

I. Aufsätze*

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How Old Are Folktales?

Owing to their scholarly training, folklorists have studied ancient texts primarily from the classical world and India; the record of the Ancient Near East, which is continually in the process of being discovered, is somewhat removed from the center of interest. Here we intend to direct the attention of the folktale scholar to these Ancient Near Eastern texts, and to the implications of the very fact of their existence, age, and qualities.

Two aspects will be considered: the repertoire of ancient folktale-like works and their framework, and the individual text and its framework.

1. *The ancient repertoire*

Table 1 describes the ancient repertoire by listing all folktale texts which could be located in the records from the Ancient Near East. The texts are listed in chronological order by the periods in which they are assumed to have been put into writing ('assumed age'), ending with the first century C. E. Table 2 lists the cultures and gives a summary of the repertoire of folktale genres found in each of them.

The ancient works are found in three forms in the documents:

- (a) independent stories;
- (b) fully developed framework tales, built like the *Arabian Nights*; such are the Egyptian stories of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* (num. 6 in Table 1), *Pharaoh Kheops and the Magicians* with its embedded tales (num. 8—11 in Table 1), and the so-called *Myth of the Sun-Eye* into which animal tales are embedded (num. 21, 22 a and b in Table 1);

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- (c) ethnopoetic works in literary and historiographic frameworks like those in the Biblical books (num. 23—80 in Table 1) and the Assyrian annals (num. 87—89 in Table 1)¹. In this last case, a work may stand on its own, or several stories may be rewritten to form a continuous narrative.

Basically, the system of Ancient Near Eastern folktales is similar to the system of modern oral literature in the area encompassing Europe, the Muslim countries, and India. The ancient system contains the main genres found also in the modern system: novella, legend, fairy-tale-like tales and parables. Genres which are missing in the ancient repertoire are minor sub-genres, rare also in modern recordings: formula, numskull, and tall tales in the symbolic mode (formula and tall tales appear in the later Midrash); fool's and horror novellas in the realistic mode; carnivalesque fairy-tales, and animal and robber legends in the fabulous mode.

All of the ancient cultures from which literary works have been recovered feature myths in some form; however, not all of these cultures produced epics. Epics have come down from Sumerian culture (historical and universal epic), Babylonian culture (mythic and universal epic), the Hurrian culture by way of Hittite renderings (mythic epic), the Hittite culture (mythic epic), Canaanite culture (Ugarit: mythic epic), and Ancient Israelite culture (national and historical epic; see Jason 1979 a). Ancient Iran (1st millennium B. C.) left only indirect traces of epic in the medieval *Shah-name* (10th century C. E.); the Rustam cycle may even have originated in pre-Iranian times. Egypt, Elam, Mitanni, and Urartu did not leave traces of epic poetry in the documents. Epic songs of various sub-groups are still a living tradition in some of the modern cultures, especially Slavic, Arabic, Central Asiatic and Indian. In contrast, myth disappeared from cultures professing the Jewish, Christian and Muslim faith with the advent of these universalistic religions.

The lyric folk song is so little investigated that the existing tools do not allow to determine whether the ancient texts are related to folk song, and if so, what the nature of this relation is. For example, it is mentioned that the Biblical *Song of Songs* was sung at feasts and weddings (*Babylonian Talmud*, *Sanhedrin* 101 a; *Tosephta Sanhedrin* 12, 10), but this does not enlighten us about the origin of these songs. Proverbs and riddles are not dealt with here.

2. The cultures

While all the ancient cultures listed seem to have possessed a basically similar system of folk literature, it has not been preserved to the same extent in each area. Very few are found in the Mesopotamian heritage; more survived

¹ Works of Herodotus and Strabo are not considered part of the Near Eastern framework.

from the Egyptian culture. Israelite culture brought a much richer collection, while the eastern Hellenistic culture, including Jewish and early Christian traditions, is still richer in folk literature (these latter, as well as Greek literature proper, are not considered here). Is that difference due to the chance preservation of clay tablets and papyri, or does this phenomenon reflect some feature of the culture? To the present authors it seems that the scribal tradition and the social and political history of each society played an important role. As no people on Earth has been found to lack oral tradition, the assumption is that oral tradition did exist in the same measure among all the ancient people too. From this oral tradition the folk literature was committed to writing according to the scribal tradition specific to each culture.

The development of scribal craft and its literature in Mesopotamia was a smooth process. Temples accumulated libraries of imperishable clay tablets over centuries and millennia; no violent crises brought ruin upon these institutions. On this basis a very conservative scribal tradition developed which can be traced for almost three millennia; many texts survived in several copies recovered from different localities, and the last tablets come from the 1st century B. C. A stylized literary dialect of the Akkadian language interspersed with Sumerian ideograms evolved around the 10th century B. C. This language served Babylonians and Assyrians alike, even in that late period when the vernacular changed to Aramaic, Greek, or Persian, respectively (after the 5th century B. C.). The body of literature was canonized and works whose wording remained practically identical can be traced for a millennium or even a millennium and a half. Against this background, the popular story in the vernacular was something so entirely different that only rarely did it attract the attention of the scribe-literatus. And even then the *Poor Man of Nippur* — our sample text, see section 3 — the tablets of which are of a late date (8th to 7th century B. C.), is written in the same stylized standard Babylonian language (see Oppenheim 1964, 13—21).

Egyptian culture shows a different development. Papyrus is perishable, and great fires were commonplace so that most of the works are chance finds and still no archive has been found in Egypt. Egypt went through periods of severe social turmoil (the longest of which are known as the Intermediate Periods), in which the state collapsed into small political units, temples and libraries were destroyed and the scribal tradition partially broke down. A body of canonized literature did not evolve. Possibly out of lack of proper training, or in order to satisfy the needs of petty local rulers who were lacking in education, the scribes wrote in the vernacular and turned to folk stories for the entertainment of their princes or well-to-do-commoners.

