



RESEARCHES INTO THE MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF FOLK BALLAD

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

L. VARGYAS

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Based on thorough comparative studies in the history, and even prehistory, of the Hungarian folk ballad, the author reveals intricate interrelations concerning European balladry and proves that among the Hungarian types there exists a group with French origin. To support this point, he had to differentiate between German, English—American, Scandinavian, etc. versions, and so to define the French—Hungarian ones. The setting of East-European variants related to the Hungarian types in the focus of comparative study has considerably furthered the scope of ballad research. A study of the Siberian epics helped to disclose, through analysis of their archaic, mythic forms, interesting relics of thousand-year-old Hungarian heroic songs still surviving in some Hungarian ballads. The book provides new results concerning the theoretical aspects of European folk ballads in general.



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

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THE MEDIAEVAL HISTORY
OF FOLK BALLAD

by

LAJOS VARGYAS



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ARTHUR H. WHITNEY

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INTRODUCTION

The heroic era of ballad research extended to the second half of the 19th century, but its last reverberations were heard as late as the first twenty or twenty-five years of this century. During that period our knowledge was continually extended by the absorption of new material and new viewpoints; theories were born and later collapsed; the European (and American) ballad field showed its interconnections ever more clearly; and research was a process of continuous development.

Yet within the last thirty years the impetus seems to have died away. True, new material is still being assembled, and in this the American and eastern European fields have particularly ample results to show in published work and in manuscripts in archives. But the specimens coming to light do not alter the general picture already formed: rather do they consolidate the outlines of the types already known, and at the most offer opportunities to modify points of detail.

In the field of theory conditions are similar. The classical old comparative research is being continued in the works of northern folklorists, and on a particularly large scale in the volumes of the German comprehensive edition "Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien". But not even there have results come to light to turn the flow of ballad research into new channels. It is characteristic of the position that recently two monographs of book length (KEMPPINEN, NYGARD) have appeared, both dealing with one of the most widely-diffused ballads (CHILD 4, Anna Molnár), yet notwithstanding the huge amount of new material the final conclusions reached are nothing but repetitions of what had been concluded from the earlier summaries (D. Vlr., CHILD).

For some time most folklorists have been seeking new ways of elucidating ballad problems. It is as though the results of comparisons were regarded as closed, or were not sufficiently trusted. Fresh results are expected rather from an examination of the traditional life of the ballad, of its modern development, and from the aesthetic or statistical analysis of the assembled material (e.g. ROBERTS, HYMAN, etc.). Yet however fruitful such an approach may be in dealing with other ethnographical phenomena, particularly those of the primitive societies, the results obtained from it in ballad research so far have been very poor. For the ballad is a mediaeval genre; what we are witnessing today is merely its final expiry, in which we cannot recognize its once flourishing life. Consequently, most of the conclusions we can draw from the evidence of the last 150 years may mislead us as regards the essentials of this form of art.

In such a situation the treasure-house of Hungarian ballads has a particular significance. Owing to the Hungarians' position among the other peoples and to their mediaeval history, the Hungarian material conceals within itself many connections which throw new light on important aspects of the history, spread and theory of the genre. Unfortunately, it is precisely this material which is least known in the international literature. In his time CHILD was surprisingly well-versed in the Hungarian material available at the end of the century; since then, however, it is plain that the general knowledge of the Hungarian ballad has hardly advanced at all. Even in the monumental East European comparative studies in the D. Vlr. only the specimens to be found in CHILD, GRAGGER and ABAFI-AIGNER have been dealt with. The specialists content themselves with a survey of the extensive Slav field, perhaps amplified with the rather archaic material of the Roumanian, Albanian, Lithuanian and Modern Greek territories, obviously believing that when neglecting one little central spot in eastern Europe—Hungary—they will not err much in drawing their conclusions.

It is true that Hungarian research has not offered information which might have led experts abroad to take a different view. The most recent large-scale comprehensive work (ORTUTAY) appeared in the mid-thirties, and fresh results have not come to light since then. Moreover, ORTUTAY regarded it as his chief task to discuss Hungarian ballads from the most up-to-date viewpoints of the international literature, which had until then been rather neglected in Hungarian research, and he did not stress the comparative problems. In the circumstances of the time he may have regarded that research as the best elaborated, for of course it was then hardly ten years since Róbert GRAGGER's book had appeared, summarizing in German the results of his own and his predecessors' considerable work for readers in Hungary and other countries. In that work was assembled a mass of results obtained by such investigators as Ágost GREGUSS, Pál GYULAI, Lajos ABAFI-AIGNER, Hugó MELTZL [the founder of the *Összehasonlító Irodalomtörténeti Lapok* (*Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum*)], Antal HERMANN (editor of *Ethnologische Mitteilungen aus Ungarn*), Gyula SEBESTYÉN, Róbert GRAGGER, János BERZE NAGY, Béla VIKÁR, Sándor SOLYMOSSY, Elemér MOÓR and János HONTI; and the next generation (ORTUTAY, Erzsébet DÁNOS and the writer) inherited their work as something which generally held good, even though modifications and refinements might still be applied to it.

On closer examination, however, it emerged that this research was somewhat incomplete and one-sided. Only in the Germanic field—German, English and Danish—was it more or less complete; its enquiries into the peoples of the Romance countries were very sketchy, while the folk poetry of Eastern Europe was almost entirely left out of the comparisons. So it came about that not even Hungarian experts could clearly see the position of the Magyar ballads, or the important international problems they involved.

When all this became clear and the possibility of new coherences took form before the author's eyes, he was compelled to conduct the work of comparison anew, on broad lines, and afterwards to reconsider some of the decisive questions of theory and history of the ballad. For the new prelimi-

nary results offered a prospect of using them as a basis for attempting—from a social-historical approach—a more precise definition of the essential character, development and diffusion of the ballad.

In the following pages we give first the preliminary results, which served as a starting point for the later deductions, then we turn to the theoretical questions—in part making a historical assessment of my own comparative results, in part taking advantage of evidence afforded by the European material and research. Thus the present work is divided as follows: the first three chapters contain the most important results of comparative research, Chapter I on the originally French stratum in Hungarian ballads, II on the heroic epic elements surviving in them, and III on a ballad requiring a particularly complicated documentation, the "Walled-up Wife" (Kelemen the Mason); while Chapter IV summarizes the conclusions to be drawn on the genre and its history.

All these four chapters have already appeared as separate papers in the Hungarian ethnographical periodicals, while II and III have appeared in German, too, as indicated in the Bibliography. The first chapter was also sent in manuscript translation to some distinguished ballad experts. In answer, the author received much supplementary material, advice and other help, including criticism, all of which have been made use of for improving the work. For help of this nature the author owes grateful thanks to the following: the late Prof. Walter ANDERSON (Kiel), D. M. BALASHOV (Petrozavodsk), Dr. Marius BARBEAU (Ottawa), Prof. Samuel BAUD-BOVY (Geneva), Dr. Erik DAL (Copenhagen), P. V. LINTUR (Ungvár-Uzhgorod), Roger PINON (Liège), Dr. Hinrich STUTS (Münster), Dr. Georgios SPYRIDAKIS (Athens), Prof. Archer TAYLOR (Berkeley).

At the same time the author wishes to express thanks to the late Prof. Erich SEEMANN and the *Deutsches Volksliedarchiv* for the bursary given and the material put at his disposal, which enabled him to supplement his apparatus. In addition, he wishes once again to thank his colleagues Lajos BOGLÁR, Éva KOPP, D. HADZIS, Mrs. K. SZABÓ and I. BORSAY whose continuous diligent efforts helped so much in the examination of the Portuguese and Spanish and the Modern Greek and Roumanian material.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINALLY FRENCH STRATUM IN HUNGARIAN BALLADS

Comparative research in Hungary has not solved the question of the origin of our ballads, nor has it offered any clues. For the most part investigators here have contented themselves with pointing out more or less similar versions of some ballads among various European peoples, thereby establishing that these ballads were integral parts of European ballad poetry. When, occasionally, they went on from there to hazard a further assumption, it was limited, apart from a few southern Slav derivations and some adventurous Finno-Ugrian parallels, to borrowings from the neighbouring German speakers. This assumption is of course acceptable practically without detailed proofs, and any other assumption seems from the start unlikely.

But not only did they not know the origin of our ballads: very often they were also unaware of how extensive the European spread of related ballads was. This was in many cases the consequence of the fact that not even the Hungarian variants were known in their entirety, so that many details necessary for establishing the relationships escaped their attention. Another reason was the one-sidedness in favour of the Germanic nations, compared with the Romance peoples, as regards full published editions of their ballads: whereas the German, English and Danish material is available to the student in well-arranged comprehensive editions, containing in addition the results of considerable philological and comparative researches, the French, Spanish, Portuguese and in part the Italian material is scattered in countless collections, difficult of access—in Hungary largely quite unavailable. *DONCEUX*'s attempt at a summary was only half finished, and his 'archetypes' and lists of variants are no substitute for the texts themselves, whose various details, not included in the 'archetypes', might afford much material for comparisons.

Thus it is precisely the French parallels with our ballads that we know the least about, and yet, as we shall see, they and their Portuguese, Spanish and Italian fellows represent the most decisive links between our ballads and European folk poetry.

It should be pointed out at the outset that this connection can be ascribed to the French settlers in Hungary in mediaeval times and to the very lively French-Walloon-Hungarian contacts over a certain period in that age. These contacts support very valuable chronological, historical and other theoretical deductions.

In the following pages we shall show the French parallels with twenty-one Hungarian ballads or ballad fragments, of which only two were hitherto known to our researchers. To these, however, they attached no significance,

but studied their variants among several other peoples. The others were not hitherto known to either Hungarian or foreign experts.

In no ballad to be treated below does the list of variants, particularly the foreign ones, claim to be complete. Unfortunately, a considerable portion of the existing publications was unobtainable in Budapest, and with manuscript collections I was even less fortunate. Nor can I claim to have dealt with all the Hungarian manuscript material; nevertheless some 70–80% of it is available to me, and in the case of most of the old ballads the entire material. Only the first records are listed. However, for the information of readers abroad we give, after the titles, the variants in collections known abroad, some containing translations.

THE GIRL WHO SET OUT WITH THE SOLDIERS (e.g. ORTUTAY, 1936–48 No. 43.)*

HUNGARIAN:

1. MSZ 6343 Vajdakamarás (Vaida Cămaras), Kolozs C. 2. Ethn. 1902, 274 Jobbágytelke, Maros-Torda C. 3. Nyr 7, 190 Karácsonfalva, Marosszék. 4. SzNd No. 66, Lengyelfalva, Udvarhely C. 5. MF 473b Lengyelfalva. 6–7. MNGY III, 20 and 22. 8. BARTÓK No. 5, Kadicsfalva, Udvarhely C. (fragment). 9. MNGY I, 176, Udvarhelyszék. (Not to be used: EA 2379, 43 Békés; data copied from collections.)

FRENCH: "L'anneau de la fille tuée."

1. Wallonia III, 47. 1895, Vottem, Belgium. 2. ROLLAND III, No. 184, Uchaud, Gard. 3–7. MILLIEN 1906, 248–53A—E Nivernais. 8–10. ROSSAT 1917 5A—C Valais, Switzerland. 11. Romania 10, 205 Chamalières. 12. D'HARCOURT No. 23 (fragment) Canada. 13. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol, 371 Canada. 14. ARBAUD I, 120 Provence.

ITALIAN

1–7. NIGRA 12A—G Piedmont 8. FERRARO 1870 Monferrini No. 13.

Bibliography: ORTUTAY (1936) without comparative notes. SOLYMOSSY (1937) lists it among the 19th century outlaw songs because of "a deliberate embellishment of the sanguinary story, a certain sensation-seeking" "which characterizes the taste of a new, decadent era". DÁNOS (1938): "We know of no foreign parallel to it. It developed in Hungary in the 17th century." Cs-VARGYAS (1954) without comparative notes.

* Authors presented by one work in the Bibliography are referred to in the text without making mention of the year of publication. — The years of publication are indicated in the bibliographical surveys heading the chapters on the ballad types, in order to give a view of the chronological development of the relevant research. — The abbreviations used in the list of variants, as well as in the bibliographical references, are explained under the References. — The variants marked with asterisks are known to the author from references in other sources. Those marked with + have become known to him through the copied samples of the DVA.

A substantial proportion of the Hungarian place-names occurring have changed as a consequence of changes in state frontiers and systems. In the case of the majority of smaller places we were unable to establish the present names, since official lists showing such double names were not at our disposal. We were therefore forced to keep the name-forms given by the collectors and, as a guidance, the former county names. Where it has been possible to establish the present place-names we have added these as well. (See Map IV.)

The story runs: Pretty Anna Bíró spies three 'heyducks' (foot-soldiers) in front of her home, who know her sweetheart, and offer to take her to him. In spite of bad omens and her mother's warning, the girl sets out after putting on her prettiest dress, taking money and her rings as well. At a certain point along the road they sit down to rest under a rose or briar bush. Here the tragedy begins. "Then the eldest heyduck spoke up: Let's kill pretty Anna Bíró. Then the second heyduck spoke up: I've nothing against it, and we should gain. Then the youngest heyduck spoke up: Let's not kill the poor girl, let her come with us." "If you won't kill her, we'll kill you, too." The girl begs for her life, and offers her valuables. "Then the second heyduck spoke up: We have your money, and we have you, too!". They kill her, take her clothes and valuables, and according to one variant, cover her up with handfuls of herbage under the bush. Most variants then continue the tale with the robbers meeting the girl's sweetheart, who recognizes the stolen property; one variant (7.) relates how they go to an inn and ask the innkeeper's wife to bring them wine, offering to pay with clothing or money. The innkeeper's wife asks where they got all that fine clothing. The eldest heyduck says "My pretty little sister has died, and this was her clothing." The youngest one cries "They killed pretty Anna Bíró, and this was her clothing!" The girl's sweetheart hears this and asks to be led to where the girl's body lies, and there kills himself by leaning on his own sword.

A fragmentary variant from the Mezőség (Cîmpia, in the N. of Transylvania) (1.) continues the story after the murder, in prose, as follows: "He buried her, and went home to the other young men. One of them recognized the rings as having belonged to his sweetheart. He asked them to lead him to the pit where the girl was buried", and so on (the closing formula is again in verse). A single Hungarian variant closes the meeting with the suicide as elsewhere, but with the young man first handing the robbers over to the magistrate.

The French versions relate the tale with complete uniformity. Three young men are returning from a campaign in Spain (sometimes they are officers or robbers). In a distance they see a young, dark-haired girl strolling. "Where are you going for the night, little dark girl, you cannot stay in the forest alone." "Young men, do not touch me, and I will give you my golden ring." "Give us your golden ring, and your false heart, too; you shall perish, here in the forest." The youngest of the three says "Let us not do that, for we shall be punished; her blood will cry to God for vengeance, and we shall suffer all the tortures!" When they have killed her, they take counsel together as to where they should bury her. "Let us bury her here in the shade, in the scent of the violets." Next they discuss where to go to eat. They go to an inn, where the girl's father is the innkeeper. "Innkeeper, will you give us three honest young men lodging?" "Why not, when I give it to so many others?" They eat their meal, but when they want to pay, the youngest takes out his purse, and the golden ring falls out and rolls away. The innkeeper hastens to pick it up, recognizes it as his daughter's, and asks where they got it. The eldest replies that they did not buy it, but found it near the church. The innkeeper, however, demands that they produce his daughter, dead or alive. The youngest answers "Your daughter is not far

from here, covered with pretty leaves in the greenwood." They are thrown into prison, and after choice tortures executed.

The Hungarian text differs only at the beginning and end from the tale told above: the girl does not meet the murderers by chance, but through wanting to go to her sweetheart, and for that reason risks the danger, which deepens the tragedy psychologically; consequently, the development at the end also had to be changed: not her father, but her sweetheart recognizes her property, and, following the standard ballad pattern, he dies over the body of his loved one. Otherwise there is agreement on every point. Three soldiers—three heyducks; before the murder the girl offers her valuables in both versions, to which the murderers reply identically in the two ballads; the youngest takes pity on her, but in vain; they bury her under a bush or leaves; the guilty men are recognized in an inn by the girl's stolen possessions, in one case identically with the French version: by her ring; the eldest denies it in both versions, and it is the youngest in both ballads who admits everything and shows where the murder was committed.

This last motive is also useful in demonstrating that the Hungarian text stands between the French and the Italian, for the part played by the youngest murderer is strongly emphasized in both the French and the Hungarian. In the Italian version, however, it is he who kills the girl, although in more than half the variants there is no mention of him. Otherwise the Italian variants closely follow the French; NIGRA calls them reflections of it. Thus, on the evidence of this essential motive, the Hungarian version is linked to the French and not to the secondary, Italian version.

On the evidence of the texts we must regard the French, and not the Hungarian, as the earlier version, for the French ballad consistently contains the motive of the recognition by the ring, while only one Hungarian variant has it. The French is similarly uniform in that every variant has the victim's father, the innkeeper, discovering the crime. Only one Hungarian inn scene is known, in which the innkeeper's wife and the girl's sweetheart together discover the crime; in the others the three murderers simply meet her lover, and there is no mention of an inn. This points to the modifications having taken place in Hungary, because it is unlikely that the general and intelligible French version would have developed from the two rare and threadbare motives in the Hungarian. The reverse is, however, often found: the people who take over the ready-made material transform it, yet are unable to free themselves entirely from the original, and what is retained is left, incomprehensible and threadbare, among the new elements in the modified version.

THE TWO CAPTIVES (e.g. ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 42.) A very rare Hungarian ballad.

HUNGARIAN

1. Ethn 1908, 43 Csikmadaras 2. Cs-VARGYAS No. 76 Gyergyóalfalu (Yoseni) 3. KÁLMÁNY Szeged II No. 2 Szaján, Torontál C. 4. MCSB No. 7 Pustina, Moldavia 5-7. MSz 6442, 6453-4 Lécped (Lespesi), Moldavia 8. FARAGÓ 1965, 249 Rácsila (Racila), Moldavia

FRENCH

- 1-7. MILLIEN 1906, 164-9A, A var., B, C, C var., D, E Nivernais.

SLOVAK

1. Sl. Sp. I, 149, No. 399 = HORÁK (1958) No. 28, Zólyom (Zvolenska) C. 2. KOLEČÁNY No. 6 St. Pazova 3. SL'P II No. 476 Kokava (fragment). 4. KOLLÁR No. 57 5. MEDVECZKY 1923, No. 3* 6. VALAŠTAN No. 86* 7. EA 3659, 2 (Hungarian translation) Lipto C.?

MORAVIAN-POLISH-UKRAINIAN

1. SUŠIL No. 2339 + var. Francova Lhota 2. KOLBERG 1857, Piesni No. 33 3. GOLOVATSKY II, 701 No. 3 Carpathian Ukraine

Bibliography: GRAGGER (1927), ORTUTAY (1936-48), Cs-VARGYAS (1954), no comparative notes.

The text runs: (1.) Two fine captives were taken: one was János Bíró, the other Kata Bíró. "Look back, dear sister, are not the Turks and the Tartars coming? They will cut me to pieces, and carry you away. Get down, little sister, into the gully, and there pray to God for victory to my two arms, and strength to my shield." God helped him, and only one man was left to tell the tale. "Come up, little sister, out of the gully, and let us go home." When they reached the gate of their father's house, he said "Little sister, go into our father's house, and ask for lodging, if only for the night, if only by the door!" "Lady, lady, my noble lady, give us lodging, if only for the night, if only by the door! We have just come from Turkey, I am here with my dear brother, who is badly wounded!" "Go away, beggar, go away, for I cannot bear the stench of a beggar!" So the poor girl ran out into the yard, and there she found her father. "O sir, sir, noble sir! Give us lodging, even if only for the night, even if only in the stable! We have just come from Turkey, etc." "Maybe, maybe, poor prisoner-girl". "Sister, dear sister, listen to me: At the first cock-crow I shall fall ill, at the second cock-crow I shall expire, at the third cock-crow I shall pass from this world." "Brother, dear brother, sweet brother! So we have been to Turkey, returned to our father's house, and asked our dear mother for lodging, and she replied: Go away, beggar . . . etc." The serving-lad hears this, and tells the lady of the house. Then the noble lady ran swiftly to open the door, and said: "If only I had known that you were my son and daughter, I would not only have given you lodging by the door, but I would have clasped you both to my breast." And with that she embraced her son and he died.

The beginning of 2. differs: The two children of György János were stolen away by the Tartars, his handsome son and daughter, carried away as prisoners! They locked up her young brother! Her brother begged her: "Sister, sister, Madam Erzsók, get hold of the key to the prison and let me out, and let us set off for our home, Újfalu, in Barassó!"

And so it happens. Here they tell their mother they are her children, but she does not believe it:

"Go away, go away, my fancy lady, do not distress my soul! I have just buried my little one, and you have reminded me of it. In 3. the only deviation is that it is the servant who takes pity on the couple.

The variants of the similarly rare French ballad are with one exception identical in content. A young man and his sister return from the wars, or sometimes "from the garrison". The girl sings a song "about Napoleon". In one variant, however, a young man has his sister dressed as a page, and is on his way home with her from the barracks, after the war. These incongruous incomprehensible elements, the barracks, page and girl reveal that we are dealing with a recent modernization of an old story. "Sister, dear sister", says the boy, "Quieten your voice and your beautiful song: your voice will be heard for *ten miles* around. Here, in the midst of the forest there are many robbers; if they hear you, sister, they will carry you off." Hardly has he said these words, before they enter the wood, and see the robbers: fifty of them sitting on the greensward. Their chief demands the pretty girl for the night, but the boy will not allow it, at which he gets a dagger in his side. "Sister, sweet sister, give me your kerchief, bind up my side. My love for you is costing me my life." When they reach the valley, they stop at their father's house and ask for lodging like two poor strangers. Their mother replies: "O no, children, we cannot give anyone lodging, the whole house is full. Go on down into the village, you will get lodging there." Their elder sister says: "Mother, give these poor people lodging, someone of yours is wandering abroad in the fields, and you cannot know who will give them lodging!" "If you were not my daughter, going to be married to-day, I would hit you in the face. *You have reminded me of my sorrow and anguish.*" Six variants finish here with this.

The seventh variant, half sung, half spoken, carries the thread of events further, after slightly different preliminaries. "The mother finally agrees to give them lodging in the stable" writes the collector of the version. "The boy dies at once. His sister laments: Where shall I get a shroud, shall I wrap him in my apron? O, if only I were in my home, in my chest there are many fine linen sheets, I would cover my dear brother, Andin! The mother overhears this, and recognizes her children."

From the return with the wounded brother onward the agreement is complete. But only hazy details in the French correspond to its beginning. Yet there, too, it can be seen that in the original there was some flight connected with soldiers and war, much as in the Hungarian ballad. On the other hand the meeting with robbers and the curious song by the girl are to be found in another Hungarian ballad, which we shall see in the next parallel to be drawn.

Among the Slovak and Moravian neighbours the beginning of the story is amplified. The brother and sister are stolen away on Whit Saturday. The girl is carried off in a carriage, the boy tied behind the coach. She is treated well, but he is thrown into prison. He asks his sister not to forget him, but for seven years she does not think of him, then she remembers him and goes to release him. The Moravians amplify this: twice she fails to find him, but succeeds at the third attempt. His legs are buried in the earth up to the knee, and mice make their home in his hair. They set off for home. On the other hand the battle and the wounding are missing. Here, too, the mother gives them no lodging, not even in the barn, nor yet bread or water. In one text the boy dies at the first cock-crow. The girl laments him: why did he not

die on Turkish soil, instead of in his mother's house. This is heard by the mother's little son (Slovak 2.) or the neighbour's wife (Moravian). Here, too, the story ends with the mother's lament.

Among our neighbours the battle and the wounding are missing, nevertheless the young man has to die of his wounds; they try to account for this by recounting the girl's happy fate and the boy's long sufferings in prison. (The Hungarian ballad may have given the inspiration for this with the liberation scene in 2.) It is, however, characteristic that the preliminary account becomes more and more detailed in the variants, and *finally the original story is left out entirely*: the thirty alexandrines of the Slovak 4. and the Ukrainian 3. finish with the girl calling a priest to her dying brother in prison. This process is found countless times in borrowings, and would alone be sufficient, even without the French parallel, to show that the Slovak-Moravian variants were taken over from the Hungarian. This is confirmed, too, by the melody of the Moravian ballad: it is undoubtedly a borrowing from the Hungarian (cf. VARGYAS 1959).

However, before we close this question, let us see how the missing motives in the French ballad fared in eastern Europe.

THE KNIGHT AND THE LADY

HUNGARIAN

1. KERÉNYI Magyardéce (Ciresoaia) Szolnok-Doboka C. 2. FARAGÓ 1965, 98 ibidem. (I understand that the Kolozsvár (Cluj) Section of the Institutul de Folclor also preserves several variants from the same area, but I have not so far seen them.)

ROUMANIAN

1. MARIENESCU, 12 Hátszeg, Hunyad C. 2. ALEXICS, 79 Lagerdorf, Temes C. (bilingual, Rumanian-Hungarian) 3. TOCILESCU 1/2 No. 1247 Stroești, Gorjiu C. 4. TEODORESCU, 633 5. ALECSANDRI, 97.

BULGARIAN

1. STOIN 1931, Sredna No. 373 Gledatsi, Gabrovsko 2. DOZON No. 34 3. MILADINOV 161 4. STOILOV 1924, 461 5. ibid. 462 6. SHAPKAREV III No. 336 7. ibid. IV No. 1259 Debrsko 8. ibid. No. 853 9. STOIN 1939, Trakija No. 324 Omurcha, Chorlensko 10. STOIN 1934, Rodopski No. 78 Shiroka-Laka, Dyovlensko 11. SbNU 14, 80 No. 11 12. CHEKHLAROV SbNU 26 No. 99 13. SbNU 12, 46 Pirdopsko, Smolsko 14. SbNU 40, 388 No. 12 Ivanovtsi, Kamenitsa 15. SbNU 41, 406 Progorolets, Lomsko 16. VATEV SbNU 43, 84 No. 31 17. ibid. 306 No. 140 Vrbnitsa 18. IVANOV 1949, 153 No. 150 19. TSITSELKOVA, 119 No. 204 20. Izv. Etn. Muz. IV, 89 No. 2 21-23. IVANOV 1936, Nos. 53-55

SERBO-CROAT

1. PROĐANOVIĆ No. 170 Medumurje 2. ŽGANEC 1950 Hrvatske No. 375 Medumurje 3. ŽGANEC Hrvatske, note to No. 375, neighbourhood of Karlovac (ibid. ref. to 4 other variants from Croatia) 5. POLJANIN I, 69 No. XXV near Pula 6. VUJIĆ, 29 = VUK

FRENCH

1-7. See under The Two Captives.

Partial variants:

UKRAINIAN

1. GOLOVATSKY II, 599 No. 35 2. *ibid.* 700 No. 2 Carpathian Ukraine.

This Hungarian ballad has not been investigated by anyone yet. Its text runs as follows: "The Knight set off, the Knight with the Lady, along the old way through the forest. Said the Knight to the Lady: "O Lady, sing a song!" "I will not sing, I sing so loud: it will be heard by the *Ten Thieves*" . . .

Here we see *ten thieves*; in the French the song can be heard for *ten miles*.

"*They will carry me off, and kill you.*" The Knight turned and slapped her face at once, whereat the Lady began to sing her sad song. The ten thieves heard it. Said the youngest: Fellows, I know not what I heard, whether a voice singing, a trumpet, or a fiddle. Come, and let us bar their way. They barred the way, carried off the Lady, and killed the Knight."

Afterwards the questions of the youngest thief establish that *the girl is his own sister*, but nobody could now remember how the story ended; it had become uncertain, along with the fable-like continuation, which it seems is a latter substitution, probably from a widely distributed northern Slav ballad (see LINTUR 1959, 20 and LINTUR 1963, 14-15).

Our text, as can be seen, preserves various details of the French parallel to the Two Captives, but changed and obscured in various ways.

One such change is, for example, the substitution of two lovers for the brother and sister. The latter relationship connects the robber and the girl secondarily, and has given a different direction to the tale. The person is changed in relation to the song, too: in the French the young man forewarns the girl, in the Hungarian the Lady cautions the Knight, whose pride is thus injured (as is seen more clearly in the variants among our neighbouring peoples), and that is why he (in the Hungarian text) constrains the girl with such unusual roughness.

Among the neighbouring peoples we find this element *with the same alterations*, but in uniform and complete tales, related with epic details, and combined with other elements. In the versions found among all three peoples, the story begins with the husband wanting to visit his parents-in-law—for the first time since the wedding—and the wife prepares what he will need on the journey. (There is, however, a version among each of the three peoples in which they are merely walking on the hills.) It is during this that the request is made for a song, and the woman is reluctant, not merely because of the robbers, but chiefly because of their leader, her former sweetheart, who asked in vain for her hand in marriage. (I should point out that in the French, too, the robber knows the young man, and calls him by name when he demands his sister for the night.) "Sing, Vida, do not fear, the Shako'd Captain is my name. You shall see my sword!" says the hero of

the Rumanian song. (2.) The song, too, is extraordinary here: "If I start to sing, the great forests will echo, the slender trees will bow, streams will be troubled and meadows dry up". (Rumanian 2.) Among the southern Slavs the woman sings "with two voices from one mouth". The robbers prick up their ears, as in the Hungarian: Comrades, is that the drums beating? Or is it the music of a violin?" . . . "It is not the beating of a drum, nor yet the sound of music; it is Vida's sweet voice." Hereupon follows the fight with the robbers, in which several versions have developed. The Captain and the robber chieftain find themselves evenly matched, and the woman's help decides the outcome, or the robber leader persuades her by his promises to intervene. In most cases she helps the robber and they tie up her husband, who, however, fortunately escapes and kills both his enemy and his wife—the latter either on the spot or at home. The punishment is sometimes, as in the Hungarian story of the faithless wife who is burned, and in several Balkan tales, burning to death. In a few of the variants the wife keeps faith and frees the husband from captivity.

This story is a lengthy epic poem with considerable detail. In comparison, the single, fragmentary Hungarian ballad, with its threadbare story and its word-for-word agreement here and there (and indeed on the basis of the agreement between its ending and that of other Slav ballads), seems at first sight to be a borrowing. The French ballad, however, puts the matter into a different light. There can be no question of the independent development, both among the French and in eastern Europe, of such a peculiar motif as the conceptually unreal and stylized singing in the forest, and the anxiety and then the actual meeting with the robbers. The only question is simply: in what order we should picture the borrowing. Did the ballad come to Hungary with the mediaeval settlers and then split into two, the larger part remaining in the Two Captives, while the smaller, altered yet characteristic elements entered into the Knight and the Lady; and did these two separate ballads then go on further, one to the north, to the Slovaks, the other southward to the southern Slavs and the Rumanians? Or did the reverse happen: was there one tale in the Balkans and another among the Slovaks and Moravians; did the Hungarians take over these two distant tales, and the French settlers acquire them from the Hungarians, to unite them into one tale and spread it in their former home country, France?

I believe the latter picture the less likely, even if we do not take into account that in the Slovak there are plain signs of the Hungarian origin of the Two Captives. At the same time we must realize that the southern Slav tale of the wife who helps the adversary is in essentials identical with the Russian Ivan Godinovich bylina (see PROPP, 126—), in which, however, the details agreeing with the Hungarian and the French are unknown, and the Russian form better conforms to the genre-requirements and whole spirit of the heroic poem. The details under discussion may well, therefore, be a subsequent absorption into the southern Slav song, and probably went from there to the Rumanian. But the more archaic tradition of our southern neighbours then maintained the elements which reached them from Hungary for a longer period, while among the French and even the Hungarians only rare and threadbare variants were preserved.

We should observe that the word "Kegyes" (here translated as 'Lady') is an expression used in our mediaeval codex-literature for "lover" and to be found at its latest in the literature of the seventeenth century. (E.g. "... sem atyja, anyja, sem ifjú kegyese ... örvendetösségöt hozhatnak vala az ő szívébe." Exemplum mirabile. MEZEY 1957, 190. Sándor Eckhardt drew my attention to its occurrence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.)

THE BRIDE DRAGGED TO DEATH

HUNGARIAN

1. EA 2299, 82 Őrség 2. MNGY VIII, 177 Resznek, Zala C. 3. Nyr 13, 239 ibidem 4. Ethn 1910, 208 ibid. 5. Ethn 1910, Gáborjaháza, Zala C. 6. EA 2774, 91 Dergecs, Zala C. 7. Pt No. 494 Törökkoppány, Somogy C. 8. MF 2573 ibidem 9. BN, 147 Sásd, Baranya C. 10. Nyr 16, 479 Bánk, Nógrád, C. 11. Nyr 32, 459 Szentpál, Arad C. 12. EA 3595, 4 Mosdós, Somogy C.

FRENCH

1. WECKERLIN 1887 Ancienne, 303 (from 1763) 2. HAUPT, 99 (from 1799) 3. DAVENSON No. 2 4. BEAUREPAIRE, 167 Avranchin, Normandy 5. LEGRAND, 376 near Caen 6. DECOMBE No. 91 Ile-et-Vilaine 7. GAGNON, 158 = D'HARCOURT No. 4 Canada 8. BARBEAU 1962, Rossignol, 133 Canada (Reconstruction) 9. MILLIEN 1906, 183 (prose) Nivernais 10. ARBAUD II, 82 Provence. See also DONCIEUX No. 15 (reconstruction) ibidem 7 variants listed (among them some unknown to me).

ITALIAN

- 1-4. NIGRA No. 6 A - D Piedmont 5. FERRARO 1870, Monf. No. 9.

Bibliography: SEBESTYÉN in MNGY VIII, 553-7 (1906), without comp. notes. MOÓR (1925): beginning from the German Graf Friedrich, with the addition of the Hungarian "dragging to death". GRAGGER (1926) agrees with MOÓR, German minstrels brought it to Hungary. ORTUTAY³ (1948) agrees with MOÓR and GRAGGER. DÁNOS 1938 agrees with GRAGGER, adduces a Ruthenian variant, further, E-B 3 (incorrect), 107, DgF 38 (incorrect), WARRENS vol. 4 Norwegian 10, 108 (incorrect), MILLIEN 1893, 97 (Russian, incorrect); all this refers to the beginning - not dealt with here - of the Hungarian ballad. DÉGH-Kálm. Hagy. I, No. 4, note (1952): agrees with MOÓR and ORTUTAY. CS-VARGYAS (1954), 464: of Hungarian origin, with versions distantly related to its beginning in German-speaking areas. [ABAFI Figyelő (1885), 27 is concerned only with the beginning of the Hungarian ballad, not dealt with here.]

The story runs: A mother gives her daughter's hand in marriage against her will to a suitor the girl does not love. When the bridal procession calls for her, and the groom greets her as his betrothed, she refuses to acknowledge him as her fiancé.

"Good morning, good morning, *my beautiful betrothed!*" "Good morning, young Master Rákóci!" (Another variant: "You are not my betrothed, you my murderous slayer!")

"Then he picks her up, ties her to his horse's tail, and drags her through bush and through briar." "Go slowly, go slowly, young Master Rákóci, my red boots swim to the heels with blood!" "Then he snatches her up, and

shortens the stirrup, and drags her through bush and through briar." "Go slowly . . . etc. My fine silken gown is half covered with blood."

And finally:

"Go slowly, go slowly, *my handsome betrothed!* My golden garland is covered with blood!" Then he snatches her up into his arms: "What would you eat, what would you drink, my beautiful betrothed?" "I wish neither to eat nor to drink, but only to lie in bed." "What would you eat, what would you drink, my beautiful betrothed?" "The wing of a cheche bird from my mother's table, white wine from my father's window."

(In another variant she asks for the tender wing of a jay.)

"Open your gate, mother, open your garden gate, make up a gay death-bed for me!"

Elemér MOÓR, dealing with the Hungarian ballad, ascribed German origin to the beginning, the story of the girl married against her will, which lives on in Hungary in many different forms, but considered the second part, the fiendish revenge, as a Hungarian development. Yet it is precisely this part that is to be found in a very famous old French ballad, which appears in the collections with the title "Les anneaux de Marianson". The story runs as follows: Marianson's admirer has a copy of her ring made in her husband's absence, and used this to make him jealous. Furious, the husband gallops home, and when his wife shows him her new-born baby, he dashes it on the ground. From here, 5. goes on: "He seized her by the hair, and tied her to his horse's tail, dragging her from Paris to Saint Denis. Not a hedge, not a wild rose along the way but caught her blood." "My handsome Renaud, my sweetheart, let us stay a little!" "And if I stop, I do it not for you, but for my horse, which is tired out. Say, harlot, where are your three rings?" (The mistake comes to light.) "My Marianson, noble lady, what shall I give you to make you well? Is it bread, is it wine you need, a silken or a linen sheet?" In 10.: "I will kill a chicken, a goose and capons to make my Marianson well again." "I want neither bread nor wine, neither silk nor linen sheet. Only a needle and thread are needed, and a fine linen for a shroud."

The agreement in the text is unmistakable, even though the story itself shows great divergences. Starting from the point at issue, the Hungarian ballad agrees to some extent with the French in every motif (only the construction deviates somewhat: it is more ballad-like). The tying to the horse's tail, the dragging from bush to briar, then the plea to stop - the three-degree Hungarian intensification gives it unusually tension - the stop, at which it transpires that the torture was unnecessary (in the Hungarian it is here that it becomes unnecessary, because the girl's resistance is broken; at all events it is here that the man begins trying to save her from death); the question as to what she will eat or drink, even the offer of a table-bird is the same, except that the Hungarian is more stylized; and finally the woman's last words on death. It is obvious that the part related is the essence of the ballad, which the Hungarians introduced with the story of the "Girl Married Against her Wish", developed in many different ways, in other words they justified that essence with the anger of the rejected suitor, while the French brought in the revenge of the husband who thought he had been deceived. Both developments are psychologically effective, and of equal poetic merit.

The question of which was the prior is to be decided, not on that basis, but by the fact that the French ballad is a separate, homogeneous type, while in the Hungarian the part which agrees is only one continuation of a story developed in four different ways. The girl given in marriage to a strange man, against her will, either wishes to die, bids farewell to her home and dies as soon as the groom comes to fetch her; or she dies on the way, in the bridal procession, or even decides at this stage that she likes the bridegroom, but is now unable to avoid death which she had wished for; in Moldavian variants she is simply incapable of doing anything to prevent being carried away by force. If, beside these variants—which sometimes coincide even in their formulae—the fairly divergent fifth version had arisen on Hungarian soil, it would be difficult to imagine why only this one solution had reached France, and why the element which is missing from it—the forced marriage—happens to be the most generally found in Hungary, and why it acquired in France such a different and new motivation. If, on the other hand, it was the French version which was brought to Hungary, then the development is easier to explain: what was considered the essence of it, leaving out the beginning, was merged into the favourite Hungarian tale. (Another possible assumption is that the tale of the “Girl Married Against her Wish” also derives from a now unknown French ballad, and the Hungarians amalgamated the two French texts, which, as experience shows, often happens in the history of borrowings. For the origin of the “Girl Married Against her Wish” is not by any means cleared up.)

The French masterpiece is not known anywhere else, except in Piedmont, where, moreover, the French name was preserved—in the form of Marian-sun—together with the French place-names (the rival seeks the husband from Lyons to Paris). The only deviation is in the more detailed opening and the slightly different formulation of the punishment. For in the Italian the wife, tied to the horse's tail, is dragged twice round the castle. “In every stream and on every bush, Mariansun's blood flowed.” (The bush has remained, with less justification.) “The lady groans: O why do you so torture me? What have your pretty little son and your wife done to you, that you should send me to my death?” And the closing runs: “I can never get well again, because I shall not see my little son alive again. I want to die with him!” At this the husband kills himself with the words: “Because of a treacherous tongue the three of us must die!” This deviation, which appears uniformly in the Piedmont variants, draws a certain boundary between the Italian and Hungarian variants. Those details are missing from which the Hungarian text developed: the equivalents to the dragging through bush and briar, the phrases “slow down, my handsome betrothed”, “what would you eat, what would you drink” and the short ending “mother, make my gay death-bed”. On the evidence of these the Hungarian ballad can therefore have reached our country only from the French.

THREE ORPHANS (e. g. BARTÓK 1924, No. 26, ORTUTAY 1936—48, No. 15.)

HUNGARIAN

Of the 95 texts at my disposal 38 are from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, while 57 are Transylvanian, Moldavian or Bukovinian.

FRENCH

(I use 1—13 through courtesy of Mr. R. Pinon who sent copies of them to me.) 1. SENNY—PINON, 33 — note II, 154—4n, Chession-Lorcé, Belgium 2. La Corbeille Wallonne de la Gazette de Charleroi No. du 2 II 1934 Perwez, Brabant Belgium 3. Wallonia XXI, 262 No. 16, 1913 4. Manuscript Stave, Belgium 5. Manuscript, Cour-sur-Heure, Belgium 6. Manuscript, Mariembourg, Damp-rémy, Belgium 7. Manuscript, Janioulx, Belgium 8. Manuscript, Leuze-Longchamps, Belgium 9. La Corbeille Wallonne de la Gazette de Charleroi No du 21 XII 1933 Couillet, Belgium 10—12. Manuscripts Charleroi, Châtelet, Courcelles Belgium 13. Le Messenger de Sciences Historiques 1944, 340 near Namur, Belgium 14. PUYMAIGRE 1885 Folk-lore, 117 = ROLLAND III 178c Walloon, Metz 15. ROLLAND III No. 178 near Paris 16—17. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol 269, 273 Canada 18. DECOMBE No. 99 Ile-et-Vilaine 19. ROLLAND III 178b Cher 20—23. MILLIEN 1906, 50—53A—D Nivernais 24—27. Rossat 1917 II, 10—13A—D Switzerland 28—30. SMITH Romania 1875, 108—118 Haute Loire 31. ROLLAND III 178d Gard 32. ARBAUD I, 73 = PUYMAIGRE 1885 Folk-lore, 118 33—34. TIERSOT 1903 Alpes, 96 35. SÉBILLOT 1892, 232⁺ (fragment) Haute Bretagne.

ITALIAN

1. NIGRA No. 39 Piedmont 2. FERRARO 1870 Monf. No. 22.

FLEMISH, DUTCH

1. CANTELOUBE IV, 15 Flanders, France 2. LOOTENS-FEYS No. 55 = PUYMAIGRE 1885 Folk-lore, 114 3. COUSSEMAKER No. 58* = PUYMAIGRE 1885 Folk-lore, 105 = E—B No. 202c 4. E—B 202d.

GERMAN

E—B 202A—B (for compilation of further published material see there and/or SEEMANN 1951 Nos. 79—80). The DVA has about 110 variants in three types.

DANISH (SWEDISH)

DgF No. 89 (= OLRIK II No. 7 rewritten.) Further material and foreign connections DgF III, 860.

SLOVAK

1. HORÁK 1958 No. 44 = MEDVECKÝ 1906 Detva, 256 2—3. MEDVECKÝ 1906 Detva, 257 I—II 4. Sb. sl. n. p. I No. 31 5. KOLEČÁNY No. 61 Pilis, Pest C. 6—7. KOLEČÁNY Nos. 62—3 Rišňovce and Ság 8. DOBŠINSKY 1874 No. 14⁺ 9. DOBŠINSKY Prostonárodný I, 89* 10. Sb. sl. n. p. II, 91 No. 13 11. Slov. Sp. I No. 226 Turec 12. Ibidem No. 188 Buča 13—15. BARTÓK 1959, 45a—b, 61b Grlica, Gemerska (Gömör) C., Valaská, Zvolenska (Zólyom) C., Kostolné Moravce, Hontianska (Hont) C.

MORAVIAN

1—5. SUŠIL Nos. 159/337—341 near Příbor and Brno.

CZECH

1. HOLAS No. 1* 2. ERBEN 1864, 467 No. 2* 3. ERBEN 1842 No. 1* 4. ERBEN 1852 No. 1* 5. ERBEN manuscript (see HORÁK 1917) 6. SWOBODA, 9* 7. WALDAU No. 1.

POLISH

1. KOLBERG 1871-84 Lud 17 No. 14 2-7. ibidem 18 No. 347*, 19 No. 446*, 21 Nos. 181-3*, 22 No. 293* 8. PAULI No. 3* 9. KOZŁOWSKI No. 23* 10-14. KOLBERG 1885 Mazowsze II No. 355,* III Nos. 563-5*, IV No. 438*.

UKRAINIAN

1-2. GOLOVACKY III/1, 272-77 Nos. 4-5 3-4. KOLBERG 1882-89 Pokucie II Nos. 358-9 5. LINTUR 1959, 83 Carpathian Ukraine. (HORÁK 1917 gives 7 further variants.)

BYELO-RUSSIAN

1. SHEJN I/1 No. 518* 2-4. ibid. Nos. 516, 517, 519* 5. KARSKY, 328*.

LITHUANIAN

See SEEMANN 1951 Nos. 79-80.

SERBIAN-CROATIAN-SLOVENE

1. KURELAC No. 306 northwest Transdanubia 2. ibid. No. 486 ibid. 3. ŽGANEC 1924 Medumurje No. 109 4. Idem. 1950 Hrvatske No. 333 near Zagreb 5-11. idem 1950-52 Zagorje Nos. 98, 345a, 346ab, 511, 512a, 516b 12. HNP I No. 28 Sušak 13. HNP V No. 44 Srijan 14. BLAŽINČIĆ, 94* (relevance doubtful) 15-22. ŠTREKELJ I Nos. 344-351 Prekmurje, Medumurje and Slovenia.

BULGARIAN

1. STOIN 1928 Timok No. 1641 = A-V No. 66 2-4. ibidem 1642-3 No. 3638 5. BUKORESHLIEV No. 233 6-16. STOIN 1931 Sredna Nos. 1620-30 17-18. TSITSEKOVA 74, No. 81 19. IVANOV No. 72* 20. ARNAUDOV 1930 No. 8 21-25. SbNU 42 IVANOV Nos. 61-2, 64-5, 72 26. SbNU 42 MARIONOV No. 20 27. SbNU 16-17 Materialy, 94, No. 11.

Bibliography: GREGUSS 1865/1886: reference to Danish and Norwegian form without giving place. HARASZTI 1896: a French variant with parallel Hungarian. HORÁK 1917: detailed comparison of Slav variants with mentions of German, Danish and Piedmontese variants (French only from reference, one Hungarian on basis of German translation); origin Polish. ORTUTAY 1936 and DÁNOS 1938 (= ORTUTAY) quote HARASZTI, distant Roumanian variant and, in WARRENS' translation a Dutch; DÁNOS regards the Dutch as of Hungarian origin. ENTWISTLE 1939, 83-4: Danish, Swedish, Faroese, Icelandic, Italian and German variants "from Northern mythology". SEEMANN 1951: review of Lithuanian and northern Slav variants in connection with German. Cs-VARGYAS 1954: Danish, Norwegian variants.

The text runs: Three orphans are walking along, the Virgin Mary asks them: Where are you going, you three orphans? Stop, and I will give you a golden switch. Strike the graveyard with it. "Rise up, rise up, O mother dear, because our mourning clothes are torn!" "I cannot rise, my dear son, my sinews have rotted, my arms and my legs; my blood has run from me, and my soul, too, has left me." "Mother, give me the key to your coffin, let me open up your coffin and kiss your hands and feet!" "There is a young wife walking the earth, with painted cheeks: she is now to be your stepmother, and she will dress you. When she dresses you, your

backs will be covered with blood; when she gives you bread, your tears will fall. O God, look sometimes on the orphan, let him not have to take to tramping, begging from door to door, pitied at one and beaten at another..." Tekerőpatak, Csík C. Ethn 1908, 109 = Cs-VARGYAS No. 100 = (shortened) B No. 26 = Pt No. 137.

A rarer variant is the following from Szeged [Kálm. Alf. 5 (b)]:

(Starting in verse) Three orphans went to the churchyard gate, to their mother's grave. There stood the Virgin Mary: "Here are three switches, beat the churchyard, your mother's grave". "Rise up, rise up, dear mother! Mend our clothes for us, comb our hair! Our mourning clothes have worn to rags." "I cannot rise, my sons, my bones have fallen apart, my sinews are snapped, my eyes are sunk. You have a stepmother to look after you!" "A stepmother is only a stepmother, not like a real mother: iron her comb, and iron the food she gives, and iron the towel she dries us with. When she combs our hair, there is blood running down onto our heels." Their mother rose up and came to the edge of the grave; she mended their clothes and combed their hair: "Now, my sons, you must go home; your stepmother will ask who combed your hair and who mended your clothes. Say: A kind neighbour woman combed our hair and mended our clothes!"

The tale goes on in prose: The stepmother went there and scolded her for combing their hair. The next time they went, they said their real mother had mended their clothes. When they went the third time, their mother said: My sons, when you go home, do not come here again, because the Blessed Virgin Mary has allowed me to rise three times, but not more. And tell your stepmother that your real mother combed your hair and mended your clothes. The stepmother went to the graveyard and scolded the dead woman for having combed their hair. And then one day she disappeared..."

In a few Transylvanian and Moldavian variants the following part appears, usually right at the beginning, in the part about going into exile:

"The eldest orphan said: Let us go into exile: a long way away, to Moldavia. Said the youngest orphan: Let us not go into exile a long way away, to Moldavia. Kill me instead, take out my heart and my liver, wrap it in fine lawn, put it in a green chest, take it to Brassó and put it on the iron gate: let it be a warning to every orphan who has no mother." MNGY III, 78.

Hungarian research has overlooked two types to be found in the large ERK-BÖHME summary, as well as the numerous French variants, in spite of the translation referred to. In order to demonstrate the degree of relationship, we will give first the Danish poem, then the French ones, the Dutch and the German.

We can quote OLRİK's text, which blends elements from different variants:

THE MOTHER UNDER THE MOULD

Sir Björn rode up by land and lea,
 He wedded a maid so fair to see.
 He wedded the maiden Sölverlad.
 (Soft words ensnare so many a soul.)
 He wedded the lady Sölverlad,
 Sorrowful was she and seldom glad.
 They dwelt together eight years and more.
 Seven fair babes to him she bore.
 Death walked abroad through all the land.
 Then died that lady, the lily-wand.
 Sir Björn went faring far and wide,
 And wooed another to be his bride.
 Home to his garth did the train repair.
 And his bairnies went forth to greet them there.
 They kissed her cloak of the scarlet fine.
 "Now be thou welcome, sweet mother mine!"
 And with her foot she thrust them away.
 "Are these the first faces that meet me today?"
 Sir Björn he gave her purple and pall,
 To love and cherish his children small.
 Sir Björn gave her the gold so red,
 But she let the bairnies starve for bread.
 She took from them the bolsters of blue,
 And straw for their bed was all their due.
 Oh, sorely the bairnies wailed and wept,
 Till they wakened their mother where she slept,
 Late it was on Sabbath e'en,
 When souls should rest from toil and tene.
 To Heaven's hall she took her way,
 Leave from Jesus Christ to pray;
 "To Middle Earth would I go full fain,
 And speak with my bairnies once again!"
 "Yea, thou mayst go and do no wrong,
 But see thou tarry not over-long."
 From her grave she rose once more,
 Her coffin on her back she bore.
 To the house in haste she hied,
 Her eldest daughter stood there beside.
 "And do I see thee, daughter mine?
 How fares it with brothers and sisters thine?"
 "Goodsooth, thou art not mother mine,
 Wan is thy cheek as the white moonshine!"
 Into the chamber she took her way,
 To see the bed where her bairnies lay.
 Into the bed she looked, and saw
 That her bairnies lay in the barren straw.
 Down she sat all on her chair,
 She combed and plaited their golden hair.
 The smallest on her lap she set,
 And wept till her eyes with blood were wet.
 She went her way by stair and loft,
 Till she found Sir Björn a-sleeping so soft.
 All with her coffin she smote the door,
 "Rise up and speak with thy wife once more!"
 "No tryst have I set tonight, I ween,
 None enter my chamber so late at e'en."
 "Now wake proud Blidelil,
 That treateth my bairns so ill!

