 355–356.  
Abel F.-M. *Geography of Palestine* (in 2 vols.). Vol. 2: *Political Geography. The cities*. Paris: J. Gabalda and Co.; 1938. P. 355–356 (in French).
25. Arias P. Una nuova scena del mito di Perseo e di Andromeda. *Dionisio*. 1962;36(1–2):50–57.  
Arias P. A new scene from the myth of Perseus and Andromeda. *Dionysius*. 1962;36(1–2):50–57 (in Ital.).
26. Carpenter Th.H. *Art and myth in Ancient Greece*. London: Thames & Hudson; 1991. 256 p.
27. Day J. *God 's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*. Cambr. (Mass.) — New York: Cambridge University Press; 1985. 233 p.
28. Dugas C. Observations sur la légende de Persée. *REG*. 1956;69:1–15.

- Dugas C. Observations on the legend of Perseus. *REG.* 1956;691–15 (in French).
29. *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum. Vol. 1* (Ed. by Th. Muller). Parisiis, 1841.  
*Fragments of greek historians. Vol. 1* (Ed. by Th. Muller). Paris, 1841.
30. Hamel G. Taking the Argo to Nineveh: Jonah and Jason in a Mediterranean context. *Judaism.* 1955;44(3):341–359.
31. Hartland E.S. *The Legend of Perseus* (in 3 vols.). London: D. Nutt; 1894–1896.
32. Harvey P.B. The death of mythology: The case of Joppa. *Journal of Early Christian Studies.* 1994;(2):1–14.
33. Ioannes Malalas. *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (Ed. by L. Dindorf). Bonn, 1831.  
John Malalas. *John Malalas Chronography* (Ed. by L. Dindorf). Bonn, 1831 (in Latin).
34. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέτζου. *Σχόλια εἰς Λυκοφρόνα* (Ed. by Ch.G. Müller). Lipsiae: Sumtibus F.C.G. Vogelii; 1811.  
John Tzetzes. *On Lycophron* (Ed. by K.O. Müller). Lipsiae: Sumtibus F.C.G. Vogelii; 1811 (in ancient Greek).
35. Jafo. *Neues Bibel-Lexikon.* Bd. II (Hrsg. M. Görg, B. Lang). Zurich – Dusseldorf: Benziger Verlag; 1995. S. 256–257.  
Jafo. *New Bible dictionary.* Vol. II (Ed. by M. Görg, B. Lang). Zurich–Dusseldorf: Benziger Verlag; 1995. P. 256–257 (in German).
36. Keel O., Kuechler M. *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Ein Handbuch und Studienteisefuehrer zum Heiligen Land. Bd. 2: Der Süden.* Zürich – Köln – Göttingen: Benziger; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; 1982. 997 s.  
Keel O., Kuechler M. *Places and Landscapes of the Bible: A Handbook and Study Guide to the Holy Land. Vol. 2: The South.* Zurich – Cologne – Göttingen: Benziger; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; 1982. 997 p. (in German).
37. Langlotz E. *Perseus.* Heidelberg: C. Winter; 1951 (in German).
38. Lipiński E. *Itineraria Phoenicia.* Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 2004. 635 p.
39. *New encyclopedia of archaeological excavation in the Holy Land (NEAEHL)* (Ed. by E. Stern, J. Aviram). Vol. II. Jerusalem –

- New York: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; Simon & Schuster; 1993. P. 655–659.
40. Ovadiah A., Turnheim Y. *Roman temples, shrines and temene in Israel*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider editore; 2011. 155 p.
41. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (Compil. by A. Pauly, G. Wissowa). Stuttgart – München: Druckenmüller Verlag; 1894–1972.  
*The Pauly Practical Encyclopedia of the Study of Classical Ancient History* (Compil. by A. Pauly, G. Wissowa). Stuttgart – München: Druckenmüller Verlag; 1894–1972 (in German).
42. Philips K.M. Jr. Perseus and Andromeda. *American Journal of Archaeology*. 1968;72(1):1–23.
43. Photius. *Bibliothèque* (Ed. by R. Henry). Paris: Les Belles lettres; 1962.  
 Photius. *The Library* (Ed. by R. Henry). Paris: Les Belles lettres; 1962 (in French).
44. Pliny. *Natural History* (in 10 vols.) (Ed. by E.H. Warmington et al.). London: Harvard University Press; 1961–1967. Series: The Loeb Classical Library.
45. Pseudo-Eratosthenis. *Catasterismi* (Ed. by A. Olivieri) (Mythographi Graeci. Vol. 3. Fasc. 1). Lipsiae, 1897.  
 Pseudo-Eratosthenes. *Constellations* (Ed. by A. Olivieri) (Greek Mythographers. Vol. 3. Fasc. 1). Lipsiae, 1897 (in Latin and ancient Greek).
46. *Remains of old Latin. Vol. 2: Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Pacuvius and Accius* (Ed. by E.H. Warmington). Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1936. Series: The Loeb Classical Library.
47. Solinus. *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (Ed. by Th. Mommsen). Berlin, 1895.  
 Solinus. *Collectable memorabilia* (Ed. by Th. Mommsen). Berlin, 1895 (in Latin).
48. Schmidt H. Jona: Eine Untersuchung zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte, in: *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Bd. 9. Göttingen: Vandenhock & Ruprecht; 1907. S. 12–22.  
 Schmidt H. Jona: An Investigation into Comparative Religious History, in: *Research on the Religion and Literature of the Old and*

- New Testaments*. Vol. 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; 1907. P. 12–22 (in German).
49. Schürer E. *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – 135 A.D.)* (in 2 vols.), Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Clark; 1973–1979.
50. Tolkowsky S. *The gateway to Palestine: A history of Jaffa*. London: G. Routledge and sons, Ltd.; 1924. 196 p.
51. Vanoni G. Jona, Jonabuch. *LTK*. 1996;5:986–987.  
Vanoni G. Jonah, Book of Jonah. *LTK*. 1996;5:986–987 (in German).
52. Wilson J.F. *Caesarea Filippi: Baniyas, the lost city of Pan*. London – New York: I.B. Tauris; Palgrave Macmillan; 2004. 262 p.
53. Wolff H.W. Studien zum Jonabuch. *Biblische Studien*. Bd. 47. Neukirchen-Vlyun, 1965.  
Wolff H.W. Studies on the Book of Jonah. *Biblical Studies*. Vol. 47. Neukirchen-Vlyun, 1965 (in German)
54. Woodward J.M. *Perseus: A study in Greek art and legend*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937. 98 p.
55. Zenger E. *Das Buch Jona. Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Ed. by E. Zenger et al.). Stuttgart, 1998.  
Zenger E. *The Book of Jonah. Introduction to the old testament* (Ed. by E. Zenger et al.). Stuttgart, 1998.



### Илья Н. Попов

C.Sc. (History), Senior Teacher at the Department of the Department of History of the Middle Ages of the Historical Faculty, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation  
e-mail: ill.popov@mail.ru  
SPIN-код: 4548-1420  
ORCID: 0009-0008-1430-1126  
AuthorID: 947704

Received  
30.04.2025

Revised  
15.05.2025

Accepted  
25.06.2025