In the Biblical literature two literary traditions are incorporated: the written Canaanite and the oral Israelite traditions. The written Canaanite tradition stems from urban centers such as Acre, Tyre, Meggido, and Byblos; remnants of what may have been materials from a 13th century B. C. scribal school were recently unearthed at the Canaanite town of Apheq (near Tel Aviv; see

Demsky 1977); Ugarit (Syrian coast), though destroyed around 1200 B. C., furnishes a clear example of the wealth of this Canaanite literature (see the latest publication by Gibson 1978). The oral tradition which the Israelite tribes brought with them from their nomadic period lived on at least until the period of the early kingdom (10th century B. C.) when it began to be recorded (certain parts of the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *Samuel* seem to be based on oral epic tradition; see Jason 1979 a). There is evidence for the employment of Canaanite scribes at the early Israelite court (Mazar 1974); in this way the two traditions met.

This Israelite scribal tradition was young at the time when it produced its great works: it had at most a period of five centuries in which to develop (11th — 6th centuries B. C.). The simple alphabetic script which developed in Canaan in the 17th — 16th centuries B. C. resulted in widespread literacy at an early date (Aharoni 1975; Donner/Röllig 1966—68; Demsky 1977; Meshel 1978). At the close of Antiquity, the Hellenistic period seems to have featured a more or less general literacy, often even in three languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek), at least among the more prosperous classes (Yadin 1962). All of these prevented the development of a rigid, closed scribal class in Ancient Israel; the Israelite documents indeed do not mention the scribe as a prominent professional (Mazar 1974). The scribe of the Biblical literature readily used the vernacular; after the 5th century B. C. Aramaic came into use, and some of the latest parts of the Bible were composed in this language (parts of the Books of *Daniel* and *Ezra*). As the Israelite scribes had no impressive written tradition to build upon, they turned to folk tradition. Myth, epic, and legend tell 'true and real' history and thus serve well the theological purpose of the Biblical writer. (The lively interest of Biblical scholars in the textual and performative aspects of oral tradition produced a considerable literature; the periodicals *Linguistica Biblica* and *Semeia* are wholly devoted to this aspect of Biblical studies.)

3. The ancient story

By way of example, the Old Babylonian story of Gimil-Ninurta, *The Poor Man of Nippur* (num. 2 in Table 1) will be considered.

Four copies of the story have been found (Gurney 1956; Ellis 1974). Two of them, almost complete, were discovered in the 1950's in Sultantepe (ancient Haran, south-eastern Turkey) and date from the end of the 8th century B. C. The other two copies are mere fragments, one from Assurbanipal's library (7th century B. C.), the other from the town of Nippur (Ellis 1974), probably of the same date. The tablets are written in Assyrian cuneiform script and in standard Babylonian literary language; the Sultantepe tablets are written by apprentices of the local temple school. On the basis of linguistic and toponymic evidence, however, Assyriologists presume that the composition and first written form of the text originate in the Old Babylonian period (the Hammurabi's

dynasty: 19th to 17th centuries B. C.; see Gurney 1956, 159—162; Speiser 1957; Ellis 1974).

The story belongs to the cycle of the Master-Thief swindler novella (Jason 1977, 27), and is thereby of the same kind as the story of *Pharaoh Rhampsinitus' Thief* narrated by Herodotus (2, 121) although it is at least some two or fourteen centuries older. As Table 1 shows, the *Poor Man* seems to be the oldest folktale from Mesopotamia so far on record.

The story consists of four episodes: the opening in which the hero, 'Poor Man', is wronged, and three successive acts of revenge of the Poor Man. The tale as a whole and each of its episodes have rather close parallels in medieval and modern Near Eastern and South European folk literature, although none of them is properly indexed (AaTh 1538 is only a very rough indication)².

4. How old are folktales?

For the folklorist, the tale of *The Poor Man of Nippur* is of no special interest in itself; it has no special syntactic or semantic features. It is just another version of the Master-Thief cycle. Yet it claims our interest precisely because it is so standard and close to modern texts, even though it is almost four millennia old. The similarity of versions as far apart as four millennia is remarkable; if the names of characters and places and the references to gods were removed, it would prove impossible for the uninformed reader to distinguish the ancient text from its modern parallels. The same is true of Herodotus' *Pharaoh Rhampsinitus' Thief*. A detailed analysis of the Babylonian tale which should identify it as a folktale, has been published in an Assyriological journal (Jason 1979 b). In addition to the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian texts, a parallel modern text is fully analyzed and summaries of two additional modern texts are given there³. The reader will notice that the modern version includes episodes both from the *Poor Man* (AaTh 1538) and *Pharaoh Rhampsinitus' Thief* (AaTh 950); this to demonstrate that the two ancient texts belong to the same swindler-novella cycle.

The age and qualities of these two ancient texts, especially the Old Babylonian, are of primary importance in the discussion of the historical development of oral literature in general (Jason 1977, 9—12). Such a story cannot

² A long list of medieval and modern variants of the tale as a whole and of some of its motifs and episodes is given by Farago 1970, Julow 1970, and Gurney 1972.