I brought thee a dower of gold so red,
 And thou lettest my bairnies starve for bread.
 I brought to thy homestead bolsters of blue,
 And straw for their bed is all their due,
 And if I come to thee once again,
 Then shall Blidelil die in dule and pain,
 When thou hearest the watch-hounds howl so high,
 Thou shalt know the dead are drawing nigh.
 Now doth the black cock crow,
 And to my grave I go."
 Scarce to her grave had she gone anew,
 When her bairns were laid 'mid the bolsters blue.
 Blidelil plaited their locks so bright,
 She pleased and played with them from morn till night.
 Whene'er she heard the watch-hounds bay,
 With the red, red gold did the bairnies play.

It will be seen that the parallel is a rather distant one, although there is undoubtedly some connection between the two ballads. The most striking thing is that the Danish is much longer than the Hungarian, although I have omitted the refrain and the line-repetitions. I must, however, observe that OLRİK frequently merged the elements from several variants. The longest Danish text—DgF 89A—consists of 46 verses, each of two long lines and one line refrain.

If we now jump over at once to the French, which has developed very uniformly, we see a much closer relationship. Let us take a very widespread variant from the Paris area (18.):

I know a plaintive song (*complainte*) about three children, whose mother died and their father married again. He took a bad wife, who beat the children. The youngest asked for a piece of bread. He was floored by a kick in the stomach. The eldest picked him up: "Get up, dear brother! Come, both of you, and let us go to the graveyard to find our mother." On the way they meet with our Lord Jesus Christ. "Where are you going to, three little angels?" "We are going to the graveyard to look for our mother." "Do not weep, you three little angels." "Rise up, poor soul, from Paradise! I will let you live fifteen years (elsewhere: seven) for bringing up your children." Came the fifteenth year. She began to weep. The children asked her: "Why are you weeping?" "I must go back to the graveyard today." "Do not weep, mother, we will go with you."

Instead of Jesus it is often Saint Michael, Peter, or John who helps, and even, among the Walloons of northern France (Departement du Nord, see Flemish 1., French 14.) the dear *Virgin Mary*. If to this we add that one southern French variant has: "Touch the woman's grave": (34.), then it is clear that there is a very close connection. In some Walloon and northern French variants (5., 13-14., 16-17.) the mother emerges from the grave and instructs the children how to behave, and if their stepmother asks who taught them, they must say their mother, rotting in the grave. Among other Flemings from France (Flemish 1.) they say, after their mother has risen and suckled the youngest "O mother, we are very hungry, *get up* and come begging with us." "Children, how can I get up, my body is locked in the ground, what you see is my soul." In German variants from

France—Lorraine and Moselle—(see PUYMAIGRE 1885. Folk-lore IIIa), there is no meeting with the sainted. The eldest says to the youngest: Let us three little children go and find our mother. When they reach the graveyard and their mother's grave, they say "O mother, dear mother, if only we could be with you!" "You cannot be with me, children, my bones are so heavily weighed down with soil." Then an angel comes down from Heaven and brings a chair for the mother, so that she can sit on it to teach the children how to take off their caps when they meet people. And if they are asked who taught them this, they are to say their mother, deep in the grave. Thus here, as in the Hungarian, the mother does not rise again, and yet the tale mixes variants of the resurrection among the details of its telling. The mother also emphasizes her helplessness, just as in the Hungarian.

In order to see the relation between the French and Hungarian ballads clearly, we must examine the variants in the entire German-speaking area. We can leave E—B 202b out of account, because it is a translation by Chamisso from the Lithuanian (see SEEMANN 1951 No. 79) which was later popularized again in several places with several different musical settings. E—B does not give the most generally known text which, beginning "*Ein Kind, noch klein und zart Zur arme Waise ward*", is extant nearly everywhere in German-speaking areas. (The DVA material includes 58 variants from the Rhine provinces to Dobruja and Volhynia. For printed variants see SEEMANN 1951 No. 80.) This, too, is a translation, in this case from the Czech, by J. Wenzig. A third form tells of a girl, weeping by her mother's grave whom death carries off. (The 34 variants in the DVA are also from a fairly wide area.) Since this form is different in essentials from our ballad, and the first two are of literary origin, we shall leave them out of consideration.

Thus we are left with the German version from France given by PUYMAIGRE (quoted above), which follows the northern French and Walloon texts, together with its paler copy (there are two orphans in this case, the grave opens, their mother actually rises and gives them a basket, telling them to go and beg with it); this variant appears, in addition to the Rhine province, here and there in Kurhessen, Pomerania and Grenzmark (DVA gives 13 variants); and further E—B 202a = MEINERT, 89 from the Kuhländchen area of Czechoslovakia, which SEEMANN describes as unique, and derives it from SUŠIL No. 159/339. A third type is extant in Gottschee among the Slovenes, which is a copy of the southern Slav variants. For the moment all we need realize is that it deviates from both of the German text-types referred to. In addition to these there are texts of undoubtedly later origin (perhaps from broadsides)—BVA 1026 from Breitenfeld and *Der Pott*, Berlin 1936, 73 (I am indebted to my Berlin colleague Doris STOCKMANN for these two notes) which appear to be recastings of MEINERT, 89.

Thus there is no general German type characteristic of the entire language area, which we might regard as a link between the French-Walloon and the Hungarian versions, but there are spots, isolated from one another, along the linguistic frontiers, into which the different variants obviously filtered from the French and the western Slavs.

We have still to consider NIGRA's Piedmont variants, which are, like the Italian ballads in general, southern reflections of the French concept. Since while agreeing in other details, they lack the motif of meeting with the sainted characters (and this is the most striking detail of the French-Hungarian relationship), it is not they that are to be connected with the Hungarian, but the northern French and Walloon texts.

Let us now return to the Hungarian ballad. In not quite one-fifth of our variants the Virgin Mary plays a part. Leaving out of account those fragments in which it cannot be ascertained whether she figured or not, she is missing from about 80%. These are in general shorter texts, and in very many of them the same formula—about the three switches—occurs which Mary uses in speaking to the orphans in the other texts, only without a speaker to say it. Such a thing can be regarded as erosion, like everything else that turns a concrete position, a person, into something abstract and impersonal. The texts from the western counties, which are fairly uniform and have no mention of Mary, seem quite like summaries. We should observe that many Hungarian variants may have referred to Mary in earlier times, to judge by the Moravian-Polish forms in which she figures, and which could have acquired this motif only from the Hungarian variants now without it.

Only five variants in the Szeged region have been preserved with the mother actually rising, tending her children, and giving them advice on how to reply if their stepmother questions them. Of these only *one* has kept the idea of her having permission to stay with her children only for a certain time. Only Transylvanian and/or Moldavian variants—twelve discovered so far—have kept the role of the youngest orphan and his conversation with his older brother, within the framework of a motif which we shall meet later (on page 34), and which occurs in other Hungarian ballads.

From the Hungarian version, then, we can establish the following sequence of developments: the Hungarian ballad once contained all the motifs in the French, except that the realistic details of the children's ill-treatment (kicking in the stomach) were replaced by stylized pictures: "when she combs our hair, there is blood on our heels" and so on, and it starts with the children's wanderings and their lament, while the stepmother's role is accordingly put in further on. The motif earliest dropped was the mother's actual rising and her attentions to her children, and particularly the time-limit set for her. On the other hand, the great number of variants in which the mother says she cannot rise, and their appearance in northern French and Walloon areas, warn us to be prepared for the parallel existence of the two solutions in Hungary, too. Later the ballad lost the figure of the Virgin Mary and the episode with the youngest and eldest orphan, preserved in an altered form, only by the Transylvanian area. At the end of the development we find the sketchy forms, without Mary, in the western counties where only the ill-treatment, in its Hungarian version, and the mother's words, remain of all the essential elements. A form like this then passed into the eastern half of the German-speaking areas, via the Czechs.

On the basis of the foregoing we can clarify the relation between the French and Hungarian texts. An apparent argument for the priority of the Hungarian is the inverted order of relation, which is more effective than the simple representation (we shall see that those who take it over for the most part break up the sequence into the natural order, so that this is not necessarily a characteristic of originality); secondly, the Hungarian description of the stepmother's brutality, which is distinctly more poetical than the French; and thirdly that in the Hungarian versions the heavenly figure is uniformly the Virgin Mary, while with the French it may be Jesus, or Saint Michael, or more rarely some other saint or the Virgin Mary.

In favour of French priority, however, is the fact that over most of that linguistic territory the tale is uniform in having the mother rise from the grave and tend her children for a limited time. The antiquity of this element is also proved by the markedly epic Danish formulation, in which the mother also rises from the grave and helps the children in some way. This can be explained only as a modified borrowing of the French ballad.

The second way of developing the story—the mother speaking but not rising from the grave—is in itself just as good as, and indeed poetically stronger than the first. But in the northern French—Walloon—Alsatian area the second occurs scattered among the first, while the entire French area has the first uniformly, so that we can only regard the Walloon form as a secondary renewal. Hence we must see the Hungarian, too, as secondary, in which similarly the two developments are found side by side, with the French version rare and the Walloon preponderant. There is no doubt that they were the origin of the Hungarian ballad, and where it differs from them we are dealing with later modifications by Hungarians.

Thus it was the French who spread the ballad of the Three Orphans to the Italians, Flemings, Dutch, the neighbouring Germans and the Danes, as well as—through their settlers—to the distant Hungarians.

Since the possibility of German or Italian intermediaries is thus ruled out, it is plain that the western and eastern variant areas, independent of each other, can have been related to each other only via the French settlers in Hungary, and thus the Slav variants could have originated only in the Hungarian. Nevertheless, let us take a quick look at the eastern European forms, too, and deduce from the texts themselves their relations one to another.

Among the Slovak forms there are hardly two that are uniform. The only common feature is that it is not three orphan boys who appear in them, but one girl. This at once takes them further away from the French-Hungarian common concept. In some variants the girl asks her mother to make her bridal garland (Slovak 2., 4., 12., 15.), to let her marry, and in some there is no mention of a stepmother (3., 4., 11., 15.). Elsewhere she says: Get up, get up, mother dear (1., 7.), and complains that the stepmother throws bread to her roughly, beats her when she washes her (1., 2., 14.), and that when she combs the girl's hair, blood flows (5., 14.). Sometimes there is the amplification that the stepmother treats her own child differently (2.). The motif of striking the grave also appears (9., 10., 13.), and in one text three times: the first time, the earth shakes, at

the second, blood flows, and at the third, the mother speaks (5.). There is a recurrence of the detail in which she refers her daughter to the stepmother ("you have a new mother" 14.), and even of the mother's words about her impotence: "Dear child, I should be happy if I could rise, but I am buried deep beneath the earth." (8.). There are, however, new elements: an angel takes the girl up into Heaven, and a devil carries the stepmother into Hell (5., 10., 14.); in 9. her father, mother, brother and sister all die; her stepmother gives her a stone instead of bread; and she strikes the grave with a switch given her by a beggar, but she calls only her mother forth.

However, these elements do not figure together, as in the Hungarian, but one here and one there, or at most two, appear among lyrical lines, and sometimes none is present; and for this reason the texts are shorter than the Hungarian average. But they all include the mother's answer to the orphan's complaint. On the other hand, with the exception of 13. there is no mention of their meeting with Mary, whereas this occurs in the Moravian texts. The whole beginning of the latter is more reminiscent of the Hungarian ballad than are the Slovak versions: the orphan girl goes to visit her mother; she meets an old man; this is sometimes the Lord God (in Slovak 13. Jesus); in other cases the girl goes direct to the gravedigger; the old man asks where she is going to, shows her her mother's grave, and advises her to break off a switch and strike the graveyard. At this the mother speaks from the grave: Who is knocking on my grave? (Thus Slovak 13. too). From here onwards the texts agree with the similar parts of the Slovak texts. Then appears the blood flowing after combing, washing with beating; sometimes this is further developed with such details as "When it is dinner-time, she sends us to draw water; when it is supper-time, she sends us outside the door" and similar things. Here, too, angels carry the child to Heaven, while devils take the stepmother to Hell. At the end of one variant there is a knock at the door; the orphan hurries to open the door, but only hears a voice scolding the father, and then his head is torn off, while the stepmother is dragged off to Hell.

The Czechs follow the Moravian texts with various degrees of deviation. A wider deviation from the Moravian is that the orphan draws a comparison between the treatments accorded to her by her mother and stepmother. We do not find in them the meeting with the heavenly being or the striking of the grave. By contrast the ending is amplified: the child goes home from the grave and dies there, or the mother rises from the grave and kills the stepmother.

In the Polish texts, too, occur the poetic lines: "When she combs our hair, our blood flows" and it even reaches the Lithuanians, and, similarly to the Slovak texts, there is a mention of how the stepmother changes their clothes (see the texts of several Hungarian variants "When she dresses you, your backs . . ."), and the meeting with Jesus occurs, too, with the advice to break a switch and strike the graveyard with it. Finally two angels come for her and carry her up into Heaven, while the Devil takes the stepmother to Hell.

The Ukrainian version goes into great detail about the punishment, and here the child does in fact die.

The Lithuanian ballad is a borrowed version of the Polish, while among the Byelo-Russians only the debris of the common tale is to be found.

In Polish and Ukrainian areas the carriers were singing beggars, and consequently their versions end with long moralizations.

The main deviation from the French-Hungarian in the northern version is that one girl takes the place of the three boys (N.B.: the Hungarian does not say specifically that the orphans are boys), and that at the end appears the punishment or the transport to Heaven. At the same time, as we have seen, the more remote the version from the Hungarian, the fewer the details agreeing with the French. But the variants follow the inverted order of events of the Hungarian ballad, and begin with the orphan looking for the mother's grave. Thus these peoples could have received this ballad only from Hungary by the following routes: the Slovaks and the Moravians, perhaps separately, directly from Hungary, the Slovaks perhaps later, hence the variant elements filtering in at the same time from the other neighbouring peoples also appear; it seems to have gone on from the Moravians northward to the Poles and Lithuanians, and westward to the Czechs and on to the neighbouring Germans.

In connection with the motif of the meeting with the heavenly beings SEEMANN (1951) quotes HORÁK's view that it was of Polish origin, and that Moravian and Croat pilgrims may have heard it in Częstochowa and carried it elsewhere. This view ignores the Hungarian and French correspondences.

In the south, among the Croats and Slovenes we meet texts of a different character, very similar among themselves, with only the first two deviating. It is striking that these two are from a small dialect-area and yet are fairly different one from the other, (and a form has also turned up from this area which agrees with the rest). In 1. there is nothing of the epic details of the texts we have dealt with so far: in a single long complaint the orphan says the mother's mouth, in the earth, is unable to speak, and that her hair has dissolved in the black soil, and bewails the stepmother's wicked ill-treatment (here we do not hear the familiar phrases about blood gushing out in the wake of the comb or the other motifs which appear with it). The mother speaks and entrusts the orphan to God's keeping. But in 2. there is again word of three orphans, who meet Saint Peter, and he shows them their mother's grave. There is no word of a switch, or of the other details, but the dead mother begs her sons, in the order of their age, to raise her head, body, and legs; however, they cannot, for her head has become a white stone, her body black earth, her legs two tree-trunks. We must regard these two variants in the knowledge of the entire variant series as a dim reflection of the common story, in which the process of erosion has worked longest on the original material. It is in any case striking to see how far they are separated from the neighbouring Transdanubian Hungarian variants.

Other, western Transdanubian, Croatian and Slovene variants are closer to each other, and in all of them we find the characteristic traits of the market-singers. The majority of them begin with market-place appeal for attention: "*Poslušajte vi ljudi* (or: *kristjani*), *Kak žene tak i*

muži, Što se jeste zgodilo U 'noj zemlji Madžarskoj!" [9: "Listen, you people (or: Christians), both men and women, to what happened on Hungarian soil!" See also 4-6., 12., 16-20]. They mostly refer to Hungary in this formula, very rarely to "Croatia" or "our country". This indicates that their singers acquired the story from their Hungarian colleagues (or perhaps directly from the Hungarian ballad). Since the collector added the note to several variants that they were obtained from blind beggars, or were "blind men's songs" (3-4., 12.), there can be no question but that they originate from market-singers. Further evidence of this, moreover, is the lengthy closing moralization. All of these elements are well known from LAJOS TAKÁCS's excellent description, as well as the way in which both the market-place singers and the blind singers get their material from each other. One of his informants owns that he most frequently told the tale of the "orphans", which, however, is fairly remote from the Hungarian folk ballad. If, however, we remember that the oldest Croat text, which betrays an undoubted Hungarian chronicle origin, was published in 1859 (17.), we can understand this change, for our tale had been living, and developing, for a rather long time at the hands of the Hungarian rhyming chroniclers. Thus it is clearer here that we are dealing with a modern effect of broadsides in Hungary.

The southern Slav texts differ from the Hungarian in that in accordance with the character of the broadside it assembles the happenings in order, not jumbled as in the Hungarian ballad: a mother has died, her husband taken another wife, and the stepmother has been ill-treating the orphans, etc. (as in the French ballad again). And finally the mother sends her children to the Blessed Virgin (mostly the one in Bistrica), saying that she will now be their mother. In this last motif something has been preserved of one of the chief incidents of the Hungarian ballad, the meeting with the heavenly being, for in these texts the children always approach the bell-ringer, and he shows them their mother's grave.

There can be no doubt that these variants are secondary, and that they originate in the Hungarian ballad.

The two Transdanubian Croat variants just dealt with may have preserved the remnants of an earlier borrowing, because they lack the chronicle-like details referred to earlier, and are very fragmentary and worn. And all the other Croat-Slovene poems are modern borrowings via broadsides.

The majority of the Bulgarian variants are only distantly related to the Hungarian ballad, for here a shepherd plays his pipe beside the grave, from which comes the voice of his master's dead wife, asking whether he has married again, and whether the new wife is treating the children well. (In this case, they are twins.) When she hears the contrary, she asks him to besprinkle the grave and light candles. At this the grave opens, the mother hurries home, and takes the children with her to the grave.

There are, however, two texts (4., 21.), in which one girl weeps on her mother's grave mound and begs her to come out to her. Her mother replies: I cannot rise, the black earth weighs on my body... There is also mention of her stepmother, too. This may well be connected with the series of themes

we are concerned with, and may be regarded as a connecting link to the other Bulgarian type, which, however, undoubtedly further developed the common action individually, and is an entirely independent form. If in fact there is a connection, the theme may have reached them directly from the Hungarians, for I know of no intermediate Serbian variants.

Thus the Hungarian ballad spread far from Hungary to its northern and southern neighbours, and through them to the Germans, too, and there, from scattered borrowings, via literary treatments, spread in wide circles.

TAKE OUT MY HEART

In some Hungarian ballads—the Three Orphans, Anna Betlen, The Brigand's Wife—appears the following lament: And take out my heart, wash it in wormwood-wine, wrap it in fine lawn, lock it in a chest, and take it into Barassó (the nearest large town thereabouts). Let it be a warning to all . . . and so on (SzNd 31). Sometimes the expression is “my heart and liver”, and instead of fine lawn a linen dress or paper, for wormwood-wine “tepid wine”, and one item or other may be left out. Variants:

HUNGARIAN

(a) *Betlen Anna* (see for example GRAGGER 1926 No. 20, ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 19) 1. MNGY III, 18 2. Erd. Muz. 23, 49 Szabéd 3. EA 2299, 249 Csókfalva, Maros-Torda C. (out of 4 variants).

(b) *Three Orphans* 1. EA 2276, 60 Árkos, Háromszék C. 2. MNGY III, 78 Kis-Bacon (Băţanii), Udvarhely C. 3. MNGY VII, 7 Mirisló (Mrisilău), Alsó-Fehér C. 4. SzNd No. 31 Kászónújfalva (Casinu Nou), Csík C. 5. S 47 Gajcsán (Găiceana), Moldavia-Egyházaskozár, Baranya C. 6. DOMOKOS No. 27 Gajcsán (Găiceana), Moldavia 7. MF 3273b II. Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Moldavia 8. Domokos No. 28 Trunk (Galbeni), Moldavia 9. MSZ 6382 Bergyila, Moldavia 10. MSZ 6381 Lécped (Lespezi), Moldavia 11. MSZ 6378 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia (out of 92 variants).

(c) *The Brigand's Wife* (see for example GRAGGER 1926 No. 22, ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 26) 1. BARTALUS III No. 8 Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu-Mureş) 2. EA 2299, 278 Udvarhely C. 3. EA 2299 Lengyelfalva, Udvarhely C. 4. EA 2299, 280 Rugonfalva (Rugăneşti), Udvarhely C. 5. EA 2276, 7 Alsórákos, Udvarhely C. 6. Nyr 4, 567 Háromszék C. 7. MNGY XI, 194 Háromszék 8. S 29 Lécped (Lespezi), Moldavia-Mekényes, Baranya C. 9. MCSB 12a Lécped, Moldavia 10–11. MSZ 6266, 6375 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia 12–14. MSZ 6374, 6377, 6390 Lécped, Moldavia (out of 49 variants; sometimes the washing in vermouth is omitted; if the head is taken there is sometimes no mention of the heart, but the head is to be washed and wrapped in lawn).

(d) *The Girl Abducted by Soldiers* 1. MSZ 6277 Lécped (Lespezi), Moldavia 2. FARAGÓ 1965, 244 Racila, Moldavia

FRENCH

“*Le capitaine tué par le déserteur*” 1. Wallonia I, 36, 1893 2. BUJEAUD II, 213 Angoumois 3. LIBIEZ III No. 21 Hainaut, Belgium 4. CANTELOUBE IV, 157 Ile-de-France 5. PUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 171 6. *ibid.* 172—3 note 7. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol, 421 Canada 8. UDRY, 196 Seine. In some manuscript Walloon variants our motif is already missing.

ITALIAN

1–4. NIGRA No. 27A—D (E, G, missing, F: cannot be established) Piedmont. There is no comparative material.

The French parallel originates in a ballad with a fairly new tone. A young man crossed in love goes to be a soldier, kills his officer in a duel, because he boasts of having had favours from the young man's beloved. Before his execution the young man says: “Que l'on mette mon coeur Dans un' serviette blanche, Qu'on le porte à ma mie, Qui demeure au pays En disant: c'est le coeur De votre serviteur” (2., 3.). “On env'loppra mon coeur Dans un' serviette blanche . . .” etc. (4., 8.). “Coupez mon coeur en quatre, Envoyez-le à Paris, A Paris chez ma mie, Quand elle verra, Elle s'en repentira” (5.). And finally the equivalent of the worm wood-wine appears, too: “Qu'on ensevelisse mon coeur Dans un' serviette blanche, Qu'on le porte à Paris A mamzelle Julie, Qu'elle me fasse l'honneur De recevoir mon coeur. Elle prit son coeur, Le mit dans une cantine, Dans cantine d'eau-de-vie”—it must have been originally the soldier who said this last sentence, because it goes on: “Soldats de mon pays, Ne l'dit's pas à ma mère . . .” etc.—he speaks to the end of the poem. It was probably originally: “Qu'elle prit mon coeur . . .” etc. (6.).

The French ballad, together with our formula, reached the Piedmont Italians in the form: “take my heart and carry it to my Margherita”. In other words, there is nothing in it about wrapping in lawn or washing in wine or spirit, so that it is again not to be directly connected with the Hungarian. The only question is whether we should picture it passing from the French into Hungarian, or vice versa. Since it is found in Hungarian several times in a more complete form, we might conclude that this is the original. But in the French it always appears in a single ballad in which it belongs to the sequence of events, whereas in the Hungarian it appears in several plots in which it has no necessary connection with the action: the story is a complete whole even without it. Thus in the Hungarian we find it torn out of its original context, and inserted subsequently as a formula. This indicates that the Hungarians borrowed it, but have preserved it in an older form, while the tone of the French ballad was considerably altered in later times.

JESUS SEEKING LODGING

HUNGARIAN

1. MNGY VIII, 226 Balaton district 2–4. BN, 331—334.

FRENCH

1–2. Wallonia XIII, 24, 56, 1905 Herbeumont, Prouvy, Belgium 3. CANTELOUBE IV, 86 Picardy 4. *idem* II, 91 5. D'HARCOURT No. 12 6. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol, 241 7. BARBEAU—SAPIR, 73 Canada 8. BEAUQUIER, 175 Franche-Comté 9–11. MILLIEN 17 A—C Nivernais 12. ROSSAT 1917 II, 2 13. ROSSAT religieuses, 433 Switzerland 14. BLADÉ 1881—2, 21 Gascony 15. ARBAUD I, 59 Provence 16. Tiersot 1903 Alpes, 92 17. CHAMPFLEURY, 5 18. JAF 1919 No. 123 p. 19* 19. Romania, 467 1873* 20. La Chanson Française I, 6 1908 p. 13* 21. GUILLON, 9* 22. TRÉBUCQ II, 198.*

Bibliography: SEBESTYÉN in MNGY VIII, 226, Notes, 1906; BN 1940 I, 335—6; Cs-VARGYAS 1954 No. 19, Note. Without comparative observations.

The text of 4. runs: "Good evening, rich innkeeper! Will you give lodging to Jesus Christ as is his due?" "I cannot give Jesus Christ lodging, for I have wealthy guests arriving, and they would make a mock of him!" "Go, Peter, to the outskirts of the town, where a poor widow lives." "Good evening, Widow Veronica! Will you give lodging to Jesus Christ?" "Indeed I'll give lodging to Jesus Christ as is his due. I've a little house, and three beds made up; He can sleep in whichever He likes!" Jesus laid himself down in one of the fine beds, and Saint Peter waited for Him to go to sleep. At His head rose a bright sun, at His feet rose a sparkling moon.

As the list shows, *this is known only in French-speaking areas*. A very uniformly-distributed poem there refers to Jesus begging from door to door in beggars' clothing. "Give me the crumbs left over from the meal". The master will not give even the crumbs, for they are needed for his dogs, which catch hares for him, but the poor man is of no use to him. The master's wife, however, takes pity on the poor beggar, gives him food, then takes him to her own room to give him a bed. She finds the room bathed in light. Jesus makes Himself known, and explains that the light is the light of her good deeds and the effulgence from angels. Sometimes the sun and moon figure: *En entrant dans la chambre se forme un' grand' clarté. Dites-moi donc, la pauvre, Qu'est-ce qui reluit ici: C'est le jour qui donne Ou bien la lune qui luit? C'est ni le jour qui donne Ni la lune qui luit: ce sont vos bon's aumones Qui ouv'rnt le Paradis.* Then He foretells that she will die in three days' time and will go to Heaven, but her husband will incur damnation.

The French is obviously the original, with the Saviour in disguise meeting with bad and good treatment, and with punishment and reward being delivered correspondingly, and not the Hungarian, where they know from the start that they are dealing with Jesus, and yet turn him away, and moreover the apologue is also omitted. Our versions have given new meaning to the radiance and the sun and moon references, which in the French ballad led to the recognition of Jesus, and have brought in a very poetic picture, the origin of which we shall go into in another chapter (page 159). And this has necessitated a different ending: the glorification of the merciful woman is omitted, and is replaced by that of Jesus. In spite of this there are obvious correspondences with the contrasted callous rich husband and the merciful wife, Jesus in the role of a beggar, and the radiance in the room.

THE GIRL DANCED TO DEATH (e.g. BARTÓK 1924 Nos. 34b, 176a GRAGGER 1926 No. 29, ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 54.)

HUNGARIAN

I know of 216 variants from the entire language area. This number, however, could be doubled from the material gathered by the Folk Music Research Group and from the later collections which have not been studied. This ballad can be collected even today from practically every part of the country.

FRENCH

1. Manuscript Liège, Belgium 2. AMPÈRE, 250 3. LIBIEZ III No. 33 + note on page 92, Hainaut, Belgium 4. BEAUREPAIRE, 144 = WECKERLIN 1887, 4 = HAUPT, 1 Avranchin, Normandy 5. DAVENSON No. 19 (quoted at second hand; I have been unable to discover the original) 6. CHOLEAU, 223,* Upper Brittany 7. Romania 7, 82 Tousaint Chavanaz 8. BEAUQUIER, 81 Franche-Comté 9. BUCHON No. 31 Franche-Comté 10. D'HARCOURT No. 99 Canada 11. Melusine I, col. 189* Vagny, Vosges 12-17. MILLIEN 1906, 137A—E + var. Nivernais 18-20. ROSSAT 1917 6A—C Valais, Jura, Switzerland 21. UDRY, 63 Corrèze 22. CANTELOUBE III, 168 Bas-Limousin 23. CANTELOUBE I, 52 Provence 24. ARBAUD II, 139 Provence 25. TIERSOT 1931, 263 Dauphiné 26. TIERSOT 1903 Alpes, 113. See also DONCIEUX No. 29 (reconstructed text): 20 variants listed, several of them not accessible to me.

ITALIAN

1-3. NIGRA 20A—C Piedmont 4. FERRARO 1870 Monf. No. 8 (fragment).

ENGLISH, AMERICAN

CHILD No. 73, 9 variants SHARP-K No. 19, 31 variants BELDEN, 37 12 variants + list of variants since CHILD including SHARP—about 100 in number.

DANISH

DgF 210A—B + 2 supplements.

GERMAN

1-3. HAUFFEN, 71—2, No. 79 Gottschee.

Not relevant: D. Vlr. No. 68 (E—B No. 186), CHILD No. 64 and the corresponding Scandinavian versions.

Bibliography: The Hungarian ballad is not listed in foreign publications, although CHILD quotes it in connection with No. 64, wrongly (cf. ORTUTAY³). GRAGGER 1926, 191 quotes Gottschee variants and also ORTUTAY. DÁNOS 1938, 113 quotes CHILD No. 34 erroneously. SOLYMOSSY 1937: connects it with a new, local happening. HODGART 1950: English and Scandinavian versions from the French; the latter from 12th century French lyric songs. DÖMÖTÖR 1954: arose in Ság and Bük, Vas County) from a local occurrence. CS-VARGYAS 1954, 476: the Gottschee German version from the Hungarian. KRIZA I. Ms 1964: detailed analysis on the basis of 240 variants, with a functional review, neglecting the comparative results.

The text runs: "Good evening, Mistress Csáti (the judge's wife)! No doubt my darling is already asleep?" "Yes, she is asleep in the back room under her red quilt." "If she sleeps, wake her up, send her to the ball. Tell her to put on her blue silk dress, her crimson boots, and two pairs of golden rings on her fingers." "Good evening, good evening, why did you send for me?" "Come, sit beside me, and I'll tell you why." "I came not to sit, nor yet to rest, but to make merry with my darling for a while". "Play up, gipsy, from evening till midnight, from midnight to dawn!" "Let me go to rest a little, to pour the blood out of my crimson boots!" "You cannot, you may not, you cannot go out! The musicians must not stop to rest!" "Cursed the father, cursed the mother, who let their only daughter go to the ball in the evening, without seeing her till eight in the

morning, when she is brought home dead."—The bell is tolled at noon: Judge Csáti's daughter is being buried in a beautiful silken dress and white veil, with her chaplet of pearls on her shoulders. Cs-VARGYAS No. 69.

Let us break up this text into its motifs, setting beside them the most important deviations in the variants, too.

(1.) Invitation to the ball, with the request that the girl put on a striking dress. In some cases the girl's mother tells her to do this, and sometimes there is a mention of a wedding, for example: "Come in, Kati, my child, the young men are inviting you to a wedding at Sári." "I will not go, mother, for I know it will not be good. It is to be János Árvadi's wedding." "Kati, my child, put on your fine red skirt, and your pretty crimson boots! Put ten pairs of golden rings on your fingers, and break your darling's heart!"—BARTÓK 1924, 176a.

(2.) The girl arrives, and asks why she was invited, or who invited her. The young man seats her beside him and offers her a drink (very rare). Example: "Good evening, false lover, why did you send for me?" "Sit down beside me, *have a drink*, and I'll tell you at once." (Nyr 18, 336 Hanva, in the Palots country.)

(3.) The girl's answer (rare): "I came not to sit ... but to dance".

(4.) The young man calls to the musicians. (In other versions): "Come, musicians, play till morning, till the Csát magistrate's daughter falls asleep" or "Musicians of Csát, play till the morning for the Ság magistrate's daughter" BN, 196—9; "Musicians, O twelve musicians!" Ethn 1910, 238 Mihály-Gerge.

(5.) The girl asks to drop out of the dance. Generally once, but sometimes (in about ten cases) with a three-part intensification:

"Let me go, for I'm on the point of death, my fine silk skirt is sticking to my body!" "I care not whether you die, or if you leave this world: if you will not be mine, you shall be no one else's!", etc.; then: "Let me go, ... etc., My ten pairs of golden rings are making my fingers swell! ... etc., and finally: "... The blood has clotted in the shanks of my boots!" BARTÓK 1924, 176a.

(6.) The cursing of the thoughtless parents who allow their daughter to go to the ball alone.

(7.) The tolling of the bell at midday for the girl's burial. This is sometimes replaced by the "speaking corpse" ending: "Will you have a walnut coffin made for me? ..." and then "Will you have three bells rung for me?", no doubt on the basis of the connection with the bell.

(8.) In a few (6 or 8) cases the girl's death is followed by the young man's, for example PAP No. 10: "Good day, kind Mistress Sári (the judge's wife)! I've come again to call on Mistress Sári, and Kata Sallai." The narrator of the ballad added: "Then Kelemen Daryas Kis fell on the dead body of beautiful Kata Sallai and there he died." Frequently this is only implied by the formula with which the ballad of the Disgraced Girl announces, at its end, the lover's suicide: "Let my blood mingle with yours in one stream", etc. This is why in some variants the whole final scene of the Disgraced Girl comes into the Hungarian text, with the sending away of the lover in order to hide from him his sweetheart's death.

(9.) We must mention as motifs the various reasons given, at various points in the story, beginning, middle or end, to explain the "dancing to death". (A) The young man is poor, the girl disdains him, and for this he seeks revenge, for example: "Come to the dance with me to make merry!" "I will not go with you, for your shirt-cuffs are greasy" BARTÓK 1924 176a. (B) Because she would not be his (an example of this was given under (5.) or at the beginning of the ballad: "I asked for your hand, Rózsika Szalai, not once or twice, but a dozen times" BARTÓK 1924 No. 34; "I will not let you go, I have often asked for your hand, but in vain" Ethn 1910, 238; "I will not let you go, seven times I have asked for your hand, but if I cannot have you, then no one else shall" MSz 1846, etc. (C) The Devil dances with the girl in the form of her sweetheart or another young man. (D) The girl boasts that no-one can surpass her at dancing, and so the Devil comes for her, to dance her to death. (Kálm. Alf. 7b) (E) Because she keeps two lovers, the two young men as a punishment dance her to death (Transylvania—Moldavia—Bukovina). (F) No reason given, the young man is blamed for the crime, and in fact he is punished for it in prison. This may be a modified form of the young man's death after the girl's.

All this varied motivation also shows the weakness of the Hungarian ballad, namely that there is not always a clear reason given: the tragic happening is related without any certain knowledge being given as to why it happens, and the variants hint afterwards, vaguely or in different ways, at the explanations given above.

The action becomes clearer if we examine the French parallel, a very widespread ballad known under the title of "Les tristes noces" or "L'abandonnée à trois robes". Let us take some of its motifs in turn on the basis of all the variants (with the numbers given to the Hungarian motifs, but in the order of the French ballad).

(1a.) The couple are secret lovers for seven years, then the young man is forced by his father to marry another girl. (This is not always present in the text.) (1b.) The young man comes to tell his sweetheart that he is to marry someone else at his father's wish. "Is she more beautiful than I?" asks the girl. "No, only richer." (1c.) Then the young man asks her to come to the wedding. "I will not come to the wedding, but only to the dance." (1d.) He asks her to dress in fine clothes; in many cases he lists what she is to wear, for example: "Dans tous les cas que vous venez, Mettez la plus bell' de vos robes. Mettez la cell' de satin gris, Votr' beau chapeau couleur de rose" (10.), or even buys things for her: "Je vous achèterai Les trois couleurs de robes Une sera le vert, L'autre s'ra orangée. L'autre de fin velours, La plus belle de toutes" (23.). Often, however, the listing comes when the girl dresses, or has the three kinds of dress made. One or two variants add that she dresses up like this in order to show her noble origin.

(2a.) On her arrival everyone thinks she is the bride. (2b., 3.) (Rare): The young man offers her food and drink, to which she says she has not come to eat and drink, but to dance with her beloved. "De tout loin qu'on la voit, On lui présent à boire. J'n' veux boir' ni manger, Mais faire un tour de danse" (26.). "Galant, moi j'y viendrai Pour manger ni pour boire,

Galant, moi j'y viendrai Pour faire un tour de danse" (22.). "De loin la voit venir, Lui fait rincer un verre: Buvez, belle, mangez. Je n'veux manger ni boire. Le marié la prend Par sa douce main blanche: Allons, belle, danser..." (12.). Dèy tot loun qu'ir lo vet Ir vayt le pôrtà' beûre. Beûre, iouï vole pas; Vole fa' no boureillo." (21.)

(4.) In some variants he calls to the musicians: "Beau musicien français, toi qui joues bien les danses, Oh! joue moi-z-en donc une, que ma mie puisse la comprendre!" (5.). "Jouez, violons, jouez! Ah! jouez une danse!" (23.). "Toucatz, viourouns, toucatz, Ah! toucatz uno danso!" (24.).

(5.) A fair number of variants preserve the motif of the girl changing her dress after each dance. "Tout en dansant un premier tour, elle change de robe. Tout en dansant au second tour, en met encore une autre, Tout en dansant au troisième tour, la belle tomba morte." (9.) Cf. 8., 12., 20. "A tout' dans' qu'ell' dansait, La bell' changeait de robe. N'eut pas changé trois fois, La belle est tombée morte" (13.).

(8.) Where the dress-changing motif has been lost, the girl dies after the first dance, and the young man after her, or after the third or fourth; or they both die together: one falls to the right, the other to the left. Sometimes he stabs himself to the heart over the girl's dead body with the words familiar in the Hungarian ballads, too: "You have died for me, and I will die for you." "Si mourez pour m'amour, moi, je meurs pour le votre" (5.), "Puisqu'elle est morte pour moi, je veux mourir pour elle" (7.).

(7.) The bell tolled for the dead also appears, in rare cases. "Marguillier, beau marguillier, Toi qui sonn' bien les cloches, Sonn' les pitieusement!..." (12.), "Faut aller aux sonneurs, Ceux qui sonnent les cloches." (8.)

(6.) The invited guests, with almost general agreement, mourn the death of the lovers: "Quel' tristes noces" and blames the father: "Le père a eu grand tort de n'pas l'avoir donnée" and even the young man: "L'galant eût plus grand tort de n'pas l'avoir enl'vée!" (13.), "Ah! que c'est dommage Que ces deux amoureux Ils soient morts d'amourette!" (26.), "Tous les gens qui étaient présents s'disaient les uns aux autres: Voilà le sort des amoureux qui en épousent d'autres." (9.), "Les gens allaient disant: Hélas! la triste noce, De voir deux amoureux À mourir l'un pour l'autre" (12.).

(10.) Sometimes intertwined flowers grow out of their remains (4., 5.).

As we see, there is hardly a motif in the French which is not represented in the Hungarian, only in a different order (motifs 6-8.). Missing is (1a), the seven-year secret love—perhaps this is represented in the Hungarian by the seven times of asking. Another thing missing is (1b.), the announcement that the young man is to marry another girl. These are sometimes left out of the French, too. Their complete absence is the cause of the vagueness as to the reason for the "dancing to death". Nos (2a.), thinking the girl the bride, because of her fine clothes, and (10.), the flowers growing out of the grave, are omitted. But every main motif in the Hungarian has in some way a connection with the French. No. (1.), the invitation to the ball, sometimes to a wedding, and in the majority it is the girl's sweetheart

who invites her. The origin of the "ball" may be the ever-recurring detail in the French that the girl does not wish to go to the wedding, but only to the dance. Both nations agree that the young man prescribes what she is to wear, or in some way describes her dress. Nos (2. and 3.) are identical, but rare among both peoples: the offering of food and drink to the girl, and her words of rejection. Then follows (4.), the part about the musicians, which is inevitable in the Hungarian. No. (5.), the girl's thrice-uttered request for a pause to rest, because her dress is sticking to her body, obviously corresponds to the French girl's three changes of clothing, except that in the French the object is to show the girl's pride, whereas in the Hungarian it is to bring out gradually her agony. For the Hungarian versions have, by using this motif, made of the moving French story of the death of two parted lovers, a touching drama. No. (6.) "Cursed be the father" etc. is identical in function with the general French closing moralization. No. (7.), the bell-ringing agrees entirely, and No. (8.), the double death, is present in traces in the Hungarian ballad, while the girl's death follows the French completely.

While the Hungarian is poetically more powerful and effective, particularly in the "dancing to death" scene, and in several other details of the text, its structure is uncertain on one point, and the narrative is not uniform at the beginning; the French, on the other hand, is a logical story from beginning to end, and uniform in every variant. Therefore it must be the original. But in the Hungarian the opening almost regularly leaves out the starting point of the young man throwing the girl over, thus giving no motivation for the dancing to death. That is why it was necessary to reverse the rich-and-poor contrast: the young man has his revenge on the rich girl who scorns him for his poverty. For this, too, it was the French which gave the inspiration, with its detailed description of the girl's dress.

Some variants of the French ballad appeared in Piedmont, too, and in this case, too, they are practically word-for-word copies, with a few slight omissions or alterations. In these it is particularly significant that the girl says what dress she will be wearing, so that her sweetheart will recognize her—which is obviously secondary and robs the story of its point. Also missing are motifs (2b. and 5-7.): the offering of wine, the reply: "I did not come for that", the change of clothing, the remarks by the guests, and the calling of the bell-ringer. It is clear that the Hungarian did not originate in this, but in the French.

The English story takes us even further. It is still connected to the French by recognizable threads, but its relationship to the Hungarian is already unrecognizable without the French. Here, too, the young man invites his sweetheart to his wedding to another, and in one or two cases he asks her to put on fine clothes, but mostly it is the girl who does this of her own accord. There is strong emphasis on her beauty and its effect, of which the bride is jealous, there is an exchange of words between the two women, and the bride stabs the other, at which the bridegroom stabs her dead, and then himself. This tale goes on to the Scandinavians.

We must separate this group from the German ballad mentioned in the list, although Hungarian research hitherto has not investigated

it. In this, the hero hears from his coachman, or a huntsman, that his young sister is pregnant. He has her called to him, and according to some variants makes her dance until milk comes from her breast, or in some cases until blood comes out of her shoes. Then he beats her to death. The dying girl admits that the King of England is the father of her child, at which her brother is sorry she has not said so before; he would have had a rich brother-in-law. This story seems to be connected to the story above only by the death-dance, and no other part of the text agrees with it, nor is the ending similar. The Germans regard this as a ballad acquired from the Scandinavians, which becomes more and more confused and contaminated as it moves south. My view is that it originally arose from another French ballad: "La soeur substituée à la femme enceinte" (e.g. MILLIEN, 110-112). A knight hears from the song of a peasant girl that his betrothed is pregnant. When the latter sees him arriving, she sends her young sister to meet him, on her mother's advice, in her own clothes, but the knight sends her back, and asks for his real betrothed. She comes to see him, pale of face—in some variants at the ball, where he makes her dance, and stabs her breast with his dagger: if milk appears, he will kill her, if blood, he will be satisfied. The story ends: "Tambours et violon, Ma mie est morte!"—almost the same mood as in the Hungarian "Unfaithful Wife Burned to Death".

In Gottschee, on the other hand, the German-speaking area among the Slovenes (once Austrian, now in Yugoslavia, near to the former Hungarian frontier) we find details of the Hungarian ballad in a word-for-word borrowing. I know of no Slovene variant and must therefore assume that it was acquired directly from the Hungarians, and indeed, in former times harvest workers used to go from what was then Austria over to Transdanubia for seasonal work.

THE GIRL ABDUCTED BY TURKS

HUNGARIAN

1. Ethn. 1914, 36 Magyarszentmihály, Torontál County

FRENCH

1. SMITH Romania 7, 68 (contamination) 2. DECOMBE No. 104.

BRETON

- 1-2. ROLLAND III, 186a-b 3-4. CANTELOUBE IV, 391, 384.

ROUMANIAN

1. ALEXICS, 279 Lagerdorf, Temes County 2. PAPAHAĞI 1925 Maramureş No. 408 Săpinta 3. id. No. 362 Budeşti 4. id. No. 367 Creceşti 5-7. BIBICESCU 271, 261, 267 Előpatak 8. TEODORESCU, 635 Brassó area 9-10. VULCANU, 8 = MARIENESCU, 45 and 28 11. TOCILESCU 1/2, 1248 Soreşti, Gorjiu 12. TOCILESCU I/1, 35 Runcurelu, Mehedinţi 13. SEVASTOS, 311 Moldavia 14. VASILIU No. 26 Tataruş, Suceava 15. Balade, 88 Smeura, Piteşti 16. BRĂILOIU, 98 Muscel, Priboeni 17. MOLDOVAN, 48

Variants related only in detail:

BULGARIAN

1. A-V No. 143 Gornodzhumaisko 2-4. ARNAUDOV 1913 Elensko Nos. 84-86 5. SbNU 11, 36 No. 6 Leshko 6. STOIN 1928 Timok No. 2740 Gyurgich, Belogradchishko 7. STOIN 1934 Rodop No. 174 Gr. Chepelare 8. id. No. 340 Petkovo.

SERBO-CROAT

- 1-2. VUK I Nos. 721-2 3. HNP 7 No. 358+ 4. RAJKOVIĆ No. 221.+

SLOVAK

1. Sl. Sp. I No. 418 = HORÁK 1958 No. 29 Nitrianska 2. SL'P II No. 602 Turie Pole 3. KOLEČÁNY Nos 7 Ság, Hlohovecky okr. 4. MEDVEČKY 1906 Detva, 253 5-6. KOLLÁR II No. 6-7 7. NĚMCOVA 13, 59* 8. VÁCLAVÍK, 304* 9. MEDVEČKY 1923 No. 4* 10-11. Sl. Sp. II, 269 No. 797 III, 175 No. 513 12. BARTÓK 1959 186a Medzibrod, Zvolenska (Zólyom) C.

MORAVIAN

- 1-5. SUŠIL 147/310, No. 13 + var. Vidče, Hodonin and Lideček 6-8. BARTOŠ - JANÁČEK 1901 Nos. 17-(19)-20 9. BARTOŠ 1889 No. 41+.

Indirectly related variants:

GREEK

See BAUD-BOVY 1936, 258-262, chapter on "La fille voyageuse" and BOJATZIDES *

Bibliography: KÁLMÁNY 1914, 37: comparison with the Roumanian No. 17 (in addition to other, incorrect comparisons); Cs-VARGYAS 1954, 465: agrees with KÁLMÁNY's Roumanian parallel. MANGA 1956: Slovak and Hungarian versions brought about by the same historical circumstances. MITRULY 1962 sees the influence of Roumanian variants in some Moldavian Magyar texts, which in my opinion are not connected with the subject dealt with here. PUTILOV 1965: more diffused on Slav territory, French-Hungarian origin hardly probable.

The text runs: "Down the Tisza, down the Danube flows the water, on it floats a fine golden galley; in the galley is an ugly Turkish voivod. A fair girl from Komárom, two pitchers on her arms, goes down to the Danube. "Give me some water, fair girl of Komárom" "How can I give you water, you ugly Turkish voivod? You are in the middle of the Danube, and I am on the bank!" She holds out the pitcher, he seizes her white arm, and drags her on to the galley. "Come, embrace me, fair girl of Komárom" "May a devil from Hell embrace you!" "Come, kiss me, fair girl of Komárom" "May a wild lion kiss you!" He hits her in the face with his iron gauntlet, and crimson blood flows from her nose and mouth. "Then lie down beside me, fair girl of Komárom!" "May the sword of Magyars lie beside you! The bed of the Danube be the bottom of my coffin, the two banks its two sides, its waves my winding-sheet, its fish my coffin nails, the little fish my mourners, the birds of the air my choir. Fishermen of the Danube, pull me out by Thursday noon, and bury me; fall down my best clothes, from the peg, fall into a heap, that my mother may know you weep for me!" She leapt into the middle of the Danube; the fishermen pulled her out at noon on Thursday. Her best clothes fell off the peg into a heap. So her mother learned that her daughter was dead."

(The last six lines of the Hungarian text are from the original manuscript EA 2775, 1.)

In a Hungarian text with a similar theme, loosely connected with the above ballad (KÁLMÁNY Szeged III, 4); the girl finally returns to her mother's house. Apart from this there are no variants. To judge, however, from parallel texts preserved among our neighbours—and, as we shall see, acquired from us—it may once have been more widely known.

In western European material we do not meet with this theme, apart from a Breton song which relates a tale, in the Breton epic style, and in a detailed marvel-fantasy form, but on the whole the same tale. The story runs as follows: the Angles and Saxons raid the harbour of Dourduff and carry off a girl. They take her aboard their ship, while she sobs and sobs. The captain, to calm her, says that her life is not threatened, only her honour, and she prays to the Holy Virgin, for she would rather die a hundred times than sin once, and throws herself into the sea. One variant has it that she is swallowed by a white fish, and taken to the shore, to her parents; in another two fish, with a white cross on their backs, carry her ashore on their backs, but there are also texts in which she simply drowns in the sea, and the whole community mourns her as she is buried.

There can be no doubt but that this Breton song is a borrowing from a shorter, more ballad-like French text no longer extant. The few texts of ballad character in the Breton tradition are all of French origin, and the French have eight different ballads about the fate of the girl abducted by soldiers, in seven of which she tries to escape disgrace, usually by death; once by apparent death, and once by a magical change into a bird. In text 2. it is not soldiers, but the lord of the manor that abducts her on horseback; fleeing from him, she throws herself into the river, but first similarly prays to the Virgin. But of these eight types there is one even closer, in which the sailor's song beguiles the girl into going aboard the ship, and she is taken out to sea; when she is expected to undress, she asks for the sailor's knife in order to cut her apron strings, and stabs herself with it. This very widely-found song (DONCIEUX No. 42, "L'embarquement de la fille aux chansons") may be a *newer, altered form* of the missing old French ballad which has been preserved only among the Bretons. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that one variant (1.) ends, instead of the suicide with the knife, with the young man throwing the wailing girl into the sea to the accompaniment of the words: "Chantez, chantez, grenouilles, vous avez de quoi chanter, Vous avez de l'eau à boire et ma mie à manger". Here we see part of the ballad, worn down till it is meaningless, referring to *frogs* in the sea! This is no doubt a later development, which has none the less preserved from the original the memory of the river water, together with a fragment of the girl's words—put into the man's mouth.

On the basis of all this the outlines of a French ballad can be discerned in which the girl, kidnapped and taken on to a ship, is threatened by rape and, after praying to the Holy Virgin and appealing to the fish and frogs, jumps into the river and is swallowed by them. That the Bretons should have taken the swallowing by fish literally and transformed it into a miraculous escape is quite in keeping with the nature of their poetry of marvels

and fantasy. Apart from this, they have kept the action of the original ballad; the two French variants have preserved a fragment of its wording each; and the Hungarian ballad has kept it all.

The story is deeply embedded in the French tradition, and there are many similar French stories, which facts argue for a French origin, for at the same time in Hungarian there is, apart from the Fair Girl of Komárom, only a recently noted Moldavian fragment about the Girl Abducted by Soldiers.

The Hungarian re-modelled version spread out in all directions to neighbouring countries, although for the most part only the most striking motif was kept intact: the girl's appeal to the fish and her leap into the water.