³ The texts are taken from the Israel Folktale Archives (IFA): num. 5460 (Yemen) is fully analyzed; num. 104 (Yemen; Noy 1963, num. 126), and num. 10119 (Iraqi Kurdistan) are summarized. The analysis is done according to the model proposed in Jason 1971. The authors wish to thank the Israel Folktale Archives and to D. Noy, its director, for the permission to use their texts and the help extended.

exist by itself — it is necessarily part of a whole system. Indeed, Tables 1 and 2 list remnants which amount to such a system. As was said above, as far as can be judged from these remnants, this system is uniform throughout the Ancient Near East and is very similar to the system of modern oral literature in the broad area of Europe, the Middle East and India (Jason 1977, 3—58). Thus, no development of a single tale-type or genre, or changes in the distribution of folktales in this geographic area can be observed since the creation of written documents. The only observable difference between the ancient and the modern texts is in the treatment of fairy-tale plots. As a rule, an ethnopoetic plot may appear in diverse genres (Lüthi 1966). There are two plots in the Egyptian papyri which would today be classed as fairy-tales, yet they lack the semantic qualities of the fairy-tale (Jason 1978 a, 23—30): the *Story of the Doomed Prince* (AaTh 530; num. 16 in Table 1), and the *Tale of the Two Brothers* (AaTh 303, 516 B, 590 A; num. 20 in Table 1). The ancient tales do not take place in Fairyland but in a precisely defined geographic space. They involve the living belief of the narrating society and its social here-and-now. Some modern Indian fairy-tales exhibit similar features: the undefined temporal-spatial framework of the fairy-tale does indeed exist, but the fairy-tale plot may contain beings and concepts from the living belief of the narrating community. Both groups of tales support the assumption that the genre of the fairy-tale received its classical form only in cultures in which a universalistic religion of revelation overlaid a stratum of the indigenous religion of the ethnic group (Jason 1978 a, 23).

We cannot overemphasize the fact that a fully developed system of oral literature featuring well known genres and plots existed already at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. all over the Ancient Near East. The historical, social, and cultural processes which brought about this great uniformity at such an early date will have to be answered by the historian of culture — if the scarce documentation at their disposal will permit of an answer. Be this as it may, the folklorist must take into account the fact that his materials existed at such an early date in a fully developed form. All the work done by folklorists in tracing the history of single tale plots on the basis of written documentation establishing centers and periods of origin and routes of migrations, has to be re-evaluated (Jason 1970). The same is true of attempts to follow the development of the folk literature of a particular culture on the basis of the remnants of antique and medieval literature (for instance, Andreev 1934).

The study of these literatures will teach us about their development and changing attitudes to oral tradition; it will not inform us about the history of the oral tradition itself⁴.

⁴ See Jason 1978 b for an attempt which takes this argument into account.

Notes to the Tables

- (1) The list: The Tables list those Ancient Near Eastern texts which we could locate in libraries in Israel, and are therefore not complete.
The fragmentary state of some of the texts precluded their inclusion; only such fragments are included which contain at least one coherent episode. Ancient Iranian tales are not included because our knowledge of them is confined to mere hints, and the tales are reconstructions (Christensen 1917—34). Herodotus' stories about Achaemenean court life, although Persian, are in our opinion not real folk stories. Stories about other Asian rulers and people given by Herodotus are, in our opinion, Greek legends about Asiatics. Since we cannot determine whether these stories were told originally by the Asiatic people themselves, we have not included them in our survey.
- (2) Genre: The Tables include texts which can be related to folktales; epics, myths, proverbs, and riddles, all of which are also found in Ancient Near Eastern records are not listed (the authors intend to treat epics in a separate work). Ritual texts (hymns, prayers, incantations, charms, blessings, curses) abound in ancient records; as, however, our tools do not suffice to ascertain their ethnopoetic nature, they are not listed.
'Genre' is here defined according to Jason 1975 b and 1977. The genre and not the motif is followed because the same motif and even a whole plot (= tale-type) may appear in various genres (see Lüthi 1966); therefore motifs occurring in myths and epics are not listed.
- (3) Indexing: The indexing is often very rough. The *Motif-Index* has paid too little attention to (a) the sacred legend, epic motifs and Ancient Near Eastern mythology, their characters and actions, and space and time indicators; (b) to the aspects of the 'community' as distinguished from the individual 'character' (see Jason 1977, cap. 17.1.1); and to (c) the ordinary event, as distinguished from the extraordinary event (ordinary events also happen in tales . . .).
A certain minimal level of generalization which would allow to index actions and characters not listed in detail, is often missing. Therefore, at times a detailed listing had to be given which does not describe exactly the tale event (for example, num. 25 and 59 = Mot. F 931.9.2.1: *Sea flows sweet water*; in the tale the bitter (salty?) water of a spring is transformed into sweet water; num. 76 = Mot. V 221.0.1: *Relics of saint cure disease*; in our text they revive a dead man).
Unfortunately, the *Motif-Index* does not distinguish between the several ethnopoetic modes, and the attributes 'supernatural', 'extraordinary', 'miraculous', 'magic', and 'marvelous' are used indiscriminately (see Jason 1975 b, 1977 and 1978 a for their definitions). Most of the stories enumerated here which are set in the fabulous mode, belong to its miraculous manifestation (the genre of the sacred legend), a circumstance which is not reflected in the motifs listed (see a list of motifs in Ancient Near Eastern myths and epics in Irvin 1978).
- (4) Dating: The texts are arranged according to their age as assumed by philologists and historians (see Flügel 1899 for a similar method of arrangement of written texts, and Taylor 1968, 20—22). Here, the period (often assumed) in which the document (copy of the work on a clay tablet or papyrus) was actually written is labeled 'documented age'. By 'assumed age' the period is meant in which the work might have been composed and put into writing for the first time (this age is usually computed on the basis of philologic evidence). The 'assumed age' is often much greater than the age of the written document at our disposal. As the possible oral circulation of a work prior to its first committal to writing left no traces, it cannot be considered for the purposes of dating.
Mesopotamian texts come from two main periods: Old Babylonian (Hammurabi dynasty: 19th — 17th centuries B. C.) and the Late Assyrian period (primarily the library of Assurbanipal: 669—629 B. C.). The works of the Sumerian-Akkadian (3rd millennium B. C.) and the Old Babylonian periods were afterward considered as classical heritage (Oppenheim 1964, 13—21), and were copied and rewritten over and over. Thus a large discrepancy results between our 'documented age' and the 'assumed age' of a work. Later periods used their own dialects in rewriting the works; around the 10th century B. C. a non-spoken literary dialect evolved, the

Standard Babylonian (Sb), in which many of the works since then were rewritten or newly composed.

Egyptian texts are divided into three very rough age groups: Middle or Classical Egyptian from Dynasty 9 (22nd century B. C.) to Dynasty 18 (16th century B. C.); Late or Ramesside Egyptian which comprises Dynasties 19–20 (13th to 11th centuries B. C.); and Demotic Egyptian from 8th century B. C. to 5th century C. E. which is followed by Coptic texts. This periodization is based on the combined considerations of the language and script used.

The periodization is very rough: a range of almost a millennium for the date of a text is very unsatisfactory. This situation is the result of a lack of detailed grammars of the language of each dynasty and of systematic excavations of tells. Most literary texts have been found in rubbish deposits, and no libraries have been unearthed so far. Thus, language and stratigraphy offer no aid and paleographic data must serve as the main dating device. Paleography gives a very rough date for the period in which the manuscript was copied (our 'documented age'), but we are left in ignorance of the date at which the work was committed to writing (our 'assumed age').

Biblical stories contained in the *Pentateuch*, Books of *Joshua*, *Samuel*, and *Kings* were probably committed to writing during the period of the Israelite and Judean monarchies (ca 10th — 6th centuries B. C.). The wording which is preserved in the Biblical text, however, might be of a later period; some of these stories might have been put into their final form in the Achaemenean and Hellenistic periods. *Chronicles* and the Books of *Esther* and *Daniel* were composed in these periods; *Chronicles*, again, contains earlier materials.

Notes to Table 1

num. 1: The parable has an exact Late Assyrian parallel in num. 81.

num. 2: See detailed analysis in Jason 1979 b.

num. 4: The tale is embedded in the *Etana* story, but is not a necessary part of it.

The *Etana* story itself is unclear; as it is still very fragmentary, the sense eludes us (see Kinnier Wilson 1969 and 1974 for new fragments). The story may be an incantation for help at childbirth, but it may also belong to the same kind of literature as Gilgamesh's quest for immortality. Etana's quest for offspring is a kind of quest for immortality (see Jason 1975 a for discussion on human problems in folk literature), and both heroes try to find the remedy, in both cases a plant, in the same region — the other world. The immediate folkloric relevance of both stories is doubtful; while both do employ ethnopoetic motifs, they may be products of literati.

The animal legend has an exact parallel in the Late Egyptian tale of *The Vulture and the Cat* (num. 21). A new type for this story is proposed here:

69 *A Bird and animal devour each other's young

I) A bird and an animal nest close to each other. Each is afraid lest the other attack its young. They take an oath not to attack each other's young.

II) The animal attacks the bird's young, but repents.

III) The bird devours the animal's young.

IV) The animal asks the help of the god of justice. (a) The god arranges for revenge; or, (b) the god advises the animal how to take revenge.

V) The revenge is accomplished (the bird's young are killed, etc.).

num. 8: See Jason 1975 b, items 3.5.4.1, 3.5.4.2.

num. 13: The story has possibly a Hurrian origin, but no Hurrian text has been found to date.

Appu's relation to his wife can be compared to Laius' relation to Jocasta. Both men have to be drunk in order to cohabit with their wives; they differ in that Laius does not want to have the child, while Appu does want children. The Hittite text is not clear on the point why Appu does not cohabit with his wife (see also *Genesis* 19, 30–38).

The conflict between Appu's sons Good and Evil seems to be shaped according to AaTh 676 *A-Jason 1975 c, but only the beginning of the text is preserved (Mot.

- K 2211, S 322.1): Evil (brother) cheats Good (brother) out of the latter's share in the inheritance (see a detailed analysis of such a tale in Jason n. d. 2).
- num. 15: Text is broken; plot unclear.
- num. 16: End is missing.
- num. 17: Ghost demands upkeep of his tomb.
- num. 19: Second half of story is missing.
- num. 21, 22 a and b: The stories are embedded in the framework tale of the so-called *Myth of the Sun-Eye*. num. 21 has an exact Old Babylonian parallel in num. 4.
- Note: Brunner-Traut's translations and commentaries are not reliable; as, unfortunately, Spiegelberg's and Griffith's works are not available in Israel at this moment, we had to rely on Brunner-Traut's selection. Spiegelberg's and Griffith's works contain many more Demotic stories, some of which, at least, may be folktales.
- num. 23, 27, 30, 32: Aetiological legends: There are many more folk etymologies and legends with aetiological endings in the biblical literature. Here only examples are listed in order to complete the picture of the repertoire.
- num. 24: The exact nature of the story is not clear. Stories about ancestors usually have a mythic quality, yet as the story exists now, it is a wisdom novella in the framework of a saint's vita. The sacred legend and the wisdom novella are often combined in medieval vitae and modern folk literature, the wisdom novella extolling the virtues of the saint.
- num. 48: The parables of *The Poor Man's Sheep* (2 Samuel 12, 1—6) and *The Two Sons of the Woman of Tekoa* (2 Samuel 14, 4—7) are very much tailored to specific cases. Since their ethnopoetic origin is doubtful, they are not included here.
- num. 76: The legends about Elisha let him flourish for at least 60—70 years.
- num. 79: See Egyptian parallel from the Persian period in num. 99.
- num. 81: The parable has an exact Old Babylonian parallel in num. 1.
- num. 83: No Wienert type. Sand-wasp as witness suffers for wood-wasp's business.
- num. 89: *Gyges* (Guggu) seems to have inspired a cycle of legends like those of *Croesus* and *Polycrates* (see Herodotus).
- num. 90—94: The oldest existing version of the story is Aramaic; the inner evidence points to the 7th century B. C. Assyrian court, but no Assyrian text has been found to date; num. 91—94 are included in Ahiqar's wisdom sayings.
- num. 91: Text is broken.
- num. 99: See parallel from Ancient Israel in num. 79.
- num. 108—117: Jewish-Hellenistic works belong to the Apocrypha; Hebrew originals are assumed but have not yet been discovered. The Book of *Judith* is not included, as its folkloristic quality is doubtful, although it is indeed constructed according to the ethnopoetic model for an epic struggle (see preliminary description in Jason n. d. 1). The Book of *Judith* seems to belong to the same pseudo-historical genre as the Egyptian *Petubastis* cycle and the more realistic parts of the *Book of Alexander*. These two latter, however, do not seem to be constructed according to known ethnopoetic models.