The nearest to the Hungarian are the Roumanian variants: in them the main motifs of our ballad are distinguishable. Sandru's daughter, Ilincuța, goes to fetch water (from the well, the Danube, the sea) and sees the Turks. In some versions she sees them, not at the water, but from the window of her home, or as she sweeps the yard. She runs in to ask her mother to hide her. When the Turks come, the mother says the girl is dead, and even shows her grave, but a cunning old Turk discovers her hiding-place and they carry her off. When they reach the water's edge, she asks them to let her drink, or wash her face, and throws herself into the water with the words: "I would rather be food for fish and crayfish (or frogs) than the Turk's wife". There are also variants in which this cry has diverged from the rest: "I would rather be a reaper than belong to you—I would scythe more than has ever been seen cut before... I would be a servant, and go to serve gentlemen..." etc. There is even one, 16., which resembles the Breton song: "There happened to be a pike there, which swallowed her. So what did the Turk do? He sent for fishermen. They brought a net and caught many fish. Sure enough, they caught the pike, cut it open, took Ilonka out and carried her to the pasha, dead as she was. They carried her in their arms, she was so beautiful." In folk poetry resembling the Breton in spirit the ballad thus goes through a similar change! Links to the Hungarian are the formula of the appeal to the fish, the Turk as the abductor and the meeting at the water-drawing; elements which separate it are the inserted episode of the attempt to hide and the demands for the girl, and the fact that the girl escapes not from a ship but from a coach. At the same time it differs from the Breton in precisely these points.

The Bulgarian variants carry us even further away. For here the leap into the water is inserted into several different plots. One is the tale of White Jána (Isabella, Queen of Hungary), who is carried off as a slave by the Turks after the capture of Buda Castle. On reaching the Danube she asks them to untie her hands so that she may wash her face. There is no mention of fish or crayfish: she appeals only to the Danube to take her, rather than let the Turks have her (1., 5.). In 3. and 4. it is different: the girl meets her lover at the spring, but the Turk carries her off to be his wife; on the way she throws herself into the Danube, and he shouts after her that the fish and crayfish will eat her, to which she replies that she would rather they than the Turk ate her. But in some cases she kills herself with a dagger at

the same spot (2.). Nos. 6-8. give the story of the suicide in the tale of the "Bride Dying on the Way" (the girl married to a stranger against her will, curses herself and dies on the way to the wedding); in the first two by jumping into the water, without any Turk, in the third by the knife but with a Turkish bridegroom. And in these the appeal, hitherto characteristic, has disappeared.

In VUK's Serbian texts the girl flees from her elder brother and an incestuous marriage into the watery grave; the characteristic appeal is addressed to the fish of the sea. Neither here, nor in the Croat or Bačka Serbian texts does she escape from a ship. But in the latter, fleeing from the Turk, she wishes to become food for the fish. (The preliminary story is that she hides from the Turks, but they find her in the third tower, as she drinks wine with the Governor, Peter. They tie her up and carry her off.)

In the countries to the north of Hungary the story clearly merged with that of the Bride Dying on the Way. Here the only reminder of the girl's abduction is perhaps that *the father is in a Turkish prison*, and promises his daughter's hand as the price of his release. Once home, he sits sadly at the table and when the girl questions him has to admit that he has promised her to the Turks. He dresses her up, and the postillions arrive. When the bridal procession reaches the Danube, she asks to be allowed to drink, and throws herself into the water with once again the well-known words: "Eat me up, little fish, lest I become the Turk's lover!" (6.). Elements of the Bride Dying on the Way (see CS-VARGYAS Nos. 32, 33) are continued even after this: the Turkish mother meets the bridal procession with the question "What has happened to the bride, was she not wedded to you?" The bridegroom confesses that he has brought home a dead bride. (5.) A revision, however, with a literary flavour, is suggested by the *dead* bride saying here: "Better to be in the Danube than in the Turkish *harem*"—the ballads make no reference to a harem, for in them even the Turk always has one wife "Better a Christian death than a pagan life." (It is interesting, on the other hand, that in one single text, 12., when she asks to be allowed to drink water from the Danube and makes the familiar appeal to the fish, she does not kill herself by drowning, but asks for a knife to cut up an apple, and then stabs herself to the heart, as in the modern French and the Greek.) This borrowing is betrayed in the Moravian 3.—SUŠIL No. 312—even by its melody, which is an old-style melody from the Csallóköz,—BARTÓK (1924) 33b—reproduced almost note for note (see VARGYAS 1959). The Hungarian origin of this melody is placed beyond any doubt by the rich range of related Hungarian melodies.

The Greek variants really do not belong here, but in a group with the French ballad, in which the girl kills herself aboard the ship with a dagger. But since we find among the Greeks also the motif of the leap into the sea, with the corpse being washed up by the sea and its burial with great mourning, this confirms what was said earlier about the existence of an earlier French ballad. Its narrative must have resembled that of the Breton, if the Greeks have preserved it in a similar form. We shall have something to say later about appearances of French ballads in Greece.

Our neighbours to the north, east and south all put into the girl's mouth the formula: "I had rather belong to the fish (or crayfish) than to the Turk!" This sentence must have been in the text of the Hungarian variants, too, for it could not have passed from one people to the other by jumping Hungarian territory (even if it were not of Hungarian origin). Our only extant variant, notwithstanding all its poetic beauty, seems to be fairly eroded, and we cannot be certain that it has preserved every detail of the general concept.

It has, however, preserved the main lines of the western ballad, which cannot be said for those of our neighbours. These are nevertheless connected by unmistakable links to the Hungarian, while differing from each other in details of plot and formulation. From all of this it necessarily follows that it was a French ballad which was brought to Hungary, and thence to the neighbouring peoples.

THE CRUEL MOTHER-IN-LAW

Since the D. Vlr. Nos. 76 and 77 list and discuss 207 + 94 variants of this ballad from western and eastern Europe, I only list the texts I have used or quoted as follows:

HUNGARIAN

1. RÓNAI 1965ab Bába, Tolna C. 2. Ethn. 1910, 348 Mihály-Gerge, Nógrád C. 3. Nyr 5, 47 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia (all the following are from Moldavia) 4. MCSB 9A Klézse 5. MSZ 6263 Klézse 6. MSZ 6349 Klézse 7. DOMOKOS No. 31 Magyar-falu (Unguri) 8. DOMOKOS No. 30 Nagypatak 9. MF 2718c Nagypatak 10. S 36a Trunk (Galbeni) 11. NÉ 1941, 163 Somoska (Somsuca) 12. MF 2458b Somoska 13. MCSB 9B Ujfalu (Satul Nou) 14-16. DOMOKOS—RAJECZKY No. 2 and textual variations, Trunk, Gajcsána, Nagypatak, Moldavia — from migrants, Egyházaskozár, Baranya County 17. FARAGÓ 1965, 190 Klézse.

FRENCH

1. DAVENSON No. 4 2. LEGRAND Romania 10, 369 Caen neighbourhood 3-4. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol 119, 123 Canada 5-12. MILLIEN 1906 195A—F + 2 var. Nivernais 13. SMITH Romania, I, 355 Roche-en-Regnier, Haute-Loire 14. BUJEAUD II, 215 15. SMITH Romania 10, 584 Haute-Loire 16. SMITH Romania 7, 64 (contamination) Haute-Loire 17. ARBAUD I, 91 Provence 18. TIERSOT 1903 Alpes 100 19. Mélusine 1896, 69 20. Rev. Trad. Pop. 1897, 294.

BRETON

1. VILLEMARQUÉ No. 19.

FLEMISH

1. LOOTENS—FEYS No. 38 = D. Vlr. 76/1 2. D/Vlr. 76/2.

CATALAN

WOLF Proben No. 14.

SPANISH

1-4. COSSIO—SOLANO Nos. 104-7. *Conio, 53-57*

ITALIAN

1-5. NIGRA No. 55 A-C + 2 var. 6. FERRARO 1870 Monf. No. 37.

GREEK

1. LÜBKE, 229. D. Vlr., No. 76 lists 136 variants. See also BAUD-BOVY's list (1936) on pp. 236-9.

ALBANIAN

1. Deutsches Jahrb. f. Vklde 1958, 564.

ROUMANIAN

1. MARIENESCU, 17 (the collection is from Transylvania, Krassó-Szörény and Temes Counties) 2. Tiplea No. 15 Biserica-Alba, near Máramarossziget 3. PAPA-HAGI 1925 Maramureş No. 389 4. ALEXICS, 289 Kápolnás, Krassó-Szörény C. 5. id. 362 Brustura, Arad C. 6. POMPILIU, 50 7. TEODORESCU, 623 Valea-Minga, Prahova 8. SEVASTOS, 248 Moldavia 9. Şezatoarea II, 7 1893 Crucea-Broşteni, Suceava C. 10. TOCILESCU I/II, 1067 Şona, Nagyöküllő C. 11. VASILIU, 33 Tataruş, Suceava C. *Amuleta*

TRANSYLVANIAN SAXON

1. D. Vlr. 77/1 Petersdorf.

BULGARIAN

1. ARNAUDOV 1913 Elensko No. 112.

SERBO-CROAT

1. KUHAČ III, 243 note on No. 1053 Oriovac 2-6. ŽGANEC 1950-52 Zagorje 197b, 198a-c 7. ŽGANEC 1950 Hrvatske No. 352 Medumurje 8. KAČIĆ-MIOŠIĆ, 118+ Dalmatian Islands (?) 9. NIKOLIĆ, 86+ Srem 10. ŠTEKELJ I No. 51 Zagorska na Hrvaskem.

SLOVAK-MORAVIAN

1. Sl. Sp. III No. 592 = HORÁK 1958 No. 13 Velké Rovné (Four more variants listed) 2. SREZNĚVSKI No. 7 3. KOLEČÁNY No. 13 Selpice 4. MEDVECKY 1906 Detva, 253 = MEDVECKY 1923 No. 14* 5. Sl. Pohl. 1897, 497 Tajov 6-7. Slov. Sp. II No. 476, III No. 310 8. SUŠIL 92/193 Strážnice 9-10. BARTOŠ-JANÁČEK 1901 39a-b

POLISH

1. KOLBERG 1857 Piesni 11c 2. KOLBERG 1871-84 Lud 20 No. 101 3. KOLBERG 1885 MAZOWSZE I No. 170.

RUSSIAN

1. HILFERDING I No. 299 2-3. Rev. Et. Slaves 1932, 215 4. Sov. Folkl. 1936, 142-151 5-10. ASTAKHOVA I No. 31 II Nos 190, 195, 197, 204, 219 11. TCHERNYSHEV No. 244 12. KOLBERG 1882-89 Pokucie II No. 117 13-14. GOLOVATSKY I, 74-5 Nos. 30-31 15. SOKOLOV No. 263 16-17. BALASHOV, 54, 57 18. LINTUR 1959, 63 Carpathian Ukraine. (D. Vlr. lists 71 variants altogether.)

LITHUANIAN

See the 5 variants listed by D. Vlr.

Bibliography: ZHDANOV 1889 gives a review of the Russian variants. BAUD-BOVY 1936, 236-9: the Greek probably originated in the Italian but this is not demonstrable; there are only French and Iberian parallels. SEEMANN 1951 reviews the

northern Slav and Lithuanian variants. CS-VARGYAS 1954 without comp. notes. D. Vlr. 4/1 1957 Nos. 76-77: complete comparative treatment without the Hungarian. RÓNAI 1965a,b gives the Transdanubian variant. MITRULY 1965: Roumanian from French, Hungarian from Roumanian. VARGYAS 1965b: refutes MITRULY.

This Hungarian ballad was for a long time, apart from a single Palots fragment, known only from Moldavia. Variant 1. was discovered after the publication of my study, and because of its importance I quote it here: (Spoken:) Once there was a very beautiful girl called Katica. She fell in love with a rich young man but his mother had a grudge against her. However, he did marry her. Then he had to go off to the wars, and Pretty Little Katica had to stay at home with his mother. The mother schemed to kill her, and brought the fishermen into it, and got them to throw her into the water. She was drowned. Well, her husband came home from the wars and couldn't find his wife. His mother dared not admit she was dead, but started like this:

(sung:) I sent her into the long cellar,

To get you some red wine.

(Spoken:) So he went down into the cellar. He looked for her, and called her name, but couldn't find her. In the meantime a hoop came off a barrel, and he started:

(sung:) Why do you hide from me, Pretty Little Katica

(Spoken:) But, of course, he didn't find her. So he asked his mother what she'd done with his wife, and of course she told him she'd had her thrown into the water. She went to the edge of the water and started up:

(sung:) I sent her to the river, a long way away;

They ducked her, and ducked her, then dropped her in.

So the young man went to the fishermen and said to them:

(sung:) Good morning, my fishermen friends!

Cast your silver nets,

Catch all sorts of fish,

And catch my darling fish for me.

So the fishermen cast their nets, but Pretty Little Katica wasn't in their haul. So he went to the other fishermen, and started again:

(sung:) Good morning, my fishermen friends!

Cast your golden nets,

Catch all sorts of fish,

And catch my darling fish for me.

(Spoken:) So they cast their golden nets, and fished out Pretty Little Katica, but she was dead. Then he sang:

(sung:) You've caught all sorts of fish

And caught my darling fish for me.

(Spoken:) Then his heart was broken.

(Báta, Tolna C., coll. B. RÓNAI)

This is sung throughout Moldavia. In its commonest form, after a few lines of introduction referring very obscurely to the young people's love for each other and their getting married, the husband announces that he must go away.

"And I must go off to the wars, to bring home good news and raise a white flag. Mother dear, look after my Merica well" "Merica in Roumanian, Margitka in Hungarian, be my chopping-block where I chop wood." "I can't allow myself, dear mother, to become a chopping block..." "Merica in Roumanian, Margitka in Hungarian, will you let me spit you and roast you?" "No, mother dear, I cannot allow that." "Will you let me wrap you in waxed linen?" "Yes, mother dear, I can allow that." Then follows the typical burning scene (see Chapter II, pp. 160-1)

"Merica in Roumanian, Margitka in Hungarian, open the gates! His mother ran out and opened the gates. 'Mother, you need not have come to open the gates, where is my Merica?' 'She went out to the rosery to pick a rose...' So he went out to the rosery to look for her, but didn't find her, and came back." Next she sends him to the cornfield, and he finally finds his wife's burnt body under a rose-bush. He kills himself, and the usual grave-flower grows out of the two of them, but the cruel mother-in-law breaks it off (10.).

As we see, the Hungarian fringe in Moldavia, as in many other cases, has merged several well-known ballad-elements in our text. Two extensive motifs in it originated in other ballads: the choice between three kinds of death, and the death by burning are from the Unfaithful Wife Burned to Death, while the grave-flower is from the Two Chapel-flowers. These two details are not present in the Transdanubian variant, while the Palots version too has the girl killed by drowning.

If we leave out the details which originate in other ballads, the main lines of the story remain, particularly the short scene at the beginning, when the husband, before leaving for the wars, entrusts his wife to his mother, who tortures her to death when he is gone, later he returns and seeks his wife. In some variants he learns from his magic steed that his darling is in danger at home (6.), or the horse shows where she is buried (7-8.). These are therefore the elements we can use in our comparison.

Indeed, with their help it is possible to recognize our ballad's connection with one of the oldest and most beautiful French ballads, the "*Porcheronne*". A translation of the beginning of (11.) is as follows: Monsieur de Beauvoire married young. His bride was so young that she could not even dress herself. He had had her for only three days, when he received a letter to say that he must go to the wars. "O accursed letter, accursed writer! What shall I do with my wife, who is so young?" "Put her in your mother's hands, and she will look after her for you." "My mother is too cruel, she will send her to guard the animals. Mother, here is my wife, look after her well, see that she does nothing but eat, drink and go to Mass properly". The Sieur Beauvoire had hardly gone to the wars before his wife was made swineherd. She fed the swine for seven years but never laughed or sang. At the end of the seventh year she began to sing. "Stop, my page, I hear a voice singing like the voice of my darling." "Go along this road, and you will find her." He goes, and does in fact find the poor swineherd, who does not recognize him, and from a long talk between the two it transpires that she has not slept in a bed for seven years, she has eaten only oatcakes, she has not washed, and so on, and in some variants the mother-in-law even offers

her to the distinguished stranger for the night. And when she, calling for her absent husband to help her, is ready to throw herself from the window, the knight discloses his identity, and upbraids the cruel mother.

The beginning of the French ballad is without doubt identical with the Moldavian and Transdanubian. The Palots can also be seen to have come from it through them. The difference lies in the intensification of the mother-in-law's cruelty in the Hungarian ballad to the point where she actually kills his wife. The evidence of the Transdanubian and Palots texts shows that in the Hungarian version the young wife was killed by drowning; in Moldavia the burning, taken from some other source, was inserted instead, and consequently the return could not take place as in the French model; instead an element from another ballad was used for the ending, in this case the Disgraced Girl. That the connection is, in spite of this, recognizable is proved by earlier publications in which, even without a knowledge of the Hungarian ballad, the Transylvanian Saxon and other eastern European variants which sprang from it are associated with it.

These eastern European variants, with the exception of three southern Slav texts, all show the same alteration of the French story that we have seen in the Hungarian: we see similar versions of the murder of the wife, the returning husband being sent on fool's errands, and indeed, the Hungarian origin is shown by an element in several northern and southern Slav variants, namely that the wife is pregnant, so that her baby dies with her, and the husband accuses his mother, before he kills himself, of causing the death of all three of them—just as in the Hungarian "Disgraced Girl". There may have been a Hungarian variant in which this motif appeared with the other motifs absorbed from the French—or else our neighbours, as is often the practice when a ballad is borrowed, merged two Hungarian ballads.

On the other hand, the Greeks maintained the original French form, in which the mother-in-law sends the young wife to mind the livestock, and the returning husband finds her alive. This is amplified with various details: one is that she must stay with the herd till it reaches a certain size, and when this happens by a marvel, and she drives the herd home, she meets her husband; another amplification is that the denouement takes place at a great feast. The Greeks must have acquired the story direct from the French during the period in the 14th and 15th centuries when Cyprus was ruled by French kings; at that time several French texts and melodies spread among Greek-speakers, as BAUD-BOVY (1956) showed. Thus the Greek form must be distinguished from the other eastern European forms.

Among our Slovak and Moravian neighbours the girl is a servant, instead of a wife, whom the young prince leaves behind pregnant when he goes off to the wars, and afterwards his mother, the princess, has her killed. Thus the connection with the Hungarian is shown not only by the killing, but also by other motifs, for example, that the prince's horse gives the indication of trouble at home (1.), which occurs also among the Russians (11.); that the returning prince hears of his darling's death when the gate is opened (2-6.); the sending of the husband on fool's errands; and the closing formula, in which a further Hungarian element appears: "May

my body rest with yours" (1-6.), a general formula in the Hungarian (which we deal with in Chapter II, page 157, but which is unknown in the West.)

The Hungarian ballad spread north-east, via the Ukrainians, eastern Poles, Russians and Lithuanians, as far as Archangel, everywhere in the Hungarian form, with the wife tortured to death and other amplifications and omissions. One of the latter is that the husband does not go off to war, but simply "rides away" (whereas even in the Palots fragment he does at least "travel the world"); while among the amplifications is a justification of the mother-in-law's cruelty: that her son has married the girl without asking his mother's opinion; and in some cases it is mixed up with other stories (on this, see D. Vlr. 4, 156-8). The Lithuanian variants evolved from the Russian.

The Roumanian, too, is connected with the Hungarian. D. Vlr. quotes only No. 3. with the French form, because in this the husband finally finds the imprisoned and starved young wife still alive. The study of the variants, however, shows convincingly that the French plot is not used, for there the returning husband first meets his wife, unrecognized, in the fields, and goes back with her to his mother, who also fails to recognize him, and therefore does not deny her to him. In the Roumanian texts, however, as in the Hungarian, the returning husband goes to his mother, because his wife is nowhere to be found; she gives him evasive answers, sends him hither and thither, but he eventually finds her, in the following variants: his mother says the young wife is dead, and will give him no information about the grave, and he finally finds his wife dead (1.); she tells him the girl is dead (there is no mention of a grave), and sends her son to various places where she is supposed to have died, they both die, and a grave-flower grows out of them (3.); there is no mention of her death or grave, he seeks her at once in the prison and finds her, and to this is finally added: they both died (2.); the mother-in-law says she is dead, will tell him nothing about the grave, and there is no meeting at the end (4-5.); she tells him she is dead, tells him nothing about the grave, and he finally finds her alive (3., 6-7.); lastly there is no mention of death, the husband seeks her at once in the prison and finds her alive (10-11.). This vacillation in the death motif and the associated, not entirely satisfactory denouement are a much more certain sign of the Hungarian origin than it would be if every text closely followed the Hungarian plot terminating with the death. Such a circular motion round a motif-kernel, with smaller or greater divergencies can mean only one thing: a start from, and increasing variations on the motif concerned, in which the various developments were in varying degrees able—or unable—to free themselves from the model. The bulk of the variants are from the area of the former Hungary, which also gives information on the route taken by the spread of the ballad.

Among the southern Slavs it is also the Hungarian form which appears, with differing embellishments and losses. Sometimes the mother-in-law does away with the young wife with poison made from a snake's head, which she has previously refused to take. This was transplanted to this area from the "Schwester Giftmischerin" type of ballad, as is also shown

by D. Vlr. (No. 77, Vol. IV, 156). On the other hand, 2. is so eroded that even the farewell scene is omitted, in which the husband leaves his wife in the care of his mother. The heroine's name, the Hungarian Kata, or Katica, most clearly betrays the origin. Only in Hungarian can the name Katarina, Katalina be shortened to such forms, and this same name of Katica is borne also by the heroine of the recently discovered southern Transdanubian variant.

There are, however, three Croat variants which preserve the French, or more correctly the Greek form: the young wife is sent to look after the flocks, and that is how she meets her husband again. Of two of them (8-9.) D. Vlr. also says that they preserve a relationship with the Cypriot or the general Greek form through the miraculous growth of the flock and the closing feast scene. To these we must add 1., too. So here we have a case of the infiltration of the Greek tradition, probably via emigrant Greeks, and in 9. perhaps via a literary route, since this text and the entire collection which contains it were produced by KAČIĆ-MIOŠIĆ (as Stojan VUJICIC points out).

So the Hungarian version, with various alterations, lives on in a wide circle round the Hungarian language area. The alterations take us ever further from the French original, from which in any case the Hungarian version was already fairly distant, although nearest to it in the whole eastern European area, in spite of the fact that only very corrupt versions of it are extant, and those in the fringe areas. The two mutually independent groups, the western concept in the French image and the divergent eastern group can be linked only by the French settlers in Hungary and by a possible French-Hungarian transfer. Without a knowledge of this, and of the existence of the Hungarian ballad—which has not been translated—it was not hitherto possible to attempt a clarification of the relation between the two areas.

We should point out further that the appearance of the *Porcheronne* among the Piedmont Italians once again raises the question of whether it was not they who were instrumental in passing it on eastward, either to the Hungarians or to the southern Slavs. Here, unfortunately, so little has been preserved by the Hungarians of the French original that the question cannot be settled on the basis of the text alone. More, we also find in the Italian texts the husband sent on fools' errands (that is, another French ballad-detail) as in Hungary, and moreover the ballad went beyond the boundaries of Piedmont and has been recorded in Ferrara. So in theory the Hungarians could have acquired the ballad from them (for there were also Italian settlers in Hungary in the Middle Ages). There is, on the other hand, no doubt that it reached the southern Slavs from us, with our alterations, as well as here and there without them from the Greeks. In that direction, therefore, it was not the Italians who passed the ballad on. And though it cannot be separately proved, we must, with the numerous and unchallengeable French agreements in mind, while the deviations of the Italian variants have put the key to the problem of origin in our hand, regard the Hungarian formulation as probably of French origin in the case of this ballad, too, (and also in the case of a formula to be dealt with later).

This ballad spread among the surrounding peoples from the Hungarian centre in the form into which it evolved in Hungary.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER WHO KILLED HER CHILDREN (I. Vilma Szabó, II. Erzsí Szabó).

HUNGARIAN I

We will refrain from listing the 165 variants examined. The majority were recorded in Hungary. It has been found recently spreading in Transylvania.

HUNGARIAN II

1. SzNd No. 39 Hadikfalva (Dorneşti), Bukovina 2. Ethn 1935, 130 *ibid.* (contamination) 3. MSZ 4685 Istensegits (Tibeni), Bukovina — from a settler in Baranya C. 4. EA P/40/1935, 164 Istensegits, Bukovina 5. MCSB 16A Lécped (Lespezi), Moldavia 6. MSZ 6388 *ibid.* 7. MSZ 6389 *ibid.* 8. MSZ 6390 *ibid.* 9. MCSB 16B (fragment) 10. MSZ 6787 Lécped.

FRENCH

1-2. PUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin Nos. 67-8 3-5. MILLIEN 1906, 257-262 Nos. 1-3 Nivernais 6-8. ROSSAT 1917 3A-C Jura, Valais, Switzerland 9-11. Romania 10, 202-3 Haute-Loire 12. SMITH Romania 4, 112 Velay et Forez 13. BUJEAUD II, 240 Saintonge, Aunis 14. ROLLAND I No. 65 Lozère 15. BLADÉ 1881-2 No. 30 Gers.

BRETON

1. VILLEMARQUÉ No. 38.

ITALIAN

1-3. NIGRA 10A-C Piedmont 4. WIDTER-WOLFF No. 87 Castagnero, Veneto 5. MARCOALDI, 173 6. FERRARO 1877 Ferrara, 111 No. 25, Pontelagoscuro (fragment). Other variants cited by NIGRA from the Venice area.

ENGLISH

a) 1-13. CHILD 20A-M 14. GREIG 11 15-70. BRONSON No. 20.
b) CHILD No. 21.

DANISH

DgF No. 529.

SLOVAK

1. HORÁK 1958 No. 58 Selce 2. *ibid.* No. 57 = ? Sb. Mat. Sl. II 35b* = MEDVECKÝ 1923 No. 16,* Gemerska (Gömör) C. 3. KOLEČÁNY No. 9 Viglaš, Detva area 4. ČERNÍK No. 190.

MORAVIAN

1-10. SUŠIL Nos. 158/331-336 + 4 var. from the Hungarian frontier and Priborsk. 158/331 complete text = BARTOŠ-JANÁČEK 1953 Kytice No. 180 11-13. BARTOŠ-JANÁČEK 1901 Nos. 40-42 (Horák 1958 also quotes ERBEN 1852-56* No. 34.)

POLISH

1-28. KOLBERG 1857 Pieśni 12a-cc (a, i, s = CZERNIK, 149-55) 29. KOLBERG 1871-84 Lud 12, 223 No. 429.

UKRAINIAN

1. LINTUR 1959, 88 Loza, Irsa district, Carpathian Ukraine.

Connected only in details:

GERMAN

Of the extremely widely-distributed and uniform German ballad I will mention only a few variants easily available to me, as examples.

1-6. E-B No. 213 7. HAUFFEN No. 79 Gottschee 8. Ethn 1892, 35 Oreczyfalva, Banat.

WEND

1. HAUPT-SCHMALER No. 292.

SLOVENE

1-11. ŠTREKELJ I Nos. 171-181.

CROAT

1-3. ŽGANEC 1950-52 Zagorje Nos. 349, 483, 728 4. KURELAC No. 451, Kata-lena, Transdanubia.

MORAVIAN-CZECH

1. SUŠIL No. 20/55 Bavorov 2. HOLAS II No. 1*.

POLISH

1. KOLBERG 1871-84 Lud 4 No. 220 = CZERNIK, 213 2. *ibid.* 6 No. 387 Chrzanów 3. *ibid.* 12 No. 612 Wielenia, Drasko 4. *ibid.* 17 No. 17 Pulaw, Osiny 5. KOLBERG 1871-84 Lud 18, 188 No. 346 = CZERNIK, 216 6-9. KOLBERG 1885 Mazowsze 2 Nos. 352-5, 4 No. 434.

UKRAINIAN

1. GOLOVATSKY II, 727 No. 13 Lemkov, Galicia 2. *ibid.* 3/1, 225 No. 95 Galicia 3-5. *ibid.* I, 54 No. 13, III/1, 26 No. 15 and III/1, 245 No. 122. (HORÁK 1958 also quotes PAULI 89 r. II, 8, OLEŠKA, 489 and WÓJCICKI I, 91, 93 and II, 293). LINTUR reports that it is also known in the Carpathian Ukraine.

LITHUANIAN

For a summary, see SEEMANN 1951 No. 71.

Bibliography: CHILD (1882) No. 20: connection between the English, Danish, German and Wendish variants (without the Hungarian, French, Slovak and Moravian). DÁNOS 1938: variant I arose from the German in the 19th century; II without comp. notes. SOLYMOSSY 1937: var. I without comp. notes. SEEMANN 1951: connection between English-Danish, German and related east European variants (without the Hungarian, French, Slovak-Moravian). CS-VARGYAS 1954: I from German II without comp. notes. SIUTS 1962: detailed discussion of 5 related types; contests VARGYAS' results on the basis of song-structure.

The text runs: "Vilma Szabó went out into the forest, and lay down on a bed of oak leaves. Her sweetheart called to her: 'Get up, Vilma, or someone will see you!' But Vilma took the matter seriously and ran into the Bakony inn. She had not yet drunk her wine when nine gendarmes opened the door. The corporal shouted: 'Seize Vilma, men!' 'Vilma, confess your crime: what have you done with your three children?' 'Two I threw into the middle of the Danube, one I buried under the walnut-tree.' 'Vilma,

doesn't it break your heart to have killed your three children?' 'Of course it does, I think I'll die of a broken heart! I'll rattle my fetters till I die!' While the nine gendarmes tied her up, her sweetheart looked on through the window. 'Don't look, sweetheart, at my wretched life, it is for you that I am suffering.' "

In other variants there is often the following verse at the end: Vilma Szabó's red ribbon droops on to her heels. "Put it away, Vilma, in a drawer in the chest. It will do for your daughter's hair."

The character of the text is quite modern. This is shown not only by the modern language of its formulation and the versification, with the ten-syllable line characteristic of the modern style, but also by the commonplace situations and phrases of the poetry about the outlaw. Its distribution, too, connects it with the more modern folk poetry: it is rare in Transylvania, and is mostly to be found among the younger people in Hungary. Hungarian researchers have with justice all included it, on the basis of its modern formulation, among the modern ballads.

It is partly for this reason, too, that it has hitherto been connected with a German ballad, also modern in tone, indeed, possibly reflecting the influence of broadsides. In this ballad a shepherd guarding his sheep near a wood hears a cry from a child hidden in a hollow tree. It turns out that the mother has already drowned one child in the river, buried another under a tree, and is just getting married, with the virgin's garland on her head. The child goes to the wedding and unmasks his mother. She denies everything: "The Devil take me at once, if the tale is true", whereupon the Devil appears and takes her off to Hell.

The two ballads put the story of the unmarried mother who kills her children into two entirely different plots, and their only real agreement is in the three child murders and the way she makes away with them.

There are, however, considerably more connections with a French ballad of which we have known nothing until now, though they are not so obvious as in the parallels we have drawn before; yet with deeper analysis they can be established beyond doubt. Let us first look at the motifs in the 153 Hungarian variants (the percentages are calculated on the basis of that number), and then at the 15 French, and observe their deviations.

(1.) She goes out into the *small* (= flower-) *garden* (about 20%), into the forest (to a bed of oak-leaves, rarely under a walnut tree or lemon tree: about 55%), or to the vineyard (about 10%).

(2.) "I shouted to her once or twice" is the commonest formula. Instead, sometimes we find: "I went that way, and shouted..." or "Nine (three) gendarmes happened to pass that way", "Her former lover chanced to pass that way", or similar phrases.

(3.) It is, however, general to hear that the girl "runs into the inn". Instead of this we sometimes find that she is caught at once. "Náni Bereg realized that she was surrounded by three gendarmes. 'Náni Bereg, come along with us to the court-house' ". Or "No sooner had Náni Bereg noticed the nine gendarmes, than they were tying her hands."

(4.) Then they interrogate her, and her sweetheart or her mother hear this through the window. Here the lover and the girl's mother appear

in such diverse permutations that no regularity can be established. But it is at least clear that they are both connected with the interrogation scene.

(5.) Next follows the sensational turn in the Hungarian story, when we learn of the girl's crime: "Confess your crimes, Vilma, what have you done with your three children?"—and she has put one under the walnut tree and thrown two into the Tisza, or only one into the Tisza and she says: "I've just killed the third". In other words, it is always only *two methods* that are used.

(6.) In one third of the variants appears the question which we may regard as the emotional peak of the ballad: "Come, Vilma, doesn't it break your heart that you killed your three children?"

(7.) Fairly frequently (in about 25%) we hear of Vilma Szabó's *red ribbon*, which she can no longer twine in her hair. In most of the texts this is to be left to her daughter, but in one or two cases there are vague references to a little child or her young sister or her elder sister's daughter.

(8.) In one or two variants a doctor or midwife establishes that the girl has had three children.

We will not go into other motifs (such as the inn-scene, or the breaking of bracelets, or her skirt's catching on the door of the prison, and so on); these are well known from the poems about highwaymen, and were absorbed into the ballad in modern times; they cannot be used in the comparative studies.

Now let us turn to the French texts.

(1.) A girl goes into the woods to pick violets, (or there are three girls, of which the prettiest) sits down on the grass, and gives birth to a child. In one variant she is pregnant by three men, and she buries the child beside the road (13.).

(2.) In some texts she gives a great scream, which her mother hears, and shouts to her to tell her what to do with the child. She misunderstands this, and

(3.) kills the baby; mostly she throws it into the river (in one case into a gully), in several cases she buries it under a vine-stock, or covers it up with leaves in a corner of the vineyard.

(4.) She is seen, and either three constables come that way, or three workmen see her, or three sailors speak to her; rarely "along come the magistrates".

(5.) She is taken to prison.

(6.) Afterwards her lover or the three men enquire about her and desire to see her. The answer is given that they can see her the next day, when she is to be taken to the scaffold between the priest and the hangman.

(7.) The mother arrives, too. The daughter asks her: "Doesn't it break your heart that the daughter you brought up has been brought to the gallows?". In some variants, however, the mother asks the daughter whether she is not sad that she has brought such sorrow on her mother.

(8.) Then the mother tries to bribe the judges to secure her daughter's release.

(9.) The daughter rejects the mother's attempt, saying that anyone who has done such a crazy thing as she must suffer for it. She urges her

mother to hang her clothes up as a warning to all other girls, and to see to it that her younger sister does not follow her example. She must not let her go to balls all dressed up. Here she also mentions the *ribbon* and the lace as signs of vanity. "Quand elle aura de beaux rubans, De belles coiffures, Demandez-lui d'où elles sont venues" (14.).

In another type of text we find the following motifs:

(1.) The girl gives birth without anyone knowing about it. In one case it is two babies she kills, that is, twins. (In one case here, too, she throws them into the river; elsewhere it only becomes clear later that she has killed them).

(2.) Only the neighbour knows about it, and reports her to the magistrate.

(3.) The magistrate has her arrested.

(4.) Her mother tries to bribe the magistrate.

(5.) The magistrate rejects this: the next day the hangman stands behind her.

(6.) The girl's words, pointing the moral, close the action. Here, too, we sometimes have the words: "Cursed be the ribbon and the lace!" (e.g. 4.).

But beside this there is also a third type of text: in this the buried corpse of the baby is dragged out by dogs. All the girls are called before the doctor for examination; there the guilty person is discovered and she is executed. This looks like a new transformation of the story, but as we shall see, this, too, may preserve older elements in its details.

The motifs thus listed side by side show fairly close agreement even without special explanations. The *little garden* (i.e. flower-garden) obviously came into the Hungarian as the equivalent of the *violet-picking*, and similarly indicates symbolically some love-relation. Going *into the forest* is also in the majority in Hungarian, and there is also a fair preservation of the concealment in *the vineyard*. The part about calling once or twice, too, may have originated in the mother's calling to the daughter, but the sailors and the rest also call to the girl something like "all right, girl, you will regret this!" ("Tout beau! tout beau! la jeune fille, Nous vous regardons, ma petite!" 3., "Paix, paix! ma belle fille, tu t'en repentiras..." 4.).

The part played by the lover and the mother as they hear the questioning of the girl through the window, or see her taken off by the gendarmes, requires no explanation. The admission that she has committed three murders deviates, it is true, from the French, in which there is only one, but it is characteristic that the two ways of killing—throwing into the water and burying under the vine-stock or tree—agree with the ways which appear separately in the French variants, and it is always only these two ways which appear. Here the birth of twins, which appears in the French sometimes, may have played a part. And the "three" in the Hungarian obviously arose merely out of the requirements of the three-part build-up. But even this may have some kind of root in the French: the very frequent mention of *three* lovers, or the pregnancy by three men.

There is word-for-word agreement in "Doesn't it break your heart?" More vaguely, but undoubtedly, there is connection with the French in

the mention of the ribbon, which has, even in the obscured Hungarian, some moral echo.

There is one element missing in the Hungarian out of the French motifs listed: the mother's attempt to bribe the judges to release her daughter. There is, however, another Hungarian ballad of a child-murderer (II), in which this, too, is found. So far, we have kept this text separate from the type under discussion, although even the surname of the heroine is the same: Erzsi Szabó, the child-murderer of Bukovina and Moldavia. This ballad, which gives the impression of being a fragment, contains none of the more modern details of the Hungarian texts, nor does it show any influence from the poetry about highwaymen. The oldest known text (1.) contains only the following:

"Poor Erzsi Szabó ruined herself indeed on Thursday evening, in the *flower-garden* where she chopped up her newly-born baby, then threw it into the nettle-bed. She didn't leave it there, but scattered it along the road. Cursèd István Szócs was listening at the edge of the garden...". Then follows an ominous interpretation of a dream about a hangman and gallows. In a Bukovina variant we find a further connection with what we have seen so far:

"She chopped it up, and buried it under a *walnut tree*, then dug it up and threw it *into the Tisza*" (3.).

In Bukovina and Moldavia it sometimes goes further: "and she gave it to the dogs" (2.) or "threw it to the swine" (5-9.). This scene, which is related to the body dug up by the dogs, together with the medical examination in the Hungarian variants also connect this ballad with the third French type.

Moldavian texts refer to a "hotbed" instead of a flower garden, vineyard, or forest. The girl's father or mother consoles her: "Don't weep, don't sorrow. I'll go to the King and ask for your release. And the mother set off..." but the king replies that he cannot grant it, because "I promised her death for a death". And in a Léaped variant the girl herself says the same, as does the heroine in the French ballad: "Do not go, father, for I killed my child, it was my own doing, the penalty for killing is death..." In 5. and 10. the bribery attempt itself appears exactly as in the French; "Mother dear, *get me ransomed!*—Lizzie Szabó, my child, *I would get you ransomed if that were possible*".

These elements, with the actual child murder, can now be seen clearly to connect the two Hungarian ballads via the French, and they justify the assumption that *there was an old-style Hungarian ballad which contained the details of the French story*, and whose fragmentary, but still *old-style* remains are preserved in the Transcarpathian variants, and from which, *in Hungary, under the influence of the highwayman ballads, a new form evolved*; it spread in this recast form in recent times throughout the country, but among the separated Hungarians in Roumania it was unable to displace the old one.

Thus, with the help of the Erzsi Szabó texts we can with still greater certainty connect the more modern Vilma Szabó ballad in Hungary with the old French ballad, and at the same time it becomes certain that *some*

old Hungarian ballads were "modernized" in recent times. This deduction will be important to us in other cases.

Now let us take a cursory glance at other relationships of the French and Hungarian ballad, in order to clarify the position of the Hungarian ballad in Europe.

On the basis of our experiences hitherto we find it only natural that the ballad should appear among the Italians. Differences are to be found here, too, which help to distinguish it from the Hungarian. One of these is that in some of the variants the story we have been dealing with is merged with another French child-murderer ballad, in which the girl gives birth while hay-making, throws her baby into the river, and the baby calls back to her, reproaching her with her crime, and also says that angels taught it these words. The mother, frightened and repentant, tries to save the child, but it is too late. Obviously it is the throwing into the river which facilitated the merging of the two stories. There are also variants in which the murdered child visits the mother seven years later in prison, and reproaches her for her actions. But even where the story broadly agrees with the course of the French ballad, there are still marked differences, for example that the girl's mother is not prepared to ransom her, and the girl reproaches her, saying: "How cruel you are, to let your only daughter die!" At the same time motifs are missing, without which one could not imagine the corresponding Hungarian elements: the question "Doesn't it break your heart?", the hiding of the baby in the vineyard or under a tree, and the words about the ribbon. Thus, again, in northern Italy it is more or less accurately the French tradition, but again we have it spreading, with omissions, in a form from which we cannot derive the Hungarian ballad.

The connection with the English ballad is different. This ballad has hitherto been associated by our researchers with the Heartless Mother (see Chapter II, page 163). The heroine goes out to the woods, puts her back against the trunk of an oak or against a briar, and gives birth to twins. She ties them up with her ribbon, stabs them to death and buries them under a stone beneath the tree. Then she believes she can return to her home still apparently a maid. But either when she returns, or years later, she sees two children, and addresses them, saying "if you were mine, I would dress you in velvet", whereat they throw in her face that they are her murdered children, and promise punishment for it in Hell. This is faithfully followed by the Danish formulation in which the heroine goes to the woods, accompanied by her two maids and proceeds in the same way. So this is obviously not the Cruel Mother's story, for the latter speaks of a fugitive wife, who leaves her older children to their fate, in order to save her treasure, instead of an unmarried mother who kills the baby in order to preserve her secret, just as in Vilma Szabó and its French counterpart. The beginning of the ballad connects it beyond doubt to the French-Hungarian type, but the rest of it is an individual further development.

Even further removed is the German story of the child murder referred to above. This is not closely related either to the French or to the English-Danish type, though it is connected to the Hungarian by a word-for-

word similarity in the triple murder. But the Hungarian is connected by undoubted links in several essential elements which are missing in the German, indeed even those elements which are common to the Hungarian and the German formulation—the methods used in the murder—are in the Hungarian much more like the French; while in the German the surviving third child in the hollow tree is an entirely new thought, unrelated in character. Thus one is forced to reach the conclusion that this motif in the German could have originated only in the Hungarian (and was inserted into a German story of different origin).

A close connection can be seen between the German formulation and a similar ballad from part of the Slav language area. In the Croat-Slovene area the borrowed German formula is clearly visible. Details of the same version, often mixed up with the story of the girl who did not go to Mass and was taken to Hell, turn up again in Czech, Moravian, Polish and Lithuanian texts. Here we often find merely a brief mention of the triple child murder preserved in entirely different stories.

Formulations entirely separate again from these, however, found among the Slovaks and in the Moravian areas and in the Carpathian Ukraine next to the Hungarian frontier, are closer again to the Hungarian version. Katusa stands on the bank of the Danube (or some other stretch of water), and throws in her newly-born baby with the words: "Swim, swim, my baby, and I'll be a maid again." This is overheard by an old woman or three women, who report her to the magistrate. In the prison she is told to look out of the window, for her father, mother (or brother) is coming. "Let the hangman come, not them!", she cries, or even, in 1.: "I killed three children, and I deserve to die". With the common elements there are, in the Slovak variants, new ones as well: the hangman wants the girl to be his lover, but she rejects him, as in a different French ballad about the princess who murders her father, e.g. BARBEAU-SAPIR 37; while in the Moravian texts the three girls who witness the deed, or who happen to pass that way, rescue the child, and the action is further complicated. This takes us further from the Hungarian-French form, and yet the connection with it is still clear. The connection can, however, be imagined only with the older, pre-renovation form, for the highwayman details and elements of the new version are completely lacking in it. This Slovak-Moravian conception also proves that there was, distributed throughout Hungary, some old text similar to the Erzs Szabó ballad, containing more of the French ballad's action than the present-day Bukovinan-Moldavian fragments. On the other hand, the Slovak-Moravian variants have, in spite of their old-fashioned form, preserved fewer common elements from the French ballad than the remodelled and heavily transformed Hungarian one.

We also find this Slovak form among the Poles, as well as the Moravian-Ukrainian story of the "Girl Taken to Hell". Nevertheless, in the Polish version of this, we meet the characteristic images of the Hungarian ballad. When the Devil taxes the girl with having killed her seven (or four) children, he runs through the list of places where she has put them: under a pear tree, in the river, in the pigswill, under the greensward, the dunghill or the bed, or in the stove, and so on.

This formulation is in striking agreement with CHILD No. 21, in which a pilgrim asks a girl doing the washing for a drink, and when she refuses, recounts how she killed her nine children, now in groups: three buried under the bed-head, three under the wash-boiler, three under the green-sward. The girl recognizes in him the Lord God, and asks that she may do penance. For seven years she is to be stone, seven a bell-clapper, and seven a monkey's companion in Hell. Among the Danes this same story is known in three corrupt variants, the earliest from 1700 from broadsides; there are not many more among the Norwegians and Swedes, where the earliest variant is from broadsides of 1798. Here the penance is only one spell of seven years, but the *only entire* English text multiplies this several times. (Apart from this, only a *fragment* of a few lines is known.) So the route taken by the motif leads via the Danes to the English.

We must leave to a later detailed examination the task of deciding whether this scene in the German and Polish ballad developed in each separately, and which of them was the medium by which it reached Scandinavia and Britain (in recent times and via broadsides). But one thing can be said with certainty now: that the motif of triple murders could have reached them only from the Hungarian ballad, either directly or via the Moravians.

In his study on the German ballad and its relations, SIUTS rejects the Hungarian-German, French-English connections and the journey from Hungary through Poland and Denmark to England, referred to above (although not even he casts doubt on the French-Italian-Hungarian-Slovak connections), and reproaches me with examining connections, not between structures, but between motifs torn from their contexts.

It is, however, an everyday occurrence in folk poetry that related themes borrow motifs from one another. It seems that SIUTS ignored this general phenomenon when he objected to my arguments. For it is clear from what has been said above that I regard the routes from Hungary via Poland and Denmark to Britain or from Hungary to Germany not as lines of development in structures, but as routes by which motifs were received, mostly via broadsides. As far as the interconnection between the English (-Danish) and French ballads is concerned, an objection cannot be raised on structural grounds, especially if what we have here is a merging such as came about in the Italian with the murdered child's subsequent reproach. Moreover, the agreement in the opening motif clearly shows a common origin.

THE SPEAKING CORPSE (e.g. GRAGGER 1926 No. 30., ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 50.)

HUNGARIAN

We examined 145 variants, the greater part from Hungary.

FRENCH (La mie ressuscitée)

1. LIBIEZ III No. 18 + note, Hainaut, Belgium 2. La Tradition IX, 64, 1895 Picardy 3. *ibid.* X, 58, 1896 northern France 4. BEAUREPAIRE, 146 = HAUPT,

86 Normandy 5. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol, 411, Canada 6-8. ROSSAT 1917 21a, c, j Switzerland 9. CANTELOUBE III, 127 10. BEAUQUIER, 323 Franche-Comté 11-12. D'INDY 108, 113 Vivarais 13. SEIGNOLLE, 140* Languedoc 14. UDRY, 207 Tarn 15. CANTELOUBE I, 127 Montpellier 16-17. TIERSOT 1903 Alpes, 117, 127. The corpse's words are missing from 19 Belgian Walloon variants which (together with 13.) I was able to use in R. PINON's copy.

ITALIAN

1-6. NIGRA 17A —F Piedmont 7. FERRARO 1888 Basso Monf. No. 2 8. *idem.* 1877 Monf. No. 39 9. BERNONI 1872 Punt. IX No. 6.

SPANISH

1. MENÉNDEZ P No. 61.

PORTUGUESE

1. BRAGA I, 615 2. *ibid.* II, 122 3. GEIBEL —SCHACK, 354 II.

SLOVAK-MORAVIAN

1. HORÁK 1958 No. 47 = Sl. Sp. III No. 565, Mor. Lieskové 2. KOLEČÁNY No. 33, Karna, Homonna area 3. SL'P I No. 184, Dohňany 4. KOLEČÁNY No. 55 Terchová 5. BARTOŠ —JANÁČEK 1901 No. 51 6. BARTOŠ 1882 No. 366 7-9. BARTÓK 1959, 297 abc, Medzibrod, Zólyom C. 10. BARTÓK 1934, 13 No. 13 Egyházmárád, Hont C.

POLISH

1-27. KOLBERG 1857 Piesni 14a —cc 28-31. *idem* 1871 —84 Lud 6 No. 338, 12 Nos. 421—2 and 16 No. 479.

WENDISH

1-3. HAUPT —SCHMALER I Nos. 6 and 55, and II No. 105.

LITHUANIAN

See SEEMANN 1951 Nos. 72 and 76, especially the latter.

BULGARIAN (of doubtful concern here)

1. SHAPKAREV No. 1256 2. STOIN 1939 Trakija No. 905 3-10. *idem* 1928 Timok Nos. 1494—1503 11. SBNU 9, 54 No. 4 12. *ibid.* 60 No. 2 13. A —V No. 68 14-16. TSITSELSKOVA Nos. 75, 79, 81.

Bibliography: GRAGGER 1926 without comp. notes. DÁNOS 1938: undoubtedly of Hungarian origin, of modern style. ORTUTAY³ 1948 agrees with DÁNOS. SEEMANN 1951 Nos. 72 and 76: deals with Lithuanian and Slav material with questionable German parallels, without French, Hungarian, and Slovak-Moravian. CS-VARGAS 1954: nothing known of foreign parallels or even distant correspondences to it.

The text runs: The dawn breaks mournfully; sad tidings are brought in from the outskirts of Hajnalos: a coachman has been murdered for his sixty florins and his bay. He was thrown into the Tisza, but the Tisza cast him up on the bank. A ferryman passed that way and took him in his boat to the village of Polgár: Whose coachman is it that has been killed? His mother goes up to him and tries to wake him, but he does not hear her: "Get up, my son, fall on my shoulders and let me take you home and lay you in my quilted bed." "I would like to get up, but I am dead (Usually:

"I cannot get up, for I am dead"). My little cap with the crane feather is frozen on my head." His father goes up to him and tries to wake him, but he does not hear him: "Get up, my son . . ." etc. "I would like to get up, but I am dead, my wavy, chestnut hair is frozen on my forehead." His sweetheart goes up to him and tries to wake him, and he hears her: "Get up, my darling, you are not dead, lie four days in my bed." "Will you have a wooden coffin made?" "I'll have a marble coffin made!" "Will you mourn me with my mother?" "I'll mourn you, darling, before the whole world." "Will you go with me to the end of our garden?" "I'll go with you to your eternal home." "Will you have the big bell tolled for me?" "I'll have all the thirty-six tolled for you." (EA 2278, 18 Tiszapolgár.)