Notes to Table 2

Table 2 is an index to Table 1 and lists the texts by cultures; the numbers in the genre-columns are the numbers of the texts in Table 1.

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Table 1

Num	Label	Genre	Index	Age documented	Age assumed	Culture	Language	Source	Publication
1	Fox and the city of Uruk	animal parable	Wienert ST 9*	18c B.C. (?).		Old Babylonian	Sumerian		Gordon 1959, 224, num. 2.69
2	Poor Man of Nippur	swindler novella	AaTh 1538	7c B.C.	19-17c B.C.	Old Babylonian	Standard Babylonian		Gurney 1956 Cooper 1975
3	Nisaba and Wheat	contest parable	AaTh 293	8c B.C.	2000-800 B.C.	Assyrian	Standard Babylonian		Lambert 1960, 168-175
4	Eagle and serpent	animal sacred legend	AaTh 69 *A-Jason	18-17c, 14-13c B.C.	18-17c B.C.	Old Babylonian	Babylonian/Assyrian		ANET 1955, 114-117
5	Tamarisk and Palm	contest parable	AaTh 293	18-17c, 14-13c B.C.	18-17c B.C.	Old Babylonian	Old Babylonian/Middle Assyrian		ANET 1955, 410-411; Lambert 1960, 151-164
6	The ship-wrecked sailor	legend of fate	AaTh 745 *B-Jason 1965	18-16c B.C.		Egyptian	Middle Egyptian		Erman 1966, 29-35
7	Complaint of the peasant	wisdom novella	AaTh 929	18-16c B.C.		Egyptian	Middle Egyptian		Erman 1966, 116-131
8	Kheops and the magicians	frame tale		17-16c B.C.		Egyptian	Middle Egyptian		Erman 1966, 36-47
9	Magician Ubaoner	legend of magic	B 177 D 435.1 Q 411.0.1.1	17-16c B.C.		Egyptian	Middle Egyptian		Erman 1966, 36-38
10	Magician Zazamoukh	legend of magic	F 931.10	17-16c B.C.		Egyptian	Middle Egyptian		Erman 1966, 38-40
11	Magician Dedi	legend of magic	E 35 M 311.4	17-16c B.C.		Egyptian	Middle Egyptian		Erman 1966, 40-43
12	Thirty sons of the queen of Kanish	heroic fairy tale (?)	T 69.1 T 415.5 N 365.3	14c B.C.	17-16c B.C.	Hittite	Hittite		Otten 1973

his sons	punishment fairy tale (?)	K 2211 S 322.0.1 AaTh 293	7 c B.C.	14-13 c B.C.	Babylonian/ Assyrian	Middle Assyrian/ Standard Babylonian	Lambert 1960, 175-185
14 Ox and horse	contest parable						
15 Fox, wolf, lion, horse and dog	animal novella	AaTh 1-99	7 c B.C.	14-13 c B.C. (?)	Babylonian/ Assyrian	Standard Babylonian	Lambert 1960, 186-209
16 Doomed prince	legend of fate; heroic fairy tale	AaTh 934 AaTh 530	13-12 c B.C.		Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Erman 1966, 161-165
17 The dead dignitary	sacred legend	E 419.8	13-12 c B.C.		Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Erman 1966, 170-172
18 Truth and Falsehood	wisdom novella	J 1191	13-12 c B.C.		Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Simpson 1972, 127-132
19 Apophis and the hippo- potamus	wisdom novella	AaTh 655 *B- Jason 1965, 1 d H 572	13-12 c B.C.		Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	ANET 1955, 231-232
20 The two brothers	heroic fairy tale (?)	K 2111 E 710 G 551.4 D 610 E 607.2	12-11 c B.C.		Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Erman 1966, 150-161
21 Vulture and cat	animal sacred legend	AaTh 69 *A- Jason	1-2 c C.E.	13-12 c B.C.	Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Brunner-Traut 1974, 35-36
22a Lion and man	animal swindler novella	AaTh 157 A	1-2 c C.E.	13-12 c B.C.	Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Brunner-Traut 1974, 37-39
22b Lion and mouse	animal parable	AaTh 75	1-2 c C.E.	13-12 c B.C.	Egyptian	Rameside Egyptian	Brunner-Traut 1974, 37-39

Table 1 cont.

ענין	Label	Genre	Index	Age documented	Age assumed	Culture	Language	Source	Publication
23	Lot's wife	aetiologic legend	C 961.1		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Gen. 19,15-26	
24	Joseph and Potiphar's wife	wisdom novella	K 2111		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Gen. 39,1-20	
25	Sweet waters	sacred legend	F 931.9.2.1 +		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Ex. 15,22-25	
26	Water from the rock (a)	sacred legend	A 941.5.1		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Ex. 17,1-6	
27	Place name	etymological legend	A 1617		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Ex. 17,7	
28	Punishment by Aaron's sons	sacred legend	Q 221 Q 558 (Q 411.11)		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Lev. 10,1-2	
29	Punishment by fire	sacred legend	Q 221.5 Q 552.13		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 11,1-2	
30	Place name	etymological legend	A 1617		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 11,3	
31	Punishment for lust	sacred legend	Q 552.10		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 11,4-33	
32	Place name	etymological legend	A 1617		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 11,34	
33	Punishment of Miriam	sacred legend	Q 393 Q 551.6.0.1 F 950		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 12,1-15	
34	Punishment of Israel	sacred legend	Q 221.5 Q 411.10		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 14,1-38	
35	Korah, Dathan and Abiram	sacred legend	Q 221.3 Q 552.2.3		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 16,1-35	

37	Blossoming rod	sacred legend	F 971.1	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 17, 1-11 (= 17, 16-26)
38	Water from the rock (b)	sacred legend	A 941.5.1	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 20, 1-11
39	Punishment of Moses and Aaron	sacred legend	Q 221.6 Q 590	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 20, 8-12, 23-29 Deut. 34, 1-6
40	The serpent plague	sacred legend	Q 221.5 Q 552.10 D 2161.4.10 F 959.5	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 21, 4-9
41	Punishment of Ba'al-Peor	sacred legend	Q 237 Q 552.10	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Num. 25, 1-18
42	Og, king of Bashan	early popu- lation legend	F 531.2 F 531.4.10	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Deut. 3, 11
43	Jotham's parable	plant parable		10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	Judges 9, 8-15
44	Birth of Samuel	sacred legend	D 1925.3 T 548.1	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Samuel 1, 1-20
45	Threshold of Dagon	sacred legend	V 350 V 347	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Samuel 5, 1-5
46	Uzzah and the Arc of God	sacred legend	C 51 C 921	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Samuel 6, 6-8
47	Michal's sin	sacred legend	Q 221.3 Q 553.3.0.1	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Samuel 6, 16, 20-23; 1 Chronicles 15, 29
48	David counts the folk	sacred legend	C 897.2 C 941.4	10-6c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Samuel 24, 1-25; 1 Chronicles 21, 1-22, 1

Table 1 cont.

ענין	Label	Genre	Index	documented	Age assumed	Culture	Language	Source	Publication
49	Solomon and the two harlots	wisdom novella	AaTh 926		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 3,16-28	
50	Jeroboam's arm	sacred legend	Q237 Q551.7.1 Q573.1		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 13,1-6	
51	The sin of the prophet	sacred legend	Q221.5 Q410		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 13,7-32	
52	Elijah and the ravens	sacred legend	B 256.5.1 B 451.5		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 17,2-7	
53	Elijah and the widow's food supply	sacred legend	D 1652.1		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 17,8-16	
54	Elijah revives a child	sacred legend	E 1 E 11.3 A 185.12.1		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 17,17-24	
55	Elijah and prophets of Ba'al	sacred legend	V 350 Q237 F 962.2.1		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 18	
56	Lion slays man	sacred legend	Q221.5 Q410		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	1 Kings 20,35-36	
57	Elijah burns soldiers	sacred legend	Q221.1.1 Q414		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 1,9-15	
58	Elijah is taken to Heaven	sacred legend	A 761.2 A 136.3.1 A 566.2+		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 2,1-18	
59	Elisha im-proves water	sacred legend	F 931.9.2.1+		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 2,19-22	
60	Elisha	sacred legend	Q221.1.1		9-6 c B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings	

Table 1 cont.

Num	Label	Genre	Index	Age documented	Age assumed	Culture	Language	Source	Publication
74	Punishment of Joash (Judah)	sacred legend	Q237 Q211.0.3 Q595.1 Q494		9 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Chronicles 24,20-24	
75	Elisha and Joash (Israel)	sacred legend	M310		8-7 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 13,14-19	
76	Elisha's bones revive a dead man	sacred legend	V 221.0.1+		8 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 13,20-21	
77	The Thistle of Lebanon	plant parable	Wienert ST 2* ^b J 1293		8 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Chronicles 25,18	
78	Punishment of Uzziah	sacred legend	Q221 Q551.6.0.1		8 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 15,5 2 Chronicles 26,16-21	
79	God defends Israel against Sennacherib	sacred legend	M356.1 D 2091		8-7 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 18,13-19, ³⁷ 2 Chronicles 32,9-23	
80	Prophecy to Hezekiah	sacred legend	M341 Q39 Q145+		8 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Kings 20,1-11	
81	Fox and a city	animal parable	Wienert ST 9*	8-6 c. B.C.		Assyrian	Late Assyrian		Lambert 1960, 217, num. 1.21-25
82	Mosquito and elephant	animal parable	Wienert ET 186 J 953.10	8-6 c. B.C.		Assyrian	Late Assyrian		Lambert 1960, 217-218, num. 1.50-54
83	Wood-wasp and sand-wasp	animal parable		8-6 c. B.C.		Assyrian	Late Assyrian		Lambert 1960, 220, num. 1.19-20
84	Punishment of Joash (Judah)	sacred legend	Q237		7 c. B.C.	Ancient Israel	Hebrew	2 Chronicles 24,20-24	

Index	Parable	Legend	Text	Source	Date	Language	Author
86	Gods punish Assurbanipal's enemies	sacred legend	A 172 D 2091	648 B.C.	Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Luckenbill 1926-27, par. 857
87	Goddess helps Assurbanipal	sacred legend	V 510.1 A 172	648 B.C.	Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Luckenbill 1926-27, par. 858-862
88	Goddess appears to Assurbanipal	sacred legend	V 510.1 M356.1 A 172	644-636 B.C.	Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Luckenbill 1926-27, par. 807
89	Gyges (Guggu) and Assurbanipal	sacred legend	M302.7 D 1814.2 Q156	644-636 B.C.	Assyrian	Late Assyrian	Luckenbill 1926-27, par. 784-785, 849, 909-910
90	Ahiqar	wisdom novella	AaTh 922 A	5c B.C.	Assyrian	Aramaic	ANET 1955, 427-430
91	Leopard and goat	animal parable	Wienert ST 56 *b K 2061	5c B.C.	Assyrian	Aramaic	ANET 1955, 429 a
92	Lion and ass	animal parable		5c B.C.	Assyrian	Aramaic	ANET 1955, 429 a
93	Bear and lambs	animal parable	Wienert ST 56 *b	5c B.C.	Assyrian	Aramaic	ANET 1955, 429 a
94	Bramble and pomegranate	plant parable	Wienert ST 2 *a	5c B.C.	Assyrian	Aramaic	ANET 1955, 429b-430a
95	Punishment of temple-destroyer	sacred legend	Q222.5 Q558	5c B.C.	Jewish	Aramaic	ANET 1955, 492 a
96	Punishment of Pharaoh Pheron	sacred legend	Q221.3 Q451.7	5c B.C.	Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 2,111 a
97	The single faithful woman	wisdom novella	F 952 H 413	5c B.C.	Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 2,111 b