In the French texts the girl dies, and the young man tries to revive her. The story usually begins with the young man hearing of his sweetheart's death from the nightingale. Less frequently—in texts of undoubtedly more recent date—he asks for army furlough in order to see her, only to find her dead. He hurries home, greets the girl's father and mother, sometimes her brothers and sisters, too, and learns the truth from them. He goes to her grave and calls to her, whereupon she answers. This part goes as follows in various texts: "Relève-toi, ma mie Françoise, Ma mie, de grace, lève-toi!—Comment veux-tu que je me lève, Il y a sept ans que je suis là. J'ai les yeux tout remplis de terre, Mais les tiens, ils sont si brillants!" (9.). "J'ai tant pleuré, versé des larmes, Que ma mie s'est réveillée. Réveille-toi, bouche riante, Réveille-toi et parle moi! — Comment veux-tu que je te parle? Je n'ose plus te regarder, Mon visage est couvert de terre, Le tien est frais comme un bouquet." (16.). "Bonjour chère Nanette, voudrais-tu me parler? Du profond de ton âme voudrais-tu m'embrasser? Nanette lui répond: J'ai ma bouch' plein' de terre, Ma bouche plein' de terre et la tienn' plein' d'amour" (6.). "Oh ma mie, ma tant douce amie, Pourquoi vous laissez mourir. — Comment vouliez-vous que je vive? Vous étiez si loin de moi. — Oh ma mie ma tant douce amie, Baisons-nous encore une fois! — Oh ma bouche sent la terre, La vôtre le vin d'Arbois" (8.). "Qui est donc là, dessus ma tombe, À pleurer sur moi tant et tant? — Ah c'est ton bon ami, la belle, Ton ami qui veut te parler! — Comment veux-tu que je te parle? J'ai sept pans de terre sur moi!" (15.). "Est-ce bien toi ma mignonne? Embrasse-moi encore un' fois. — Comment vous embrasserais-je? Vous êtes si loin de moi (10.). "Ah bonjour! ma Jeannett', Réponds encor' un' fois, Si tu connais les larm's Que j'ai versées pour toi. — Jeannette lui répond: Ma bouch' est plein' de terre, Ma bouch' de terre, La tienn' est plein' d'amour" (1.).

After this the girl speaks about the engagement ring she wears, or the belt he gave her, and then there is some reference to how he is to mourn her. Usually she asks him to give her ring to someone else, who will pray for her. The most detailed account is the following: "Prenez tout et donnez-le à qui priera Dieu pour moi. Faites-en dire trois messes, un' pour vous et deux pour moi. N'allez plus aux assemblées, danser, rire et vous ivrer, Ne conduisez plus les filles . . ." (4.). "Je bâtirai un ermitage, Et là je finirai mes jours . . ." (15.). This, in a modified form, is the closing passage in the Hungarian ballad: "Make me a walnut coffin . . ." etc.

The Hungarian poem, with its ballad-formulas and strophe-repetitions, is very uniformly built up and clear in outline; the French ballad seems by comparison vague, corrupt and lacking in uniformity. On closer examination, however, the French is seen to be more uniform and consistent. To begin with, all that is left in the Hungarian of the corpse's actual speech is the replacement of the formula "tries to wake him, and he *does not* hear" by "tries to wake him, and he *hears*", followed by the series of questions and answers, now quite mechanical: "will you have a wooden coffin made?" "I'll have a marble coffin made!", and so on. In the French, however, we find everywhere the conversation with the dead person, the essence of the ballad. In the second place the triple build-up in the Hungarian, with the father's, the mother's, and finally the lover's pleading, cannot be original, in spite of its effective character. For the formula "Tries to wake him but he does not hear her (him)", is preserved even in those variants where the dead man replies in spite of this to his father, mother, and finally his sweetheart. It is obvious that this triple build-up is not organically connected with the original structure, and was only developed subsequently in Hungary as a formula from the parts played by the father and mother. Another innovation is that the roles are exchanged: the man is the corpse, the girl the questioner; and further that instead of burial we have throwing into the water, so it is not his mouth that is filled with earth, but his hair frozen on to his shoulder, his boots on to his legs.

With these innovations the two versions have become so distant that they are hardly recognizable as a pair. Yet it seems that these innovations were inserted in the Hungarian ballad as a result of *modern refurbishing*. This can be deduced from its very uniform distribution and its popularity even among the youth of today, as well as from the language used, free from all archaic turns of phrase.

This ballad turns up only in areas contiguous with France and Hungary: in the west in Piedmont and the Iberian Peninsula. The Italian versions also contain the French motifs in a sketchy form, but some of the variants lack the dialogue with the corpse about his rising or inability to rise, because the earth presses him down, and so on. All the two lovers speak about is the ring. Nor do we find the detailed description of the mourning which we saw in the French, and which forms such a large part of the Hungarian ballad. But so far as we know it does not appear in other Italian areas. So the Hungarian ballad is not derivable from the Italian. Even less from the Portuguese-Spanish, in which the essentials of the original story are hardly recognizable—if indeed they have any connection with it. A long preliminary story tells how the young man goes into exile, because he is not allowed to marry the girl he loves, and while he is away the girl dies. He returns and goes to her grave to mourn her. The dead girl speaks to him: "You must go on living, my darling, my arms, which used to embrace you, have lost their strength, my mouth, which kissed you, is without life. You must return to life." But he cannot do this without his darling; whereupon she actually rises, and the ballad closes with the reassuring sentence: "Let him marry his darling: he deserves it, for he has brought her back to life!"

It is clear that this ballad in spread from the French to neighbouring lands and, leaping over the Germans, Italians and Slavs, to Hungary.

From us, however, it wandered further, to our northern neighbours, and indeed beyond them to the Lithuanians and the Wends in Lausitz. Among the Slovaks we also find the modern Hungarian form turning up (4.), accurately word-for-word and with the same metre (lines of 6, 6, 8, 6 syllables,) obviously taken over together with the melody; and together with the melody in 10. and in a Moravian fragment (5.). The other texts are, however, more archaic, and the further they diverge from the modern Hungarian, the closer they are to the French. Here, again, it is a man looking for his sweetheart; three girls in the forest tell him that she is in the grave. He circles the graveyard three times, and finds the grave. The girl speaks to him from the grave: "Who is it walking round my grave, and will not let me sleep?" "It is I, your sweetheart . . .", and then follows a long dialogue about the presents they gave one another, including the ring: has she still got it, and she gives it, or cannot give it, back to him. Missing, however, is the characteristic part: "I cannot kiss you, my mouth (face) is covered with earth" "How can you ask me to rise, seven boards cover me" (French)—"I cannot rise, for I am dead" (Hungarian). There are, however, scattered occurrences of a similar detail ("my mouth is full of sand") from the Wends to the Lithuanians. Otherwise the northern Slav and Baltic tales are even more distant, and are embellished with epic preliminaries. Among the Poles the boy serves seven years for the girl, then goes to be a soldier, and his darling dies while he is away. When he returns there is a long dialogue between them about the gifts. Then the girl asks him to have the organ played for her, and he promises to have the big bell rung for her.

In Bulgarian songs a mother calls to her son, who has been shot dead; the story is short and has no connection with ours. The boy's words, however, are reminiscent of it: "I cannot rise, for the earth presses on me, and a poisonous snake is sucking out my eyes." (This is not found in every relevant text.) Such agreement may, of course, be pure chance, arising from a similar situation. If the Bulgarian texts should have originated in the Hungarian ballad, they are nevertheless very independent, remote forms, which cannot in any instance be called variants.

SEEMANN attempts to establish a connection between the German ballads and the northern Slav and Lithuanian variants, but is compelled to admit several times that difficulties are encountered. (The German parallel he quotes is the German form of another, but similar French type.) With the knowledge of the Hungarian ballad, however, it is possible to derive this whole northern Slav ballad-group from us, while they at the same time help to establish what elements our ballad must have contained in its earlier form, before its modern transformation.

There can be no doubt that it was the man who remained alive in that ballad, too, just as in the French, and in the entire eastern European group. And he comes home and seeks his beloved in just the same way as in the French and the Slovak, except that it is not from three girls that he learns the truth, but from his sweetheart's father and mother, as in

the French—otherwise we should not find consistently in the modern Hungarian texts father, mother and sweetheart. The girl's words are suggested by the Hungarian ("I cannot rise, because I am dead") and the occasional Slav detail ("my mouth is full of sand"). Then there may have been a reference to the ring (Slovak) and to the details of the mourning (Hungarian), in which the bell played a part, too (Hungarian and Polish).

Since in the Slovak many elements are missing which were preserved in the Hungarian either directly or in an altered form, and are still to be found in the northern Slav and Lithuanian area, we may establish as a fact that in this case, too, it was from the Hungarians that this ballad spread, having reached us from the French.

FOR SEVEN YEARS WE'VE SEEN NEITHER SUN NOR MOON

Let us now consider something which is a commonplace in ballads, found in various French ballads, and in the Hungarian ballad of the "Young Gentlemen Escaped from the Sultan's Prison". The Hungarian prisoner's complaint runs: "For seven years we have been in prison. All that time we have not seen the passage of the sun, the changes of the moon or the stars (MNGY I, 160; similarly *ibid.* 158). Various French ballads say of their heroes: "Sept ans y a bien resté sans voir soleil ni lune" (SMITH Romania 7, 66). "L'est bien restée sept ans Sans voir soleil ni lune" (CANTELOUBE II, 17 Haute-Savoie), or "Ils l'ont emmenée Dedans une chambre si brune Qu'on ni voit ni soleil ni lune" (MILLIEN 1906, 257A), or, in a more worn-away form: "ni ciel ni jour" (CANTELOUBE II, 102 and 158 Haute and Basse-Auvergne, BARBEAU 1963 Rossignol 179, 191 Canada), "sept ans Sans voir ni ciel ni terre" (CANTELOUBE II, 271 Haute-Quercy).

This same formula, both about the sun and moon and about the seven years, is found in the Portuguese and the Italian, too, as far as Venice.

PORTUGUESE

BRAGA I, 183: "Que não sei quando o sol nasce, Quando a lua faz serão" (sung by the young man in prison); I, 449: "Manda-a metter n'uma torre, Que nem sol nem lua via. . . Ao cabo de sete annos Viu a torre. . ."; I, 456: "Mando-a metter numa torre, Onde não veja sol nem dia. Que nem as aves do céu. . . Ao fim dos sete annos, Sete annos e um dia. . ."; I, 460: the same with a cloister; I, 482: "Mandara-a meter num carcer", D'onde sol nem lua havia. . . Ao cabo de nove mezes. . ." (Azores). Similarly I, 494, 498, 508, 511, 526, 541.

ITALIAN

NIGRA No. 50. A: L'à büta-la ant üne tur, ch'a vëdia nè ciel nè terra; L'à lassà-la là set ang sensa dörve na finestrela. B: L'à menà-la 'nt ün castel, 'nt üna stansiëta oscüra; L'a tenü-la là set ang, l'a mai vist nè sul nè lüna. C: Büta-la 'nta in castel, vëdia nè ciel nè aqua. La fin de li set

agn la bela . . .". E+F: "L'à büta-là ant üna tur, ant üna cambrëta oscüra. Senza vëde nè sul nè lüna". H: "ant üna stansiëta oscüra". C¹-D: "...ch'a vdëssa ne sul ne lüna." G: "A l'an fà-ra stè set mèis senza vëde nè sul nè lüna". I: "... set ann senza ved nè sul nè lüna". BERNONI (1874) No. 2: "El'è stata là set' ani Senza vëdar sol ne luna" (Venice).

So here we cannot separate the Hungarian from the Italian as we have hitherto. The most we can do is to consider it probable, on the analogy of the many indubitable cases hitherto seen, that this one element also reached us from the French, just as the others did, and that it is only by chance, and because of the simplicity of the element concerned, that we cannot prove this. Here, just as in the case of the Cruel Mother-in-law, what was taken over and preserved was so slight that no differences in it can be seen between the Italian and the French versions. Since, however, it is only in a case like this, and indeed in only two cases, that we cannot separate it from the Italian, whereas in every other case, as the ample material at our disposal shows, I think we can confidently count these, too, among the absorptions from the French.

I must add that I also found an example which had been further developed in the southern Slav epic: "... zatvaraše, De ne vidi sunca ni mjeseca Ni bijela dana ni junaka, Da ne znade što je muška glava" (STOJANOVIĆ—VITEZICA, 295).

THE MARVELLOUS CORPSE (e.g. GRAGGER 1926 No. 7, ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 46.)

HUNGARIAN

1. MF 3289 Zsére, Nyitra C. 2. ZAGIBA, 71 *ibid.* 3. Ethn 1911, 54 Borszék, Csík C. 4. MNGY I, 172 Székely area 5. MNGY I, 173 *ibid.* 6. SzNd No. 97 Rugonfalva (Rugănești), Udvarhely C. 7. MNGY III, 63 *ibid.* 8. MSZ 1364 Gyergyóalfalu (Yoseni), Csík C. 9. SzNd No. 80 Józseffalva, Bukovina 10. MF 2679b *ibid.* MF 3238e—f *ibid.* (three first stanzas agreeing word for word from the same village) 11. MF 3238d *ibid.* 12. Domokos No. 22 *ibid.* 13. MSZ 4417 (informant in Hódmezővásárhely had migrated from Józseffalva) 14. Domokos No. 20 Trunk (Galbeni), Moldavia 15. S 38 I—II Lécped (Lespezi)—Mekényes, Baranya C. (Moldavian migrant) 16. MCSB No. 22 Lécped 17. MSZ 6386 *ibid.* 18. MSZ 6387 *ibid.* 19. MSZ 6265 Klézse (Cleja) 20. MSZ 6350 Klézse 21. FARAGÓ 1965, 70 Lécped Moldavia 22. *ibid.* 74 Rugonfalva, Udvarhely C.

FRENCH I

1. ARBAUD II, 123 Provence 2. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol, 397 Canada.

FRENCH II (L'enlèvement du Couvent)

1. La Tradition X, 54, 1896 northern France 2-3. BEAUQUIER, 149—151A—B Franche-Comté 4-6. MILLIEN 1906, 236A—C (note states that altogether 30 variants were recorded) Nivernais 7. ROSSAT 1917 II, 201 Switzerland 8. SIMON 1926, 524 Anjou 9. BARBILLAT—TOURAINÉ 4, 73⁺ Bas-Berti 10. SEIGNOLLE, 151* Languedoc 11. TIERSOT 1903 Alpes, 145 12. VAN GENNEP Mercure de France I IX 1910, 45 Haute-Savoie (1., 10., 12. in copies of R. PINON).

ENGLISH

1-5. CHILD 25A—E 6. BRONSON 25.

DANISH—SWEDISH—ICELANDIC (based on CHILD 25 note and D. Vlr. No. 58). 1-11. DgF 409 (see OLRİK II No. 31 rewritten) 12-15. Swedish 16. Icelandic.

DUTCH

1. Souterliedekens No. 10 = D. Vlr. No. 58.

BULGARIAN—MACEDONIAN

1-3. STOIN 1928 Timok Nos. 2398, 3676—7 4-7. MILADINOVI 117, 185—187 8. SbNU 16/7, 100 9. STOILOV 1916—18 Pokazalec No. 324 SHAPKAREV No. 797 11-14. STOIN 1931 Sredna Nos. 831—3, 2022 15-21. STOIN 1939 Trakija Nos. 709—715 22. Id. 1934 Rodop No. 325 23. SbNU 40, 399 No. 33 24. IVANOV, 257—307 25. TSITSELSKOVA No. 233 26. VERKOVIĆ No. 304 27. SbNU 38 IVANOV No. 5 28. *Ibid.* BURMOV No. 161 29-30. SbNU 42 IVANOV Nos. 92—3.

SERBO-CROAT

1. VUK I No. 737 2. *Ibid.* No. 580 3. OSVETNIK No. 23 Bay of Kattaro 4. DJORDJEVIĆ 1928 No. 367 Tetovo 5. STOJANOVIĆ—VITEZICA 696 = MARJANOVIĆ* I No. 25 Gronja Hrvatska 6. PRODANOVIĆ No. 78 near Vranjsk 7. ŽGANEC 1950 Hrvatske No. 209 Kamenar, Karlovac surroundings 8. *Ibid.* 405 9. POLJANIN II, 15 No. XI. Near the Island of Krk 10. HNP VI No. 39 Makar coast 11. KURELAC No. 447 Parapaticev brig. NW Transdanubia.

SLOVENE

1-2. ŠTREKELJ I Nos. 112—3 Krajin and Ljutomersk okol. 3. GRÜN, 36 4. EPhK 1887, 700.

GERMAN

1-2. HAUFFEN Nos. 63—63a Gottschee = D. Vlr. 58/14—15.

ITALIAN

1-3. NIGRA No. 41 A—H Piedmont 9. FERRARO 1870 Monf. No. 40 (see also material from Emilia and the Abruzzi—the latter half in prose—as quoted by D. Vlr. No. 58, and also VIDOSSÌ 25A⁺ on the basis of the DVA quotation, from Istria)

GREEK

See BAUD-BOVY 1936, 208—11.

SLOVAK

1. HORÁK 1958 No. 11 Surroundings of Sobrance 2. KOLEČÁNY No. 34, near Homonna.

UKRAINIAN

1. TCHUBINSKY V, No. 249⁺ 2. GOLOVATSKY II, 710 No. 13. LINTUR reports this as known in the Carpathian Ukraine.

Part-variant: *Marvellous Mill*

FRENCH III

1. TARBÉ II, 127—9 Champagne 2. FLEURY, 356 Lower Normandy 3. DECOMBE, 221 Ile-et-Vilaine 4. BEAUQUIER, 203—5 Franche-Comté 5. CANTELOUBE III, 322 Franche-Comté, Pays de Nanc 6. ROLLAND I, 128g 7. BLADÉ 1881—2 III No. 101 8. POUËIGH, 268 Pyrenees coast.

ITALIAN

1. NIGRA No. 68 2. WIDTER—WOLF No. 69 3. GIANNINI 1889, 186.

PORTUGUESE

See the variants listed under "The Test of Faithfulness".

DUTCH—GERMAN

See the discussion of this under D. Vlr. 42.

Bibliography: CHILD No. 25: review of Scottish, Danish—Swedish—Icelandic, and Italian—Slovene—Hungarian variants. HAUFFEN: the Hungarians acquired it from the Slovene. CREIZENACH: discussion of fourteenth century Dutch literary texts. On the Marvellous Mill: KÖHLER, R. *Kleinere Schriften* III, 219. GRAGGER 1926 refers to German, Danish, Swedish, Scottish, Italian, Albanian and Slovene variants. ORTUTAY 1936–48 and DÁNOS 1938 = GRAGGER. CS-VARGYAS 1954: Separation of northern and south-eastern European groups, Slovene—German originating in Hungarian. D. Vlr. 1957 No. 58: review of entire western and eastern European material minus the French; Hungarian from Bulgarian.

This ballad was known to us hitherto only from Transylvania and the areas beyond the Carpathians. A general and well-known form (6.) runs as follows: "I shall surely die, Mother dear, for Ilona Görög, her slim waist, rosebud mouth, and rosy cheeks!" "Do not die, László Bertelaki, my son, I'll have a marvellous mill made for you, one stone will throw out white pearls, the other money; pretty girls will come to see it, and so will yours, pretty Ilona Görög." "Let me go, Mother, to see the Marvellous Mill." "Do not go, my daughter, it is a net cast to catch the barbel" "I shall surely die . . . for Ilona Görög . . ." etc.—They try again with the marvellous tower, broad enough to reach to the River Tisza, and high enough to reach the sky. This fails, too. At last the mother says: "Then die, my son, the girls will come to see the Marvellous Corpse." "Let me go, Mother to see the Marvellous Corpse of the one who died for me." "I will not let you go, my child, it is a net cast to catch the barbel." She sped into her dressing bower, and put on her boughten kirtle and over it she put her white apron, and drew on to her feet her red, iron-tipped boots. "Get up, László Bertelaki, for Pretty Ilona Görög, for whom you died, is approaching. Get up . . . etc., for she stands at your feet, for whom you died!" "I have never seen such a corpse before, whose foot takes to standing, whose arm takes to embracing, and his mouth to kissing!" And with that, László Bertelaki leaped up.

This same ballad was recorded by János MANGA with the aid of a phonograph in Zsére, in Nyitra County, in 1938, but it has never been published or even taken down on paper. In view of its importance I publish it in full. (1.): "Bálint, my son, does your heart ache, or your head?" "Neither my heart nor my head, but I shall die for beautiful Ilona, for her beauty, her golden hair" "Bálint, my son, do not die for Ilona's beauty, her golden hair. I will have a flower garden made with a stone wall and you shall plant flowers in it. All the pretty girls and the fine fellows will come to see it, and beautiful Ilona will be among them."—They did this, but Ilona was not among those who came to see it. "Bálint, my son, does your heart ache . . . (etc., as before). I will have a gold-mill made, so that you can mill

little pearls; all the pretty girls will come to see it . . ." etc. — But Ilona was not among them. "Bálint, my son, does your heart ache . . . (etc.). I will have a bell made to toll your death-knell . . ." (etc.). — This time, Ilona did come along with the rest to see: "Maidens, friends brought up with me, never have I seen such a marvellous corpse as the corpse of Valiant Bálint!"

Some elements of this ballad, such as the flower garden with stone wall, the death-knell, together with the verse form and the whole wording deviate from the Transylvanian texts, and hence cannot be ascribed to the subsequent effect of the popularizing printed editions. This is also proved by the existence of 2. This is without doubt a genuine old ballad.

What has comparative research had to say so far about this beautiful little ballad? CHILD gives a great deal of material about the English variant, and this is amplified by the German complete edition (D. Vlr.), starting from a Dutch variant and one in German from the Sava district (Gottschee), with a large number of southern Slav variants and a general European review. The material falls into two well-marked groups: in the northern branch—the Scottish and Scandinavian—only the decoying by apparent death figures. A mother advises her son on how to decoy his beloved: he must feign death, and have the death-knell tolled. The girl asks her father's permission to go to see him, and he wants to send her elder brother with her, but she nevertheless goes alone, and the young man seduces her. The Danes have records of ballads of the 16th century relating the same story, amplified with preliminaries, and in some cases the young man's trick entices the girl out of a convent. This version is in some cases inexplicably mixed up with the variants without the convent, in which she goes, dressed in her best, to see the young man, leaving her mother behind, and yet as the story continues she appears to be living in a convent. So this convent must have been put into the Danish versions later.

The southern branch consists of Italian—southern Slav and Hungarian and the hitherto disregarded Slovak—Ukrainian variants, and in essence conforms to the Hungarian: in every case we have the enticement conducted in intensifying, varied stages.

The Dutch version discussed in D. Vlr. is, according to SEEMANN, a professionally poetic revision of the well-known German ballad "Ritter und Magd", in which the pregnant girl tricks her lover into seeing her by feigning death, and it therefore does not concern us here. Of the Gottschee German variant he says that it was acquired from the Slovene, and assumes the same is true of the Hungarian and Italian; in fact the whole southeast European group is, in his view, derived from the southern Slav or Bulgarian. He does not, however, explain how the two widely separated groups are connected—indeed, he says that this ballad is unknown in Germany and France.

This last statement, however, does not hold water. In French-speaking areas there is a ballad—and it is fairly widely distributed—in which the young man's sweetheart is put by her parents into a convent in his absence in order to keep her from him, or because she thinks him dead. He returns, seeks the girl in the convent, and when they are not prepared to let her leave, feigns death, and when she visits the sham corpse to mourn him,

runs off with her. This, then, agrees with the modern Danish type; it is to be found in six different collections, and one of them has as many as thirty variants listed.

Then there is an even more modern development of this tale, in which the young man goes to work as gardener at the convent, and in this way gets the girl out without any feigned death.

But even the first form appears to be a later revision. The poem from Provence quoted under I—which I have so far found in only two collections—begins with the young man's feigned illness, with which he tries to decoy the girl to see him. She asks her father if she may go, but he warns her that she runs the risk of seduction. The girl goes, in spite of this, and while she is talking to the young man, his ship casts off. When she wants to go home, he tells her she is far from her father, and that there is no returning home. She wails that her father was right but he assures her that she will be, not a seduced girl, but his truly beloved.

This southern French text, and its Canadian variant, taken there by northern French emigrants, calls for an additional piece of information which has also been ignored hitherto by research, and to which András BENEDEK drew my attention in the course of his studies on the history of the drama. This is found in a Dutch manuscript of a dramatic relic, a "prelude", dating from the period between 1385 and 1400 (see CREIZENACH). In it there is a scene in which a rich youth tries to gain the affections of a poor girl, but money does not bring him success. Then his mother advises him to feign illness, and the girl is sent for. The girl, thus seduced, goes through all sorts of adventures such as are found in the imagination of the world of knights and nobles, and are entirely literary in character.

Research has established that this piece and similar ones were assembled mosaic-like, from various narrative motifs, even from cycles of epics. The story above thus worked the familiar ballad into the poem. So there must have existed, from southern France right up to Holland, a story of this sort before the modernized form of the escape from the convent developed. But that this "modern" form is not itself very recent is proved by the Danes' 16th century mixed forms. If they reached Denmark as early as the 16th century, they must have existed even earlier among the French. On the other hand, the four Scottish and the four Danish variants demonstrate that the earlier form had spread even before the convent-variant developed. Moreover, there is a distant relative of the southern French variant among the Greeks (to which Prof. BAUD-BOVY drew my attention).

But something else from our ballad is found in the French legacy: the Marvellous Mill. This occurs in another ballad which, under the title of "Joli Tambour", often appears in collections. Here the drummer-boy who wants to marry the princess, exaggerating his own riches, says he has three mills: one grinds out gold, another silver, and the third his sweetheart's love. (In some of the variants it is ships, of which one is laden with gold, another with silver, while the third is for rescuing his sweetheart.) If we now consider that in one Transylvanian variant (4.) one stone of the marvellous mill grinds out pearls, the second small change, and the third kisses, the correspondence becomes almost complete.

This image also appears, though rarely and very blurred, in the areas bordering on the French-speaking parts: in a 17th century Dutch ballad the young man tempts the girl with seven mills, which grind gold and silver. Among the Germans, mills which grind sugar, nutmeg and cloves figure occasionally in this connection; among the Portuguese three mills for spices; while among the Italians we meet mills which grind merely white and yellow flour. Thus the Hungarian image may have come direct from the French, and this shows the path by which the "southern" ballad-variants came about, separated from the "northern" group. Plainly, the Hungarians merged this French motif into the likewise French story of the lover who used his feigned death as a decoy, and it was they who amplified it into the triple build-up; and this assumption is supported by the fact that there are two motifs always present in the Hungarian: the marvellous mill and the feigned death; the third motif varies: now it is a marvellous tower, now a little garden, a strong iron bridge, or nothing at all, with the intensification provided only by the gold, silver and diamond (or copper) mill. The marvellous mill and the marvellous corpse, however, are never left out. And that it was from the Hungarians that the new denouement spread outward as far as the Italians becomes clear beyond any doubt, if the series of variants is closely examined.

In Gottschee, for example, the island of German-speakers among the Slovenes, the reference is only to a mill, and to a church to which the young people go for the milling or to Mass. This realistic, but in fact, precisely for that reason unrealistic idea—putting up a real church to decoy the girl—is anything but ballad-like. The ballad favours stylized solutions, a marvellous mill, a marvellous tower; and the further we get from that, the deeper we plunge into incredible reality. This text, incidentally, agrees in its other details almost word for word with the Hungarian. For instance: "Mother, dear, my heart aches for that beautiful girl I saw at the market." "Never mind, my son, we'll build a white mill. When everyone comes to it to do his milling, the pretty girl will come, too." Everybody came to have their milling done, except the pretty girl. — And the ending: "What a marvellous corpse it is: its legs jump up, its eyes open, and its arms rise!" etc.

Similar texts are found among the Slovenes, but the mill disappears, to be replaced by a well and a temple (or in the reverse order). In No. 1 even a vine-harvest is added to them as the third step; the change is obviously in the direction of realism. It goes further in Italian areas: a bridge, a golden well, a flower-garden, a dance, in one case a church with a Mass are met with in a multi-coloured jumble and in various orders; generally with a four-part intensification, but without a mill. It would be absurd to suppose the spread to have taken place in the reverse direction: to imagine that the construction without the mill spread from the Italians to the Slovenes and the people of Gottschee, that they put in the real mill, and that the Hungarians took this and turned it into a marvellous mill of precisely the same sort as we find in the French ballad. We can on the contrary affirm the reverse: that a French concept, stylized in the ballad manner, spread from the Hungarian area, becoming gradually vaguer in the process.

It is also characteristic that this ballad is found in other northern Italian districts besides Piedmont, so that the absorption from the Slovenes is easily imaginable. In this, too, it differs from those cases in which the Italians took over French variants, for such have been recorded for the most part only in Piedmont and its surroundings.

To give the character of the southern Slav variants, let us here quote SEEMANN's description: "Während das Gottscheer wie das slovenische Lied nur ein knappes Bild der Handlung geben, wird dieses in der serbo-kroatischen und vor allem in der bulgarischen Überlieferung mit spielerischer Phantasie und in den buntesten Farben ausgeschmückt. Die Herstellung von Brunnen und Kirche zur Anlockung des Mädchens wird mit phantastischer Häufung oder Beschreibung wiedergegeben. Ort und Art der Aufbahrung des Scheintoten werden ausführlich geschildert..." etc. Thus, the further we move southward, the fewer the ballad-like characteristics, and the more broadly epic the method of relating the story. But the international (western) distribution appears in an obvious ballad form, and this, too, clearly marks its priority in time. In other words, the loss of ballad-like characteristics argues against a derivation from the southern Slavs.

Further argument against it is that process of losses and variant-development which we can observe in the entire Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian material.

In the Bulgarian in general the development of the story and the strophe-repeating ('incremental repetition') structure, are preserved, at least in traces, but never throughout the whole poem, some of the parts being left out of one or other of the steps in intensification—the mother's words, or the young man's pleas, or the formula "then all the pretty girls came..."—and the poem is amplified in the narrative style, or shortened. There is also a variant in which the mother gives all the suggestions together—well, garden, church and feigned death—and the young man, too, carries them all out together. Throughout it seems that the effect of this form was not clearly felt. But there are some of its details preserved which plainly show the route followed in the diffusion. For if we found in the Bulgarian an exclusively epic delivery of what is with us an exclusively stanza-repeating poem, then either nation might in theory have been the recipient, and might have changed it into their own familiar form. If, on the other hand, we find that fragments and misunderstood versions of the general Hungarian form are preserved in the Bulgarian tradition, then it can only be assumed that it was they who took it over from us. Support for this is also given by such corruptions in the Bulgarian as that in which the mother tries to dissuade her son from building the decoys—the well, the church—and he nevertheless goes ahead (1.). The entire body of related European variants, including the isolated 14th century Dutch drama, witnesses that the original form is that in which the mother gives her son advice as to methods of decoying to be used. And the striving for realism is shown in the Bulgarian by such details as that in which the mother urges her son to hire masons and build a church, or even to fill his pockets with gold for the building operations (2., 3.).

If we examine all the Serbo-Croat material, we find great variety in the stories. In regions distant from Hungary the story is curtailed, has taken on epic form, and either preserves only the idea of the feigned death (1., 3., 7.)—and even then it contains some element or other of the Hungarian stanza-repetition, such as, for example "what sort of corpse is this?...", etc., so that there can be no doubt of its relevance here—or it is merged with some other story. An example of such contamination is where the girl humiliates the young man (telling him to go home to his pregnant sister), then, at her mother's urging, and regretting her behaviour, goes to see him, now ill, but she goes in men's clothing, and disguised. She asks him what he would do with the girl if he got hold of her; the reply is that he would seduce her and then leave her. At this, she discloses her identity. Another development is that not even the feigned death alone, or the feigned death after the other steps is enough to decoy the girl, and he finally gets her in his power by putting on women's clothing (5., 7.); or the girl, decoyed by the feigned death alone, chooses prison rather than the young man's love. But in addition to these special formations we also find—in Croat areas near the Hungarian border—both the stanza-repeating structure and the original plot, and in the intensification there are four elements, just as in the Bulgarian and the Italian: church, two kinds of well, co-operative work, and even, as we have seen, the feigned death alone, in the greatest variety. But in no variant do we find the *Marvellous Mill* in the whole of the Balkan tradition. Beyond the frontiers of the former Hungary all we find of this ballad-image is one real mill in Gottschee.

All this erosion in the face of the completely uniform, ballad-like and logical Hungarian formulation demonstrates that the Balkan traditional material has been borrowed and is secondary.

SEEMANN holds that the southern Slav origin of the Hungarian is argued by the fact that it is found only in the south-east, and in a few variants. This argument falls to the ground in the face of the Nyitra examples and the number of the variants, some, twenty. He regards as a decisive proof of Bulgarian origin the name Ilona *Görög* (= "Greek"), which is a common word and means "beautiful", while in the Hungarian it has lost this meaning and appears only as a surname. However, among the Bulgarian variants we have listed only *one* gives the heroine this name. Of the Bulgarian variants quoted in D. Vlr. there were several which I was unable to consult; evidently there are among them more occurrences of this name, but even so it cannot be common among the Bulgarians. In Hungary, however, the name is of literary origin, as Tibor KLÁNYI pointed out to me. On the basis of a Hungarian story of Troy, very popular in the Middle Ages, but now known of only by deduction, the Anonymous of Léva published in 1570 the story in verse of Paris and Helen. This uses, at the beginning, the expression "*görög szép Ilona*"—the Greek beautiful Helen—but later on refers to the Greek Helen only as "*szép Ilona*", beautiful Helen. This literary text may well have reached the people later as a broadside, and may have lent to the "*szép Ilona*" the adjective or surname "*Görög*".

Seven Hungarian ballads contain this form of the name, while the rest refer to her only as Ilona, or *Szép Ilona*, similarly to the heroines of

other Hungarian ballads. The variants which were early isolated, the Nyitra and all those of Bukovina know only this name. The Transylvanian Magyars in the Bukovina emigrated there after 1764. But in Transylvania and Moldavia we find this ballad now with the name *Görög*, now without it. It seems that this name was introduced among the Magyars in Transylvania after the end of the 18th century, and filtered from there to the Magyars in Moldavia, too, but nowhere did it manage to drive out the old name. (I gave a different explanation in the periodical form of this chapter and in my 1963a study).

The short texts of the two Slovak variants follow the Hungarian ballad in their construction. Here, too, the young man is ready to die for the shepherdess, but asks advice from his *father* (and this, too, appears only here in the whole area of the ballad's distribution), but the marvellous mill has degenerated here, too, to a church, a bridge, an inn. The girl finally appears at the death knell, and is surprised much as in the Hungarian: "My goodness, what sort of corpse is this? Its eye smiles, its face is pink!" In the Ukrainian, also, the decoy is a church and an inn (and in one case a bridge, too), but here we cannot tell from the corrupt text whether the girl came to see or not, and in 2. there is, instead of the feigned death a real, double death, with a grave-flower, as in *Kata Kádár*, which speaks.

The oldest French ballad, which we, too, took over, must have been in many respects similar to the present-day English one, on the evidence of the agreement in one or two details between the Hungarian and English texts. In every English variant the mother sends her son to the bell-ringer to ask him to toll the passing bell. This is found in, among others, the Nyitra text, as well as the Slovak and the only Croat record (9.). Obviously we cannot assume that the Hungarians took this motif directly from the English. It is also surprising that the idea of having the bell tolled occurs, apart from the Nyitra variant, only in those of the Bukovina and, without exception in those Moldavian texts in which the heroine is *Szép Ilona*, Beautiful Helen; where she is called simply *Görög Ilona*, the Greek Helen, there is no mention of a bell. This confirms both the antiquity of the bell-ringing motif and what has been said about the name *Görög*.

THE SOLDIER GIRL

HUNGARIAN

1. FARAGÓ 1956, 19 *Pusztina* (Pustiana), Moldavia. 2. MCSB No. 18 *ibid.* 3. MSZ 6441 *Lécped* (Lespezi), Moldavia 4. "Az Béla királyról való és az Bankó leányáról szép história", *Sempte*, 1570. (The "bella istoria" in verse of King Béla and of Bankó's daughter) RMKT VIII, 173.

FRENCH

1. POUËIGH, 225: at the Atlantic end of the Pyrenees 2. PUYMAIGRE Romania 1874, 96 = PUYMAIGRE 1885 Folk-lore, 94 VI *ibidem*.

PORTUGUESE

1-14. BRAGA I, 95 (= HARDUNG, 93), *ibid.* 102, 105, 108, 111, 115, 120 (Madeira), 127 *ibid.*, 130 *ibid.*, 131 Azores (= HARDUNG, 88 = GEIBEL-SCHACK, 400 =

WOLF Proben No. 12), 136 *ibid.* (= HARDUNG, 96), 140 *ibid.*, 144 Goa, India. PIRES DE LIMA lists 50 Portuguese variants. (See also ANDERSON 1959 and 1961)

CATALAN

1-5. MILÁ No. 245 A - E+ 6. AMADES, 406 No. 2289.

SPANISH

1-8. COSSIO-SOLANO II, 266-74 Nos. 64-6 9. MENÉNDEZ P 1885 *Asturiano* No. 50. PIRES DE LIMA reports 100 Spanish variants (see also ANDERSON 1959.)

ITALIAN

1-5. NIGRA 48A - E Piedmont 6. WIDTER - WOLF, 79 Veneto 7. FERRARO 1870 *Monf.* No. 38 8. FERRARO 1888 *Basso Monf.* No. 25 9. GIANANDREA, 280 *Marchigia* 10. BERNONI 1872 *Veneziani XI* No. 5 11. FERRARO 1877 *Ferrara*, No. 89 r. *Pontelagoscuro* 12-13. GIANNINI, 145 No. 5 + var. 14. PERGOLI No. 22 15. BARBI, 57+ 16. FERRARO 1890 *Spigolature*, 268+ 17. GIANNINI 1892 *Padovanesi*, 158+ fragment. GIANNINI also mentions tale variants from various northern and central Italian collections.

GERMAN (In Slovenia)

1. HAUFFEN No. 77 *Gottschée* = DVA A 109806 *ibid.*

SOUTHERN SLAV

1-2. MS Štajersko, Veržej+ and Kranj. Gorenjsko, Srednje Bitnje+ (In the possession of the Glasbeno-narodopisni inst. Ljubljana). 3-4. ŠTRELJ I Nos. 56-7 Gorenjska 5. KURELAC No. 483 *Mučindrof*, Transdanubia 6-7. ŽGANEC 1950 *Hrvatske* Nos. 163-4 *Međumurje* 8. BLAŽINČIĆ, 25+ *Slavonia* 9-11. POLJANIN Nos. 2, 8, 17 = Hungarian summary SZEGEDY 1913 *Istria* 12. Ist. No. 6+ *ibid.* 13. BOGIŠIĆ No. 96 *Dubrovnik* = Hungarian summary SZEGEDY 1913 14. HNP II, 407 (addendum to No. 36 in appendix, two summaries) from Dalmatia, one from the Makar coast 18. HNP VI No. 16 *Lumbarda na Korčuli* + several variants in appendix 19. VUK III No. 40 = Italian translation TOMMASEO III, 79 = Hung. Summary. SZEGEDY 1913 20. STOJANOVIĆ - VITEŽICA, 607 21. YASTREBOV, 135+ southern Serbia 22. NIKOLIĆ No. 55+ 23. KAČIĆ - MIOŠIĆ, 6+.

BULGARIAN

1. CHEKHLAROV No. 8 = A - V No. 45 2-3. VERKOVIĆ Nos. 11 and 250 4-6. MILADINOV Nos. 103 and 201 7-9. SHAPKAREV Nos. 374, 404 and 461 10. ARNAUDOV 1913 *Elensko*, 138 11. STOILOV 1916-18 *Pokazalec I* No. 439 12. MIKHAILOV No. 234+ 13. BONCHEV No. 51+ 14. KACHANOVSKY, 50 15. CHOLAKOV No. 76* = Bulgarian summary A - V No. 45 16. STOIN 1939 *Trakiya* No. 346 17. *id.* 1931 *Sredna* No. 231 18-22. *id.* 1928 *Timok* 543 and (1550 No. 53 23. *id.* 1934 *Rodop* No. 82 24. SbNU 5, 21 25. SbNU 13, 43 No. 3 26. SbNU 15, 24 27. SbNU 40, 385 No. 8 28. SbNU 40, 388 No. 13 29. VATEV, 308 No. 141 30. VATEV, 310 No. 142 31. IVANOV 191, No. 203 32. *ibid.* 193 No. 205 34. TSITSELKOVA I, 16 No. 17 35. TSITSELKOVA II, 137 No. 169 36. SbNU 5, 16 No. 3 37. SbNU 6, 58 No. 4 38. *Izv. Etn. Muz. VII*, 123 39. SbNU I, 269 No. 231 40. SbNU I, 53 No. 31 41. SbNU 42 KEPOV, 209 42. SbNU 42 IVANOV, 84 No. 2 43. SbNU 38 BURMOV, 27 No. 3. I was unable to consult SbNU 2, 95 and 126 (my information kindly given by Prof. SEEMANN).

ROUMANIAN

1. BRĂILOIU, 52 *Vâlcea*, Zlătărei 2. NEGOESCU, 7* = *Antologie*, 360 3. TOCILESCU, 126 4. *id.*, 128 5. POPOVICI, 73+ 6. GIUGLEA, 88 7. SANDU T., 174+ 8. record of the Inst. de Folclor 4536+ *Galatz area* 9. *ibid.* 8406+ *Bucharest area* 10. *ibid.* 14524+ *Craiova area*. Data only: Inst. de Folclor 13899* *Băilești-Craiova*.

CZECH

1. WALDAU No. 352 2. BARTOŠ — JANÁČEK 1953 Kytice No. 193.

MORAVIAN

1. SUŠIL No. 109/234 Opava 2. id. No. 109/233 ibid. 3. id. No. 109/232 Příbor fragment 4. BARTOŠ — JANÁČEK 1901 No. 82 5. BARTOŠ 1882 No. 171 Brelava 6. ibid. No. 292 Lišen u Brna.

SLOVAK

1. HORÁK 1958 No. 24 = KOLLÁR II, 6 No. 4 = MEDVECKY 1923 No. 1 2. KOLEČANY No. 39 Teplicka, Szepes C. 3. EA 3659, 5 (Hungarian translation) Liptó? (KOLLÁR lists 6 more variants) 4-7. BARTÓK 1959, 248 ab, d, f Hiadel, Balog, Zvolenska (Zólyom) C. Grlica, Gemerska (Gömör) C. Vičapy, Nitrianska (Nyitra) C.

POLISH

1. KOLBERG 1871-84 Lud 19, 159 No. 478 = CZERNIK, 275.

UKRAINIAN — RUSSIAN

- 1-2. CHERNYSHCHEV No. 6 (+ var. in note; ibid. see further variants, too). LINTUR reports that it is also known among the Ruthenes of the Carpathian Ukraine.

ALBANIAN

1. LAMBRETZ, 145* prose tale 2. HAHN No. 101 prose tale.

GREEK

1. TOMMASEO III, 78 fragment 2. HAHN No. 10 prose tale.

Bibliography: NIGRA 1858*: southern French origin; VESELOVSKY Ateneo Italiano, 15th April 1866*, 226: criticises NIGRA; SZILÁDY 1879: 2 southern Slav variants parallel with the Hungarian "bella istoria" in verse; VESELOVSKY 1881: discussion of variants in sex-change, southern Slavs' Girl Soldier from the Italian; NIGRA Romania 1884, 178: southern French origin; SOZONOVIC 1886: Italians from southern Slavs; VESELOVSKY 1887 criticises SOZONOVIC; NIGRA² 1888: Portuguese-French-Greek-Slav distribution, to the Latin peoples from the southern French; GYÖRGY 1911: international distribution; SZEGEDY 1913: southern Slav 9-11, 13, 19 as origins of the "bella istoria"; PÁVEL 1913 adds 14. and BAJZA 1934 5.; ENTWISTLE 1939: Portuguese-southern Slav-Albanian-Greek-Roumanian-Czech-Ukrainian distribution without bibliographic references, French origin (because basic idea French in character); GYÖRGY 1941: international distribution; FARAGÓ 1956: the Moldavian Magyar ballad from the Roumanian Mizil Crai; ISTVÁNOVITS 1959: sex-change plot distributed over the area extending from Georgia to France, Roumanian-Georgian variant type of Balkan origin; PIRES DE LIMA 1958: 50 Portuguese, 100 Spanish variants; ANDERSON 1959: summary of Girl Soldier type and related tales; ANDERSON 1961: theme of French origin, reached Portugal via Spaniards.

This ballad is also a recent discovery from Moldavia: it was first published in 1954 in a fragmentary variant, and later a complete version appeared. The text of the latter runs as follows: Old Dancia bewails his fate: "O Lord, among my nine daughters I have no son; who will release me from my military service!" His youngest daughter hears through the door. "Father dear, let us dress my hair like a soldier's, and cut my coat like a hussar's!" And she leapt on to her grey steed. When she reached the banks of the Danube, she set off to do the military service. "O who

can this be, a knight or a lady? The riding seat is like a man's, but the person like a woman's. We'll bring distaffs and muskets: a knight would take a musket, a damsel a distaff." She didn't even look at the distaffs, but took a musket, and they didn't find out whether she was a soldier or a lady. "Let's show the splendid stacks with rosemary on the top: a soldier would take from the top, a lady from beneath." — She didn't even look beneath, but took from the top, and they didn't find out whether she was a soldier or a lady. "Let's prepare a hot bath in the stables, for we shall find out there whether this is a knight or a damsel." "My servants, when I take off my boots with the Polish spurs, shout out: Escape now, my lord, Emperor Francis Joseph, for your realm is being put to the fire, and your people carried off!" And they did not find out whether she was a knight or a damsel. Nine years we've sat at the same table, and still have not found out whether this is a soldier or a lady!" "I am the youngest daughter of old Dancia; among his nine daughters he had no son to release him from his military duty." (I. Z. KALLÓS's collection.)

The earliest recorded version of this plot is the Hungarian "bella istoria" throughout the distribution area. It is of literary origin, it is true, but the writer says at the end of his poem that he translated it from the Croat, and the southern Slav variants do, in fact, agree with it in many details. Thus this text, though in Hungarian, may be regarded as the first record of the southern Slav variants. Yet it proves the existence of the international ballad as early as 1570. (The first Portuguese record is from 1619.)

In French all we have is two records of a southern French fragment.

1-2. War has broken out. Down in Ossau, in the coastal area, there is a noble, who has three daughters. He goes to the first: "My child, will you go thither?" "No, no, father, I'll not go to the wars." He turns to the youngest: "Will you go, my child?" "O yes, yes, father, I'll go to fight. Give me a war-horse and the weapons you had from the king, and give me a page who will be faithful to me. (Jeanne, the soldier, collects her troops and scatters the Ossau guard.)

The part put here in brackets is missing from the recorded version of the last century. It may be a later supplement added to complete a text which was felt to be unfinished.

In the Portuguese the story is complete, and a very ample number of variants are available. War breaks out, usually between France and Aragon, more rarely in the domains of the elderly noble. The father curses his wife because he has seven daughters but no son to send into the army. His eldest (or youngest) daughter undertakes to go instead, asking for weapons and a horse. Her father hesitates because they may recognize her: "Your hair is fair" "Give me scissors to cut it off" "You've sparkling eyes" "I'll keep them cast down" "Your bosom is rounded" "The armour will flatten it" "Your hand are fine" "The wind will coarsen them" "Your feet are small" "I'll wear big boots" "Your step is short" "Before men, I'll step out". Then follows the recognition. "Mother, I'm dying for Dom Martinho's eyes" moans the young prince, "His body is the body of a man, his eyes the eyes of a woman". His mother advises various tests by which

her son can find out whether the knight is a girl: he must invite the knight to dinner: if he is a man, he will sit on a high seat, if a woman, on a low; take him to the market: a man will reach for the swords, a woman for ribbons; let them go to bed together (but the girl says she is bound by an oath not to take off her under-hose when she goes to sleep)—and finally let them go to the baths together. The number of tests is often four; the last test is in all the 14 Portuguese texts, though often in a corrupt form, or in a different place in the sequence. The general version, which is also found in the Hungarian, is that when it comes to undressing, the girl's page brings a letter, or she herself announces that she must hurry home because her father (or mother) is dying. Indeed, in three cases we find exactly the formula used in the Hungarian ballad: when she starts to take off her boots, the news is brought to her (2., 5., 6.). As she leaves she calls back to the young man from a distance: "I've served for seven years; I came a virgin, and a virgin I return to my home". Sometimes the young man accompanies her, sometimes the poem ends with a marriage, elsewhere the girl boasts to her father about her experiences, and says that only after the seventh year did a warrior recognize her by her smile.

The Spanish and Catalan variants offer nothing new, only make the story, through various losses, vaguer in comparison to the Portuguese. For example the young man, recognizing the heroine, says she resembles *his wife*, and finally asks her to marry him. The tests, too, are less and less comprehensible: they must go to a mill, and there she does not touch the flour, but goes fishing; or they go to pull flax, and the girl pulls a large quantity, or they go towards the flax (probably to the retting-pit) and she stops on the bank; in the garden she chooses an apple instead of an almond, while at the end she is to be given in marriage to the prince hurrying after her if he can recognize her among the seven sisters. Here, too, the heroine cuts off her hair in two versions. Sometimes three girls figure in the song, sometimes seven, but even then only three are named, and the scene is missing in which the French father asks his three daughters in turn which of them is prepared to take his place. It is interesting that one variant (9.) calls the heroine a "Portuguese maiden".

In the Catalan variants we find, among the tests already listed, (choosing between flowers and fruit in the garden, going to the baths and the arrival of the rescue-letter—sometimes this becomes swimming—sleeping together, an invitation to dine, cutting bread, or eating much, eating little) the appearance of a competition in wine-drinking.

It is characteristic of the entire Iberian area that the father curses his seven daughters or his wife because he has no son.

Sketchier, but more uniform, are the Italian variants, which are found throughout all of northern Italy. (Some of them were available to me only in extracts in which only certain motifs are listed; and this must be taken into account in the observations below.) Here the father's troubles can only be inferred from his daughter's questions and her offer. "Why do you weep, father, I'll go to the wars in your place!"; but here there is always only one daughter, and no text even mentions the sisters. In one variant we still find the father being concerned lest she be discovered, but in general

only the requests follow: he must give her weapons, a horse, and clothing. *The hair-cutting motif is missing* completely, but there are nine instances in which she asks for a page (sometimes a servant) to serve her faithfully.

The tests here seem to be rather secondary, and show fairly considerable variation (Table I).

The bathing test here is conducted in a river or the sea, and is frequently bound up with swimming or crossing the water (I. *passare un'acqua — un'acqua a passe*). In one case this falls into the penultimate position, in other words this is not the crucial test, and in II. it is entirely missing. The rescue message brought by letter is general, but only in one single Piedmont variant (from Asti) is it bound up with the moment when the boots are taken off.

A new element is that in four variants it is not her father that the girl replaces, but her brother, and indeed, in one case she bids farewell to her brother as she goes off to take her father's place. This became possible only because the Italian version omits the introductory part about the old man who has no son, only a daughter. On the other hand here there is no reason given why she should be going to the wars, and not her brother. And finally we also find the general ending of the Portuguese-Spanish songs: I came a virgin, a virgin I'll go home.

The single Gottschee German text, too, speaks only of a girl who takes the place of her aged father, and asks him for male clothing and advice as to how she should behave in the army. The father's advice is that she should not take off her headgear like the others, because she would be discovered through her braided red hair; that she should not sing when rubbing her horse down, and so on; and if she should be asked why she does these things she must say "it's the custom in our parts". She serves in the army for seven years, the song makes no reference to the tests for her detection, and when she goes home she mocks her comrades for not having discovered her to be a girl.

In the rich southern Slav traditional material the call to the wars is often given by letter or a messenger. In three texts it is again her brother and not her aged father, whose place she must take; he is newly married and is grieving because he has been called to the wars. Elsewhere she discusses with her mother, or her father and mother, her departure for the wars, and it is not given motivation by her father's age; indeed, in one case the father whose place is to be taken is actually described as a "young ensign". These are signs of deterioration of the texts, although the motif of the father too old for the wars occurs fairly frequently and in detail in the southern Slav texts.

But the haircutting motif is almost completely absent: only one Bosnian text refers to it. Where hair is mentioned elsewhere, it is quite another matter: either she is to hide it under her headgear, or let it fall to her shoulders in the warriors' style, and at the end of the story she shows her bosom and her hair to her pursuers. But it is in the tests that we find the greatest divergence from what we have met with so far. Here, too, we find such solutions as we sometimes meet with in the Portuguese: the girl chooses women's things, it is true, but explains that she is taking them for her

TABLE I.
SOLDIER GIRL: MOTIF-INDICATOR
ITALIAN (17 variants + 4 summaries + 3 refs.)