Table 1 cont.

ענין	Label	Genre	Index	documented	Age assumed	Culture	Language	Source	Publication
98	Pharaoh Rhapsinitus' thief	carnavalesque heroic fairy tale	AaTh 950	5 c B.C.		Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 2,121	
99	Gods defeat Sennaherib	sacred legend	D 2091 J 621 K 632	5 c B.C.		Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 2,141	
100	Amasis and the golden image	parable	Wienert ST 40*	5 c B.C.	16 c B.C. (?)	Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 2,172	
101	Psammenitus and Cambyses	wisdom novella	H 580	5 c B.C.	6 c B.C.	Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 3,14	
102	Cambyses and Apis	sacred legend	Q 228 Q 410	5 c B.C.	6 c B.C.	Egyptian	Greek	Herodotus 3,29 and 64	
103	Possessed princess	demonic legend	E 728 E 728.1	4-3 c B.C.		Egyptian	Egyptian (pseudo-archaic)		ANET 1955, 29-31
104	Haman and Mordecai	wisdom novella	AaTh 922 A+		4-3 c B.C.	Jewish	Hebrew	Esther 2,19-23; 3; 5,9-14; 6; 7; 10;	
105	Esther rescues the Jews	sacred legend	R 169.8 P 21 R 122		4-3 c B.C.	Jewish	Hebrew	Esther 1; 2,1-18; 4; 5; 8; 9	
106	Deliverance from the fiery furnace	sacred legend	V 350 S 466 H 1573.1.4		3-2 c B.C.	Jewish	Aramaic	Daniel 3	
107	Daniel in the lion's den	sacred legend	V 350 S 466 Q 415.4		3-2 c B.C.	Jewish	Aramaic	Daniel 6	

V 111	Babylon	sacred legend	V 350 S 466 J 1144 J 1146	3-2c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	Septuagint Daniel	Daniel
109	Dragon in Babylon	sacred legend	V 350 S 466 Q415.4 R 122	3-2c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	Septuagint Daniel	
110	Susana and Daniel	wisdom novella	AaTh 926 *E ₇ F- Jason 1965	3-2c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	Septuagint Daniel	
111	Tobit and the angel	heroic fairy tale	AaTh 506	3-2c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	Book of Tobit	
112	Heliodorus' punishment	sacred legend	Q222.5 Q551.6.5 F 950	2-1c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	2 Maccabees 3	
113	Eleasar's martyrdom	sacred legend	V 350 V 463	2-1c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	2 Maccabees 6,18-31	
114	Mother and her 7 sons	sacred legend	V 350 V 463	2-1c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	2 Maccabees 7	
115	Antiochus' death	sacred legend	Q222 Q558	2-1c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	2 Maccabees 5,9	
116	Ptolemy in the temple	sacred legend	Q222.5 Q551.7 Q573 F 950	2-1c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	3 Maccabees 1-2	

Table 1 cont.

מספר	Label	Genre	Index	documented	Age assumed	Culture	Language	Source	Publication
117	Ptolemy attacks Jewish community	sacred legend	R 122		2-1c B.C.	Jewish	Greek	3 Maccabees 3-6	
118	The shoe of Rhodopis	female fairy tale	AaTh 516 B I T 11.4.2 H 1213.1	1c C.E.		Egyptian	Greek	Strabo 17.1.33	
119	Si-Osire and the Ethiopian	legend of magic	D 615.1	1c C.E.		Egyptian	Demotic		Brunner-Traut 1963, num. 34 (Griffith 1900)
120	Hi-Hoi and the geese	?	B 469.3.1	1-2c C.E.		Egyptian	Demotic		Brunner-Traut 1963, num. 36 (Spiegelberg 1912, 14)
121	The swallow and the sea	animal parable	Wienert ST 23*	1-2c C.E.		Egyptian	Demotic		Brunner-Traut 1963, num. 19 (Spiegelberg 1912)
122	See-bird and Hear-bird	animal parable	AaTh 1660 *A -Jason 1965, (a); Wienert ST 8*	2c C.E.		Egyptian	Demotic		Brunner-Traut 1963, num. 21 (Spiegelberg 1917)

Type and motif index to Table 1

Abbreviations:

AI—Ancient Israel Ass—Assyrian B—Babylonian Hitt—Hittite Jew—Jewish LAss—Late Assyrian LE—Late (Rameside) Egyptian
 MAAss—Middle Assyrian ME—Middle (Classical) Egyptian NB—Neo-Babylonian OB—Old Babylonian PE—Post-pharaonic (Demotic):
 Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods)

Aarne/Thompson 1961

AaTh	num.	Culture
1-99	15	B/Ass
69 *A-Jason	4	OB
	21	LE
75	22b	LE
157 A	22a	LE
293	3	B/Ass
	5	OB
	14	B/Ass
	85	NB
506	111	Jew
516 B I	118	PE
530	16	LE
655 *B-Jason 1965, I d	19	LE
745 *B-Jason 1965	6	ME
922 A	90	LAss
	104	Jew
926	49	AI
926 *E-F-Jason 1965	110	Jew
929	7	ME
934	16	LE
950	98	PE
1538	2	OB
1660 *A-Jason 1965, (a)	122	PE

Wienert 1925

Type	num.	Culture
ST 2* a	94	LAss
ST 2* b	77	AI
ST 8*	122	PE
ST 9*	1	OB
	81	LAss
ST 23*	121	PE
ST 40*	100	PE
ST 56*b	91	LAss
	93	LAss
ET 186	82	LAss

Thompson 1955-58

Mot.	num.	Culture
A 136.3.1	58	AI
A 172	86	LAss
	87	LAss
	88	LAss
A 185.12.1	54	AI
	63	AI
A 566.2+	58	AI
A 761.2	58	AI
A 941.5.1	26	AI
	38	AI
A 1617	27	AI
	30	AI
	32	AI
B 177	9	ME
B 256.5.1	52	AI
B 451.5	52	AI
B 469.3.1	120	PE
C 51	46	AI
C 897.2	48	AI
C 921	46	AI
C 941.4	48	AI
C 961.1	23	AI

Thompson 1955-58 cont.

Mot.	num.	Culture
D 435.1	9	ME
D 610	20	LE
D 615.1	119	PE
D 1652.1	53	AI
	61	AI
D 1652.1.0.1	65	AI
D 1814.2	89	LAss
D 1840.1.2.1	64	AI
D 1925.3	44	AI
D 2091	70	AI
	72	AI
	79	AI
	86	LAss
	99	PE
D 2161.4.10	40	AI
E 1	54	AI
E 11.3	63	AI
	54	AI
	63	AI
E 35	11	ME
E 419.8	17	LE
E 607.2	20	LE
E 710	20	LE
E 728	103	PE
E 728.1	103	PE
F 531.2	42	AI
F 531.4.10	42	AI
F 873.2	69	AI

Thompson 1955-58 cont.

Mot.	num.	Culture
F 931.9.2.1+	25	AI
	59	AI
F 931.10	10	ME
F 950	33	AI
	112	Jew
	116	Jew
F 952	97	PE
F 959.5	40	AI
F 962.2.1	55	AI
F 971.1	37	AI
F 1047+	68	AI
G 78.1	70	AI
G 551.4	20	LE
H 413	97	PE
H 572	19	LE
H 580	101	PE
H 1213.1	118	PE
H 1573.1.4	106	Jew
J 621	99	PE
J 953.10	82	LAss
J 1144	108	Jew
J 1146	108	Jew
J 1191	18	LE
J 1293	77	AI
K 632	99	PE
K 2061	91	LAss

Thompson 1955-58 cont.

Mot.	num.	Culture
K 2111	20	LE
	24	AI
K 2211	13	Hitt
M 302.7	89	LAss
M 310	70	AI
	75	AI
M 311.4	11	ME
M 341	80	AI
M 356.1	70	AI
	72	AI
	79	AI
	88	LAss
M 359.9	71	AI
N 356.3	12	Hitt
P 21	105	Jew
Q 39	80	AI
Q 145+	80	AI
Q 156	89	LAss
Q 211.0.3	74	AI
Q 221	28	AI
	78	AI
Q 221.1.1	57	AI
	60	AI
Q 221.3	35	AI
	47	AI
	96	PE

Thompson 1955-58 cont.

Mot.	num.	Culture
Q 221.5	29	AI
	34	AI
	40	AI
	51	AI
	56	AI
	39	AI
Q 221.6	115	Jew
Q 222	95	Jew
Q 222.5	112	Jew
	116	Jew
	102	PE
Q 228	41	AI
Q 237	50	AI
	55	AI
	73	AI
	74	AI
	84	AI
	33	AI
Q 393	51	AI
Q 410	56	AI
	102	PE
	9	ME
Q 411.0.1.1	34	AI
Q 411.10	28	AI
Q 411.11	57	AI
Q 414	60	AI
Q 415	107	Jew
Q 415.4	109	Jew
	96	PE
Q 451.7	69	AI
Q 451.7.0.2.1	74	AI
Q 494		

Thompson 1955-58 cont.

Mot.	num.	Culture
Q 494	84	AI
Q 551.6	73	AI
Q 551.6.0.1	33	AI
	67	AI
	78	AI
	112	Jew
Q 551.6.5	116	Jew
Q 551.7	50	AI
Q 551.7.1	35	AI
Q 552.2.3	31	AI
Q 552.10	36	AI
	40	AI
	41	AI
	29	AI
Q 552.13	47	AI
Q 553.3.0.1	28	AI
Q 558	95	Jew
	115	Jew
	116	Jew
	50	AI
	39	AI
Q 595.1+	74	AI
R 122	105	Jew
	107	Jew
	109	Jew
	117	Jew
	105	Jew
R 169.8		
S 322.0.1	13	Hitt

Thompson 1955-58 cont.

Mot.	num.	Culture
S 466	106	Jew
	107	Jew
	108	Jew
	109	Jew
	118	PE
T 11.4.2	12	Hitt
T 69.1	12	Hitt
T 415.5	44	AI
T 548.1	62	AI
T 548.4		
V 1.11	108	Jew
V 221.0.1+	76	AI
V 221.3	66	AI
V 347	45	AI
V 350	45	AI
	55	AI
	106	Jew
	107	Jew
	108	Jew
	109	Jew
	113	Jew
	114	Jew
V 463	113	Jew
	114	Jew
V 510.1	87	LAss
	88	LAss
Z 71.11	13	Hitt

Ancient Israel	10-6c B.C.	59	24 49	25 26 28 29 31 33 — 41 44 — 48 50 — 76 78 — 80 84 95 105 — 109 112 — 117	23 27 42 30 32	111	43 77
Jewish	5-1c B.C.	15 104 110					