Whose place does she take?	Number of daughters	She asks for	"I shall be recognized"	Mode of detection
father (not stated whether old or young, and no son): 13 var. Brother: 4 var. farewell to brother and father: 1 var. "Handsome young man": 1 var.	1	clothing, horse, weapons, page: 9 var.	1 var.	young man: 9 var. soldiers: 5 var.

SOUTHERN SLAV (23 variants)

Whose place does she take?	Number of daughters	Hair cut	Hair left	She asks for	Mode of detection
old father: 11 var. young father: 1 var. brother: 3 var. mother: 2 var.	9 in 8 var. 3 in 2 var. 7 in 1 var 1 in 4 var.	1 var.	3	weapons, clothes, horse	young man: "man's walk, woman's looks"

BULGARIAN (38 variants)

Whose place does she take?	Number of daughters (or of girl's sisters)	Curse	Hair cut off	Asks for, gets (2 lists)	Mode of detection
old father, young father: 4 var.	9 in 22 var. 3 in 3 var. 1 in 4 var. ? in 8 var.	5	7	clothes, weapon, horse (ox-cart): 1 var. retinue: 1 var. cousins go with her: 6 var.	queen: 4 var. queen's dream: 4 var. her singing: 15 var.

Number 1, 2 in 2 var. of tests 3 in 1 var. 4 in 8 var. 6 in 1 var.	Report at boot removal	Ending
A) choice } ribbons-weapon: 8 var. at market } distaff-weapon: 3 var. B) picks flowers: 6 var. C) sleeping together: 8 var. D) bathing in sea or river: 9 var. E) others: 10 var.	1 var.	"I came a virgin, I leave a vir- gin": 1 var. shouts that she is a girl: 3 var. "For seven years I've kept my virtue": 3 var.

Number 3 in 10 var. of tests 1, 2 in 6 var. 4 in 2 var.	Ending
A) market } distaff, } weapon choice: } jewelry, } 4 var. 16 var. } silk, etc. } B) takes } flowers: 1 var. fruit: 1 var. C) sleep on grass: 4 var. D) strength-trials: 9 var. E) competition (horseshoeing, song, dance): 4 var. F) bath: 3 var. } G) swimming: 12 var. }* *not last test: 3 var.	shows breast: 7 var. (and hair): 3 var. shouts "I am a maiden" from further bank: 4(+1?) var. pursuit: 5 var. marriage: 5 var. (+1 rejection) simply returns home: 2 var. maiden succeeding in tests allowed to go home, but not others: 1 var.

Number - in 6 (+9?) var. of tests 3 in 7 var. 1, 2 in 12 var. 5 in 3 var.	Ending
A) bazaar distaff { weapon: 2 var. choice: { instrument: 7 var. flute + sword: 1 var. only distaff: 2 var. only flute: 2 var. fruit-garment: 1 var. fruit-flute: 1 var. B) picks { fruit: 5 var. flowers: 7 var. C) sleep on grass: 7 var. D) others: 4 var. E) bath (corrupt):* 10 var. *not last test: 3 var.	shouts to knights: 1 var. "I've come home a maid": 3 var. "They did not find me out": 3 var. reveals herself: 3 var. (rewarded afterwards: 1 var.) changes to bird, dies: 1 var. meets new voivod, lets down hair before him: 1 var. army disbanded: 1 var. has her father write letter from home to the Tsar: 1 var.

sister. The bath is found three times in its original form; in the majority of cases she is to be made to swim across a river, but the object of this is now not to make her undress, but to make a test of strength and bravery. Here, too, we find sometimes that this compulsion to swim is not the final test, and others are regarded as even more effective following it (3.). The letter, as an excuse for avoiding the bathing test, is accordingly found only in the three texts in which they go to the baths; where she has to swim across the river it is unnecessary, for she stands this test perfectly, and afterwards mocks the chagrined warriors from the further bank. But not even the three bathing scenes mention the boot-removal: the message comes either when she is unfastening buttons, or when she goes into the bath-house. It should be observed that in the Istrian and Slovene variants she is to be made to swim across the *Danube* (3., 9-12.), just where we are furthest from the Danube, and where the sea, or the Drava, Mura or Sava Rivers would be nearer. (This was also noticed by BAJZA.)

The ending also takes various forms. The most striking thing is—and it is not met with elsewhere, save in the “bella istoria”—that the girl shows her bosom and long hair to her pursuers from the further bank in mockery. This solution also appears in a form in which, in one test or another, her clothing tears, or a button comes off, and her breast is seen.

The material collected by the Bulgarians is very rich, and the most striking thing in it from our point of view is that we find in it twelve occurrences of the name *Bankó*, the hero of the Hungarian “bella istoria” called after him, a name which does not occur in a single Yugoslav variant, moreover the Bulgarian material shows further losses, and in part closer correspondences with the distant western and Hungarian material. Here, too, we find such descriptions of the father as *mlad yunak*, i.e. young warrior. The more detailed requirements are again mentioned as they are fulfilled (she asks for weapons, then goes to the market and buys them), and thereby this part becomes the longest scene in the story. There is no mention of page or servant, but in one case she goes to the wars with a retinue, but sometimes with cousins, who also help her in some of the tests. On the other hand, she sometimes cuts off her hair, like the Portuguese and Hungarian girls.

An individual feature is a way of discovery in which the queen dreams there is a girl in her army, or the girl sings in the stable on the feast of St. Lazarus, or ponders aloud as to whether her sisters at home are singing the hymns for that day, and the queen hears her.

Here, too, the tests take on forms showing they have been sung to destruction. In many cases there are no tests at all (in six cases they have undoubtedly been left out of the text, and in several fragments they may have been included in the past). The distaff is very often the test for the girl. The bath itself, in a very fragmentary form, it is true, appears ten times (in three variants not the last test, in fact, in two it is the first!). But the escape by means of the letter or message is missing, nor is there any mention of the boot-removal. In a single case the test is avoided by the news of the father's death, but this is related, not in the proper place, but well before it; in another case the messenger speaks, it is true, at the moment when the bathing is imminent, but he announces “she that is a girl, give word

of it!” whereupon she bows before the Emperor—in other words, gives herself away. Other solutions are that she starts to unfasten buttons on the bank, and her female character becomes obvious, or she goes on in front and does in fact bathe; or she frightens the soldiers out of bathing with talk of illness, or dissuades them by saying they will drown; another solution again is that she shaves the entire army or that she “went where the others went”, or her excuse is that her mother's curse will rest on her if she bathes. In any case it is clear that this part has lost its original meaning or point.

The closing is similar disorganized and confused. In three cases the girl gives herself away, which is the opposite of the general conception of this ballad. In addition to the solutions seen so far there are various fantastic or corrupt variants, and sometimes the ending is a single sentence: they did not discover her secret!

While we find among the Bulgarians mutilated stories and fragments, the Roumanians have further developed the tale, in folk-tale fashion, so that it has become very long. The most obvious novelty is the testing of three girls when they set off for the wars. Their father, in the form of a wolf, a bear, and a dragon, blocks the way to his three daughters as they undertake the enterprise one after the other; the two elder ones turn back, the youngest does not; she had chosen from the herds the worst colt—a magic one—and with its advice she overcomes the dangers, and flies over the dragon. During the tests she is helped by her dog, or by a magic needle which warns her of the queen's plans.

These tests, too, deviate from what we have seen hitherto. At the hunt or on a walk “test her on the haystack”, is the queen's advice, “if it is a girl, she will knock you off it” (the girl laughs: “I know what I shall do” but we do not find this out, because the scene is not recounted in the text); or there is a hip-measuring incident in the barracks, and she cuts off her own flesh; or she has to lie down, but digs a hollow for herself, and her broad hips are not noticed in it. If she has to choose between a mace and a fork, she throws her mace so high in the air that it does not fall for nine hours, and flies over nine countries; and indeed, in one variant the eldest daughter gets to the Emperor and her girlhood is discovered, and only the youngest manages to guard her secret. But here and there familiar motifs appear: in almost every variant she has her hair shaved off; in several instances we meet again the scene from the Yugoslav variants: she unbuttons her bosom and shows it to the Emperor from a distance (in one case this also happens when the first daughter is detected), indeed, we meet again with the stone-throwing contest of Yugoslav ballads. A choice between distaff and musket (or stick) is similar to the Hungarian (3., 4.) But the fantastic and fable-like further development of the story and the very enfeebled and rare original details of it still preserved (there is one case of the bathing test and the letter — 2.) show that this formulation is the final dissolution of the common tale.

Among the Greeks, apart from a verse fragment, I know of a prose-tale variant. The story is close to the common content, but at the end it is further developed in fable style. Here the aged father should be going to the

wars; he has three daughters, as in the French, and similarly, the two elder daughters refuse to take his place: they leave him, with abuse. The youngest goes to the battle in men's clothing, returns victorious, and on the way back a foreign prince subjects her to tests (she has to sleep on the grass, and the grass stays green under her); and here, too, she shouts to him from a distance that she is a girl—but then the tale goes on to relate the story of the dumb woman who speaks at the wedding. The Albanians also have taken this over in part, together with the Greek heroine's name Theodora, and we also meet with the three tests found among the Roumanians, too, the father changes first to a river, then frightens his elder daughters in the form of a monster. When the heroine breathes on a hair, a magic dog appears before her and helps her withstand the tests: flowers have to be planted and the person whose flower first blossoms is a man; the dog sprays the girl's flower daily. Afterwards the story ends either with the folk-tale motifs also met with in the Greek, or amplified with some other elements.

Among the Slovaks, too, the old man has three daughters, whom he asks in turn, as in the French (and the Greek), but only the youngest undertakes to go to fight. She asks for horse, saddle and weapons. In 6-7. her parents, other girls, etc. weep as she puts on soldiers' clothes, has her hair cut off, and then mounts her horse. Her father advises her to stay at the rear in the battle, but she does not obey, goes to the forefront and cuts down everybody. Sometimes the king takes a liking to her as soon as she reaches the battlefield and, as he says, would ask her to marry him if she were a girl; she overhears this and reveals herself. So here the tests must necessarily be omitted since the story develops differently. This concept, sometimes with a word-for-word agreement, now with one daughter, now with three, spread from the Czechs, via the Poles to the Russians. (Among the Moravians, though we hear of three daughters, there is neither request by the father nor double refusal.)

By reviewing the variants among the different peoples it is easy to establish the place of origin and the route taken in distribution. The single, fragmentary French text (two records) cannot represent the complete ancient French tradition. For this we have two proofs. The first is that versions of the deeds of the girl dressed as a soldier are found in four other ballads in the French traditional material. In one of them the girl's lover is taking his leave, because he is to go into battle the next day. She wants to go with him to serve the king. She serves as a soldier for seven years without being discovered, then she is wounded. They do not believe her to be a girl until she uncovers her breast (ROLLAND I, 140). In the second, too, she is away, fighting, for seven years, and she is hardly recognized when she returns home in men's garb; she does not greet her father and mother; she has buried three children and has a fourth in her arms (CANTELOUBE III, 359). In the third she follows her lover in soldiers' garb into the army, but he receives her cruelly: "Had I known you would follow me, I would have gone beyond the seas", and the girl bemoans her fate (PUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 33). The fourth is found in several variants: a captain seduces and abandons his host's daughter. She asks her father for a lot of money

to buy herself a knight's attire and weapons, then seeks out the faithless lover and kills him in a duel. The king pardons her because of her bravery (FLEURY, 278, PUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin 78, ROSSAT 191724a-f, BEAUQUIER 17-18A-B).

All these stories may be later derivatives of the original (there seem to be here and there in them altered forms of well-known details), and indicate how popular the girl-soldier story must have been among French peasants. At the same time they explain why it vanished from the traditional material to such an extent that only one fragment is preserved: more up-to-date revised versions replaced it.

The other reason is that even this short fragment contains elements which, by comparative studies, demonstrate the French origin of the ballad of many nations. One such is the beginning, in which the father entreats his three daughters one after the other, and only the youngest does not refuse his request. This motif is still present in the Greek versions and those of the Slovaks living in the area of the former Hungary. Its French origin and the way it reached those parts are obvious in both cases. The other such element is the request for a page. This part, in the Italian, agrees in places word-for-word with the French; elsewhere it is unknown, or only traces of it appear (a servant, retinue, cousins). This connects the Italian version with the French. At the same time even the fragmentary French is much more complete, where it exists, than the Italian, in which we consistently fail to find the call to military service and the old man's dialogue with his daughter, or that part of it about not having a son to substitute for him. Without this, the Italian version becomes incomprehensible and even goes astray, although the entire distribution area proves that this detail belonged to the original. Thus the Italian alone can be the derivative, and in the French *original* the break in the narrative can be only the result of a subsequent loss. This becomes even clearer on the basis of the Hungarian variant. But here it is not with the fragmentary French that we must make the comparative study in order to proceed further, but with the Portuguese-Italian-Yugoslav material. For there is one motif which, though it appears in the Spanish-Portuguese, the Hungarian, and the Yugoslav-Bulgarian-Roumanian, is completely missing from the Italian: the haircutting. Since this could not have come from the Iberian Peninsula, jumping the Italians, to the Yugoslavs, and thence to us (or *vice-versa*), it must have been in the now missing part of the original French, have come to Hungary from France with the French settlers, and have spread from us to our neighbours. This is also shown by the existence of two-part material among the Yugoslavs: for there the girl actually keeps her hair, and only one variant preserves the motif—perhaps from a Bulgarian borrowing, for it is more common there.

There is also an element which is not found at all among the Yugoslavs, only in the Portuguese, Italian (in a single case), and the Hungarian: the boot-removal, referred to in a word-for-word repetition. This, too, could have reached us, the Portuguese and the Italians, only from the French. Then there is a motif which exists only in the Portuguese and the Hungarian in any clear form, and only worn-out fragments of it are found in the Italian

and Serbian: the choice between fruit (crops) and flowers, (which is frequently corrupt even in the Portuguese texts). The evidence of these details clearly shows that the Hungarian ballad reached us, not from our neighbours, but direct from the west, that is, from the French. The influence in Hungary of the French girl soldier is shown by the Slovaks' three daughters scene, too. The fact that this is not found in the single Moldavian Magyar version does not necessarily mean that it was missing from the old Hungarian tradition. Beside the variant preserved in the fringe territories there may have been other versions as well among the Hungarians, or one or two other details may have figured in Hungarian ballads. The Slovak variant is rather fragmentary, and the most effective part is missing: the tests to establish the sex of the heroine. And this is not a modern change, because the versions of the entire northern area agrees with it. This does not argue a first-hand, direct acquisition.

At the same time we must recall that French elements appear in the Slovak ballads, too, albeit very sparsely, which may have reached them directly from the French. In the *single* (Zólyom) variant of the "Girl Abducted by Turks", details of the more modern (?) French version ("*Embarquement de la fille aux chansons*") appear: suicide with the dagger obtained on the excuse of cutting up an apple, and that *after the appeal to the fish*. So the French part must have been introduced into the text of Hungarian origin *afterwards*. In the case of the "Unmarried Mother who Killed her Child" we have already indicated that French detail in which some variants speak of the hangman's offer to be her lover, which the condemned girl rejects. In contrast, on the other hand, in every other ballad, and also in all the other variants of the above, the Slovak can be derived only from the Hungarian. The question must be left open for the moment, leaving the solution for later.

The French origin of the Hungarian ballad again proves the existence formerly of the complete story among the French. For this text is concise to the point of taciturnity, and its ending is without doubt corrupt; after the bathing test the girl could not have remained with her companions, so it could only have been she who said "For nine years . . . we have been eating and drinking together . . . and yet *you do not* recognize what I am"—as in so many other variants among other peoples; it could not have been the warriors who said this to each other in the present tense: the self-revelment makes sense only thus—from a distance. Yet the text contains every essential element of the action, and, apart from the ending, in the correct order and with the right meaning. It proves that the complete story existed both in Hungarian and among the French.

We should mention here that it preserves archaic and even mediaeval traits in its formulation. Such are, for instance, the use of the word *kegyes* for 'lady' again in contrast to the *vitéz*, 'warrior' or 'knight', and the expression '*veressük*' hajamat 'Let us cut my hair', which is replaced in the mutilated version by '*vágassák*', the more modern word for 'cut'; mediaeval Hungarian documents use the verb '*ver*' in this sense (NyTSz under the head-word *ver*).

Further evidence pointing to the French as the origin is the second-hand, garbled nature of the Portuguese-Spanish material: the varied and

often meaningless tests, more than three in number; the accumulation generally noticeable, and particularly in the father's concern (the daughter has to answer four, five or six objections); the wordy presentation of the story is also characteristic, which results in long texts sometimes even when important parts are left out. The spread of the French ballads in both Portugal and Catalonia is ascribed by WOLF (Proben, 20) to the fact that those territories were under French kings in the Middle Ages; BAUD-BOVY does the same for Greece, and we follow him. It is characteristic of those two countries that there are no historical epics, but many ballads, while in Spain, where there was no French domination, there are hardly any ballads, but all the more epic poems. And, still on the subject of this ballad, it cannot be just by chance that in one Spanish variant we find a 'Portuguese maiden' as the heroine. Both the ballad genre and the ballad of the Soldier Girl spread from France, first in Portugal and Catalonia and thence to Spain. The view that the origin was French, held by many, is also put forward by ANDERSON in connection with our ballad (in 1959 with some reservations, and in 1961 as indisputable fact).

To sum up, the ballad of the Soldier Girl spread from France to the Portuguese—indirectly to the Spaniards—and Italians and also to the Hungarians and Greeks; from us it went on to the Bulgarians, where we fairly frequently find the daughters nine in number, the haircutting motif and other minor agreements, but with the story well on the way to dissolution. The story reached the Yugoslav area partly from us and partly from the Italians: Hungarian elements are the frequently occurring number nine, the mention of the Danube, and above all the motif of the old father who has no son to take his place in the battle; Italian elements are the swimming test, replacing the bathing scene, the brother instead of the father, and so on. These Italian elements did not spread in the reverse direction, from the Balkans to Italy, because, as we have seen, the Italian version has a direct connection with the French. Other "Hungarian" elements may have reached the eastern—Bosnian—variants from the Bulgarian; such are the haircutting motif and the three bath scenes.

Common elements such as the distaff (Hungarian, Bulgarian, rarely Serbian and Roumanian) also show a connection, and if, on the basis of the other elements the Hungarian was chronologically the first, then this can only point to Hungarian derivation. Since we find them in both the Serbian and Bulgarian more frequently in corrupted forms than entire, we have here another proof of our view on the route taken. But if we turn our attention to the meaningless Spanish-Portuguese tests connected with *flax*, and the *spool* of the Italians, we cannot regard it as impossible that this, too, is an element which we acquired from the French, and which, losing its meaning among the Latin neighbouring peoples, maintained some sort of remembrance of spinning and weaving. In that case the Hungarian derivation of the element in the Balkans would be all the clearer.

With the French as intermediary we can understand such agreements as can be seen between the Portuguese texts, the Hungarian ballad, many Yugoslav variants, the 'bella istoria' and one or another of the rare Bulgarian variants: "O corpo tenia de hombre, Os olhos de mulher são" (1.), the

Hungarian "Sits the horse like a man, but looks like a woman", "Na skoku je kano i delija, Na pogledu kano i divojka" (9.), the Hungarian "Your pretty appearance is that of a girl, your walk that of a man" ('bella istoria'), and "Търсятъ мясь дивойкъ, Погледъ мясь млат юнак". And only thus can we understand the agreement of the Iberian variants with the Bulgarian where the father curses his daughters, or curses his wife because she has borne him only daughters. This, too, must have been in one or other of the many lost Hungarian variants, and have passed from there to the Bulgarian. We shall see that—at least as far as names are concerned—a distinction can be established between the variants in Hungary and Moldavia.

From French people in Hungary, probably through Hungarian intermediaries, our ballad reached the Slovaks, and from them the Moravians, Czechs, and Ukrainians. The Germans in Gottschee must have acquired it from the Slovenes and the Istrian Croats, for in those variants we find exactly the same pieces of advice given to the girl as to what she should do. There, too, the consequence of the acquisition of the ballad at second or third hand is the loss of the tests to discover the sex of the girl, as happened in the northern Slav and in many Bulgarian variants. The Roumanian variants point to some area where they came into contact with Albanians, Bulgarians and Serb at the same time; this would explain the agreements with the Albanian (preliminary tests for three daughters) coupled with elements which are found only in the Serbian (bosom display) or the Bulgarian (and the Hungarian): the haircutting. (But a Hungarian connection at the same time as the Albanian cannot be imagined.)

There remains the connection between the 'bella istoria' and the folk tradition. Its author's admission about the translation from the Croat is confirmed in particular by two elements: the showing of the breasts and the trials of strength. For the detection through the breast display appears—apart from tales of a different character—only among the Yugoslavs. (Although in this connection there is some food for thought in a similar ending to a more modern French ballad!) Similarly, it is a typical Yugoslav feature that we find in stone-throwing, running and jumping, and similar tests. But the wine-drinking test I would not dare to include here: the single Croat example, and the Catalan instance tend rather to show that this is an accidental variation. So there is no doubt that the unknown author did in fact use a Croat text. This is also shown by the word-for-word agreements above, as well as by the agreement between the ending and the VUK variant, which PÁVEL and SZEGEDY also quoted.

There are, however, also some difficulties in this connection, such, for instance, as the name Bankó figuring in the Hungarian text, which appears in not a single Yugoslav text, but is found *very frequently* in the Bulgarian. Yet, the author could not have translated it from the Bulgarian, not only because he refers specifically to the Croat language, and this is made credible by the settlements of Croats in the area, as well as by the composition of the soldiery who served in the border areas, but also because neither the course of the narrative nor some of its parts could be explained from the Bulgarian texts. So we must assume that the name Bankó

reached the Bulgarians from Hungary, just as did the whole ballad, and that at that period the Anonymous of Sempste also drew it from the Hungarian tradition. This possibility is also supported by several other elements which show that the author must have known the Hungarian ballad, too. For instance, right at the beginning we find: "... Father dear, shave off my hair, have clothing made for me like a hussar's...", which agrees almost word for word with the Moldavian ballad. Another is the point of the tale, the bathing scene, which agrees with the Hungarian-western form, and not with the Croat. It is true that this motif is also found, rarely, in the Yugoslav material, but in precisely the Bosnian areas, rather far from the Hungarian linguistic border. BOGIŠIĆ's variant, however, is from an area where there is Bulgarian-Serbian contact, from which we cannot derive our 'bella istoria'. But the formulation of the tests also shows that into a Hungarian text new elements were subsequently inserted: the first test is still worded as in the ballad: "If the young knight be a girl, she will show interest in the spindle and spinning wheel; if a man, he will pass them by and look at shining swords..." etc. The final test, the bathing, is also related in the manner we know from the ballad, only a little less succinctly. Between these two, however, the manner of narration changes: the sequence of tests set to the girl, then the description, in similar words, of how they are conducted, followed by the rhythmic repetition of the tests as they follow each other, are broken off. The warriors in turn urge their girl companion to take part in ever new contests, and this competition, intertwined almost to make a short story, is thus narrated by the singer. And when the girl has beaten them in all these trials, the knights return to the king, who, hearing of all that has passed, sinks into thought and again it is he who sets the final task, bringing us back to the current of the ballad-like narration. Not only the 1+4+1 tests, but also the change in the manner of presentation betrays the insertion. With this in mind, we may well feel that the epic delivery of the southern Slav variant, together with some of its details appealed to the author of the song, so that the familiar ballad seemed to him to be suitable for working up into a 'bella istoria'. The expression he uses: 'fordítá' ('translated') may also mean 'translated in part', 'a compilation'. The Hungarian words used for 'wrote' and 'translated' in naive poetry did not at that time signify precisely defined concepts.

If the name Bankó reached the Bulgarians from the Hungarian ballad, then there must have been two variants of the name of the old knight existing side by side in the Hungarian tradition: the Moldavian Danci (Dancia) and the Bankó of the rhymed tale. Both are mediaeval Magyar names of persons, or can be explained by such. On Bankó, see 1222: Bancone comite, 1483: Benedicto Banco (EtSz.); and Danci is perhaps the Moldavian lispng variant of Dancs (1478 EtSz.) with the diminutive ending. And perhaps not only the name Bankó was taken to the Balkans, but Danci-Dancsi, too. The Croat Danica (22.) and Dunčić-Dunchich (11.) may be derived from it or substituted for it.

As for the broader associations of our ballad, its main points, the girl dressed in men's clothing and the trials devised for her unmasking, appear

also embedded in other stories and other types of narration: folk tales, mediaeval legends, and stories. However, in these it is mostly linked with an actual change of sex, in which the girl, when it comes to the last bathing test, miraculously changes to a young man. Such legends were mentioned, parallel to our ballad, by VESELOVSKY 1881, and GYÖRGY wrote about their later descendants (1941, 289 and id. 1911). Or the demon, outwitted, curses her, and she changes into a man, as in the folk tales. (See AARNE-TH 514, BP III 57, ANDERSON 1959, 1961, ISTVÁNOVITS 1959.) The sex-tests also occur in other types (AARNE-TH 884, THOMPSON Motif-Index H 1578). The most striking thing is that in the wealth of tales in the Balkans and Georgia (and in heroic songs of Altai Turks, see MELETINSKY 1963, 336-7) the subject of the sex-change has merged with the Roumanian-Albanian variants of the Soldier Girl: three girls, put to the test by their father, set off in soldiers' clothing, and the third in the end changes into a man in reality. ISTVÁNOVITS regards these Georgian fables as borrowings of the Balkan texts, because the Girl Soldier is not known specifically in any other form, nor is the sex-change, only the combination of the two found in the Balkans.

More striking and surprising is the similarity which links this ballad with an old Chinese song: the Song of Mu-lan (see TÓKEI *Zenepalota*, 80. This may also have been the one PÁVEL once referred to, without giving any details of the source). In this it is not the father, but the daughter who complains, because her father is being called into battle by the *kagan*: "My father has no son, and poor Mu-lan has no brother at all. I shall go to the market for a horse and saddle, and go to fight instead of my father." Then the song goes on to tell how she gets the things she needs at the markets, how she gallops from battle to battle, hears the "barbarian hoof-beats of the *hu*-horses" and acquires distinction before the *kagan*, and returns to her joyful parents. And when she appears, now dressed in girl's clothing, before her soldier comrades who have accompanied her home, they cry astonished: "For twelve years you have been a warrior with us, and now we see a young lady!"

The poem is from a collection completed in the 10th century, but the text itself is much older, perhaps even of the 5th or 4th century. "From the fact that there is much controversy about the name Mu-lan itself—for it cannot be decided whether it is a family or personal name—and also that the 'Son of Heaven' is several times called *kagan* in the poem, it may be felt that the poem is possibly in some way connected with the folklore of a 'hu' (barbarian) people." (TÓKEI 1959 *Zenepalota*, 121; see also TÓKEI 1958.) Since the text shows, on the basis of our quotation, such close similarity to our ballad, and in so many details, that it is difficult to imagine their simultaneous development independent of each other, we do not feel it impossible that the basic story of the Soldier Girl reached Europe with the waves of the Great Migrations, and here acquired (perhaps from the tale) the amplification of the sex-tests, and thus developed on French soil into the ballad.

However, we do not wish to go deeply into this complicated question, nor to argue as to which should be accorded priority of origin: the tale

with the change of sex, or the ballad with the sex-tests. It is enough for us to establish that the ballad-variants we have examined constitute, in the whole body of related themes, a group with closely-connected texts, and that the origin and distribution-routes of this group may be described as we have done above.

THE BAD WIFE (e.g. ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 28.)

HUNGARIAN

1. EA Népr. P. Vitnyéd, Sopron C. 2. MNGY VIII, 193 Nagylengyel, Zala C. 3. BN, 173 Boda 4. Ethn 1907, 156 Ghymes, Nyitra C. 5. MF 2391a Kisgyőr, Borsod C. 6. EA 2584, 168 Szentgyörgypusztá, Pest C. 7. KÁLMÁNY Szeged I No. 3 Szeged, Felsőváros 8. ibid. II, 15 Tiszahegyes 9. EA 621, 189 Nagyszalonta, Bihar C. 10. EA 2276, 66 Györgyfalva, Kolozs C. 11. MNGY VIII, 18 Nyárád-szentanna 12. SEPRÓDY 1903 Kibéd, Marosszék 13. EA 2276, 65 Sepsiköröspatak, Háromszék C. 14. MF 4210d Énlaka, Udvarhely C. 15. SzNd No. 33 Ditró (Ditrau), Csík C. 16. ibid. No. 27 Kászonimpér (Imper), Csík C. 17. Cs-VARGYAS No. 126 = Pt No. 315 Kászonimpér 18. SzNd No. 14 Kászonújfalú (Casinu Nou), Csík C. 19. MSZ 6369 Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Moldavia 20. ERDÉLYI J. III, 170 21. EA 3640, 24 Lovászpata, Veszprém C. 22. Manuscript Szandaváralja, Nógrád C.

GERMAN

From the mass of German variants let us mention E-B 910a-d, MARRIAGE No. 196 and KÖHLER-MEIER No. 209 (see ibid. list of other printed variants also). This song is found everywhere among German speakers, from the Volga settlers to the emigrants in Brazil (as I was able to establish by studying publications, information given by the DVA in reply to my questions, and its material on the spot).

DUTCH

LOOTENS-FEYS No. 91 and manuscript in DVA.

GREEK

LÜBKE, 45.

AROMUN

WEIGAND II, 56-7.

BULGARIAN

SbNU 10, 108 No. 2.

Partial variants:

FRENCH

1. Manuscript, Stave, Belgium 2. ROLLAND I No. 31a, from 1724 3. Recueil des chansons galantes, badines et à boire (1739) III, pp 423-8 4. ROLLAND I 31b Lorient area 5. Ibid., c (fragment) 6. Ibid. Jura 7. LIBIEZ III No. 15 + note III, 66 Hainaut, Belgium 8. CANTELOUBE IV, 335 Cherbourg = UDRY, 137 ibid. 9. FLEURY 359/1 Basse-Normandie 10-13. DE LA GRUYÈRE No. 16 (4. var.) Switzerland 14. BEAUQUIER, 125 Jura, Switzerland 15. CANTELOUBE III, 332 Franche-Comté 16-18. BUJEAUD, 67 (3 var.) Bas-Poitou, Angoumois, Aunis 19., 20. DECOMBE No. 46 Miniac-Morvan and No. 48 Rennes 21. CANTELOUBE III, 165 Bas-Limousin 22. TIERSOT (No date) Mélodies II/40.

ITALIAN

1., 2. NIGRA 84A—B Turin area 3. NIGRA No. 107 *ihid.* 4. BERNONI 1872. Punt. XI No. 3. 5., 6. GIANNINI 1889. 197 No. 26. + var. (contamination).

PORTUGUESE

1. BRAGA II, 257 No. IV/18 Madeira.

The DVA informs me that there are also Danish, Croat and Lithuanian variants. *Bibliography:* KÖHLER—MEIER No. 209 refers to Hungarian, Greek and Aromun variants in connection with the German material (Schnorrs Archiv 14, 206, quoting G. MEYER, and 15, 108, quoting Harsu); ORTUTAY 1936—48 refers to German variants on the basis of E—B, DÁNOS=ORTUTAY; CS—VARGYAS: German origin on basis of E—B.

The Hungarian text runs: (18.) "Come home, Mother dear, for Father is ill" "Wait a little, my child, let me dance a little, and I'll soon be leaving, just one or two more dances, and I'll be home at once" "Come home, Mother dear, and salve Father" "Wait a little . . ." etc. Then in turn: "Call a priest, to confess father" "Father has died" "Let us bury Father . . ."

Here the refrain changes: "Tell those who carry him not to take him past the garden, for his arm is bent, it will catch in the paling and he will come back to me". Finally: "Come home, Mother dear, for Father has been buried." At this the widow weeps, not for her husband, but for her sheet: "Woe, woe, my sheet, my fine white sheet, for I shall get another man, but I will not make a sheet, because I don't know how to spin, I will not make a sheet."

This bewailing of the sheet occurs in only a few variants (11., 13., 18., 19.). It is, however, interesting that in lament parodies it often turns up, as can be seen from the CMPH (V) 1966. This ballad often finishes with the woman returning home only when the arrival of suitors is announced after the burial.

This last arrangement is also found in German texts. The similarity is so marked that in southern German songs even the two tempos are found: the daughter calling in a dragging rubato, and the mother replying in a brisk dance tempo, an alternation found in every Hungarian variant recorded with its tune. Moreover, the two versions are so close in their wording that they are almost like translations of each other.

But the 'sheet-bewailing' is also found in the French and Italian songs with a similar theme (see the examples listed under 'partial variants'), which, however, differ in the whole course of the narrative, in spite of their related nature. The husband is ill, and calls for a doctor or something to eat. His wife goes on the errand, but takes from Easter to the Feast of St. Denis; and when she returns, she hears the death-knell, and renders thanks to God. When she enters the house, she finds that her husband is wrapped in six ells of linen. She then bewails the loss of the linen, or that part may be left out, and she seizes her scissors and starts cutting the linen off the body. When she comes to his mouth, she is afraid he will bite her, and when she reaches his arm, she fears he will strike her. She laughs and mocks at the burial, then, in some variants, takes the cleric to bed with her, or re-marries at once.

The many varieties of expression. "Je regrettais bien ma toile et mon peloton de fil". "Je ne regrette que la toile Qu'il ma emporté pourri" "Je me suis mis à pleurer Mais ce n'était pas pour li. C'était pour mes deux aunes de toile Qui étaient autour de li", and so on, and even more clearly in the Italian "a filare ci vuol pena, dei mariti ce n'e cosi" indicate without a doubt a connection with the Hungarian. As far as the German area is concerned, however, Prof. SEEMANN writes in answer to my query "Varianten, in denen die Witwe ihr Leintuch beweint, sind uns nicht bekannt", on the basis of the entire Deutsches Volksliedarchiv material. Nor is there any such detail as "his arm is bent, it will catch in the paling", but this is reminiscent of the French wife's fear that her husband's hand will strike her and his mouth will bite her. Nor do we find the admonition not to take him past the garden, to which there is an echo in the Portuguese song: "Call the gravediggers; Let us take him direct, to get there as soon as possible".

The bewailing of the sheet is general in the French; the numerous variants are built up on this as the point of the story. But in the Hungarian it appears in only one or two variants, and the story is effective even without it. It is obvious that it was we who took it over, and not the other way round. Here, too, we find the Italian parallels over an extraordinarily small and distant area: there are only two records from near Turin. It cannot have reached the Hungarians from them. The only question is how to explain the extensive agreement between the German and Hungarian ballads.

The Hungarian ballad is strikingly uniform in having the wife (or, in two cases, the husband) refusing to go home from a *dance* to the dying spouse. This feature is missing in the great majority of the German variants, and appears only in Austrian, Bavarian, and Czech areas, and along the Rhine, that is, along the Hungarian and French borders. The Hungarian is also uniform in showing the daughter calling her mother. This also occurs in some variants in German areas and along the Rhine; elsewhere the wife is called home impersonally, most frequently with the term "Madame". We also find here and there the exchange of roles between husband and wife in German and Dutch areas.

It is also striking that, exactly as in the Hungarian, it is from a *dance* that the wife is called home in the Greek, Aromun and the only south Bulgarian text. Again, these songs in the south, isolated and without a connecting link, cannot be explained by the Hungarian or German, but by the French, via the Greek, they can. At the same time the Piedmont Italians sing a similar song in which, similarly from a *dance*, not a mother, but a daughter is called home to one or other dying member of the family. Thus we have here the two elements side by side, both the general French form with the weeping over the sheet, and the call to return home from the dance. But the latter is here in a form differing from the whole of the rest of the territory—a daughter instead of a mother—so it is without doubt secondary.

Another thing that attracts attention is that the Hungarians merged the sheet-lament of indubitably French origin, into this song. If the ballad

were of German origin, it would be hard to imagine an element borrowed from another people being embedded in it; on the other hand, the history of ballads shows—as proved above—numerous examples, in which the acquirer has merged elements of two songs from the same people.

If we consider all the German material we must regard both the loss of the dance-scene and the impersonalized call as attrition. A dance figures in *every* nation, including the German: this is indicated by the melody-structure, with the slow dialogue followed by the fast dance-rhythm, which is to be found among the *Germans*, too. So this is without doubt a *general*, and hence *original* element of the ballad. In comparison there has clearly been attrition in the variant in which we hear an abstract dialogue: we do not know where the woman is, we only learn that she does not want to go home, and wishes all ill to her husband. And yet these variants are in the majority, with their impersonalized call. So the German material also shows that this ballad spread, gradually losing all its colour, from the French and Hungarian borders over the huge German language area.

Putting all this together reinforces our conviction that here, too, we are dealing with a lost, ballad-like French text, which the Hungarians merged in places with an element from another related French text, and that this ballad, too, spread over into the German lands from the two sides in just the same way as the "Three Orphans" already dealt with.

THE TEST OF FAITHFULNESS (e. g. ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 37.)

HUNGARIAN

1. MNGY III, 15 Udvarhely C.? 2. ERDÉLYI J. I, 422 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia
3. MCSB 12C Trunk (Galbeni), Moldavia (details, contamination) 4. MF 106a—b Tordátfalva (Turdeni), Udvarhely C. (Not written down, accompanied by a note 'The Faithful Maiden', bad cylinder, nothing audible".)

FRENCH

1. MILLIEN 1906 II, 178A + var.+ Nivernais 2. Ibid. 168.+ FIGUET+ lists a further 5 variants.

PORTUGUESE

- 1-15. BRAGA I, 33 (= GEIBEL—SCHACK, 371), 36, 39, 42, 45-48, 50, 52, 57, 59, 62 Madeira, 64 Azores, 67 Rio de Janeiro.

SPANISH

1. WOLF—HOFFMANN No. 156 = GEIBEL—SCHACK, 375 2., 3. WOLF—HOFFMANN II, 155 and 217 4-13. COSSIO—SOLANO Nos. 108-117 14., 15. MENÉNDEZ P. 1885 Asturiano Nos. 31-2.

CATALAN

1. MILÁ No. 202+ = WOLF Proben No. 67 2. MILÁ No. ?* ibid. 3. AMADES, 417 No. 2307 Ripoll.

ITALIAN

- 1-4. NIGRA 54A—D Piedmont 5. FERRARO 1888 Basso Monf. No. 35 6. FERRARO 1870 Monf. No. 41 7. GIANANDREA, 270 No. 7 Marchigia 8. WIDTER—WOLF No. 91

Venice 9. BABUDRI, 176 No. 12+ Veneto 10. GIANNINI 1889, 151 No. 7? Lucca 11. MARCOALDI, 151 Piedmont or Liguria 12. BOLZA No. 53 13. PERGOLI No. 23 14., 15. BERNONI 1872 Punt. V No. 6 and IX No. 1 16., 17. FERRARO 1877 Ferrara, 14 No. 2 Ferrara and 105 No. 18 Pontelagoscuro. References to 6 variants from Faenza, Florence, Dalmatia, Lombardy and Trentino areas by NIGRA and the DVA.

DUTCH

1. Horae b. No. 26 2. LOOTENS—FEYS No. 48 3., 4. Souterliedekens Nos. 7-8.

ENGLISH

1. JAF 1909, 379+ 2. MACKENZIE I 63A+.

GERMAN

From among the great number of German variants we will mention as examples E—B No. 67a—f, HAUFFEN Nos. 55, 55a, MITTLER, 56 and MEINERT, 243.

WENDISH

1. HAUPT—SCHMALER No. 43 2. KUHAČ, 974. The DVA lists another 7 variants.

SERB—CROAT—SLOVENE

1. KUHAČ No. 104 Jeruzalem, Štajer 2. ibid No. 103 Zilska dolina u Koruškoj 3. ibid. No. 238 Mura area 4. ibid. No. 973 Koruška region 5. ibid. 973/var. Krajn 6-27. ŠTEKELJ I Nos. 773-794. Mura area, western Transdanubia and Slovenia 28. VUK II, 382 (Vienna edition).

CZECH—MORAVIAN

- 1., 2. SUŠIL Nos. 114/245-6 3-8. BARTOŠ—JANÁČEK 1901 103a—f. The DVA lists a further 12 variants.

SLOVAK

1. HORÁK 1956 No. 22 = Sl. Sp. II No. 63 Nova Baňa 2. Sl. Sp. III No. 308 3. SL'P I No. 365 Hrinová 4. ibid. No. 158 Lysá p. Makytou 5. ? ČERNÍK No. 219 6. KOLLÁR II, 382 (fragment) 7-9. BARTÓK 1959, 349abc Balog, Zólyom C. and Horná Poruba, Trenčén C.

GREEK

1. LÜBKE, 227, BAUD-BOVY 1936, 228-32. See also D. Vlr. IV, 145 list under No. 76.

Partial variants:

POLISH

- 1-7. KOLBERG 1857 Piesni 24a—g.

Bibliography: ABAFI 1876c: Hungarian—German comparison; FIGUET+ 1927 on French variants; BAUD-BOVY 1936: Greek variants from the neo-Latin; DÁNOS 1938: Catalan, Dutch, German (and erroneous) Scottish correspondences to Hungarian variants, Hungarian from the German; ORTUTAY³ 1948 accepts DÁNOS; CS—VARGYAS 1954 accepts DÁNOS; D. Vlr. IV, 145, 1957: Black Sea Greek variants in connection with the Cruel Mother-in-Law.

The text runs (1.): Behold, there has grown a golden apple-tree, and round its roots has grown a sweet edelweiss flower; and under it sits a poor orphan girl, twining a garland for her hair, and bemoaning her fate: "I've neither father nor mother nor anyone else to care for me." A proud soldier hears from the doorway: "Don't weep, don't be sad, poor orphan girl,

I'll be father and mother to you and take care of you." "You cannot be that, proud soldier, for I'm pledged to my betrothed, for whom I've been waiting for seven years and three full days. But I'll wait another seven years and three full days and if he does not come by then, I'll go and join the nuns, and serve God as long as I live, and when I die, I'll stand before God."

ERDÉLYI's variant differs from this in a few motifs: A sweet apple-tree had grown, and under it grew a yellow edelweiss flower. A poor orphan girl sat under it and twined a garland for her hair. Where there was no flower she put in white pearls and tied it with gold thread, and sang songs she had learned and wiped her bitter tears: "O God, dear Lord, without father and mother, kin or husband, how can I live, what can I do with my life alone?" From the door a stranger spoke: "Do not weep, do not sorrow, trust in me, I will take the place of your father and mother, I will be your kinsman, I will be your true husband" "Do not beguile me with fine promises, proud stranger, for I have indeed a betrothed lover, pledged with a ring, and handsome, who will be father and mother to me. He is away at the wars, fighting, bearing the standard. To-morrow morning perhaps he will bring home good news; at dawn I'll go to meet him."

A ballad of the Brigand's Wife, from Trunk, also preserves a few lines of this. When the wife complains that she was married off to a thief, we find in the text: "... Ki most isz oda van *Hadba hadakozni*, Vaszkaput rontani (bis), Ermen papot ölni" (... who is even now away at the wars, breaking down iron doors, killing Armenian priests), and further on "*Cak ajtómnál szólla Egy kevés katana: Eressz bé jingemet*" etc. (Then at my door a proud soldier spoke: Let me in) (3.). Thus this ballad must have existed in Moldavia in several variants, as indeed VIKÁR's example from Tordát-falva (4.) also shows the existence of a once wider tradition.

The scene is obviously a garden, witness the girl sitting under an apple-tree, and the stranger addressing her from the doorway.

The ballad gives the impression of being unfinished. This becomes obvious when we study its European relatives; we discover that the "soldier's" offer is only a test of love, for in reality he is the returning lover. But the motif of her recognition of him is missing from the Hungarian texts.

So far we have connected it only with the corresponding German ballad (E-B 67). The opening motif of this widely-found ballad is the spreading linden tree, under which the young man takes leave of his darling: he is either going off on his travels for seven years, or he is going to the wars and promises to return by the summer. Sometimes he gives the girl a ring as a pledge. When the appointed time comes, he does not return. The girl goes out into the woods (there are also variants in which at this point a garden is mentioned first, and later she goes walking in the woods), and she meets a knight. He asks what she is doing here, has she perhaps a secret lover? He learns that she is awaiting the return of her lover. "I saw him in the next town", says the knight, "he was getting married to another girl". His sweetheart still gives him her blessing, at which the knight—the returning lover—makes himself known, and draws the moral: "had you cursed me, I would have left you for ever."

The story, in broadly the same form, with the opening scene under the linden tree, is found in a broadside dated 1592. Some variants, also in this 16th century reading matter, leave out the farewell scene, however, giving only the scene where they meet again, yet in essentials the ballad's motifs are unchanged from the beginning onward. Thus here the returning lover does not entice the girl, but puts her love to the test with the story of his own unfaithfulness. Among the Dutch he does entice her after giving news of his own unfaithfulness, and here, too, there is neither a leave-taking at the beginning, nor a moral pointed at the end. In other things the Dutch version resembles the German, above all in having the girl bless her lover in spite of his infidelity, although there is no mention of a wedding here (1.). This form takes up an intermediate position between the German ballad and the southern texts to be dealt with below.

The Italian variants are very uniform (except 10., which perhaps does not belong here), but fairly short and eroded; but on the other hand they contain new elements compared with the German version.

The beginning is at once reminiscent of the Hungarian: "Sing, girl, sing until you get married" "I have no wish to sing or to laugh, my heart aches because my sweetheart went to the wars seven years ago and has not returned". (In the Hungarian: She sang the songs she had learned... etc.) *After this* she goes into the woods and meets a young man. She asks him if he has seen her sweetheart. He asks her how he was dressed, and replies that he has seen him being buried. The girl collapses on the ground in her sorrow, and her lover makes himself known, but in some variants she believes him only when he shows the ring she gave him. This ballad is found throughout northern Italy. Let us now turn to the Portuguese-Spanish form.

Here we have a solitary wife instead of a girl, but who, as in the Hungarian, sits in her garden—an orchard, because later on we hear of her orange trees. The stranger appears—in this case a captain just come from the sea—and she asks him whether he has seen her husband. Here again she has to describe him, and he replies, similarly to the Italian version, that he saw him fall in battle. (Here follows the motif, familiar also from other ballads, of the three great wounds, which we shall discuss later, on page 111.) The woman bewails her fate, and the stranger asks what she would give if he could restore her husband to her. She runs through the list of her treasures, in increasing order of value, right up to her three daughters. This scene is, after the news of her husband's death, meaningless, and may be a later insertion from a French song of another type (see CANTELOUBE II, 77 and SMITH VII, 60). Finally the stranger announces that he wants the woman herself. Angered, the lady calls her servants; her husband discloses his identity, and when she doubts him, shows her the ring she gave him. His demand was only a test of her fidelity.

In the two Catalan variants two new details appear. The husband has gone off to France, and his wife is waiting for him in port. She appeals to her returning husband, without recognizing him, for news of him. The stranger pretends he has met him, and has brought his command to her to marry someone else, because he himself has married the French king's

daughter. The wife then calls for a blessing on her husband, and curses only the father-in-law. Then, to quote WOLF, she goes on to say that "...sieben Jahre habe sie als glücklich Vermählte auf ihn gewartet, kehre er auch nach diesen sieben Jahren nicht zu ihr zurück, so wolle sie Nonne werden." Then follows the recognition scene. As we see, the quoted part agrees almost word for word with the ending of the KRIZA variant. Similarly 3.

The other Catalan text is less distinct and more corrupt, but its beginning is closer to the Hungarian, German and Portuguese form. For it begins with the beautiful wife sleeping *under a pine tree*. A knight appears, but, not wishing to wake her, puts a *garland* of violets on her breast (cf. "Köti koszorúját" "Twines a garland for herself", "Maga koszorúját kötögeti vala" "She was twining a garland for herself"). The woman wakes up, and asks what news there is in the country he has come from. The reply is that the pilgrim has died. When he describes his appearance, the woman recognizes that it is her husband. At all costs she is determined to go to see him once more, and the stranger tries in vain to frighten her with the great distance and the dangers to her life. After this, he makes himself known.

The Spanish variants are broadly similar in the narrative to the Portuguese, if we disregard the elements from another ballad woven into them (the three gaping wounds, and the woman's promises of what she will give to get her husband back). Other divergences, however, seem to be subsequent insertions: the husband does not divulge his identity that same day, only the following day, when he finds his wife dressed in mourning for her dead husband. But we do find that element of the Hungarian ballad in which the wife intends to become a nun on hearing of the husband's death.

Among the French and English (and Americans) the fidelity test is known only in texts of an entirely new tone. The French texts relate the story in the tone of the 18th century pastoral poem: the girl, after waiting two years, goes to be a shepherdess—with her child in her arms—and there meets the strange soldier, who also brings the news of her lover's death; and when the girl, now desperate, determines to drown herself and her child, he makes himself known to her and brings out the ring in which her name is engraved (1.). In the second text the soldier returns after six years, tries to tempt her, and reveals his identity only after rejection (2.). That this is only a subsequently remodelled form which does not preserve the complete older form, but only some of motifs from the original, will become clear from the comparative study we shall make; the old ballad forms preserved among other peoples uniformly point to an earlier French ballad from which they can all be derived. Since the eastern European formulations are derivatives of either the German or the Hungarian, we shall leave them for examination later, and shall concern ourselves for the moment only with the Greek variants, which will be helpful in establishing what the centre was from which they all spread.

In them, too, a wife and a returning husband figure, as in the Spanish. The story is generally the following (to quote BAUD-BOVY 1936): The scene nearly always takes place at a spring, where the woman is draw-

ing water or washing clothes. A knight appears and asks for a drink. The woman weeps to see that he so much resembles her husband. The stranger says the latter is dead, and that he buried him with his own hands. He offers his companionship to her, but she is horrified at the offer. Thus assured of her fidelity the husband reveals his identity. In LÜBKE's variant we find a nunnery, too: she has already been waiting twelve years for her husband, but she will wait three years more, then she will retire to a nunnery as a nun. D. Vlr. quotes similar details from the shores of the Black Sea. Among these we also find contaminations such as the fidelity test and the reference to the nunnery merged with the well-known French song "Les métamorphoses". This song is found—apart from a single variant in CHILD (44.) and a fragment in SHARP—exclusively and in extraordinarily large numbers on French soil. This, too, confirms the French origin of the Greek fidelity test, which BAUD-BOVY also summarizes independently as follows: "Notre chanson de l'épreuve de la femme à la fontaine a donc dû naître dans les Sporades méridionales, vraisemblablement à l'époque de l'occupation franque. Cette hypothèse est corroborée par la fréquence de la thème dans les littératures populaires des péninsules ibérique et italique." (It should be noted that the word "franque" here—in accordance with the Greek usage—generally means Neo-Latin.)

Let us now set side by side the main variants, so that we can clearly see their connections and differences. In the columns of this comparison, the motifs are printed according to where they appear as follows: in the Hungarian, and at least one other people's variants: underlined; lacking in Hungarian, but present in at least two other peoples' variants: in *italics*; among one people only: in CAPITALS.

Hungarian

In garden, under tree,
sings, twines garland,
awaits sweetheart, 7
years at wars
soldier calls to her,
entices her
she rejects him
she will wait 7 years,
then become a nun
intends to go to meet him at dawn

Dutch

girl goes to *linden*
does not find lover,
man comes, asks her:

WHAT ARE YOU DOING, PICKING FLOWERS?
I have lost my lover,

German

FAREWELL IN VALLEY
UNDER LINDEN,
garden sometimes unexplained,
ring as pledge,
7 years in army
RETURN IN SUMMER
goes out walking, meets knight,
HE ASKS: ARE YOU MARRIED?
pretends husband getting
married,
she asks blessing on him,
it was a test, recognition,
HAD YOU CURSED ME, I
WOULD HAVE LEFT YOU

Portuguese

Sits in bower, garden
Stranger arrives BY SHIP
(orange trees)

Asks after her husband: what did he
look like? He died in battle

would like news of him
IN ZEELAND amusing himself with
pretty women.
She blesses him
HE OFFERS GOLDEN CHAIN IF SHE
WILL FORGET HER LOVER
Even if it reached from heaven to earth,
I would still prefer to remember him
Recognition; "Be my
wife"

Spanish

NO PLACE INDICATED
Woman addresses knight,
asks about husband,
his appearance; He is
dead, a sweetheart was mourning him
WHAT SHALL I DO WITH MY
THREE DAUGHTERS?
Be my wife. I'd rather go into a nunnery
MOURNS HIM NEXT DAY
Husband reveals identity

Catalan

Awaits husband IN PORT (SLEEPS
under tree)
Stranger arrives, garland
THROWN ON HER
Asks after her husband
HE BRINGS HIS COMMAND TO MARRY
SOMEONE ELSE
He has also married: the French
princess.
She pronounces blessing on him,
CURSE ON FATHER-IN-LAW
I've waited 7 years, will wait
7 more, then will become nun
Recognition

The Dutch, Portuguese, Catalan, Italian, Greek and Hungarian uniformly start the story with the second meeting, and its antecedents come to light afterwards. This concentrated form is indeed more suited to the ballad style, and we can accept it as original.

The meeting in the Portuguese and Hungarian has the woman sitting in the garden, and the stranger coming in to see her. In the Italian and the German the girl awaits him, and goes to meet him. There is a reference to this in the Hungarian, too: her answer shows that she is going to her

THREE GREAT WOUNDS
Mourns her husband
WHAT WOULD YOU GIVE IF I BROUGHT
HIM BACK? GOLD ETC., 3 MILLS, 3 DAUGHTERS
I want you
Anger, rejection
Recognition, it was a test,
Ring the sign

Italian

Sing, little girl
I HAVE NO DESIRE TO SING,
my sweetheart has
gone to soldier for 7 years
She goes to meet him on the road
Meeting, asks lover:
what sort of clothing did he wear?
He is dead.
Girl falls to ground,
He reveals identity
What sign will you give? A ring.

Greek

DRAWS WATER OR WASHES
AT SPRING
Knight arrives, ASKS
FOR DRINK, RESEMBLES HER
HUSBAND, SHE WEEPS
Your husband died, I buried him
Asks her to marry him,
She refuses,
Will wait 3 years more, then
become nun
Husband reveals identity

sweetheart the next day. Since the meeting in the garden could have been possible only thus, probably this was the original form, which the Germans and Italians changed into a *real* action. Among both peoples what appears is a not entirely successful alteration: in the Italian someone first speaks to the girl, and afterwards she goes to meet her loved one; in the German there is an incomprehensible mention of a garden in the texts, while the meeting takes place in the forest. (In the DVA material 14 variants mention a garden.)

In the Hungarian several essential motifs are missing, from the middle of the ballad action onwards, as a consequence of its being a fragment. On the other hand, every motif which is to be found in it is also found elsewhere, and is therefore an *original* part of the text. In the German (and in the Greek) are to be found the most individual details not found elsewhere, and it deviates most from the general form. At the same time the Hungarian has the greatest number of elements—in spite of substantial differences—in common with the Portuguese—Spanish, then with the Italian, and least with the German—where the only common elements are those common to all.

Yet even though the Italian and the Portuguese contain many common elements, their secondary nature is obvious. This is clearly shown in the Portuguese by the neat little separate ballad made up of the questions and answers like "What would you give if I brought him back?" "My orange trees", "Gold", "My three daughters", and so on, which awkwardly link the news of the husband's death and the stranger's amorous advances, and also by the part about the three great wounds also to be found only in the Portuguese variants. Similarly in the Spanish we have the rather awkward mourning on the following day and the second meeting. In the Italian it is particularly the vague character of the beginning which deviates from the ballad style and the general picture given by the variants. There can be no doubt that the realistic scene in which the girl sadly sings, lamenting her loneliness, whereupon the stranger addresses her, is more original than that in which we hear an impersonal command to sing, which the girl refuses, laments her fate, and the action only then turns into a concrete scene: she goes out on to the road and then meets the stranger. The Hungarian fragment has preserved the narrative only with large gaps, but what it has kept appears to be original, and is also very ballad-like in style.

Although there remain many direct and even word for word agreements with it in the distant Portuguese and Catalan areas, there are also profound differences. All this compels us to assume the existence of a French ballad which the Hungarians took over directly from the French as the other nations did, but kept more closely than they to the original form.

What are the elements which remained of the old song in the new French "pastourelle"? The main ones can be recognized even under the substantial modernization. The lover has entered military service for two or six years: this agrees with the sweetheart going off to the wars, only with the customary seven years changed to fit modern ideas. But that the girl should become a shepherdess and meet the stranger as she guards her flock, is a new idea. This scene may be a survival from the Porcheronne—Cruel Mother-in-law, given new life by the fashion of pastoral poetry.

It should be noted that PIGUET quotes a variant of *Germine*, the later version of the *Porcheronne*, in which the woman is found by the returning and unrecognized husband *in a garden*, as she picks flowers. It is obvious that the related stories of the returning soldier husband and the returning soldier sweetheart frequently cross one another's paths. (In *Germine*, too, the husband tries to seduce the wife, and the faithful wife also asks for a sign, which the husband gives in the form of her ring.) For this reason PIGUET continually quotes the two side by side when giving the contents of variants: "met à l'épreuve la fidélité de la bergère, sa femme (ou fiancée), en lui disant que son mari (fiancé) est mort..." This intertwining is also seen in the versions of neighbouring peoples: in the Italian (Hungarian), the heroine is a girl, and in the Spanish, Portuguese (and Greek), a wife.

This dualism also appears in the methods used in the test. In 1. the man invents the story of his death, while in 2., when he tells the girl he is her sweetheart, she does not recognize him, thinks it is an attempt to seduce her, and rejects him with the cry "away from me!". In other words both types of test, the news of the death and the seduction attempt, appear together, while among the other peoples only one or the other appears. There may have been a similar duality in the old French texts, too. The other motifs are completely identical with those we have met with so far, and only in their modern formulation do they differ from them—the meeting, the girl's questions about her sweetheart, the despair at the news of his death, followed by the recognition and the ring. In other words, all the elements common to the borrowings. All that is omitted is the mention of the nunnery, but this omission is completely accounted for by the tone of the pastoral poetry. The Germans' altered structure also appears to be an individual solution: not even in the modern French version is there a parting at the beginning, but only an impersonalized narration from which we learn of the events which have gone before—and that is also a characteristic of modernization—but on the other hand, the poem does not start in scene form till the two meet again. But the lover put to the test by the story of a wedding ceremony, and the girl replying with a blessing are a motif which we can see is old.

The German arrangement spread throughout the Czech-Moravian-Slovak area, in some places even starting with the parting, everywhere with the story of the wedding and the girl's blessing, and also with the recognition and the ring. So this is the distribution area of the German form.

Among the Yugoslavs, however, a different form is found, also uniformly: the girl is planting flowers in a garden, when the young soldier approaches and asks for a *garland*. "For nine years I've given a garland to no one, since my sweetheart went to the wars." "Your sweetheart is dead, take me instead." "I want no other, I love my first love." And in one variant (20.), the following words are put here into the girl's mouth: "Sim sedem lét ga čakala, Se sedem ga bom žalvala. Če ga med tem nazaj ne bo, Bo dekle zvésto v klošter šlo..." In other words, she will wait another seven years, and if her sweetheart is not back by then, she will go into a nunnery. From what has been said already, it is unnecessary to give proofs that this variant is a borrowing from the Hungarian formulation.

Besides these we have the Greek ballad originating directly from the French. Thus the peoples of eastern Europe acquired this ballad from three different sources: the French, the Germans, and the Hungarians.

From here onwards we shall be dealing with Hungarian ballads for which corresponding texts have been entirely, or almost entirely lost from the French field, and yet their distribution can be explained only by their having been acquired from the French.

THE DISGRACED GIRL (e.g. BARTÓK 1924 Nos. 34a, 161, 165; GRAGGER 1926 Nos. 14, 15; ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 49.)

HUNGARIAN

I have used 137 variants, of which 103 were from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and 34 from Transylvania and beyond the Carpathians. The latter narrate the tale only from the point of the bridegroom's arrival; they are generally fragments and are often mixed up with other ballads.

PORTUGUESE

1-24. BRAGA I, 309, 356 (= GEIBEL-SCHACK, 83), 359, 364, 368, 371, 374, 376, 378, 382, 384, 387, 390, 392, 399 (Azores), 402, 405, 407 (Brazil), 411, 414, 416, 417, II, 222 25. HARDUNG, 195 26. WOLF Proben, 109.

CATALAN

1. AMADES, 739 No. 3263 Barcelona.

SPANISH

1-2. WOLF-HOFMANN II, 191, 192 3. *ibid.* 158 = GEIBEL-SCHACK, 407 4. *ibid.* 138 5-8. COSSIO-SOLANO I, Nos. 18/58—61.

ENGLISH

1-8. CHILD 65A—H 9-10. SHARP-K 17A—B.

GERMAN

1-3. D. Vlr. No. 67, 1 from the upper Black Forest, 2 environs of Zurich, 3 Volga colony, originally environs of Zweibrücken.

RUSSIAN

LINTUR reports that this is known in the Carpathian Ukraine.

Partial variants (a) opening formula:

ENGLISH

1-2. CHILD 100A, D 3. CHILD 101 4. CHILD 66A.

GERMAN

1-329. D. Vlr. 55 330-389. *ibid.* 73 (single variants).

GREEK

See D. Vlr. III, 47—49.

FRENCH

1. LEGRAND No. 25.

(b) closing formula: 2. DECOMBE No. 96.

1. SUŠIL No. 89/181 2. SREZNĚVSKIJ No. VII 3. KOLEČANY No. 13 4. MEDVECKY 1966 Detva, 253 5. Sl. Pohl. 1897, 497 6. SUŠIL No. 92/193 (2-6. see with the Cruel Mother-in-Law)

Bibliography: GRAGGER 1926: related to the "Ritter und Magd". ZHIRMUNSKI 1928: "König aus Mailand" and English and Iberian variants. ORTUTAY 1936: quotes ZHIRMUNSKI, CHILD 63, 65, 101, E-B 97 and 110 with the Hungarian. DÁNOS 1938 = ORTUTAY. MEIER, J. 1941: connects it with Fleur and Blanche-fleur together with three other ballads. ORTUTAY 1948 = 1936 + review of LOSCHDORFER's report (Hungarian German). D. Vlr. 67, 1954: rejects ZHIRMUNSKI's view that the English and Iberian variants are connected to the German. CS-VARGYAS 1954: ballad-subject known throughout Europe; mentions MEIER's view on the Blanchefleur connection.

The story: Borbála Angoli's skirt is getting short at the front and long at the back. Her mother taxes her with this, and the girl starts to make excuses: the tailor did not cut it properly, the sempstress did not sew it together properly, the maid did not help her into it properly. Finally she has to admit she is seven months pregnant. She is thrown into prison to await execution. Her elder brother comes to see her (occasionally it is the elder sister, or the cruel mother herself who comes). The girl asks to be allowed to write a letter, or at her brother's suggestion she sends a letter to her sweetheart. Sometimes she writes with her finger, once with her own blood, in several cases with her tears as ink. She sends a bird with the letter: "If you get there at midday, put it on his plate, if in the evening, on his pillow. I know he will read it, and drench it with his tears, and he will not be able to see the letters because of his thickly falling tears" "Hey, coachman, my fastest coachman! Harness the six best horses to the coach, we must drive like lightning to find Boriska Hangoli alive!" But when they arrive, they find the execution has already taken place. Then follows the scene we have already met with, in which the lover is sent hither and thither on wild goose chases, and it finally comes out that the girl is dead. He kills himself over his darling's body with these words: "You have died for me, and I will die for you; let my blood flow together with yours, my body rest in one grave with yours, my soul worship one God with yours!"

It was the name of its chief character which first drew my attention to the French origin of this ballad—and of our ballads in general. For the heroine is most frequently called Borbála Angoli (= Barbara of England); distorted from this into Boriska Hangoli, and finally into Zsuzsanna (Susanna) Homlódi; or Ilonka *Londonvár* (= London Castle, Londonbury) or Dorka *Londonvári*, from this to Dorka Landervári or even Undorvári (Loathingbury!), and finally Kata Hédervári. The general experience with the names used in ballads, when these refer to characters of foreign origin, is that they always bear the names of *neighbouring* peoples. In Hungary the bridegroom is German or Turkish, in Transylvania predominantly Moldavian, in Moldavia Polish. In French ballads the general ones are Spanish and *English*. (Such is for instance the French princess married to an Englishman, who consistently addresses her betrothed as "accursed Englishman", until she accepts him, after the wedding night, as "dear

Englishman".) Occasionally even the western German variants mention the "son of the English king" (in, for instance, the tale of the Dancing to Death), and so do the Italians—in their ballads acquired from the French (and the Slovaks in the territory of the former Hungary, too: BARTÓK 1959 114c, 152b). But in English ballads "English" never occurs as a name, nor "French" in French. Thus this name suggests a French-Dutch area as the origin of our ballad. Let us see what its distribution has to tell us.

Among the Germans our ballad's epic material appears divided among three distinct types. One of them, called the "König von Mailand" (The King of Milan), is a story known in three variants, which has been found only along the French frontier, between Zweibrücken and Zurich, at three points along the Rhine. The second, known as the "Ritter und Magd", is found throughout Germany, and the third is the "Schwabentöchterlein" (see list of variants). The story of the first is as follows. A king is entertaining a large crowd of guests; one of them makes love to the king's daughter and goes away. The girl gives birth to the child in secret, and her brother helps to keep the matter secret. But the mother finds out, and persuades the king to have his daughter executed. The girl writes a letter to her lover—in one variant with blood from her finger—and her brother goes to deliver it to the knight, but finds the latter has gone out riding. When the knight returns and sees the letter, his eyes fill with tears so that he can hardly read it. He has his horse saddled, and hurries with his knights to the rescue of his sweetheart. Before the girl is to be hanged, she asks them to wait, for she can hear the hoofbeats of her darling's steed. The hangman takes pity on her, waits a little, and the knight arrives in time to save her. He stabs the mother to death and carries his sweetheart off to his home. The father later visits them and there is a reconciliation.

This story could not have reached Hungary from the distant Rhineland, jumping the large German territory in between; and moreover, though there are partial agreements, it also contains decisive differences: it does not contain the characteristic formula about the shortening skirt, the child is born before the execution, and the ending is changed from a tragic to a happy one, amplified with a reconciliation. A smaller deviation is that its beginning is also fuller, so that the story does not begin in the middle, as in the Hungarian, nor is the message sent by a bird.

In the second German text-type a knight makes love to a peasant girl, and in the morning tries to buy her off, or he offers her his servant. The girl rejects the offer, and sadly sets off for home. Her mother meets her outside the town, and calls to her from afar: "How have you been getting on, my child? Your skirt is long at the back, and very short at the front". (In some variants she consoles her, saying they will get rid of the child.) The girl dies in childbirth. The knight has a dream in which the girl appears to him, and he rises, and goes to see her, but on his arrival sees only the funeral procession. He kisses his dead sweetheart and then plunges his dagger into his own breast. This story belongs to a ballad group which is very widespread among both the Latin and the Germanic peoples: the ballad type in which the young man finds his dead sweetheart only at the funeral. In this one, the skirt-shortening is foreign, and appears

in a totally different context, in the middle. Hence it cannot be connected with our ballad. The same applies to the "Schwabentöchterlein", too, in which also the skirt-shortening is the only similarity, while the story itself is completely foreign.

What do we find in the English language area? In the corresponding text a lord's daughter is besieged by suitors in vain. At length the girl admits that she is pregnant by a knight. Her parents discover this, and her father examines her condition, and determines to have her executed. "O whare will I get a bonny boy, To help me in my need", cries the girl, "To rin wi hast to Lord William, An bid him come wi speed?" A page undertakes the mission, and the knight at once has his horse saddled. The girl, now at the stake, hears the approaching hoofbeats, but in vain does she ask her brother to put out the flames. The lover, arriving too late, wreaks vengeance on the girl's family.

In one variant the girl's brother exposes her condition with the words: "What's come o a' your green claithing, was ance for you too side? And what's become o your lang stays, was ance for you too wide?" But here, too, as with the Germans, this motif has been taken into other ballads, also (see the "partial variants"): the pregnant girl's father, the king, bids her undress so that he can discover whether she is still a maid. "Her apron was short, and her haunches were round, her face it was pale and wan" or "Her petticoats they were so short, she was full nine months gone". Here we are, then, nearer to the Hungarian ballad in so far as at least one variant contains, even in the original story, the motif of the badly fitting clothes; on the other hand there is no actual birth, and the ending is likewise tragic, for here, too, the lover arrives after the girl's death.

An even closer relationship is shown by the corresponding Spanish—Portuguese ballad. This is introduced by several differing preliminary stories, relating how the two lovers spent their night together, the young man's vow to seduce her, and the way the secret comes out; in some variants the girl conceives from the water of a particular spring. However, the introduction is often omitted, and all this shows that the manifold introductions are a secondary development. Where it is omitted, the action begins at once with the shrinking dress—as in the Hungarian—and here not only the spoilt shape of the dress appears in the texts, but also the girl's excuses about how the tailors spoiled it. For example: She sat with her father at a table, and he looked hard at her. "Dona Areira, it seems to me that you are with child" "The tailors are at fault, they cut my skirt badly." He called the tailors to him behind closed doors. They looked at one another, then said: "There's nothing wrong with the skirt, in nine months' time it will again reach to the ground" (BRAGA, 382). The father has his daughter detained, and prepares the pile of faggots. The girl sends a page to her lover with a letter. "If he is asleep, wake him, if you find him awake, give him the letter", or "If you find him at dinner, make him leave the table; if he is walking about, give him the letter at once", "If you find him at the window, hand it over", and so on, in variations as in the Hungarian. As soon as he begins to read the letter, he breaks down and weeps. He has his horses saddled and shod. Then follows the Iberian deviation: he dresses

in friar's clothes, and appears at the place of execution to shrive the girl, and thus manages to escape with her—and this scene is given much colourful detail. Thus we find again the happy ending in place of the tragic one.

In some Catalan variants we find the letter, too, written with blood as ink, which the German complete edition regards as an unconnected wandering motif in view of the distant German analogies. (Bei uns konnten wir diesen Zug sonst nirgend nachweisen, wohl aber ist er in gleicher Situation—der Gefangene hat keine Tinte zur Verfügung—im Südslavischen häufig zu finden. D. Vlr. III. p. 230) And it does not admit the connection between the ballads listed, recognizing only distant, indirect connections between them, so great are the differences between them, and so difficult their territorial links to imagine.

Yet, this connection is provided by the Hungarian ballad of Borbála Angoli. For this contains at once all those elements which are to be found scattered here and there, one by one, in the Portuguese—Spanish, the English, and the three separate German ballads. Indeed, even the message carried by a bird is understandable if we bear in mind what a commonplace this is in the French lyric songs and ballads. Thus we can only suppose that there was once a French ballad, now lost, which contained every element found in the Hungarian, and whose structure may well have been like that of the Hungarian ballad, that is, it must have started at once with the shortening skirt, since the French ballads understand perfectly how to reduce the action to the essential elements and start the story effectively right in the middle of the action. The theme passed from them to the neighbouring peoples all round them, with more or less alteration, omission and amplification, and from the French, too, it came directly to Hungary, where it has been able to survive in a broadly similar form, without omissions, till today.

A Hungarian formulation uniting all the motifs cannot be imagined without an intervening French version. We could not have picked the various elements from so many places, to unite them into a new story. Let us consider just the scene at the beginning: the Germans have, *embedded in another story*, a clothing motif which is closest in text to the Hungarian: Your skirt is long at the back and short at the front. But in the Spanish—Portuguese we find only the excuse: the tailor cut it badly. Here I must point out that this motif turns up, now quite indistinct, in a French ballad-like song: the parents have a dress made for their daughter "which is short at the back, and long at the front". This, of course, has no meaning, put like this, but it does show without a doubt that the motif once existed in the French language area (French 1.). This is confirmed by the appearance of the motif in the Greek area, too, as Prof. BAUD-BOVY has kindly pointed out to me. So, if we do not admit the former existence of a French ballad, the Hungarians would have had to make the following selections in their acquisition of the ballad: to take the plot of the German variant, which exists only along the French frontier, or the English one, for the latter is relatively nearest to ours; to leave out of this the preliminary story and, on the model of *some* of the Spanish—Portuguese variants, to start right away with the detection, but to formulate this in the way it is done

in the middle of another German ballad, namely with the mother's question, and to amplify this with the continuation found in the Iberian variants; to insert the sending of the message into the story, again on the model of the Iberian variants, then taking the tragic ending from the English, having previously inserted our own scene in which the young man is sent on wild goose chases. This is, I think, patently absurd. However, with the French ballad as intermediary everything can be neatly explained. As we have seen, the French ballads underwent among the neighbouring peoples a greater or lesser degree of alteration, different in each case. This multicoloured mosaic around a central point would have been enough in itself to draw one's attention to the French area, and to lead inevitably to the assumption of a lost French formulation. And it is no surprise that a French ballad should have been lost and forgotten while we and other peoples preserved it, when we see how the French ballads suffered from erosion, and in the 18th century were re-formulated.

So the only plausible explanation—and this is clearly revealed by the English names in the Hungarian ballad—is that we acquired this story, too, from a French ballad, in the same way as all the others whose French originals have been preserved.

THE WIFE KICKED TO DEATH

HUNGARIAN

1. ORTUTAY 1955 No. 16 Szabéd (Săbed), Transylvania 2. (relevant in part) MSZ 6331 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia.

FRENCH

1. BLADÉ II, 51 Gascony 2. DELZANGLES No. 71 Auvergne

Partial variants:

PORTUGUESE

1. BRAGA, 42 2. *ibid.* 209 = GEIBEL—SCHACK No. 18 3. BRAGA, 211.

CROAT

1. KUHAČ No. 649.

This Hungarian ballad lay in the document store of the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest, among the manuscripts left by Ferenc KANYARÓ, considered unworthy of attention until its publication. The first comparative treatment is given below.

The text runs: "It is seven years and three full days that we have been together; not a bite of bread have we eaten together, nor drunk a glass of water. O Lord, why is it, Captain János Egri?" "Zsófi Kálnoki, you know quite well, the reason is that I've never loved you, and never will." Then he kicked her right from the table to the door. Then up spake Zsófi Kálnoki: "That is enough, Captain János Egri, *on my left side the sun has shone in*, on my right side my blood has flowed out." Then up spake Captain János Egri: "Hey, my foot-page, my first foot-page, pick her up and put

her into her bed, and we'll go out shooting hares and hunting." Then up spake Zsófi Kálnoki: "Hey, my foot-page, my little foot-page, bring out my mournful coach, and harness my fast horses to it. The coach for the fire, the horse for the dogs. Drive as fast as you can to my mother, Lady Pál Kálnoki." "Good day, mother dear!" "Welcome, my child!" "I have not come for pleasure, but to die." (husband:) "Hey, my first foot-page, climb up into this tree, see if you can see a light."—"I can't see any light except at the old lady's house."—"Then come along to my mother-in-law's house.—Good evening, dear mother-in-law!" "Welcome, my son-in-law! How did you leave my daughter?"—"I left her in good health." And she went into her little bower, and cut him a slice of bread from her table and poured out a glass of water from her jug: Eat that, my son-in-law, as though it were my daughter's flesh, drink that, dear son-in-law, as though it were my daughter's blood!"

We find a Hungarian parallel in a text from Moldavia, which is a mixture of three different ballads: the Daughter Sent to be Married in Poland, which turns into the story of the Haughty Wife, and when at last her husband beats her, the scene below follows, which again changes into the formulas of the Brigand's Wife: Then he took up the Tartar's whip and beat her over the back. "Enough, enough, husband dear! The *sunlight* has shone into one of my sides, the *moonlight* has shone out of the other!" 2.

In Portuguese ballads—in another tale—similar pictures indicate, although indubitably in a misunderstood, corrupt form, the size of the wounds on the body of the hero dead on the field of battle: "In one of his wounds the sun, in another the moon, and in the third a fine gaming dice could be seen" (1.), or "The sun went into one, the moon into another, and a flying eagle into the third" (2.), or "The sun went into one, the moon into another, and into the smallest one a royal eagle with outstretched wings, without getting blood on him" (3.). Thus, instead of the stylized picture of the opening between the broken ribs, we have the extravagant exaggeration of the size of wounds. Between the Portuguese formulas and the Hungarian ballad a link is provided by a French fragment with an action faintly reminiscent of the Hungarian, and the formula, too, can be found in it in hazy outline. In a text from Gascony three cavaliers make remarks about favours they claim to have received from a married woman. Her husband overhears this, and beats her so severely that "On one side a rib was broken, and on the other her daughter's head" (so she was pregnant). Before she dies, she makes her will: her husband is to be hanged, her mother burned to death, and the ashes scattered from the beautiful bridge in Lyons. As the mother's role cannot be discerned from the obscure text, obviously the full story has not been preserved in it. In a text from Auvergne we find it even vaguer (2.): At the first blow he gave her, three of her ribs broke, at the second, she fell ill. And here we have more about the hostile *mother-in-law*, yet not enough for us to be able to make out her real function in the story. Although it is enigmatic, and therefore fragmentary, the collector describes it as a popular song of the drovers and workmen. Obviously in northern France, its true home, its full form existed once, which may have been closer to ours. But however threadbare the variant we know,

it is enough to connect the Portuguese and Hungarian formulas, which undoubtedly agree; and since the motif discussed easily merges with other stories, as is shown by the Moldavian Magyar variant, it may similarly have become independent of the original plot before reaching the Portuguese ballad. It should be borne in mind that the Hungarian ballad also altered the picture to make it semi-realistic, (on one of my sides the sun has shone in, and *on my right side my blood has run out*), and the French makes it entirely so.

In the Croat song, Asanaga is walking with his wife, who is pregnant, and sees the lovely daughter of Demir. He wants to go over to her, which brings about a quarrel with his wife, and he kicks her so hard over the heart that her blood starts to flow and she gives birth to a still-born son. Her mother tends her, and before the wife dies she says what she will leave to her mother, sister, brother, husband, and rival. Four years after her death the husband marries the beautiful girl.

Thus we find again the common kernel in the framework of a different story, and even the characteristic description of the wounds has completely disappeared. There is agreement with the Hungarian in that the wife is kicked to death—the French husband beats his wife with a stick—and here, too, the wife's mother figures on her daughter's side. On the other hand we have the French wife's pregnancy and her dying testament, omitted in the Hungarian text. Thus two versions found among neighbouring peoples, in formerly Hungarian territory, together witness to the existence of the French ballad at some time in the past.

On the basis of a single variant in each case we cannot draw many conclusions—from the missing elements—as to the relation between the Hungarian and Croat texts. But a scene in which the woman is killed, preserved by all three peoples, though in various forms, shows that the Croat originated in the Hungarian. Further evidence for this is its narrative, which is furthest from the French story, for in the latter it is the wife's suspected infidelity which causes the trouble; in the Hungarian the wife complains about her husband's lack of love for her; while in the Croat it is the husband who has his eye on another woman.

All three peoples seem to have preserved very battered remnants of an old ballad which, on the evidence of its geographical distribution, may have been of French origin, and certainly shows that there were French-Hungarian contacts.

THE TWO CHAPEL FLOWERS (e.g. GRAGGER 1926 No. 12, ORTUTAY 1936—48 No. 33ab.)

HUNGARIAN

A) 1. MNGY I, 239 Kolozsvár (Cluj) 2. MSZ 6287 Vajdakamarás (Vaida Cămaras). Kolozs C. 3. MNGY XI, 11 Udvarhelyszék 4. ibid. 13 ibid. 5. MNGY III, 67 ibid. 6. EA 2276, 16 Etéd, Udvarhely C. 7. EA 2276, 19 Kercsed, Aranyosszék 8. Nyr 23, 534 Kadicsfalva, Udvarhely C. 9. BARTALUS III No. 7 ibid. 10., 11. MF 1028a and 1035 Gyergyótekerőpatak (Valea Strîmba) Csík C. 12. Ethn 1908, 48 ibid. 13. MSz 1295 ibid. 14. SzNd No. 127 Gyergyóditró (Ditrau) Csík C. 15. Ethn

1908, 48 Gyergyótölgyes, Csík C. 16. MF 1037b Gyergyóújfalu (Suseni) Csík C. 17. Ethn 1908, 49 ibid. 18. SzNd No. 113 Kászontiz, Csík C. 19. Ethn 1911, 50 Borszék, Csík C. 20. MNGY III, 70 Karatna, Háromszék C. 21. MCSB 1/a Lábnik (Vladnic), Moldavia 22. ibid. 1/b Ploszkucén, Moldavia. 23. FARAGÓ 1965, 158 Székely area 24. ibid., 163 Kalotaszeg.

B) 1. ABÁFI 1876b Göcsej (?) 2., 3. KALLÓS Nos. 5—6 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia.

PORTUGUESE

1-16. BRAGA I, 263 (= GEIBEL—SCHACK, 339 = WOLF Proben, 92), 265, 267, 268, 270, 272 (= HARDUNG, 220), 273 (= HARDUNG, 221), 275 (= HARDUNG, 223) — “Conde Nillo” — 277, 283, 286, 290, 293, 297 (= HARDUNG, 225), 301 (= HARDUNG, 229), 305 (= GEIBEL—SCHACK, 357) — “Princeza peregrina”.

SPANISH

1-12. COSSIO-SOLANO I Nos. 13/35—46 13., 14. MENÉNDEZ P. 1885 Asturiano Nos. 24—26.

ITALIAN

FERRARO B. 1888 Monf. 10a.

ENGLISH

1-8. CHILD 17A—H 9-17. ibid. 75A—I. For the grave-flower see also CHILD Nos. 7, 64, 73—4, 76, 85, 87, 222. Of later variants JAF 1954 No. 265, 252, SHARP-K No. 21 A—E. GREIG, 10 (15 var.) BRONSON No. 17 (+ 17 var.)

YUGOSLAV

1., 2. HNP Nos. 174—5 (175 = Hung. transl. VUJIĆIĆ, 8) 3-62. ibid. Dodatak 175 63. ibid. X No. 61 64. RATIĆ, 38 No. 3 65. TORDINAC No. 1 66. VUK I No. 341 = Hung. transl. VUJIĆIĆ, 7 67. ibid. No. 342 68. OSVETNIK, 49 No. 8 69. BUGARINOVIĆ, 24 70. BILTEN, 113 No. 36 71-93. ŠTREKELJ I 246, Nos. 726—747.

GERMAN

1., 2. HAUFFEN Nos. 59, 60 Gottschee. Partial variant: E—B 92.

BULGARIAN

1-6. STOIN 1928 Timok Nos. 366—7, 481, 260—4 7-9. id. 1931 Sredna Nos. 2162—4 10. id. 1939 Trakiya No. 1425 11. id. 1934 Rodop No. 652 12. VERKOVIĆ No. 137 13. MILADINOVI No. 288 14. ibid. No. 497 15. SbNU 44 IVANOV No. 114 16. TSITSELOVA No. 71 17. ibid. No. 101 18-21. A—V Nos. 50-53 22. Izv. Etn. Muz. 8, 133 No. 7 23. SbNU 38 BURMOV No. 68 24. SbNU 42 IVANOV No. 103.

ROUMANIAN

1. ALEXICS, 287 Kávásd, Bihar C. 2. ibid. 287 Lagerdorf, Temes C. 3. ibid. 286 Kápolnás, Krassó-Szörény C. 4. MARIENESCU, 50 Transylvania 5. CANDREA—D, 42 = TIPLEA, 19 Biserica-Alba, Máramaros C. 6. TIPLEA, 31 No. 23 ibid. 7. MOLDOVÁN, 64 8. BUD, 4.

SLOVAK

1. HORÁK 1958 No. 14 = Sl. Sp. I No. 216 = MEDVECKY 1923 No. 1 Ružbachy, Spiš C. 2. KOLEČÁNY No. 16 Hrušov, Szepes C.

RUSSIAN

1-2. BEZSONOV I Nos. 167—8* 3-4. CHUBINSKI V, 711 No. 309* and V, 1208 No. 50* 5-6. BALASHOV, 50, 51. LINTUR reports that it is known among the Ruthenes of the Carpathian Ukraine, too.

Bibliography: ABAFI 1876/a: the grave flower, international distribution; CHILD 1882-92: grave flower, international distribution; BÁSZEL 1906: Bernauer legend; REICHARD 1910: the connection between the Telamon, the Bernauer legend and the Hungarian ballad; KIRÁLY 1924: Hung. ballad originated in Italian novella indirectly via Yugoslavia; GRAGGER 1926: accepts preceding results in the literature, lists Roumanian-Yugoslav variants; D. Vlr. I, 83 and 101-2 1935: on the German form of the grave flower and international connections of the "Heimkehr des Ehemannes"; ORTUTAY 1936: accepts KIRÁLY, the Hungarian ballad belongs to the southeastern European group, the western ones deviate in structure; SOLYMOSSY 1937: international connections of the Hungarian ballad on the basis of previous publications; DÁNOS 1938: accepts theses of previous publications; KARDOS 1941, 246: the Hungarian ballad from Telamon; "... the Hungarian version is the nearest of all the variants to the tale of Tristan and Iseult."; ORTUTAY³ 1948 = ORTUTAY 1936 with additional literature; CS-VARGYAS 1954: Various connections of the Hungarian ballad on the basis of publications hitherto.

We shall only list, in the order of the narrative, the motifs of this generally known ballad. The proud lady's son wishes to marry the daughter of a serf. His mother will not allow it, so the young man leaves his home and travels from country to country. In some variants the girl gives him a kerchief when they part, and from its change of colour he knows some ill has befallen her. He turns back, and meets a shepherd, from whom he learns that his sweetheart has been thrown by his mother into a bottomless lake. He offers the shepherd his clothes and his horse if he will only show him the place; there the dead girl calls to him from the depths, whereat he leaps into the water; the young lord and the serf's girl entwine in a final embrace below. The mother has the bodies fished out, and buries them one before and the other behind the altar. Red and white flowers grow out of their graves, and intertwine above the altar or above the church. The cruel mother destroys the flowers, too, and the flower which has grown out of her son pronounces a curse on her.

We have regarded our ballad as related in its details to various European ballad motifs, and the image of the grave flower is particularly general; but the drowning of the unfortunate girl is an effect due to the German songs about Agnes Bernauer, whom the monarch had thrown into the Danube in order to rescue his son from his morganatic wife.

Among the motifs common to western European ballads we have recorded the English ballad (CHILD 75 Lord Lovel), in which the lord bids farewell to his wife in order to travel in foreign lands, and when later he is assailed by dark misgivings he returns home. The bell is being tolled for a burial; on his questioning the people he is told that it is his wife they are burying—who incidentally is called by a name in French style, Nancy Belle. The lord has the grave opened, kisses the corpse and dies himself. One of them is buried by the altar, the other in the choir. Out of each of them grows a flower, or a tree, and these intertwine above the church roof.

The other English ballad (Hind Horn) contains other elements of our Kata Kádár, embedded in the story of the husband arriving home to find

his wife getting married. The husband receives a ring from his wife when he leaves, and when it changes colour it signifies that her love has changed, too. Returning home on seeing the sign, the husband meets with a beggar. "What news, what news?", said young Hind Horn. No news, said the old beggar man. No news, said the beggar, no news at a', But there is a wedding in the king's ha'." At this he exchanges his scarlet coat and his horse for the beggar's clothes, and goes in to the wedding in disguise, where his wife recognizes him by the ring. (Here there is, of course, no grave flower.)

Let us compare the corresponding scene in our Kata Kádár, in which the young man meets, on his return, a shepherd, or a miller. "Master miller, what's the news in the village?" "No news at all; Kata Kádár has been lost ..." "Take me there ... I'll give you my bay, and all my rich embroidered clothes ..."

If, behind these striking similarities we want to discover real connections, we must start from the fact that the most characteristic motif of our ballad, *the grave flower, is unknown in German territory*. There is, it is true, something similar at the end of some of their ballads: out of the grave of the heroine in some cases grows a lily, bearing the inscription that she was innocent, or that her soul has gone to Heaven. But the image of the intertwining flowers or trees growing out of the dust of the dead lovers is lacking. This is pointed out in the German complete edition in connection with a text from Gottschee in Slovenia, in which this motif appears, borrowed from the Slovene, in a form similar to ours: "... we must regard this as a borrowing from the Yugoslav, since in the German it does not appear in a similar form except in the Tristan legend, and even in the various German Tristan poems it develops in a different way." (D. Vlr. No. 9; I, 83). In English, however, we find it in very many variants of nine different ballads, indeed, in one or two of them even the subsequent breaking off appears, though it is not always justified by the revenge of the cruel parent or the enemy. It even appears as an accidental breaking off by a cleric. In French ballads it is fairly rare and corrupt: it is more likely to be a case of flowers *planted* on the graves of the lovers, which then twine together. Yet the earliest occurrence of the complete picture is in the French Tristan legend, before the appearance of the ballad genre. Thus it may be that in the French what we are faced with is a subsequent fading. But on the other hand the details of the Kata Kádár story itself cannot be shown to exist in the French ballads. We do, however, meet with them again in the Portuguese and the Spanish.

In the Portuguese, Conde Nillo falls in love with the king's daughter, but he will not let them marry; they die, intertwining flowers grow out of their graves, and the father has them torn down. In another type, the Princeza peregrina, the story becomes more complicated in that a poor knight brought up in the royal court flees from the wrath of the king, and takes another wife. The princess follows him and, on learning of her lover's marriage, dies. The young man follows her into the grave, and the grave flower is destroyed by the jealous wife—a woman at least, if not the mother. The contrast between noble and serf takes the form of the contrast between royal offspring and minor noble, only the roles are reversed: it is the gir

who is the more exalted. The grave flower corresponds exactly to the Hungarian: here, too, one is buried behind the altar, the other at the door of the church. "Out of one grows a cypress, out of the other an orange tree" (and several other variants). "One grew, the other grew, too, they intertwined. The king heard of this and had them cut down at once. Out of one flowed blood, out of the other royal blood."

But at this point in most of the Portuguese variants a new element follows, not known in the English: out of the cut-down tree or flower two doves appear, or a dove from the girl and an eagle from the young man. These sometimes fly on to the king's shoulder and whisper in his ears that they will not part even in death, or they fly, kissing each other, up into the skies. In other cases the roles of the birds are more vague, but the flower is quite similar to ours: the two lovers are buried beside the church, and out of the girl grows a *white* flower (jasmine), out of the boy a *red* one (a rose) exactly as in the Hungarian Nos. 4., 7., 10., 11., 14., 16., 17. and 20.: "they leaned towards each other and intertwined, growing so high that they reached the sky. All the birds of the earth lighted on them to sing and to mate."

These birds are familiar in the Hungarian tradition, too, only that they are found, not in the Transylvanian text of the Two Chapel Flowers (Kata Kádár), but in the text of the Disgraced Girl as found in Hungary, in which the grave flower is very common. Here the Portuguese motif appears as follows: "One of them was buried towards the east, the other towards the west. On the grave of one of them two rosemary flowers grew, on the other's grave two pairs of turtle-doves cooed" (Ghymes, Nyitra C.). "On one appeared a white dove, and on the young man a white cockerel", and they cooed and crowed the lesson to be drawn: that lovers must not be parted (Szeged region). "On the grave of one appear two rosemary flowers, and on the other a sad dove walked", and this, too, coos the lesson (Ricsé, Zemplén C.). So here we have the team of the flower and the bird, not one after the other, but together; and this is without doubt a corruption, for the two rosemary flowers and the two doves point to their arising, not from one grave, but separately from both. How closely this motif is associated with the Kata Kádár grave-flower image is proved by the fact that in the northern area from Nyitra to Bereg we find nine cases of a formula like "Put me before the church, my dear Dorka in the middle of the church, and our little one before the altar", which also preserves the other motifs of the chapel flower. In addition we find such things as "Let my body be put into a grave with yours, and may two rosemary flowers grow on our grave, to show our love even there." Indeed, even the murderous mother appears: "Our little one on top of the altar" Three rosemary flowers grew out of his head. The mother went to break it off. "Go away, accursed mother! You killed not one, but three." And from Baranya C. we have two variants in which the mother breaks off the two flowers on the grave, whereat they utter a curse on her. Of the Kata Kádár story, then, at least the grave flowers were generally known in Hungary, too, indeed, a motif was preserved there which was lost in Transylvania: the birds figuring with the flowers. And that this may have existed not only in the Iberian

Peninsula, but in France, too, is shown by the ending of a song in the Breton language: "It was a marvellous sight at night, after the lady had been buried in one grave with her husband: out of their new grave mound two oaks grew, in their branches two white doves hopping about so merrily! They sang till dawn, then took wing up into the sky." (Villemarqué, p. 61.) Since this motif is lacking in the numerous English stories of the grave flowers, it could have reached the Bretons only from the French.

In the Italian this motif is so sparsely and so vaguely represented, that we can ignore it.

Yet among the Yugoslavs we meet with a very substantial series of variants on the flowers growing out of the grave of the lovers, but embedded in an entirely different story. The young man is married off by his mother to another girl—without any mention of the contrast between rich and poor, or high and low-born lovers—and he dies during the wedding ceremony or he kills himself and the girl dies after him. Out of their grave two pine-trees, or a pine and a flower appear, and entwine round one another. Among the Slovenes, instead of the forced marriage, we have the boy going to be a priest. Then there are stories in which the young man, after the engagement is settled, does not go to get the girl, and his mother therefore forces him to marry another; and other stories in which the separation of the two lovers is mostly told very briefly. All that is missing is the Portuguese—Hungarian story of the justification by the social differences and the parts shared with the English (the kerchief with the omen, the sweetheart dying while the young man is away, his return and enquiry "what news is there in the village?" and the scene related to it, and that he dies after the girl). Indeed, even the grave flower is much simpler in the Yugoslav texts than in the Portuguese—Hungarian: there are no birds, no breaking down and no wicked parent's hatred surviving the grave. In several cases it is completely missing from the narrative.

Where our ballad has been explained as coming from Italian tales via the southern Slavs, these facts have been ignored, for no other route between Italian and Hungarian could be imagined. Yet the Italian novelle, too, resemble the story of our ballad only in a broad general way, and they also lack the details common to the Portuguese and English ballads. Moreover, the southern Slav plots differ so much from ours that if they had not the ending constructed with the grave flower, there would be nothing to connect them. And when in fact this motif is sometimes left out, all resemblance ceases.

The story of the relevant Bulgarian poems is even more remote. Here there are sometimes only two or three lines to say that the lovers could not be united: the girl either dies from a snake-bite, or her stepmother poisons her. But in the grave flower we have closer traits showing an unquestionable link with the Hungarian. The two lovers are buried in front of and behind the church, but often only at the upper and lower end of the village, and Mistress Gyulai's cruelty also appears in a changed form: she pours hot water on the flower growing out of the girl's remains. And in one variant birds fly up from the flower into the heavens, but sometimes they turn into stars and ascend into the sky.

The connection with the Slovak ballads is similar. The story agrees with *Kata Kádár* only in that two lovers cannot be united, and they die. A mother will not let her daughter marry her sweetheart: the text says "she has her walled up". But later on the girl is living, and her mother will not let her go to see the body of the young man on the bier when he dies of sorrow. But she manages at last to do so, and dies over his body. Then follows a story of a grave flower similar to ours: one of them is buried on one side of the church, the other on the other side. A rosemary flower and a golden tulip grow out of their remains, and intertwine above the church. The girl's mother cuts them down with a sickle, and blood drips from the stems. The mother regrets her action and curses herself. Here, too, can still be seen the connection with the Hungarian, in spite of the preliminary story, poorer in motifs, in the scene relating to the grave flower. The connection with the introductory story in the Russian songs is similarly weak, and the grave flower is more or less similar in them.

It appears that the northern and southern Slavs' ballad acquired only the grave flower from the Hungarian ballad, growing from the dust of the two lovers who died for each other, while it uses as a preliminary story either simply the bare framework of the basic idea, or various stories of their own devising. The process could not have happened in reverse, for in every case precisely those elements are missing, or appear only in defective, pale forms, which connect the Hungarian to the Portuguese and the English.

But we must add that we have in Hungary, too, similar sketchier forms: the text recently discovered in Moldavia of "Magyar császár Lázár fia" (Lázár the son of the Magyar Emperor) and the long familiar Transdanubian text, "Dömötör János úrfi" (Master János Dömötör) (see under B in the list). But the latter bears traces of literary conception, and it comes from KÖVÁRY's collection of doubtful authenticity. If this were restricted to the characteristics of the formulation, the motifs themselves might be genuine (and that is in any case probable), then this might be the link between the *Kata Kádár* ballad and the forms of the neighbouring peoples. Here we still have the love between the young noble and the serf's daughter, but the rest is only in what is almost synopsis form: his mother objects to the affair, he goes into exile, meets the girl, lifts her into his saddle, and they die together; on their grave a tulip blossoms. And all this in five four-line verses! The Moldavian version is just as sketchy, and there is no mention of social differences in it. The slightness of the material does not allow a decision on whether we have here a form of Hungarian origin which existed among us, parallel with the *Kata Kádár* ballad, as a shortened version of it, or a re-acquisition of some variant from our neighbours with a simpler story.

In the case of the Moldavian ballad a point against this possibility is that that ballad is least capable of explanation by reference to the Roumanian. For of all the neighbouring peoples it is only the Roumanian whose corresponding songs contain more of the action of the Two Chapel Flowers, so that it is precisely among them that this sketchy version of Magyar Emperor finds no counterpart to match it. They, too, have the

kerchief which changes colour (the gold on it melts), and they also have the girl drowned *in the lake*; here, too, the man returns from soldiering when he sees the sign, and discovers from a shepherd outside the village that his sweetheart has been killed on the order of her father; and then he jumps into the lake. It is emphasized that they are both buried beside a monastery, and the grave flowers growing out of their remains twine round each other above the monastery. There is, however, the difference that the couple in question are husband and wife, and the husband has to go to fight; sometimes the mother-in-law does away with the young bride, and then the story really begins with the opening scene of the Cruel Mother-in-law. The father's deed is not given any sort of motivation, and the emperor has the bodies fished out when the shepherd gives the information. There is no social distinction—for of course the two have been united—so that the story does not go on to relate how the flowers are cut down, nor is there any changing into birds. All these characteristics distinguish the Roumanian from the western forms. On the other hand, the similarities listed clearly link it to the Hungarian, and among them the drowning in the lake and the recovery of the bodies from the water occur only in the Hungarian, and are found even in the rhymed tale 'Telamon.' From all this we can only regard the Roumanian form as a derivative of the Hungarian, especially as it is found mostly in material collected from this side of the Carpathians.

Thus all these variants found among the neighbouring peoples can only be explained by reference to the Hungarian, and do not form a link between the Hungarian, Portuguese and English ballads.

There must, therefore, have been a French ballad which passed on to the southern and western neighbours, and to us, the various elements, and in which there were the social distinction, the obstacle to the lovers, as in the Hungarian and the Portuguese; the young man's exile, as in the Hungarian, English and—in another form—the Portuguese; the young man's enquiry on his return and his giving away (or exchange) of clothes, as in the English and Hungarian; the grave flowers with the birds and the vengeful mother (father, wife), which were preserved by the Portuguese, English and Breton with varying elements. The drowning in the lake, however, we must continue to regard as an after-effect of the Bernauer legend, for which we can find a sufficient explanation in the appearance of this popular story in the 16th century Reformed Church's book of sermons.

Another thing which makes the existence of the French ballad credible is one of the English ballads referred to, in which the scene describing the clothes-exchange with the beggar agrees almost word for word with the Hungarian, and agrees also with a story of literary origin (gest or romance) which was preserved among both the English and the French in 13th—14th century manuscripts (see CHILD No. 17, I, 188—193). This scene is also in the French text. Evidently, from some such lengthy adventure story in verse, narrative material was used to make a short French ballad, whose structure and details were preserved by our ballad of *Kata Kádár*, while the original passed out of mind among the French. Among

the English, however, its details have been preserved till today in ballads with related themes, and a reminder of it was kept in the French name in it: Nancy Belle, Pretty Nancy.

CONCLUSIONS

With this we reach the end of the list of our texts which can be described as directly or indirectly of French origin. This is, of course, not yet a final conclusion. Many of our ballads and folk-songs of similar character have relatives in Europe which justify a suspicion that future research may reach similar conclusions in regard to them, indeed, there are some for which, in all probability, similar results could be demonstrated even now with a procedure more intricate than has been used above. However, I do not wish, by bringing these in, to becloud the outlines of the results already obtained. From what has been said already there emerges, in fairly convincing shape, the picture of a coherent stratum, French in origin, in the rich store of ballads in Hungary.

In the course of my ballad studies I have published several French-Hungarian parallels in other branches of folk poetry (see References). More recently, on a suggestion from Imre KATONA, I came across a brief report by SOLYMOSSY (1926), hitherto ignored, in which he derives a Hungarian children's poem from the Walloon via our mediaeval settlers. All this in great measure confirms the French connection to be found in the ballad.

An influence of such weight is naturally to be felt in other phenomena, too. One such, which immediately springs to mind, is a peculiar feature of the ballad form: the repetition of lines. GÁBOR LŰKÓ has pointed out (in a lecture given before the Ethnographic Society), that line-repetition is a form common to the Romance peoples, and his view is that the Hungarians also took it over from the Roumanians, for they use it chiefly in the areas where the two peoples live intermingled. That is true, to a certain extent, because in some parts of Transylvania and Moldavia there is consistent duplication of lines. (But it is also possible that that is simply an archaic characteristic.) However, this doubling is also a general characteristic of our ballads in Hungarian areas where there is no trace of it in lyric and other texts (for example in the Baranya County "Katalina Fodor", or the ballad "Jesus Seeking Lodging" from Pécs: CS-VARGYAS 63-4, 19). In addition, there is consistent line-doubling in Russian and Slovak ballads, too (see several examples in CHERNYSHEV, e.g. No. 36, and in Sl. Sp. and BARTÓK 1959).

But there is not only a simple line-doubling in our ballads, but also the last line of one stanza used as the first line of the next, for example "Fölöltözött ruhájába, Úgy vágatott hazájába. Úgy vágatott hazájába, Bíró uram udvarába". (Then she put on his clothing, Seized his horse and galloped homeward. Seized his horse and galloped homeward, Till she reached the Bíró mansion.) (Keszthely, "Anna Mónár"); "Angoli Borbála kis szoknyát varratott. Elül kurtábbodott, hátul hosszabbodott. Elül kurtábbodott, hátul hosszabbodott, Szép kárcsú dereka egyre vasta-

godott..." (Borbála Angoli had a skirt made. In front it grew shorter, behind it grew longer. In front it grew shorter, behind it grew longer, Her slim little waist grew broader and broader). Indeed, we find especially in longer lines of twelve syllables the repetition of the last half-line at the beginning of the next, which is in essence the same as the previous example, e.g. "Kiment a kisasszony aranyszékre ülni, Aranyszékre ülni, arany inget varrni... Kisasszony, kisasszony, nem látok én senkit, Nem látok én senkit, nem látok én semmit... Bárcsak isten adná: mig ide jönne nek, Mig ide jönne nek, ki is teritne nek!" (Ung C.). (The young lady went out to sit on a golden chair To sit on a golden chair, to sew a golden shirt... Young lady, young lady, I see nobody, I see nobody, I see nothing... God grant that by the time they come, By the time they come, I shall be laid out!")

All this is a characteristic feature of French ballads, for they have three common forms: (1.) line-repetitions mixed with various inner and closing refrains, e.g. La Pernelle se lève, Trala lalala la Tralala la londeri ra, La Pernelle se lève Deux heures d'avant jour, Deux heures d'avant jour, Deux heures d'avant jour; (2.) simple line-doubling, in other words a verse consisting of two lines, each repeated. This is very common, especially in the *complainte* type, and these are sung in this form usually in lines of eight syllables to a melody not of dance character; (3.) two lines form a verse, with or without refrain, and the repeated second line becomes the first line of the next verse, e.g. "Derrier chez nous Y a-t-un ptit bois. Nous y allions cueillir des noix. Nous y allions cueillir des noix, J'en cueillis deux, j'en mangis trois..." etc. So this characteristic of our ballad-forms can also be connected with French folk poetry.

We must not forget, however, that the repetition of the last half line as the beginning of the next is common in the Bulgarian and some Croat areas, too (for example in the Zagorje collection by ŽGANEC). It seems that it is more common in ballads among the Bulgarians, and it is completely lacking in the heroic poetry of both peoples, the epic of the most purely national form. Indeed, it also occurs among the Slovaks, Moravians and Ukrainians, along with complete line-doubling (Sl. Sp. II No. 737 = the Hungarian "Bride Dying on the Way" BARTÓK 1959, 186a, 33, 45b, 152b, "Three Orphans", "Two Captives", and BARTOŠ-JANÁČEK 1901 No. 17 = the Hungarian "The Girl Abducted by Turks", KOLBERG Pokucie 1882-89 II, 194 No. 359 = "Three Orphans"). LÁSZLÓ GÁLDI has shown that it is also common in the versification of our nearest linguistic relatives, the Ob-Ugrians. It is not impossible that this form of repetition was a feature of ancient Hungarian versification, and that it became a commonplace of ballad-form under the influence of the similar French verse-forms—and in places among our neighbours, too. The question needs thorough investigation, however, before the last word can be said on it.

Nor can a connection of this extent be imagined without the borrowing of melodies. In this field we have not much material to show, but we have already one example well worth consideration: the French melody associated with the "Roi Renaud", which in one case occurs in Hungary associated

with the Dancing to Death, once with the Girl Tied to a Horse's Tail, and twice with the "Borbála Angoli", that is, always with a French ballad (cf. VARGYAS 1958). When the musical material from French territory, suitable for the purposes of comparison, becomes available in greater quantity, no doubt we shall be able to show many more similar correspondences.

We would like to say a few words below on the subject of the genesis of this stratum of French origin, and on how it reached Hungarian soil.

A glance at Map 1 will convince anyone that there were substantial French settlements on the territory of mediaeval Hungary from the 12th to 16th centuries. The largest and most numerous are in northern Hungary, a smaller number in Bihar County, but also scattered over the whole country. Among them some have names originating in a mediaeval French word which shows their nationality, such, for instance as Tállya < *taille*, a clearing in the forest, or Mecsedelfalva (Mechedel's village), whose mediaeval name was formed from Mytschelet, a diminutive of Michel. Then there is a whole list of French villages and town quarters whose existence can be established from charters and other sources (papal tithes list, report of papal legate, Rogerius' account on the Tartar invasion, etc.). There are records of the use of the French Walloon language from as late as the beginning of the 16th century.

Even more important than this is the fact that between our settlers and their western relatives, and between Hungary on the one hand and France and Belgium on the other, there were at certain times very lively contacts, and traces of them have been preserved in the West. Géza BÁRCZI has examined, in his survey of our mediaeval French contacts, particularly the Belgian-Hungarian connections shown in charters from the Liège province. What was brought to light shows that in the 14th century there were, in Liège town and various parts of the province, places, streets, and people called "Hungarian" (*rue Hongré=vicius Hungarorum*)—including even town councillors and mayors—which shows that the people of Liège must have had close contacts with the Hungarians, and even perhaps that Hungarians went to live among them. Support for this is found in a colloquial Walloon expression meaning "to talk Hungarian", which nowadays means "to talk a foreign, strange tongue, to stammer". Those who gave this meaning to the expression "hogre-hanke" must have heard Hungarian being spoken.

This lively connection can also be shown to have existed in the 13th century life of the town of Esztergom, in northern Hungary. László MEZEY has pointed out that in 1272 a merchant from Ghent, "Stout John", "*Gean pinguis mercator de Ganth*" received a vineyard from a (French) burgher of Esztergom in payment of his debts, and that a cloth was given the new name, of popular origin, of "*ganti*" ("from Ghent"), which was inserted in Latin documents in this form, i.e., as a Hungarian word in the Latin text. And at the beginning of the century there appeared in the social life of the town a kind of religious and social movement from Flanders, Beguineism, in its most typical Flemish form. All this points to lively, direct contacts. Yet for the moment, as far as French connections are concerned,

only one Walloon province has been dealt with, and not all of its source material has been tapped; and on the Hungarian connections we may expect further results from research based on new views.

The Chapel of Louis (the Great) of Anjou, King of Hungary, built at Aachen for Hungarian pilgrims, also bears witness to this contact. And in French (and even Portuguese and Catalan) ballads there are also traces of the French-Hungarian connections: the main character is often the Hungarian king, or the son of the King of Hungary: the little drummer-boy, for instance, whom the king will not allow to marry his daughter, refers to his father as the English king, and to his mother as the Hungarian queen. To the French we were, because of our settlers, just as much their neighbours as were the Spaniards or the English. But the idea of Hungarian king could have been widely familiar in Europe only in the Middle Ages, for from the end of the 16th century onwards our Habsburg rulers figured in foreign eyes not as kings of Hungary, but as Austrian and German emperors. The mediaeval Hungarian kingdom, however, was much respected and widely known in Europe. Nor is it chance that Villon, in his poem about the female beauty of various nations, apart from France's neighbours and the Greek and Egyptian known from classical reading matter, refers only to the Hungarian.

The frequent French-Hungarian contacts occurring up to the end of the 14th century thinned out so much during the 15th that a group of Walloon pilgrims from the Eger district, arriving in Liège, caused an enormous sensation by their "perfect Liège French" speech, and efforts began to be made to establish their origin from documents. Yet in principle the possibility of French influence goes on to the end of the 15th century. But the disturbed relations at the beginning of the 16th century, and the absorption of the last remaining islands of French speech put an end to the possibility of further exchanges.

If, then, we wish to determine when our ballads were acquired, we must bear in mind the facts above. Our ballads might in theory have passed to the Hungarians from our French co-citizens at the latest, by the end of the 15th century; but they must have come from France to Hungary, at the latest, by the end of the 14th. Any scattered contacts in the 15th century would not have been enough to account for the acquisition of such a large amount of material in the popular tradition, which can have been brought about only by close and direct contact. The point in time at which the transfer began cannot be established, however, in this way, since our first settlers may have brought ballads, if there were any by then, with them when they first arrived; but even less can we draw conclusions about the date of origin in France of the texts acquired, since the settlers may have brought with them ballads which had long existed. Thus the period at which it all began must be established from other considerations.

The correctness of the date at which the process ceased is also shown by the fact that we do not find among the acquisitions those ballads which appear in the French manuscripts at the end of the 15th century, and which must therefore have been the most popular ones of the period, and are, even today, the best-known French ballads: *Le Roi Renaud*, *Pernette*,

1. 1103–1124: Belgian soldier, Anselme de Bra moves to Hungary with his son, leaving his possessions in the custody of an order of friars. He dies in Hungary, and the friars send one of their members to the country to verify the report of his decease.

2. Zagreb 1198: "... tam Hungaris quam Latinis seu Sclavis"; in chapter regulations "apud ecclesiam sancti Anthonii in vico Latinorum". The centre for the veneration of the *Egyptian* St. Anthony (the other was not canonized till 1232) was the Vienne diocese of St. Didier de la Monthe. 16th century: (platea?) latinorum.

3. Olaszliszka¹ 1201: bíró = praepositus, as in northern France; 1224: Franca villa; 1239, 1240: Liszka Olazy; 1248: Liszka Olaszi; 1255: Lyzka Olazy.

4. Waldorf² 1206: Johan Latinus receives the Cwezfeý terra near Fogaras. 1231: there is already a "villa Latina" on it; 1396: Waldorph, so it has been named after its founder, who is called in 1204 "Johannem Latinum inter Theutonicos Transilvanenses in villa Riuetel commemorantem"; ibid. the undeclined French popular form is distinguished from the declined Latin: "Johan Latini hospitii"³, "Terra Johan" etc., while among the signatories we find "venerabili Johanne Strigoniensi archiepiscopo".

5. Váradolaszi (in Nagyvárad = Oradea Mare) 1215: villa Latinorum Waradensium; 1374: vicus Olazy; 1475: Olazy is used to distinguish it from the town quarters called "Padua", "Velenca" (Venice), "Bologna", which would be meaningless if the population had been Italian. Its patron saint was Saint Egyed (Egidius), also venerated by St. Gilles and Toulouse. Close by was Parispataka (Paris brook) and in 1608: Paris utza (Paris Street).

6. Bodrogolaszi 1224: Franca villa.

7. Esztergom 1201: vicus latinorum; 1236: Hungarian béguinage of Flemish type; 1241: living in it were "Hungari, Francigenae ac Lombardi" (Rogerius "Carmen Miserabile"); 1272: "Gean pinguis mercator de Ganth" receives a vineyard in payment of a debt from a citizen of Esztergom, the magistrate of the French settlement; about 1290: "ganthi péciák" (Ghent seals); at the beginning of the 14th century there were many council members with French names, and the French had their own seal.

8. Szepesolaszi 1243: Olazy de Tornaua; 1258: Olosy; 1262: villa Latina; 1273: hospites de Latina villa praedicta (they were removed from the Szepes jurisdiction and placed under the archbishop of Esztergom); 1278/1302: villa Latina; 1404: Wallendorf; 1487: Olaszy alius villa Latina.

9. Tállya (near Eger) 1261: first mention. See Nos. 16 and 20 below.

10. Kisolaszi (Liptó) 1264: Johannes Gallicus obtains an estate in villa Latina "cuiusdam prati intra villas Topla et Latinam existentis ... Magistro Johanni Gallico facta"; 1267: villa Olosey; 1286/98: Olazy-Olazi.

11. Alistál-Felistál 1268: Staul (Stal, Ustar) = French* staul: store, settlement.

12. Pécs 1276: a man from Leodium (Liège) goes from the Pécs district to the grave of Saint Margaret of the House of Árpáds to recover his health. (Canonization records, cf. MEZEY, 19). 1295: "Latinus civis Peechyensis", ibid. "Johannes Gallicus".

13. Mecsedelfalva ("Metchedelham") (Szepes C.) 1278: Mytschelet = French Michelet, a diminutive of Michel.

14. Vízakna (Szeben C.) 1289: Geaninus filius Alardi.

15. Érolaszi (Bihar C.) 1290: Eng-Olosy; about 1330: "Jean sacerdos de Olazi" in Papal tithes list, compiled by two Italian priests, with French name-form. In the Middle Ages the villages were given priests speaking their own mother-tongue.

16. Egervölgy ("Eger Valley") 1350: "Gallici de valle Agriensi" rebel and attack the royal money-changers; 1447: pilgrims from the Eger district reported in Liège as "qui parloient parfaitement romans liegeois"; 1493: second pilgrimage; 1536–38: Miklós (Michael) Oláh, Hungaria, 34: "In valle Agriensi aliquot pagi incoluntur habiti pro coloniis Eburonum qui nunc Leodienses dicuntur, olim eo traductis. Horum incolae

in hodiernum diem Gallicam sonant linguam" (Bibl. Ser. Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Budapest 1938). 1494: Olaszfalu. See also Tállya in this connection.

17. Wallendorf, (Beszterce-Naszód C.): 1413: superior Latina.

17a. Buda, Pest 1433: Bertrandon de la Broquière, travelling through Pest, hears from French craftsmen living there (called in by King Sigismund), the name Paele for Pest, in other words the French translation of the local name, which means "oven, kiln". On the way home a French mason joins him, who knows Hungarian and German. They find French citizens even in Buda. At that time there was also a Francia-utca (French Street) in Buda, as well as a Welscher (= Italian) Street. Cf. GÁLDI 1960.

18. Szepesjánosfalva (Szepes C.) in the 15th century Gehanfalva ("Gehanham").

8., 13. and 18. together 1463: in the report of a papal legate, describing Hungary: "Habitat etiam in dicto regno gens Belga, que loquitur recte gallice. Haec habet provinciam pro se separatam." Provincia = sub-district in Roman law. Were these perhaps the Latins of Szepes who lived in a compact group?

19. Nagyszeben 1509: Johannes Wal was the mayor = Johannes Olaz (in the accounts).

20. The name Tállya from the French "taille" = clearing in forest.

21. The name of Mezőgyán from the French "Gehan" and Hungarian "mező" (meadow).

22. Kőtegyán from the French "Gehan".

Olaszi names of unknown (possibly French) nationality, in chronological order

23. Olozyghaz 1285; 146: Olazy possessio, part of Cserépvár.

24. Olaszi 1295: Villa Olozy; 1316: Olaz; 1402: Olozy.

25. Olaszfalu 1346.

26. Olazfalu 1374: possession of Kemend vár (Kemend Castle).

27. Olaszfalu 1403, 1493.

28. Paszony? 1412: "Nicolao olasz dicto" exercised power.

30. Olazfalw 1426: now a homestead, near Szűcs; on the outskirts *Franciavágás* (French Clearing).

31. Olazfalw 1426: possession of Bátorkö.

32. Villa Olaz 1431.

33. Kánya 1444: Olazkánya; 1506: Olazkánya.

34. Olazfalw 1455/64: possessio Olazfalw.

35. Olazfalw 1475: now a homestead, 1510: belonged to Anyavár.

36. Olaszfalu 1448.

37. Olazmyhal 1496: Olazmyhallakosa (lakosa = 'inhabitant of').

¹ *Olasz* was the common Hungarian name for the Romance peoples in mediaeval times; now it means "Italian". "*Olaszi*" is a place-name formed from it.

² Wal=Walloon.

³ *hospes* was the term used for foreign settlers in our mediaeval documents.

CHAPTER II

THE SURVIVAL OF THE HEROIC EPIC OF THE HUNGARIAN CONQUEST PERIOD IN OUR BALLADS

Our ballads may be examples of the often mentioned duality of Hungarian culture: East and West merge in them to form an unbreakable unity. Examples of the French originals in our ballads, and the western threads have been shown in the preceding chapter. In the following our intention is to demonstrate how much of their eastern traditions the Magyars have preserved in this new form of art. Let us begin the list with a Janus-faced ballad which looks in both directions at once, the Enticed Wife.

THE ENTICED WIFE (e.g. BARTÓK 1924 Nos. 307, 315, GRAGGER 1926 No. 23, ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 25.)

HUNGARIAN

1. VIKÁR NR (no date) II, 22-3 ? (Transdanubian type from Gábor SZARVAS' posthumous papers, cf. Ethn 1910, 130 note 3) 2. MNGY VIII, 188 Csepreg area (Sopron C.) 3. MNGY VIII, 186 Köveskállya (Zala C.) 4. Ethn 1909, 301 = B 315 + MF 957c Keszthely (Zala C.) 5. Ethn 1928, 180 Somló district 6. Ethn 1909, 305 Béd, Nyitra C. fragment of a few lines merged into text of "The Elderly Husband" 7. Ethn 1891, 79 Ung C. 7a. BOROVSKÝ's monograph on Hont C., 135 the same text, with a few letters differing in two lines, as in text recorded in 1906 at Ipolyfödemes and Ipolyszakállas. Such agreement is incredible, so we have not counted it as a separate variant. 8. BÁLINT, S. MS fragment Tamásfalva, Temesköz 9. EA 4535, 1350 Mezőkovácsháza (?) 10. Ethn 1913, 38 Kibéd, Marosszék = SEPRÓDI Eredeti Székely Dalok, 67 Kolozsvár 1904 (4 vv) 11. MNGY I, 137 Marosszék 12. EA 2276, 12 Szabéd (Săbed), Marosszék 13. MF 501 Szováta (Sovata), Marosszék 14. MNGY I, 138 Udvarhelyszék 15. MF 473a Lengyelfalva, Udvarhely C. 16. Ethn 1910, 131 = MF 360a = EA 2299, 285 Lengyelfalva, Udvarhely C. 17. Ethn 1910, 131 Szombatfalva, Udvarhely C. 18. EA 2299, 297 Rugonfalva (Rugănești), Udvarhely C. 19. EA 4535, 1074 Atyha, Udvarhely C. 20. MNGY I, 141 Székely area 21. MNGY I, 144 Székely area 22. MNGY I, 146 Székely area 23. Ethn 1911, 53 Borszék, Csík C. 24. Ethn 1908, 109 = SzNd 10 = MSZ 1224 = MF 1273b = Pt 79 Gyergyószárhegy, Csík C. 25. MF 1279b Gyergyóditró (Ditrau), Csík C. 26. MF 1258e Gyergyószentmiklós (Gheorgheni), Csík C. 27. BARTÓK 1924, 307 = MF 1029c Tekerőpatak (Valea Strîmbă), Csík C. 28. Ethn 1908, 110 = MSZ 1182 Csíkmadaras 29. Nyr 192, 47 Háromszék C. 30. Ethn 1905, 224 = EA 1906, 2 = Pásztortűz July 15, 1941, 352 = MF 1306 A Sepsikőrőspatak, Háromszék C. 31. Ethn. 1935, 129 Bukovina 32. SzNd 93 Fogadjisten, Bukovina = Pt 341 33. MCSB 3c Pustina (Pustiana), Moldavia 34. MCSB 3a Pustina, Moldavia 35. MSZ 6367 Bergyla, Moldavia 36. MSZ 6330 Lécped (Lespezi), Moldavia 37. MSZ 6365 Lécped, Moldavia 38. MCSB 3d Lécped, Moldavia 39. Nyr 1874, 344 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia 40. MSZ 6334 Klézse, Moldavia 41. MSZ 6264 Klézse, Moldavia 42. MCSB 3b Nicolae Bălcescu Moldavia. 43. Domokos No. 4 Trunk (Galbeni), Moldavia = MF 2716a 44. Domokos No. 3 Trunk, Moldavia 45. Gr 47/A/a Trunk, Moldavia 46. NE 1941, 167 = MF 2456 Somoska (Somușca), Moldavia 47.

DOMOKOS No. 2 Gajcsána-Unguri, Moldavia 48. DOMOKOS-RAJECZKY No. 40 Gajcsána-Unguri, Moldavia - Egyházaskozár, Baranya C. 49. MSZ 6783 Gerlén, Moldavia 50. MITRULY 1962, 78 Klézse, Moldavia 51. FARAGÓ 1965, 225 Szováta (Sovata) Marosszék.

FRENCH

1. SIMON 1900 Wallonia 8, 82 near Liège 2. CANTELOUBE IV, 46 Ath district, Hainaut 3. PUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 98 4. DAVENSON No. 7 (? probably northern French) 5. BARBEAU-SAPIR, 25 Canada = 17th century French emigrants 6. BARBEAU 1962 Rossignol, 143 reconstruction, Canada 7-9. according to Ms of BARBEAU, Canada 10. DECOMBE No. 92 Brittany 11. Rev. Trad. Pop. 1894, 406+ Lower Brittany 12-25. MILLIEN, 113-7 A-D + 10 var. Nivernais 26-29. ROSSAT 1917 11A-D Jura-Valais 30. GUILLON, 85+ Ain 31. SMITH Romania 1881, 149 Haute-Loire 32. CHAMPELEURY-WECKERLIN, 172 Lyonnais 33. BUJEAUD II, 237 Poitou, Aunis 34. AMPÈRE, 256 Auvergne 35. SIMON 1926, 169 Anjou 36. TIERSOT 1903 Alpes, 142 (NYGARD lists 36 Canadian MS var.).

ITALIAN

1-6. NIGRA 13A-F Piedmont 7. FERRARO 1870 Monf. 4, No. 3 Piedmont 8. GIANNINI 1889, 143 No. 4 Lucca 9. PERGOLI, 13 No. 7 Forlì area 10. FERRARO 1877 Ferrara, 14 No. 2 11-12. WIDTER-WOLF 73A-B Venice 13. BERNONI 1872 Punt. V. No. 2 Venice.

PORTUGUESE

1-3. BRAGA I, 152 Ilha de S. Jorge, Azores (= HARDUNG, 61), 153 (= HARDUNG, 63), 154 Ilha de S. Miguel, Azores 4. REIFFERSCHIED, 169b, quotation and German extract, quotes D. Vlr. 41, not relevant here).

SPANISH

1. WOLF-HOFFMANN II, 22 No. 119 2., 3. COSSIO-SOLANO II, 21-3, Nos. 275-6 Santa Maria de Cayón 4. Jb. f. romanische u. englische Lit. 1861, 285. Partly relevant: GEIBEL-SCHACK, 106.

ENGLISH

1-7. CHILD 4 (6 var. + addendum III, 496) 1-2 north Scottish, 3-4 Scottish, 5, 6 English, 7 American, Virginia 8-147. BRONSON 4 (141 var. text + melody, of which 1 is also in CHILD, among them the following which I have also used separately: SHARP-K 3A-H = 99, 100, 106, 110, 111, 116, 118; SHARP 1905-9 Somerset No. 84 = 28) 148. GREIG, 2 Scottish 149-156. BELDEN 4A-H.

LOW COUNTRIES

D. Vlr. 41, Nos. 1-11. Of these I was able to use Nos. 2, 6 and 11 from the DVA manuscript material, the rest from the works listed, and of No. 10 I was unable to see the complete text, my only source being the D. Vlr. summary of it; the number in a box indicates the variant in D. Vlr. published with complete text.

1. HOFFMANN v. F. No. 10 Antwerp 2. Antwerp 3. D. Vlr. 116 = Souterliedekens No. 2 Brabant 4. E-B 41k 5. LOOTENS-FEYS No. 37 6. Frisia 7. LAMBRECHTS, 157 eastern Flanders 8. ibid. 158 ibid. 9. ibid. 156 Limburg, Belgium 10. D. Vlr. 11. Bruges, Belgium.

GERMAN

213 variants in D. Vlr. 41 of 12-231 (1-11 are the Low Countries texts above; we also extracted the debris preserved in children's songs and two melody references.) Of these I used 52 from the publications indicated, and 108 from the DVA manuscript material. The numbers in boxes indicate variants published in D. Vlr. with complete texts. I list all this material with the numbers used there.

Numbers from 232 onwards in the DVA material indicate manuscripts which arrived after the publication of D. Vlr. 41, with the numbers used therein.

12. REIFFERSCHIED, 112 Bökendorf, Westphalia 13. ibid. 161 II Westphalia 14. D. Vlr. 21 Westphalia 15. REIFFERSCHIED, 161 I = MITTLER 79 = UHLAND 74C = E-B 41f Münsterland 16. MITTLER, 85 Niederrhein 17. MONTANUS, 45 Rheinprovinz 18. MITTLER, 87 Rheinprovinz 20. E-B 41h = MITTLER, 86 Bonn area 21. Niederrhein 23. Rheinprovinz 25. PINCK II No. 35 Spittel, Lotharingia 26. ibid. II, 355 Hambach, Lotharingia 26a. Lotharingia 26b. ibid. 27. D. Vlr. 31 = E-B 41a + MITTLER, 77 = broadside Nuremberg 1550-65* 29. D. Vlr. 41 = E-B 41b = MITTLER, 76 = broadside Augsburg 1560-70* 30-31. UHLAND 74A = broadside Bale 1570 and ibid. ? 1605 33. Silesia 35. Lahn area, Nassau 36. E-B 41i Nauheim at Limburg, Hessen 40-41. Lahn area, Nassau (only one verse) 42. D. Vlr. 61 Rheinprovinz 44. Gimmeldingen, Palatinate 47. Swabia 51b. Augsburg 52. E-B 41d Schwäbisches Oberland, Allgau 52a. Swabia 53. Hechingen, Württemberg 54. MEISINGER, 37 Badisches Oberland 56. Baden 57. Zisenhausen, Baden 58. Heidelberg 59. Swabia 61. Wimmenau, Alsace-Lorraine 62. ibid. 62a. Lotharingia, corrupt 62b. ibid. corrupt 63. D. Vlr. 51 Entlebuch, Lucerne canton 63a. E-B 41e Aargau, Switzerland 70. Lötschental, Wallis canton 71. Elgg, Zurich canton 72. Jonen, Lucerne canton 73. Möre, Wallis canton 75. Berne canton 76. Bühler, Switzerland 77. Bosco, Switzerland 78. Berne canton 79. Tenna-Safiem, Switzerland 80. Holziken, Aargau, Switzerland 81. Ursebach bei Kleindietwil, Berne canton 82. Werdenberg, Switzerland 83. Sissach, Lucerne canton 84. Siebnen, Switzerland 85. Grube? Switzerland 87.? fragment 88. Sarntal, south Tyrol 89., 90. Pustertal, south Tyrol (only verses quoted) 91. SCHLOSSAR No. 309 Kalwang, Styria 92. E-B 41g Styria 94. HERMANN-POGATSCHNIGG, 33 Austria 95. ZfVv 17, 307 Bregenz-Schwarzach, Vorarlberg 102. Eisenstadt-Kismarton, Burgenland 103. HRUSCHKA-Toischer No. 35 = REIFFERSCHIED, 162 western Bohemia? 104. MEINERT No. 36 = MITTLER, 80 Kuhländchen 109. Kuneschau, Carpathian Ukraine 110-112. HAUFFEN No. 70 (+ a-b) Gottschee 113-5. Gottschee 118. Palé, Baranya C. 118a. Némethér, Tolna C. 121. Hatzfeld, Banat 124. Wunderhorn I, 274 = MITTLER, 78 = E-B 42b after HERDER (without place-name) 133. Bunden, Pr. Holland district, East Prussia 134. D. Vlr. 71 Dollnik, West Prussia, Flatow distr. 135. Posen 138. Oliva, Danzig neighbourhood 139. Dobrin, Flatow distr., West Prussia 140. Schneidemühl, Grenzmark 141. Slonsk Nieszawa distr., Poland 143. Pomerania (relevant in part) 144. Rogzow, Köslin distr., Pomerania 145. Wollin, Pomerania 146. Saulinke, Lauenburg distr., Pomerania 147. Saatzing distr., Hinterpommern 148. Manow, Köslin distr., Pomerania 149. Kowalk, Belgard distr., Pomerania 150. Pomerania 150a. Bauerhaufen, Köslin distr., Pomerania 150b. Franzburg distr., Pomerania 150c. Neudorf, Randow distr., Pomerania 151. Pastow, Mecklenburg 153-4. PARISIUS 6, No. 5 Pechau, near Magdeburg 155. ibid. No. 550 Mieste, Altmark 156. ibid. No. 88 Magdeburg and No. 340 Mose, Altmark 157. ibid. No. 431 Samwegen, Altmark 158. ibid. No. 682 Lagendorf, Altmark 159. Mansfelder Nordseekreis, Province Saxony 160a. E-B 42c Gross-Neudorf in Oderbruch, Brandenburg 160c. Oderbruch, Brandenburg 161. Trebbin, Brandenburg 162. Birkenwerder, near Berlin 163. Fredersdorf, Angermünde, Brandenburg 164. Frankfurt a. d. Oder 165. Potsdam 166. Adamsdorf bei Soldin, Neumark, Brandenburg 167. Trebbin, Brandenb. 168. D. Vlr. 81 = MITTLER, 81 + E-B 42d near Breslau 169. Wilhelminenort, Silesia 172. Querbach, Isergebirge, Silesia 173. Conradsdorf bei Haynau, Silesia 174. Kapsdorf bei Hobt, Silesia 175. Kauden bei Neusalz, Silesia 176. Silesia (only partly relevant) 177. Waltdorf bei Neisse, Silesia 178. Gottschdorf, Silesia 179. Riemertsheide, Neisse district, Silesia 180. Festenberg, Öls distr. Silesia 181. Golberg, Silesia 182. Saueraltz, Silesia 183. Öls, Silesia 184. Breslau 185. MITTLER, 84 Oberlausitz 188. Grossenhain, Saxony 189. Rothenbach bei Lindenkrenz, Thuringia 190. Bechtheim, Untertaunus distr., Hessen 191. MITTLER, 82 Niederrhein 192. MEINERT, 66 = MITTLER, 83 = E-B 42e Kuhländchen 193. D. Vlr. 91 Mühlbach, Transylvania 194. Transylvania (one verse) 195. Transylvania (only partly relevant) 199. Alexandrovka, Crimea 203. D. Vlr. 10a = MITTLER, 89 without place-name 204. E-B 42a without place-name 205. E-B 195 Königsberg 206. E-B 42k Uderwagen, near Königsberg 210a.

Lauck, Pr. Holland distr., East Prussia 212. Treya, Silesia 213. E—B 42g Hanover 214. Hanover 215. Amsterdam, Holland 217. REIFFERSCHIED, 36 No. 18 Westphalia 218. MITTLER, 88 = E—B 42f near Bonn 220. Engelskirchen, Wipperfurth distr., Rheinprovinz 221. MITTLER, 90 Oberhessen 222. LEWALTER, 4 No. 5 Niederhessen 223. Höllshausen, Steglitz, Provinz Hessen 224. E—B 42h Alsfeld, Hopegarten area, Hessen—Darmstadt 225. Lehrbach, Alsfeld distr., Provinz Hessen 226. Kirchheim, Hersfeld distr., Provinz Hessen 227. Willinghausen, Ziegenhain district, Kurhessen 228. Weimar? Thuringia 229. Mannheim area, Thuringia, fragment 230. Koburg area, North Bavaria 231. Kapjen, near Lenin-grad 232. A 194 964 Tyrol, St. Margarethen, Schlierbach 233. A 195 077 eastern Tyrol, Zintberg 234. A 192 531 near Göttingen 235. A 192 318 Németskér, Tolna C. 236. A 189 079 Tyrol, Piller i. T. 237. A 186 685 Tyrol, Gummer, Bozen 238. A 187 535 south Tyrol, Tiers, Bozen 239. A 187 200 south Tyrol, Petersberg, Bozen 240. A 185 524 Wiesweiler, Saargemünd, Lotharingia 241. A 185 533 Wölflingen, Saargemünd, Lotharingia 242. A 173 601 Zhitomir, Ukraine 243. A 173 497 Ralbstadt, Ukraine 244. A 170 700 Bačko-Dobropolja, Bachka 245. A 171 092 Krnjaja, Bachka 246. A 171 330 Vinkovci (Neudorf) Bachka 247-9. B 43 282 Schönhengst, Slovakia 250. A 149 862 Beisleiden, Pr. Eylau distr., East Prussia 251. A 149 864 Sieslach, ibid. 252. A 172 058 Kolmar, Alsace 253. A 175 351 Cahul, Bessarabia 254. B 43 628 Heanzisch Austrian 255. A 163 484 Lindenhardt, Pegnitz distr., Upper Franconia 256. A 21 012 Schwarzenburg, Berne canton 257. A 25 038 Lützelflüh, Switzerland 258. B 42 219 Schönhengst, Slovakia 259. A 158 831 Spittel, Forbach distr., Lotharingia 260-1. A 159 177 Hanbach, Lotharingia 262. ? Szakadát, Szeben C. 263. A 158 573 Lucae, Slavonia 264. A 149 856 Leipen, Wohlau distr., East Prussia 265. A 158 518 Potolowek, Nieszawa distr., Poznan 266. A 149 859 Spullen, Pillkallen distr., East Prussia 267. A 149 857 Linkenau, Mohrunen distr., East Prussia 268. A 149 860 Grünhöfchen, Pr. Eylau distr., East Prussia 269. A 149 861 Lomitten, Mohrunen distr., East Prussia 270. A 149 863 Markinen, Friedland distr., East Prussia 271. A 149 971 Wogau, Pr. Eylau distr., E. Prussia 272. Németsmokra, Carpathian Ukraine (SUPPAN).

SCANDINAVIA (based on NYGARD 1958).

DANISH

1. MS 1548—83 = DgF 183A 2. MS, 17th century = DgF 183B 3. MS 1656 = DgF 183C 4. MS, 17th century = DgF 183D 5. Broadside 1780 = DgF 183E 6. DFS* 7. KRISTENSEN* No. 47 8-16. DFS* 17. KRISTENSEN* No. 46 18. KRISTENSEN* 33B 19. ibid. 33A 20. MS 1729—34 21. Skattegraveren* 1884 No. 1198 22-3. DFS* 24. Skattegraveren* 1884 No. 1199 25. DgF 183G 26. Broadside 1800 = DgF 183F 27. DFS*. 1—27 = NYGARD 1958 A—AA, see DgF X part 7 1960, additional text for No. 183, Vol. IV.

SWEDISH

1. ARWIDSSON* 44A 2. ARWIDSSON* 44B 3. GEIJER-AFZELIUS No. 67 4. GEIJER-AFZELIUS No. 66 5. ANDERSSON* No. 39. 1—5 = NYGARD 1958 A—E; 1—4 from the southeastern coast, 5 from Helsinki.

NORWEGIAN

1-14. NFS* 15. LANDSTAD* No. 69 16. ibid. No. 70 17., 18. NFS*. 1—18 = NYGARD 1958 A—R, all from a small area on the south Norwegian coast.

POLISH

1-52. KOLBERG 1857. Pieśni 5a—bbb (from the entire Polish language area) a = CZERNIK, 294, d = CZERNIK, 298, bbb = KARŁOWICZ 4, 407 = CZERNIK 300 53-4. KOLBERG 1871—84 Lud 6, 112 No. 208 and 169 No. 336 Cracow area 55. ibid. 12, 63 No. 131 Pakosław distr. 56-7. ibid. 16, 289—90 Nos. 473—4 Lublin area 58. KOLBERG 1871—84 Lud 19, 148 No. 453* near Kielce 59-73. KARŁOWICZ 4, 396 18A Z Rosciszewa w Sierpskiem, ibid. 397 No. 25 near Sandomiersk, ibid.

398 No. 51 Lublin area, ibid. 399 No. 51A, ibid. 399 No. 53 Chelm distr., ibid. 400 58A Leck distr., near Mazurian Lakes; ibid. 401 No. 66A near Cracow, ibid. 402 No. 76 Grodziec, ibid. 403 No. 78 Wolkow distr., ibid. 404 No. 79 near Lida, ibid. 408—9 + var. Czersk, ibid. 9, 662—3 No. 121 Włodaw distr., ibid. 9, 664 No. 124 Krasnostaw distr., ibid. 667—8 near Seweryn, ibid. 669 = KOLBERG Lud II*, 9—10 No. 9 Cholm. (The study lists and discusses 129 numbered variants and 1 separate one, but quotes complete text of only the above. We shall use those published in part where appropriate. This work, and KOLBERG's Pieśni contain all the earlier printed and MS material.) 74-80. LIGEZA-SBIŃSKI* 5A—E, H, J Polish Silesia (F—G, I, K—R not relevant).

SLOVAK—MORAVIAN

1. Národopisní Vestník Českých 1906, 277 Čerevo (Cseri, Hont C.) 2. Sl. Sp. III, 175 No. 513 Rovné 3-9. SUŠIL 87/361, 189/405—8, from the Silesian frontier 10-11. BARTOŠ—JANÁČEK 1901, 39—40 and 82, Nos. 46 and 104 Prušnovic and Lisen (D. Vlr. quotes Czech variants under ERBEN* 1864 Nos. 15—16).

ROUMANIAN

1-3. PAPAHAĞI 1925 Maramureş, 98 No. 374 Giuleşti, 103 No. 382 Vad and 113 No. 395 ? 4. ȚIPLEA, 6 No. 3 Máramarosziget area. (MARIENESCU, 22 Beszterce-Naszód C. and its translations: Ethn 1897, 185 and VULCANU, 57 are unusable because there are signs of obvious professional poetic intervention, and the greatest reserve is required in dealing with the data given in Ethn 1897, 185 "A. HERRMANN's collection from Bihar C." and MOLDOVÁN, 6 and 46, for they publish their texts in free translation without original texts or places of origin.)

YUGOSLAV (Partly relevant)

1-6. ŠTREKELJ Nos. 133—8 7. HNP V/2, 158 No. 99 8. KAPPER II, 318 9. TALVJ II, 172.

Bibliography: GROZESCU 1864: Hungarian a fake, borrowed from Roumanian; GRUNDTVIG DgF No. 183 1869: Scandinavian, Dutch, English, Italian, Wendish, Serbian (Finnish—Estonian) variants reviewed, basic form the Danish Oldemor, magic song; ABATI 1876d: German, Dutch, Danish, Scottish, French and Spanish variants beside the Hungarian; BUGGE 1879*: Dutch the original, from the Biblical tale of Judith and Holofernes; CHILD 1882: review of entire distribution of ballad (the ones mentioned above + Hungarian, Czech, Polish, Wendish, Yugoslav, Italian, Portuguese material)—rejects the Judith and Holofernes origin (only certain Dutch variants may have been subsequently influenced)—German and Hungarian close to each other; NIGRA No. 13 1888: lists especially the Romance variants, Scandinavian origin, thence to Holland and further south; KARŁOWICZ 1890: Polish variants with the English, and with other northern Slav records; E—B 1893 publishes many German variants—refers to Scandinavian and English variants—considers it, on basis of GRUNDTVIG, as obscured "Elfenlied"; KARŁOWICZ 1895: further Polish records; VIKÁR 1910: belongs to the period of Székely-Hungarian unity; SOLYMOSSY 1924: two groups distinguishable in German, 1. self-rescue, 2. seeking help—the latter the original, in which help arrives too late, the Hungarian belonging to the former group, and the Roumanians took it over from us; GRAGGER 1926: agrees with SOLYMOSSY, western minstrels brought it to us; ORTUTAY 1936: reviews comparative literature, agrees with SOLYMOSSY; D. Vlr. 41 (JOHN MEIER) 1937: review of entire distribution on basis of several hundred variants—original form Dutch, around 1300—doubts Biblical origin, rejects GRUNDTVIG's Elfenlied theory and connection with Bluebeard; Hungarian connected with German; DÁNOS 1938: quotes GRAGGER and SOLYMOSSY; ENTWISTLE 1939: Dutch original, magic song of Biblical inspiration, spread from Dutch to German—Hungarian, Scandinavian—Scottish, French—Italian, Spanish—Portuguese fields; LÁSZLÓ 1944: fable of Siberian origin; SEEMANN 1951: comparison of Lithuanian variants with German—Polish and northern Slav; NYGARD 1952: the demoniac element is the

ancient one (Danish 1), it gradually changes on German soil as it goes eastward from the self-rescue to the victim calling for help; KEMPPINEN 1954: composed around 1100–1200 on Dutch soil by a minstrel, originally a song with mythical content and Christian counter-magic; NYGARD 1958: Dutch origin, thence the Scandinavian and French (Hungarian from the German, therefore he does not discuss it)—very full quotations and discussion of Scandinavian variants (with the English–Dutch–German–French material).

We have known of the connection of our ballad with the German Ulinger, the English Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight, and the French Renaud tueur de femmes since ABAFI. The closest to it among all these is the Ulinger type of German ballad. Let us compare the summarized plots of the two.

The Hungarian variants start immediately with the enticement: "Come with me, Anna Molnár ("Miller"), on a long journey, into exile". The woman, after brief resistance, or at once, goes with him. They reach the "burkus" tree, and rest under it. The seducer, who is generally a soldier, warns her not to look up into the tree, and asks her to *look in his head*, and as she searches he falls asleep in her lap. She looks up into the tree, and sees girls' bodies hanging in it. She begins to weep, thinking she will suffer the same fate. Her tears fall on the soldier's face, at which he wakes, takes her to task for doing what he had forbidden her, and sends her up the tree. Anna Molnár objects: "I am not used to climbing trees", and asks him to go first. In the middle of this she seizes his sword and cuts off his head, then dresses in his clothes and gallops home. She asks her husband for lodging, and asks where his wife has gone, and if she returned would he forgive her? When he says he would, she sends him for wine, and while he is away she suckles her little son. The master of the house returns, and the story ends with a reconciliation.

For the German, let us see a Swiss example (63a.).

The magic song of a knight is heard from inside the palace. The girl wants to go with him, so that he can teach her his song. She collects her valuables together, chooses the best horse from the stable, and they gallop off. When they get to the edge of the forest, a turtle-dove warns her not to believe the knight, for he has trapped eleven already, and she is to be the twelfth. She asks what the dove said, and the knight explains it away. He spreads his cloak on the ground in the forest, and asks her to *search his head for lice*. For every lock of his hair that she goes through, a tear falls on his face. "Why are you weeping?" asks the knight, "are you perhaps, weeping for your proud young spirit, or your father's riches? or your honour which will never return? or perhaps for the pine tree?" She admits that it is the pine tree which makes her weep, on which she sees eleven girls hanged. "Do not weep so, Anneli, for you will be the twelfth." She asks him to let her cry out three times, and he grants the request, for who would hear her in the forest? But her brother does hear her, sets off after them, and kills her seducer.

With such great agreement in details it is no matter for surprise that researchers both in Hungary and elsewhere have linked this ballad of ours to the German ballad-territory as one of its branches. It must, however,

be observed that CHILD (I, 49) merely points out that the Hungarian is closest to the German, while D. Vlr. 2/1, 94 has the following to say: "In anderen Ländern treten deutsche Züge deutlich wieder hervor, ... Auch im Ungarischen ist die Beziehung zur deutschen "Lause-Szene" im Wald mit den an den Bäumen erhängten Jungfrauen unverkennbar." So neither expresses a definite opinion with this cautious phrasing in the matter of priority. SOLYMOSSY, too, says that it reached Hungary only from the West, and that our ballad belongs to the self-rescue type (which, as we shall see, is known only in places far from the Hungarian frontier). Obviously he was unable to resolve the contradiction, so he left it at that. But others speak plainly of our getting it from the Germans, and NYGARD goes so far in this respect as not to discuss the Hungarian ballad, as being of no interest to him in the matter of origin.

A problem is set us, however, in the fact that we find two main forms of this same ballad among the Germans: (1) the heroine saves herself, and (2) she is unable to save herself. The second main form is represented by the text quoted, while the first is spread over the western border region of the German linguistic area, and broadly agrees with the Dutch version and in essentials with the French, too. In the latter there is no scene under the tree—at most fragments of it (for example hanged girls are seen). The knight lifts the girl on to his own horse (there is no magic song here), and they ride for three days in the wilds. At last the girl asks for food and drink. The knight says "When we reach the linden tree" or "When we reach the spring". When they get there, he admits to the girl that he has killed several girls there already—sometimes they see the bodies of girls hanging, and this brings the admission—and he tells her that she, too, must die. He allows her the choice between the tree, drowning, and the sword. She chooses the sword, but says: "Take off your silken apparel, for a maiden's blood spurts far!", and when he turns away to do so she seizes his sword and cuts off his head. When she leaps on to his steed, his cut-off head speaks, asking her to blow the horn hanging beside the saddle. But the girl avoids falling into the trap, and rides off. Meeting her mother-in-law, she says in answer to her question that she has left her son dead under the tree on which he has already hanged seven girls, and on which she would have been the eighth.

The Dutch version amplifies some details, and it is more wordy, but in essentials tells this same story. The concise and integral French story runs briefly as follows:

The knight carries the girl on a long journey (for many miles), without a word passing between them. At last the girl asks for food and drink. "Eat your own hand, drink your own blood, for you will not get any proper food", says the knight. They reach a fish-pond, and here he admits that he has already drowned thirteen women, and that she is to be the fourteenth, and tells her to undress. She asks him to turn his back, because it is not meet that a knight should see a maid undress. When he does so, she pushes him into the water. He catches hold of a branch, but she cuts it off with his sword. In vain he begs her to save him: whatever will people say if she returns home without her bridegroom? "I shall tell them"

she says "that I did to you what you intended with me" and with that the ballad ends.

This story spread, practically without alteration, to the Italians, and in a different formulation, with changes in detail, to the English. Some of its peculiarities of formulation and details in elements, however, also reached Dutch and German territory—in the latter case penetrating fairly deeply to central Germany and Austrian provinces.

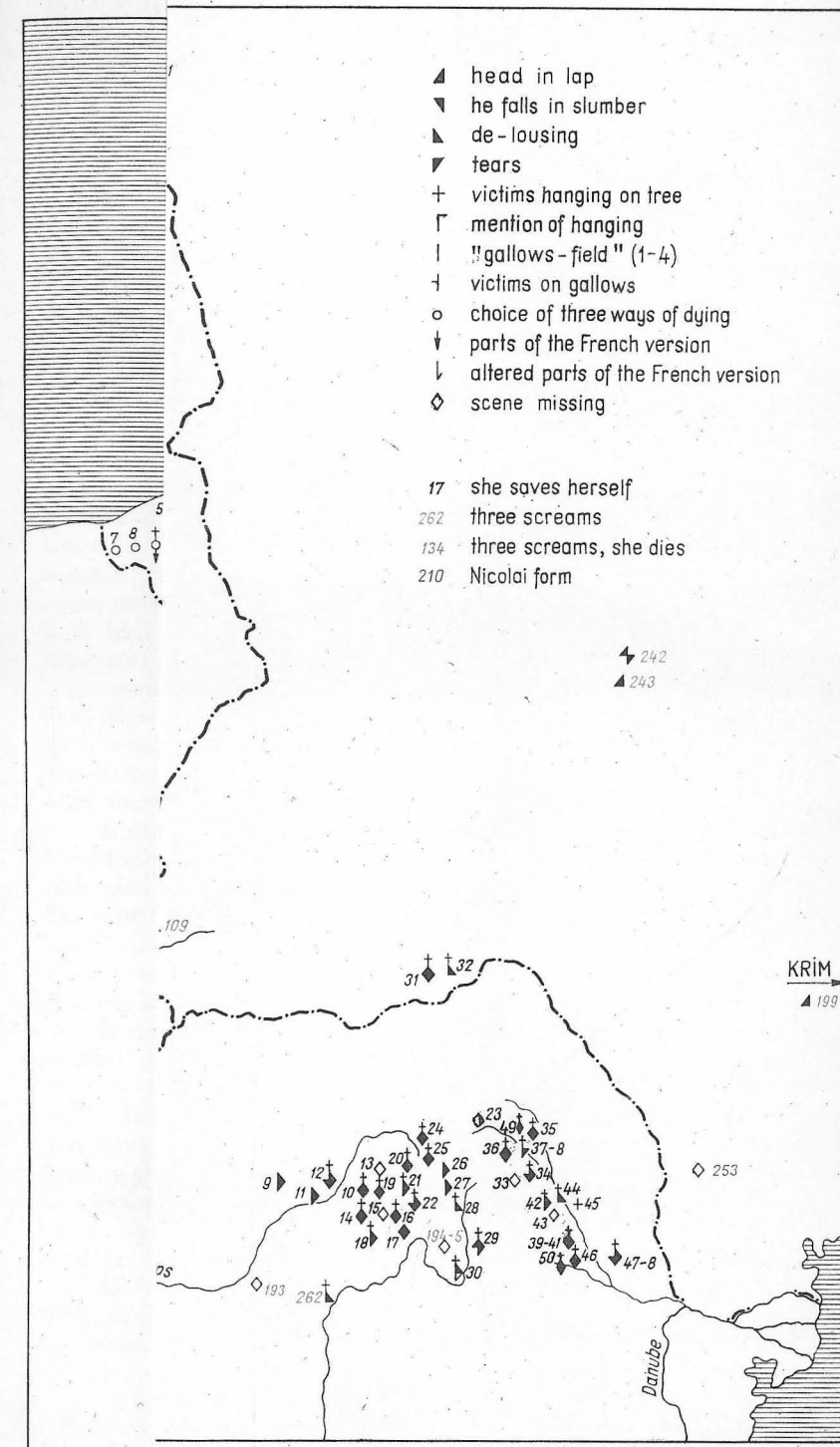
But among the Germans it is not only these two main forms which cause difficulties. Several researchers have already shown that a curious change can be seen as the story passes from west to east, the resourceful girl who saves herself changing into the no longer self-reliable maiden calling for help, who is rescued by her brother, and then, further eastward, or more accurately toward the north-east—in the provinces of Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania and East Prussia—even this help arrives too late, and the brother can only avenge the girl's death. But here the story gets involved in the most diverse ways with motifs from other ballads: "what has made your sword (or your clothing) bloody?" asks the brother, "I killed a dove..." etc., with the commonplace excuses. But with the characteristic motif of the three cries it is closely linked to the story above, spread in Swiss, Austrian, Bavarian and Czech-German territories, while in the Rhine provinces, especially Alsace-Lorraine, it is mixed with the western type.

A fourth form is known as the "Nicolai form", after the researcher who first recorded it. Here the previous victims are missing, and it is the man who kills the girl, because she is homesick or weeps over her fate. In this version the man is justified, and sometimes a second marriage is added to conclude the story. (This is found predominantly to the east of the Rhine, in central Germany and further north.)

In German territories touching the Hungarian, the brother always rescues the girl and, with the characteristic three cries, this *very lengthy, colourful scene* is found everywhere among our neighbours (Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs) even where the essentials of the story have not been taken over, namely the motif of the multiple murders of girls. For this reason we have doubts from the start about a German origin for the Hungarian ballad, for with us there is no trace of the scene in which the girl calls for help: the heroine is of the western (French-Dutch, etc.) type who saves herself. Nor could settlers in Hungary, who were perhaps from the western borders of Germany, have been the channel for the transfer, for even among the Germans living within the frontiers of the former Hungary we find either the second or the third form, in which the heroine does in fact die. Indeed, some Transylvanian Saxon variants preserve faint traces of the story, in mere fragments, mixed with other ballads.

But what can we learn in this connection from the scene under the tree which we have in common with the German? This appears in the four German types in differing forms and with differing frequency. It is most persistent in the second, south German type, the story of the three cries and the escape. But if we also examine it on the basis of the *completeness* of its motifs, we find that even in this German type it occurs only incomplete-

MAP 2 DIST



DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCENE UNDER THE TREE



- ▲ head in lap
 - ▼ he falls in slumber
 - ▲ de-lousing
 - ▼ tears
 - + victims hanging on tree
 - ┌ mention of hanging
 - | "gallows-field" (1-4)
 - └ victims on gallows
 - choice of three ways of dying
 - ↓ parts of the French version
 - ↘ altered parts of the French version
 - ◇ scene missing
-
- 17 she saves herself
 - 262 three screams
 - 134 three screams, she dies
 - 210 Nicolai form

ly. For if we take into parallel consideration the different German types, together with the Dutch and Danish formulations of the ballad (leaving the Magyar out of consideration for the time being), we find the following motifs in the scene: the man puts his head into the girl's lap; she searches his head; he goes to sleep; the girl weeps (mostly when she sees the other victims); and finally the hanged girls. But only in the Hungarian variants do we find these five motifs all together, and that in the majority of the variants. In no foreign text do we find all five together. In the south German types the head-searching and the girl's tears figure after she catches sight of the hanged victims. But the knight does not go to sleep, nor does he put his head in her lap, but invites her to take her place beside him on his outspread cloak. One group of variants, however, mention the motif of the head bent in her lap *without the head-searching*. There are such texts from the juncture of the Saxon-Silesian and the Czech-German areas northward to Brandenburg and along the Oder. [Only in a single Moravian text (5.) have I found a mention of the head-searching motif: "Jiškaj mi v moji hlave".] Among the Danes there are no hanged girls, the man digs a grave, and the victim learns of her fate from that, but the head-searching is found in ten variants (the girl asks if she may do it after she hears what fate awaits her, and in three other variants only traces of it remain); in one variant (13.) the knight asks her to do it. We also find the head bent in her lap, and going to sleep; indeed, in one case (25.) the girl lulls him to sleep with her singing in order to escape from him: she ties him and kills him. This scene sometimes occurs after she has discovered what awaits her, and for this reason the young man then makes her promise that she will not kill him as he sleeps. An eroded copy of this also appears in two separate northern Scottish variants of doubtful authenticity. Among the Swedes there is only the sleeping, among the Norwegians sometimes *head-searching*, but sometimes explicitly witchcraft.

Among the northeastern Germans: in East Prussian, Pomeranian, Mecklenburg and Polish German territories, the whole scene is missing. It is also missing among the Poles, whereas they have, in an obscure form, the motif of the brother hearing the cry for help, which means that we have here a further spread of the northeastern German variant. Very often the whole scene is missing from the Nicolai form, though it is found in a variant here and there—probably spread from the neighbouring areas.

In the western forms only the tree is found with the girls hanged on it, and the scene under it is lacking, indeed often the tree motif figures only in the choice between the three deaths, and there are no hanged girls. But in the Rhine area everything is mixed up, and here the head-searching has also penetrated into several western types of variant, too. Among the Dutch there is no trace of it, only of the hanged girls, but instead of the forest we have a gallows field and they hang on gallows. Yet in half the variants even that is missing, and we have only a mention of hanging, or a choice between three ways of dying, of which one is by hanging.

As we see, the scene becomes more vague and fragmentary the further west and north we go, which makes the spread from the (south-) east probable.

It might be contested that in the Hungarian, too, there are areas in which only isolated details now remain of the coherent scene—in other words what we have here is a subsequent disintegration, which is more advanced among the Germans. But in Hungary, in Transdanubia various details of the scene, in changing mosaics, have been noted from a relatively small area, so it can be assumed that here all the motifs were once present together. Among the Germans, however, we have seen that over large territories certain elements are consistently missing, and in other large areas other elements are also consistently lacking. On the other hand, in Hungary we find that in more developed areas this ballad has lost a great deal or is missing, while in more backward areas the full form flourishes; and hence the attrition can really be regarded as a later development. But among the Germans on the contrary this scene is completely missing in the most archaic East Prussian districts, while the most advanced Rhineland and western German peasants have preserved most of its details. And that these losses were really a feature from the beginning is shown by printed editions from the middle of the 16th century, which agree completely with the records of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The spread from the east is also shown by the fact that the French and western form, spreading in the reverse direction, west to east, and growing gradually fainter in the process, has amalgamated with our scene to produce various mixed forms. It is a permanent feature of the French version right over to the Italians that the couple travel for miles without a word being spoken, that at last the girl asks for food and drink, and from the knight's answer learns in advance what her fate is to be. This has also spread to Holland and south-west and central German areas; in the latter the murder of the girl in its French form—drowning in the lake—also appears in the form where the seducer answers the girl's words by saying "We shall eat when we reach the spring". There they see the victims hanging on the tree. In several Rhineland variants the seducer says bluntly: "When we reach the linden tree; your food is hanging on it!" etc. (14–18.). And the spring as the place where they settle and the site of the murder—and in the more distant areas a spring that gives forth blood as an evil omen—often appear in the second (southern German) form, as well as in the Nicolai form. The limit for the appearance of these French elements is the line western Austria—western Bohemia, and in the north roughly from Nuremberg to Cologne.

The separate origins of the scene showing the settling down by the spring and that of the hanged girls—which appear together in broadsides from Augsburg as early as about 1560—may have caused the confusion which led to the separation of the settling down from the head-searching and the girl's tears and to the later sight, as they go on, of the hanged girls. This is the way it is recounted in the first record in the Nuremberg broadside, too, about 1540. And in this earliest variant another confusion also betrays the Hungarian origin. Here, too, the victim is a *maiden*, as in the whole of Europe outside Hungary, yet when the girl weeps the words put into the knight's mouth are: "perhaps you are weeping for the *husband* you left behind?" Only in the Hungarian ballad is the heroine

a *married woman*, who has left her *husband* for the knight, and that in every variant!

It is very characteristic that in the Dutch and the west German versions the choice between forms of death merges the French drowning with the Hungarian beheading, where the hanging also figures with it as an attempt, and as the sort of death which befell the other girls. A similar fusion is where, in the south German variants (even in the 16th century Augsburg one) the girl asks to be hanged in her own clothing, but the seducer wants her clothes off, because they will be useful for his sister. In the French, where there is talk of drowning, the command to take off her clothes, even if naive, is an understandable motif. And a belated influence of the tree scene can be found in a text from the Bonn area, too, fairly clearly, where at the end of the Nicolai form the man, having killed the girl and thrown her head into the *spring*, says that he will hang himself on the linden tree opposite (218.).

From all these instances in which images have been blurred or merged together it is clear that the scene under the tree passed from the Hungarians to the Germans and thence to other peoples, and mixed in the west with the western type penetrating from the French and Dutch.

Then whence did the Magyars acquire the ballad?

Here two motifs must be taken into consideration: the beginning and the end of the ballad. The return is given particular importance among the Hungarians, not found anywhere else in Europe. Yet, in the west this part is always found in some form or other: in the French there is a reference to it, the English girl is received on her return by her parrot, to which she promises a golden cage if it will but keep silent on where she went during the night, while the Dutch heroine proudly returns with the cut-off head to her father's feast, where she is given a place of honour. (It is on the basis of this scene that our ballad has been associated with the story of Judith and Holofernes and the Dutch variant is regarded as original.) Or she meets relatives of the knight and on their making enquiries tells them what she has done with the knight (to which the end of the French ballad gives only a reference). Only in the eastern German type have we found no clues to the ending, where the brother goes out into the forest to rescue his sister, and the ballad ends there. This scene therefore links our ballad to the western type just as much as the fact that the heroine saves herself, like the heroines in the western variants. In addition, our ballad is clearly linked to one nation within the western form by the agreement in the opening lines. Here the Hungarians obstinately repeat a single opening formula—practically every variant begins with the man's words: "Come with me, Anna Mónár, on a long journey into exile." Indeed, some Hungarian texts from Moldavia and Transylvania simply invite the woman to go "for a walk". And some fragmentary variants from Hungary also begin with this, if not in dialogue form, at least in a narrative extract: "The soldier kept on inviting and tempting the young wife, until..." etc. This opening formula can be found only among the French (not taking into account for the moment Polish and certain East Prussian variants), but there it is practically word for word: "Belle, allons nous épromener

Tout le long de la mer coulante, Belle, allons-y, allons-y donc!", or "Veux-tu venir, bell' Jeanneton, Le long de la mer coulante, Nous éprouver tout au long", or "Allons-y, bell', nous promener tout le long de la mer coulante, Allons-y bell', nous promener!" etc. I have made a list of 32 variants; 15 of them begin with a formula like this, among them the oldest and best records. In MILLIEN's excellent collection 7 begin in this way, and of 36 MS variants given by NYGARD 1958 24 do the same!

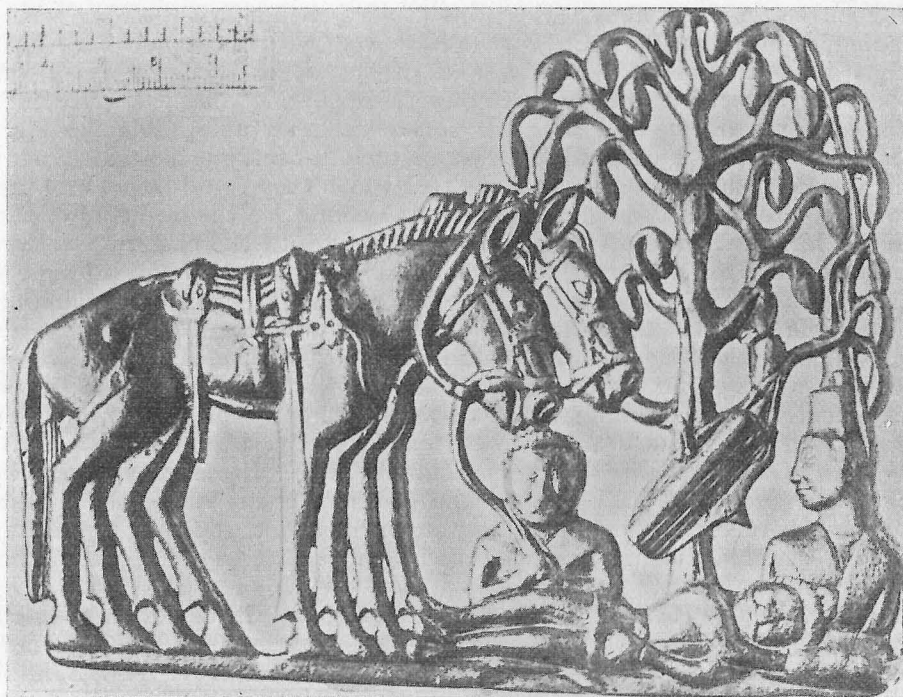
There is no doubt then that we took from the French the ballad-variant of the Girl-murderer, and from it preserved the opening formula, the basic story of the woman-killer who at length perishes thereby, and finally the scene of the return; but we greatly transformed the story, inserting in it a series of scenes, earlier unknown, and in this form passed it on to the Germans, among whom it spread in its new, altered form to distant parts. A trace of this transfer may be the fact that in some German variants—in Switzerland, and among the Germans of Saxony, Brandenburg and the north-east—the name Anna turns up, as Anneli, Annchen or Hannchen (54., 63., 63a., 81., 134., 139., 141., 150., 151., 153-6., 158., 163., 164., 167.), indeed, in one Swiss variant it is from a *Müllerhaus* that the knight entices Anneli away (63a.), whereas in the western forms she leaves a noble mansion. It is, however, significant that here, too, she collects together her father's valuables. And in a single western German text (18.) we seem to have lines from "Anna Mónár" in the formulation of the choice between the ways of dying: "Willst du umklimmen den hohen Baum?..." and in the reply: "Ich kann nicht klimmen den hohen Baum..." = the Hungarian version "Climb up, climb up into this tree." ... "I am not used to climbing trees."

An undoubted proof of our French settlers having handed on here in eastern Europe their own different type of story is to be found in the fact that characteristic parts of the French form turn up among the Poles, a fact of which research has hitherto been able to make nothing. For in the Polish it is the girl who becomes the victim, as in the northeastern German and Nicolai German form, but is pushed by her seducer into the water, as in the French, and here it is the girl who seizes the branch, or her skirt catches in it and she asks him to help her, but he cuts off the branch with his sword, saying he did not push her into the water in order to save her again. Indeed, even the silent journeying for several miles also appears fairly frequently. CHILD imagines the transfer to have taken place over the sea, while John MEIER simply notes the agreement and that a transfer via the Germans is unimaginable. "Die Übereinstimmung ist wohl mehr als zufällig, da auch ein so eigener Zug wie das Festhalten oder Hängenbleiben an ins Wasser hängenden Zweigen begegnet. Die Art des Herüberdringens der französischen Form kann hier ununtersucht bleiben, da das deutsche Lied hinsichtlich dieses Motivs keinerlei Spuren aufweist und es kaum enthalten haben wird."

The answer to the riddle is given by the presence of French settlers along the Polish frontier of the Hungary of the period. There was a large, coherent Walloon area in the Szepes County—that is, cheek by jowl with the Gorals, the Poles of the Tatra mountain region—and there were also

Walloon settlements in the Hegyalja (Tokay) region, with strong wine-trading connections with Cracow. (There were yearly waggon caravans, hence large numbers of drivers and other people—peasant types—in repeated contact, traffic in two directions, bi-lingualism, and eating, drinking and singing together, all constituting an acceptable basis on which the exchange of traditional forms of folk-poetry can be assumed.) But the Poles had no scene under the tree which they could insert into the story acquired, and thus give it a different course, so the elements of the French form were preserved and amalgamated with the eastern German forms which later settled on top of it in layers. Indeed, they also kept a faint version of the French opening formula: we find at the beginning of very many texts "he persuaded Kasia to go with him" (scattered over the whole of the language area)—the same sort of sketchy narrative as we have among the Transdanubian versions—but they also have, more infrequently, the variant in which there is a direct dialogue: "Come, let us go travelling about" "Wędruj, Kasiu, wędruj, bedziemy oboje" (70.), "Wędruj, Kasia, wędruj, nabierz srybła dosyć" (60.), "Będziesz ty, Kasiuniu ze mną wędrowała" (78.). Among the Germans living along the Polish language border, we find in a separate strip similar opening formulas; over a wider area a vaguer form: "Ulrich wollt spazieren gehn, Redinchen wollte mit ihm gehen" (134-5., 138., 140., 144-7., 149-51., 153., 159., 160a., 161., 163., 165., 172., 178., 185., 188-9.), and in a more restricted area a closer agreement: "Ach Anchen, schönsten Anchen mein, Komm du mit mir in den Walde herein!" (154-8., 162., 164., 167., 179., Slonsk, Brandenburg, Poznan, West and East Prussia, Silesia). These formulas appear in variants in which the girl is killed in spite of the triple cry for help, and at the end we have the scene "Why has your sword blood on it?" in other words, they are as far as possible from both the French and the Hungarian formulation.

In the German this formula exists isolatedly even in between territories where other formulas are known, but this can be entirely explained from the Polish. (The more important German opening formulas are the following, listed according to the versions in my possession in complete copy form: "Wel will met Gert Olbert utriden gon, De mot sick kleiden in Samt un Seiden" 12-15.; "Als Odilia ein klein Kind war... Sie wuchs dem Reiter wol in den Schooss" 16-18., 20., 25.; "Es ritt guet Reüter durch das Ried, Er sang ein schönes Tagelied, Er sang von heller Stymme, das in der Bürg erklinget." In place of "in heller" we most frequently find "auf dreierlei", and there are many other variants 26-7., 29., 30-1., 36., 42., 52., 54., 63-63a., 91., 94-5., 103-4., 111-2., 203-4., 206., 213., 217-8., 221-2., 224.) Thus here again we have the amalgamation of elements coming from opposite direction: the Polish opening formula penetrates from the east into the third German type spreading from the west. Since it is found everywhere among the Poles in different areas, but occurs among the Germans only along the strip adjacent to the Poles, only the Poles could have been the donors. And among them its origin can be explained from the French, but not among the Germans.



1. Siberian gold relief, 3rd cent. B.C. Ermitage, Leningrad

Thus the influence of the French settlers in eastern Europe and the spread of the form as changed by the Hungarians can neatly explain all the riddles and confusion found in the northern European form of our ballad. There thus remains only one question: whence did the Magyars take this scene under the tree which is so decisive in its significance?

The correct answer to this was given by Gyula LÁSZLÓ in 1944 in his book "*A honfoglaló magyar nép élete*" (The Life of the Magyar People at the Time of the Conquest) (pp. 416—21). On the basis of an analysis of a Siberian gold relief, Persian miniatures (from the 16th century) and 14th century representations of Saint Ladislav (the Hungarian King László I, 1077—1095, canonized 1192), he declares that the whole Anna Molnár legend was a motif at the time of the Conquest. Géza NAGY had already observed that one of the scenes in our representations of Saint Ladislav agreed with a Siberian gold relief preserved in the Ermitage Museum, Leningrad. This scene does not appear in the known text of the legend, and on that account he says that elements of tales from pagan times may have slipped into our Saint Ladislav legend. (The same is affirmed by KARDOS, pp. 100—101 in connection with the *Gesta Hungarorum*.) The gold relief shows a woman sitting under a tree, a knight sleeping with his head in her lap, and beside them a seated knight, holding two



2. Wall painting in the church at Bántornya, 14th cent. After a sketch in water colour

horses on reins. The sleeping man's quiver and bow are hung on the tree. (Fig. 1 after FETTICH 1952, 264.) In the Saint Ladislav frescoes and miniatures either exactly this is represented, or the scene is modified by having not Saint Ladislav in the picture, but the Kuman warrior, or else that it is not under a tree that Saint Ladislav rests his head in the girl's lap, but in a room, lying on a magnificent bed.



4. Wall painting in the church of Vitfalva, 14th century

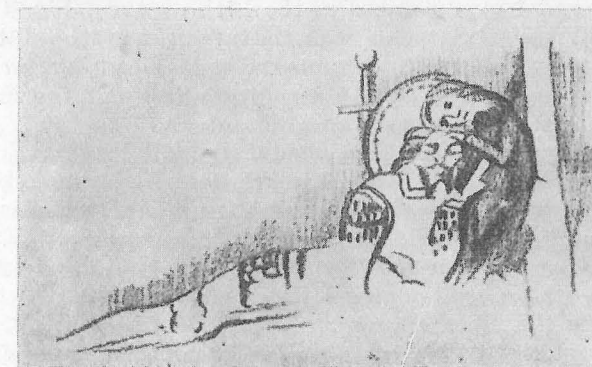
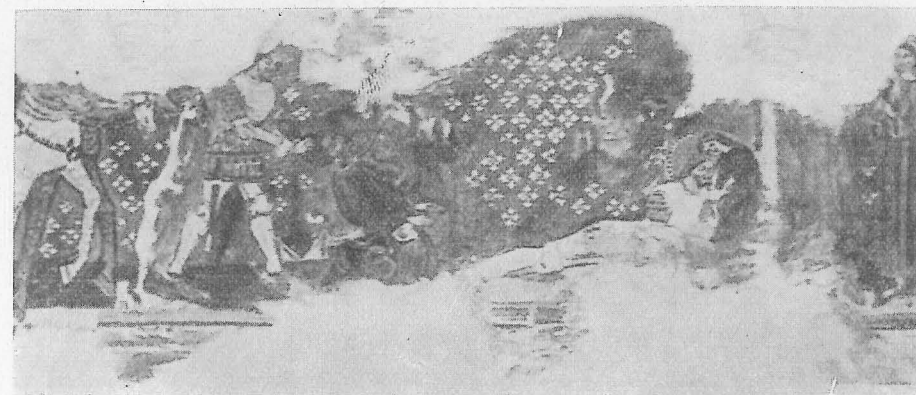
In Fig. 2, a church wall-painting in Bántornya (Muraköz) the Kuman warrior rests his head in the abducted girl's lap; her hand clearly shows the *head-searching* movement—beside him stands his horse, but his weapons are not hung on the tree. (This scene is also represented in the Bántornya church with Saint Ladislav.) Fig. 3 shows a 16th century church wall-painting from Zsegra, Szepes C.: Saint Ladislav rests his head in the girl's lap, while his helmet and iron gauntlet, that is, parts of his armour, are hung on the tree. The head-searching is not shown, but the picture



3. Wall painting in the church of Zsegra, 14th cent. Repainted in the 17th cent. After a sketch in water colour



5. Wall painting in the church of Maksa, 14th century



6. (a) Wall painting in the church of Székelyderzs, 14th cent.; (b) detail of (a) after a sketch in water colour



7. Detail from the Vatican Legendarium, 1351

was to a great extent over-painted in the 17th century. Fig. 4 is a church wall-painting at Vitfalva, Szepes C. from the turn of the 14th—15th centuries: Saint Ladislav, lying on a bed in a room, rests his head in a girl's lap, while she searches his head. Fig. 5 is a 16th century wall-painting in the church at Maksa, Háromszék C. (Transylvania): Saint Ladislav (lying in a room?) rests his head in a girl's lap, while she searches his head. Fig. 6ab, 15th century church wall-painting from Székelyderzs, Háromszék C.: Saint Ladislav (under a tree?) rests his head in a girl's lap, with his sword and shield beside him. Fig. 7, a series of pictures of Hungarian origin, 1365—70, in the Vatican Legendarium shows a scene in which Saint Ladislav, under a stylized tree, rests his head in a girl's lap, while she is busy with her fingers in his hair. Here the trees seem to be mere decoration.

Nándor FETICH also observed that in the Siberian relief the woman's hand is occupied with the man's hair. The same is seen in the representations of Saint Ladislav. This is what gave Gyula LÁSZLÓ the idea of connecting

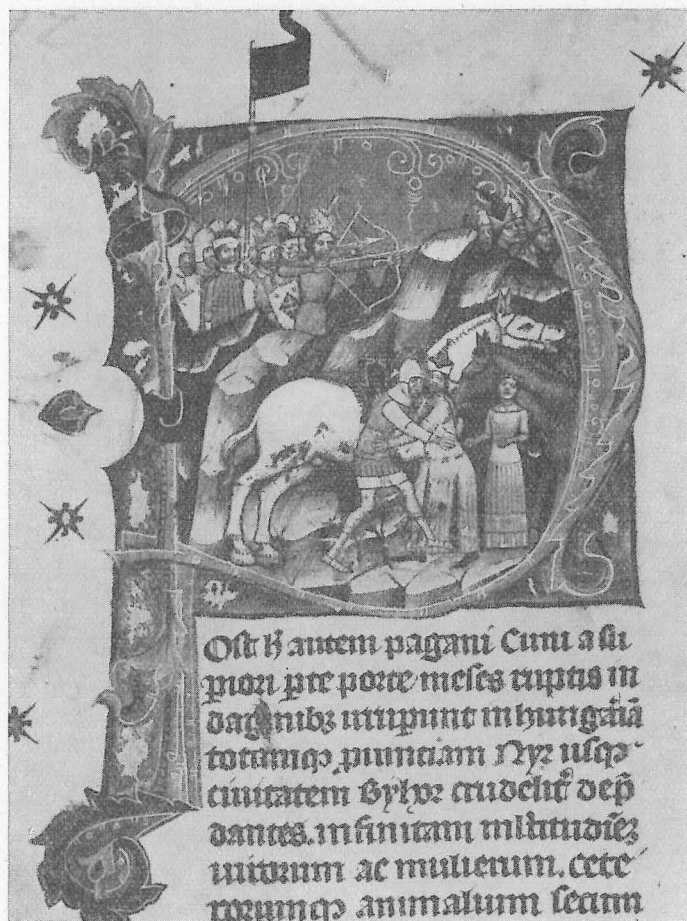


8. Title page of the Thuróczi Chronicle, 1482

the series of pictures with Anna Molnár. He drew attention to another scene in the Saint Ladislav frescoes, which is also to be found in Siberian and other eastern representations: Saint Ladislav and the Kuman warrior, dismounted, wrestle with each other. (Fig. 8: title page from Thuróczi's Chronicle, 1488; Fig. 9: miniature of Saint Ladislav from the Illustrated Chronicle, after 1358: the two warriors wrestling.)

According to Gyula LÁSZLÓ, the image of the hanged girls was introduced into our ballad later, and moreover the entire Bluebeard legend is a remnant of the old epic poem. "Moreover" he says "at the same time as this the Anna Molnár story also appears in the West with the characteristic *head-examination*. This is a case, not of influence, but of reciprocal influence."

I am in complete agreement with the latter statement and with Gyula LÁSZLÓ's findings in general, but it is natural that in the light of the foregoing the influence of the Hungarian epic poem could have extended only to the scene under the tree. If the ballad had reached the French, too, from us, it is not likely that precisely this touching scene would have been



9. Miniature from the Illustrated Chronicle, 1370

omitted from it. It is therefore plain that the Hungarians modified the ballad acquired from the French by adding a motif originating in an eastern epic song, and the ballad reached the Germans in this form. Only one step is still lacking in the proof: so far we have only *pictures* to set against the *text* of Anna Mónár. True, these pictures in all probability represent a legend, an epic poem, yet until we can set the corresponding text beside them, it remains only probability, not certainty.

At this point it became necessary to examine the Siberian epic material. For it was obvious that if we are dealing with a legend of such tenacity that it was depicted as early as 300 B. C., and so often, from Central Asia to Persia and the Hungary of the 14th century, then we must be able to find traces of it in the Siberian traditional material today. And we were

not disappointed in this assumption. Scenes corresponding to the pictures were to be found, with much else, in the traditional epics of the Turkic peoples.

In RADLOFF's volume on Abakan, in the epic of Shugdyul Mergan (Vol. II, No. 12) we find a characteristic passage. The poem relates how a foreign warrior kills the father and mother of two children (in a struggle like the one shown in the Saint Ladislás pictures, and on which we shall have more to say later); he drives off their men and cattle and tries to kill the children, too, to escape the revenge of the heirs as they grow up. But the murdered parents were also mythical heroes; their magic horses pick up the children in their mouths and there begins a chase of mythical dimensions through regions above the sky and under the ground. At last a helpful hero tells them how to escape, and the magic horse reaches a gold and silver poplar standing in the middle of a white plain. (From page 331, line 794:) "O golden poplar, father" says the girl here, "O silver poplar, mother, I am fleeing from an enemy. A valiant champion is pursuing me, Help me, golden poplar!" A door opens in the side of the tree, the girl enters with her brother, and a different countryside opens up before them, with another sun and moon. There she finds food and drink, then goes to sleep, and when she awakes, she finds her head is resting in the lap of a girl who is searching her head."

In this same song figures another wondrous tree (lines 379—80) "The branchy iron larch", to the trunk of which the warrior tethered his yellow horse. As we shall see later, this iron larch is usually nine-branched, and marks either the flight or some other decisive point of the story in the same way as the golden poplar above. Sometimes beside the iron larch stands a nine-cornered iron house, and in this takes place a scene like the one above or some other decisive scene. Thus we have e.g. in RADLOFF's Altai songs (I, 432 Soyon II, from line 96): Küdjüttün Mudun ties his horse to the iron poplar and goes into the house standing by it, and says: "Why did you kill my brother?" Similarly in the Kachints song about Kartaga Mergen (II, No. 15). In this a warrior's sister is carried off, while he is away, by an enemy warrior. Her brother goes to search for her through different worlds, during which two helpful comrades join him, and with them he reaches a nine-cornered iron house. Only the hero dares to enter, and there he finds his adversary (page 521, line 717): "The bold warrior Töngüsh Khan was sleeping on a golden bed. Seven yellow maidens were holding his head and searching for lice." A fierce fight begins, the hero destroys his adversary, and then the demons of the nether regions almost destroy him in turn. His magic horse runs to get help from the two assistants, but these are no longer ready to help, and they tie the horse to the nine-branched iron larch. The magic horse escapes and reaches, after long adventures, another tree which "stands at the foot of a mountain slope, and has golden leaves and silver bark". It is on the point of dying under this tree when a strange horse runs up to it, sent by the celestial Kudais to help; it revives the magic horse, and together they seek and find the external soul of their master's adversary and they kill it. Thus they rescue the life of their hero-master.

The hero of one of DYRENKOVA's songs (No. 12, Khan Mergen) goes to seek the monstrous Kara Mükü; after frightful adventures he reaches him: seventy smiths seize him and put him into the furnace to melt him, but he escapes, and then has to kill an iron warrior, and at last reaches the iron house. (Page 101, para 2, line 7:) "Then, after passing through forty rooms, Mergen Khan saw Kara Mükü, with his nine wives, lying on a golden bed, asleep and snoring. Six women were busy wiping his feet, and seven women were searching his head for lice and lulling him." The hero strikes the enemy such a blow that Erlik Khan's whole underworld realm rings with it, then he kills him in a terrible battle. A similar scene is to be found in RADLOFF's Abakan songs, too, (II, No. 9 Kara Pan) when the pursuing hero finds a monstrous demon in the house (page 238, lines 489-93): "a seven-eared, seven-eared girl was lying there. Three girls were fanning her, three delousing her head, and three licking the soles of her feet."

But, as we saw in the first example, the head-searching appears in connection not only with the adversary, but also with the hero of the song. Thus, for example, the wife of Yoloï Khan, the Karakirgiz hero, meets her son, whom she has not seen for a long time (RADLOFF vol. V, No. II, Kan Yoloï, line 3796): "Ak Saikal embraced him and pulled him off his horse; he was so weak that he could not speak; Ak Saikal scratched his black head with her nails." Here the head searching is quite obviously a sign of affection. And its lulling character comes out clearly in other details. In RADLOFF's Altai volume (I), in an otherwise fragmentary song (Sojonen auf chinesischem Gebiet, No. 1 Pagai Tjürü) a khan's daughter is looking after the herd of horses when the young hero meets her. The girl says to him: "Look in my head", and when he does, she goes to sleep. (Then he puts a foal into her belly, and thus forces her to be his wife. This same scene, but without the head-searching figures in the adventures of Khan Bogda Gesser, too.) In a Buryat-Mongolian fable (POTANIN vvp. IV, 200 No. 36 Dolon Ebugut) adversaries, during a race try to hinder the hero's companion, who has magic powers and is a fast runner: "When he had reached the appointed place there was an old woman sitting on the road, who invited him to rest; she began to search his head, and he went to sleep", and when he awoke, his adversaries were already half-way along the road.

Thus this head-searching scene in the heroic songs always appears at the decisive point in the story: either before the critical battle, and in connection with the adversary, or at the place where the fugitive seeks refuge, and it happens either to the fugitive, or to the monstrous enemy; either under the magic tree or in the equally magic house, on a bed. Precisely as in the representations of Saint Ladislav: either with the Kuman warrior before the battle, or with Ladislav after the battle and flight; either under the tree, or in a room, on a bed (and as in Anna Mónár, too: before the murder—that is, the battle—at the place of the death and flight, under the tree with the adversary).

In the same way at the decisive points in the story appears the magic tree, too. This always figures in the two forms quoted: either a gold and silver poplar (sometimes replaced by a birch, elm or willow), or a nine-

branched iron larch. The two images are often intertwined, for the poplar is often called iron, too. For these two trees are really one and the same: the great tree of the world, running through the universe from the nether regions to the heavens. Its underworld part is the iron larch and its heavenly part the golden poplar. Consequently the image of death is associated with the iron larch, and much more frequently the image of the heavenly deity, life and help with the golden poplar.

In our first example the heroine, on entering the door of the golden poplar, really goes into the other world. In a Kara-Kirgiz song (RADLOFF V, ErTöshtük) the father, going to fetch a bride for his son, spends a night under the spreading poplar, where an underworld monster conquers him in a fight and demands the souls of his children. Then the son himself goes to the tree, subdues the monster, and from beneath the tree gets into the underworld, from which, after long adventures and battles, and even marriage, he tries to return to the upper world (line 1778): "He reached the centre of the world, and there stood a tall elm" (a few lines further on the song refers to a poplar again) "with its tip reaching to the sky." And here follows the scene, well-known from Hungarian folk tales, about the gryphon, with its young, which he helps, whereat the gryphon takes him up into the upper world. When the mythical hero is threatened by some great danger "the poplar's roots shake, and the depths of the sea seethe" (RADLOFF V., 340, lines 885-95. Semetei. *ibid.* in Khan Yoloï after line 1889). When the hero of the Karakirgizes, Yoloï Khan, is rescued by his wife, she finds his horses tethered to the trunk of this poplar, and under the tree her husband, sleeping the sleep of the dead, until she frees the horse, revives the hero, and they escape. (*Ibid.* from line 1889.)

The explanation of the iron larch is quite clear in one of SCHIEFNER's Minusinsk epics (No. 15): a girl in search of the head of her murdered brother goes down into the nether regions, where she finds an iron house, which in this case has forty corners (lines 455-62), in which "dwell the Irle Khans" (the lords of the underworld). "Nine larches grow in front of this house out of one stock. These are the posts to which the nine Irle khans tether their horses down there..." (From the 481st line) "At the time when Kudai created the earth and the heavens, he shaped this larch. None has ever reached this tree alive, neither man nor beast, except the Irle khans." That is the reason why the bodies of the great heroes are buried there. Also in a song from Minusinsk, the hero of the myth says to his son at the end of his life (SCHIEFNER No. 8 line 186): "When I die, you must never bury me in the ground. Tie the tips of the nine larches together, and put the coffin on the top." In RADLOFF's Shor-Tartar songs, too, (Vol. I No. 6 lines 83-85) the hero's bones are put "on to the tip of nine larches", "beyond sixty layers of heaven." This is why the destruction of the mythical hero, as we saw above, also takes place in some way near the marvellous tree. Thus, in RADLOFF's Altai songs (I. No. 8 line 416, and also VERBITSKI, 141 line 33), a child stolen out of a woman's body is found "nailed to the tip of the iron larch with iron nails". Nor is it surprising that the "end of the world" threatens humanity from the *iron mountain* which reaches to the sky (SCHIEFNER No. V. line 529):

"Where the sun and the moon sink to rest in the far distance flows a sea, and there stands a mountain nearly up to the sky, and on this iron mountain grow seven tall larches, whose tips grow right up into the sky" (seven is almost as sacred a number among some Turkic tribes as nine). The route followed by the blurring of detail in the story helps to characterize the contents of the original picture. In a Buryat tale (POTANIN, 198 35e) the lama sends the hero to a golden poplar growing in a *cemetery*, to find out what he wants to know.

The place where the death of the mythical heroes takes place may also be the opposite, the place where life begins. For example, in an Altai tale (RADLOFF I No. 6 lines 383-4): "Kizil Tash was born under the iron larch." In RADLOFF's Kazak tales (Vol. III No. 13 lines 1515-30): "on the slope of the black hill stands a thick poplar . . ."; the fugitive parents put their child down there, and "at the place of death he became a living being." The young heroes often receive their weapons from these wonder-working trees. In an Altai tale (RADLOFF I 35 III line 172): "outside stands, tied to the iron poplar, a steel-grey steed with a golden saddle and golden bit. He saw it standing there champing its bit as he walked round the iron poplar. Leaning against the black post he saw a splendid black bow." Again in an Altai (Shor-Tartar) fable (RADLOFF I, 357 lines 53-118): "He reached the seashore, where a magnificent poplar stood." After a sleep under the tree, by the morning there is saddle and bridle on the horse and the hero receives food and drink. Before he can go further, a white-headed old man speaks from the top of the tree, and gives the hero a name. (This name-giving is always a magical motif, without which he cannot be a full-blown warrior.) When he asks the old man who he is, he replies: "Who am I? I am God the Creator." In another hazy Buryat-Mongolian tale (POTANIN No. 147 page 509) we also find the hero receiving a letter from the girl destined for him by Heaven, telling him his weapons are buried under the golden poplar.

We have seen that the critical points in the story—a great danger or escape from danger—are always connected with the wondrous tree of life, and that the head-searching scene is similarly connected with it. But these two motifs turn up in their full, clear form only in the most mythical and most ancient songs, chiefly in the Minusinsk Basin, among the Abakan Tartars, as seen in the second volume of RADLOFF and in SCHIEFNER's material, as well as in DYRENKOVA's Shor-Tartar collection. We also meet them, in dim and fragmentary forms, in the rest of the Altai and Kara-Kirgiz material. (The Kara-Kirgizes are thought to have spread from the Abakan region.) This is the area with which the Magyars of the Conquest period were in such close contact immediately before the Conquest, that a great part of their clothing and art was completely identical with that of the Abakan region of the period. (FETTICH 1942, 39-40; and Gyula NÉMETH surmises that of the seven tribes of the Conquest two, the "Kürt" and the "Kér" were of Central Asian origin. NÉMETH, 275.)

All this makes it understandable that the fable-elements quoted should agree completely with scenes shown in the representations of Saint Ladislav, and also with the golden relief found in Siberia, dating from some 300 years

B.C. If we look carefully at this, we recognize at once in the tree representation the nine-branched iron larch of our texts. The stylized, twisted, bare branches, with the leaves hanging on the ends in bunches, represent unmistakably an iron larch (Géza NAGY explains it as a weeping willow). And if we count the branches, we find just nine. This proves beyond doubt that the ancient golden relief and the texts recorded 2200 years later tell a similar tale. Other details make it still more certain. The bow and quiver hanging on the branches show that this is a scene in which the young hero is given his weapons under the tree. (This hero may of course be the sleeping figure with the moustache, too, for we shall see later that in many cases a three-year-old child figures as the mythical hero, represented as a full-grown man.) If we examine the Ladislav representations, in which in one case the enemy warrior—the Kuman hero—lies under the tree, and the abducted girl *searches his head* before the fight, and at other times—in all the other cases—searches the head of Saint Ladislav after the fight, and that this is sometimes under a tree on which hangs some of his equipment, in other cases in a room, on a magnificent bed, then it becomes clear that different variants of details from the Siberian fable are represented here. This puts it beyond doubt that in the 14th century, songs of this type—at least in connection with Saint Ladislav—must have been generally known. Otherwise there would have been no possibility of people painting representations of the differing variants of the fable in the most distant parts of the country, both in village churches and in the studio of the royal miniature painters. Gyula LÁSZLÓ is quite correct in rejecting the view which purports to find the origin of these pictures in a picture used as a common model. For not only the composition of the picture, but also the fable variants represented, are different. This can be explained only in one way: there must still have existed in the 14th century, in broadly similar variants, a Siberian type of fable applied to Saint Ladislav, like that in the Siberian epics of today.

Any doubt about this is removed by the other picture-type analyzed by Gyula LÁSZLÓ: the struggle between the two warriors when they have leapt off their horses. This is such a general element of the Siberian epics that it appears in formulas repeated almost word for word—again, of course, only on the territory of the older tradition described above. There the fight between the heroes always takes place consistently as in the following example (RADLOFF II No. 14 from line 2180): "They leap off their horses, throw off their armour, and wrestle. They seized each other by the waist, bending this way and that as they struggled, neighing like wild colts. They bent forward and backward as they struggled, bellowing like young bulls. Where their hands gripped, they tore each other's flesh out. They struggled for seven days and never fell to the ground. They struggled for nine days and never dropped into the dust. They kicked each other. The side of the iron mountain that leaned against the sky fell down and made a flat plain. The winged bird under the tent of the heavens could no longer stay in its nest, the clawed beast on the black earth could not stay in its cave." Years pass, the heroes grow thin, and finally the adversary begins to weaken: "Now he was rarely on his feet, and often supported himself on his hands . . .

(finally the hero) seizes him, lifts him up so that he cannot hold on to the tabilgi bush, nor lean against the lentil tree, he lifts him right up to the sky and then dashes him to the ground"; usually he stamps his backbone apart in six places. There is also a wrestling scene (SCHIEFNER No. 1 line 410), in which, while the three-year-old child, called in to help by the celestial Kudais, struggles against the frightful "Swan Woman", the whole universe is shaken; the celestial Kudais hold up the fight for three days while they strengthen the heaven and the earth, which cannot support the fearful shaking.

It is obvious that the struggle between Saint Ladislav and the Kuman warrior is a variant of this general formula (which is also to be seen on a Scythian relief*, and which was correctly viewed by Gyula LÁSZLÓ even without texts, but merely on the basis of the similar Siberian and Magyar representations.

Not long after this chapter was printed (in Hungarian Ethn 1960/4, in German Acta Ethn. 1961) GRYAZNOV's article appeared (in the spring of 1962, but dated 1961) on the connections between Siberian archaeological finds and the Siberian epic. Independently of my work (and apparently knowing nothing of the work of Gyula LÁSZLÓ and FETICH) he shows that these reliefs represent texts alive today, and on the basis of the archaeological dating of the finds puts the development of the epic at the 4th-5th centuries A.D. However, he did not find the most important text-details for the scene under the tree and the wrestling matches, and therefore gives an explanation which deviates in several points.

Now let us see how Anna Mónár is connected with the above. First of all let us point out that the nine-branched iron larch, as the Tree of the Universe, has lived on in the beliefs of the Hungarian people practically till the present day. Sándor Szűcs recorded, from the lips of an 89-year-old shepherd in 1921 the following (1945, 23): the old shepherd had heard from a crane-keeper that "There is somewhere in the world a marvellous great tree, with *nine* forking branches, each big enough to be a forest. When these begin to stir and wave, the wind begins to blow. It is such a wondrous great tree that not only the moon can pass between its branches, but the sun, too. But this tree can only be found by someone who once upon a time was born with teeth . . ."

It is therefore no wonder that in the 14th century the epic traditions associated with it were still alive.

The "burkus" tree of the ballad "Anna Mónár" becomes completely comprehensible on the basis of the Siberian texts. If the Magyars had a miraculous tree closely connected with death—on which the monsters nailed their victims; on to which the dead bodies of the heroes of myths were put; which usually appeared at decisive moments in the stories as the scene of the great danger, the great battles but also of the great escapes—, then, it is clear why, at the critical point in the story of the girl-murderer,

* See E. H. MINNS, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913 Fig. 62. (Further examples: M. J. ROSTOVITZ, *Le centre de l'Asie, la Russie, la Chine et le style animal*. I. Prague 1929 Table XI. and SMIRNOV, *Vostochnoe Serebro*, St. Petersburg 1909 Table 92.) Cf. LÁSZLÓ, 416-428 and Tables XL-XLII.

this tree should appear at the fish-pond site, and why the bodies of previously killed women are hanging from it. Indeed, even the *burkus tree* name can be explained, which collectors define as a shady, branchy, spreading tree (obviously on the basis of what the country folk who told them the stories said about it). And of the nine-branched iron larch, too, we sometimes read that it was, in RADLOFF's translation "schön verzweigt", well branched, spreading.

In connection with the head-searching there are two things to be noted: one is that in poetic texts apart from our ballad (and apart from the German-Danish variants associated with it) this motif is found nowhere but in the Siberian epic. (THOMPSON's motif-index lists its occurrences in prose epic forms under No. D 1962. 2. further G 466 K331. 2. 1.1. G 253). In addition to the above, the Voguls (VNGY II/I, 73) have their song of the Larvosh prince-heroes: "The Sun-hot-moon-hot-holy Sword flew down in the form of a grebe. When it reached the ground, there was his sister-in-law looking for lice in his brother's head. Sun-hot-moon-hot-holy Sword thinks: Well, what's to be done here? We armoured men, if our holy breasts come close (to wrestle), which man's scaly wooden scales (i.e. hide) will be split off? Since we're of equal strength, it will be no use wrestling together . . ." And according to information supplied personally by BAUD-BOVY, head-searching figures in the Greek Dyghenis songs and the song of Saint George, in connection with the fleeing hero who abducts the woman. Had this Siberian motif perhaps reached Asia Minor by way of the Osman Turks, the enemy at that time? In any case, it can also be found in Persian miniatures.

The second thing to be noted is that the head-searching occurs mostly in connection with the magic tree, or in some scene in which, on the evidence of other variants, the magic tree is usually present: always before the decisive battle, or after the flight. In the epic material, moreover, there is a singularly frequent occurrence of this vermin. When the hero is adventuring through heaven and earth, the passing of much time is suggested by having his horse growing long hair, and his lice growing to the size of larks. Indeed, in one place a text says, in order to suggest the distinguished descent of the hero, that "his blood was black, *his lice blue*." And here one cannot help recalling a passage in the legend of Saint Margaret of Árpáds, which may be a poetic reinterpretation of some such motif: "The saintly Lady Margaret's vermin and lice were all seen to turn to white pearls."

Of course, we must not expect to find entire correspondence in every motif, that is to say that the various graphic representations, the various Siberian stories, and the Anna Mónár scene should all contain every single motif in exactly similar groupings. As we see, we are dealing, not with *one well-defined* scene, but with a *scene-type*, which occurs in differing variations. Nevertheless, there is a certain essential common element in every one of them, and that is the decisive thing. But it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that we shall one day find exact textual correspondences for the scene under the tree in the Saint Ladislav legend, the Siberian gold relief and the ballad of Anna Mónár. For it should be borne in mind that we have selected the examples above from only a fairly meagre amount

of material. All that we had at our disposal was SCHIEFNER's 15 songs (from the Minusinsk basin) recorded only in German translation, together with RADLOFF's second, Abakan volume (21 songs in the original and in translation), and finally DYRENKOVA's 14 Shor Tartar songs (in the original and in Russian translation). RADLOFF's further volumes offer at most quite obscured, fragmentary examples. And POTANIN—and VERBITSKI even more so—publishes only extracts of a few lines, and those in translation. In addition, an extremely large quantity of important elements must have been left out of the latter, for we know, both from DYRENKOVA's descriptions and from the evidence offered by the Yugoslav heroic epic, that the singers are capable of delivering their texts both in full detail and in quite a summary form. It sometimes happens that the singer will—especially if he is dictating to a collector—reduce to a few hundred lines a song which, given the right atmosphere, he will freely formulate in perhaps twelve thousand lines. It is not impossible that the head-searching scene was contained in that heroic epic which is closest to the story of Saint Ladislav and the Kuman warrior, and which is summarized in a few lines (POTANIN No. 173): The hero is fighting with his enemies, underworld monsters, when a girl flies over his head in the form of a cuckoo, and shouts to him: "A warrior is pursuing me, save me, or you will never see me again!" At this the hero kills the two underworld monsters, jumps on his horse, and sets off after the pursuer. When he catches up with him, he struggles with him. He lifts him up high above the forest, then dashes him to the ground. Then he picks up the girl, puts her on his saddle, and rides home.

The chapter of the Saint Ladislav legend which describes the battle at Kerlés runs as follows (in identical form in the official legend and the Illustrated Chronicle, apart from insignificant differences): "... Ladislaus quatuor ex fortissimis paganorum primo impetu interfecit... Vidit denique Beatissimus Ladislaus Dux" (for at that time he was not yet king) "unum paganorum, qui super dorsum equi sui ducebat unam puellam Hungaram speciosam. Sanctus ergo Dux Ladislaus putans illam esse filiam Episcopi Waradiensis... illum celerrime persecutus est super equo illo quem Zug nominabat. Cum autem attingere, ut eum lancearet, minime poterat quia nec equus eius celerius currebat, nec equus illius aliquantulum remanebat... clamavit itaque Sanctus Dux Ladislaus ad puellam et dixit: soror speciosa, accipe Cuneum in cingulo et jacta te in terram; quod et fecit... Sanctus autem Dux, diu cum eo luctando et absciso nervo, illum interfecit; sed illa filia Episcopi non fuit. Rex igitur et gloriosi Duces, fere omnibus Christianis a captivitate liberatis, una cum felici embola totius Hungariae cum triumpho victoriae gaudentes redierunt..." (SZENTPÉTERY, Tom. I, p. 368-9.)

The meagreness of the available comparative material is intensified by the fact that among some of the more developed Turkic peoples the old mythical tales have been altered to make them realistic, and the motifs under discussion have been partly or entirely lost. The evolution of the mythical wrestling well illustrates this process. In addition to the numerous variants which agree practically word for word with the quoted version there are some in which the two contestants ask each other which method

they choose for the contest: bow and arrow, sword or wrestling. (In Hungarian folk tales, too, it is often like this.) In certain cases they begin with bow and arrow, then continue by wrestling. A further stage in the development is when the wrestling no longer takes on mythical dimensions, indeed, they break off after one of the heroes has remarked that "it will not be to their credit" (RADLOFF V., 62). It is significant that in this case they continue the struggle with muskets. The final point in the development is to be seen in the Karakirgiz Manas epic (RADLOFF V., Bokh Murum, line 1205). Here a great competition is arranged (such competitions in the ancient material are of mythical dimensions, taking place throughout the whole under and upper world), but now in terms already of human character: they wrestle, indeed, and the trousers of one of the wrestlers fall down at the back, and he becomes an object of public derision. Obviously, at this stage in the development we cannot find the counterparts of our ballad and the ancient representations.

At the same time this also indicates that the scene in Anna Mónár and the legend of Saint Ladislav reflects an ancient stage in the development of the heroic poem. Such heroic songs—on the model of the Abakan material—must have been living among the Magyars in the 14th century.

The insertion of a detail from a heroic poem into a ballad is not a remarkable thing, indeed we might say it is the rule. Since MENÉNDEZ PIDAL's work has been published, we have been aware that on the one hand the ballad follows the heroic song in order of time, and on the other hand that in many cases a ballad or part of a ballad has been born from motifs in it or from a condensed form of its story. For in Spain, later-dated, chronicle variants of heroic poems show word-for-word agreements with ballads. It was he also, and others who followed in his footsteps, who showed similar connections between the German Kudrun (D. Vlr. 4 J. MEIER), Wolfdietrich (SEEMANN 1955), French romances (CHILD No. 17 I, 188-93) and the ballads of today. It is a general observation that in such parallels the lengthy, detailed lay changes to a short, pithy ballad, most frequently through a narrowing down to the single most stirring incident in the lay. The scene under the tree "Anna Mónár" is therefore only one example of this general phenomenon.

It is not, however, the only example. Study of the Siberian material has shown that several ballads and parts of ballads are descendants of the heroic poem. Let us see, to begin with, the most unquestionable cases, in which we can establish exact, almost word-for-word equivalents of formulas or elements. (That is to say, as far as word-for-word agreement can be conceived in triple translation: from Turkish to German or Russian, thence to Hungarian, and finally into English.)

MAY MY BLOOD FLOW IN ONE STREAM WITH YOURS ...

In practically every variant of the Disgraced Girl, and occasionally in other Hungarian ballads, there occurs the following closing formula: "May my blood flow in one stream with yours, my body rest in one grave

with yours, my soul worship one God with yours." In a recently discovered variant from the Mezőség, after "my blood with yours" follows "my bones with yours". This formula is in our ballads put into the mouth of the bridegroom who kills himself over the body of his dead bride, and is unique in Europe. The French-German formula used in a similar situation is different: "Puisqu'elle est morte pour moi, je veux mourir pour elle", "Hast du gelitten den bitteren Tod, so will ich leiden Schmerzen", which is also used sometimes by the Hungarians before the formula above.

BERZE NAGY established long ago (BN 1940 I, 219) that passages corresponding to our formula figure in Abakan heroic songs as a form of ceremony for marking the formation of a friendship, e.g. (RADLOFF II No. 2 lines 757-9): "When we die may our souls be together, if our blood flows, may it flow together", they said, and so saying they became friends." Ibid. No. 5 lines 1194-6: "Like two ears is how we wish to be friends, when we die, may our bones be together, if our blood flows, may it flow together!". Ibid. No. 6 line 434: "When we die, may our bones be together, if our blood flows, may it be together, let us all three be friends." Ibid. No. 19, lines 1416-9: "Come to me, if things go ill with me, and if things go ill with you, I will come to you. May our bones make one heap, our outpoured blood one stream." To these we can add the following (ibid. No. 14, around line 2800): "We wish to be friends always, like the two horns of a cow, we wish to see our dead bodies, we will follow our destroyed souls." Ibid. 21 lines 739-40: "When we die, may our bones make one hill, if our blood flows, may it make one river." DYRENKOVA, 15 para 3 line 3: "When the immortal, indestructible Kartyga Pergen dies, may my blood and his be together, if he walks alive, may our souls be together."

The correspondence appears in places to be quite literal; no doubt they would be even closer if the Turkish text were compared with the Hungarian.

Moreover similar formulas appear among our neighbours, too, corresponding to the Hungarian formulation. Slovak: "Neh tam léži telo s telom, A dve duši s Pánom Bógom" (HORÁK Sreznevského . . . , 5 No. VII, The Cruel Mother-in-law); "Nak tu léží duša s dušou . . ." (MEDVECKÝ, Detva 253, The Cruel Mother-in-law, and similarly in BARTÓK 1959 No. 324;) Moravian: "Leží tady tělo s tělem, dve dušičky s Pánem Bohem" (SUŠIL 89/181); "Zostavaj tu tělo s tělem a dušičky s Panem Bohem" (The Cruel Mother-in-law, ibid. 92/193); "A tu leží tělo s tělem a tři duše s Pánem Bohem" (ibid. var.); Ukrainian: "A tak edno telo leglo s drugim telom, Dushi spochivayut s milym panom Bogom" (GOLOVATSKI II, 710 No. 13, variant of the Speaking Corpse).

WHEN HE FIRST WENT FORTH, HE CUT A FOOTPATH

While attention has been drawn to some variants of this formula, without any scientific consideration being given to them, the following parallel has hitherto remained unknown. Our ballads known as "Szilágyi and Hajmási", and "Izsák Kerekes" use the following formula to suggest

battle: "When he went one way he cut a footpath, when he came back he beat out a cart-track, of the large camp he left but one alive." In RADLOFF's Abakan volume (II, No. 9 lines 836-41) we find it as follows: "While they went that way they killed sixty men, while they came back they killed seventy men, they killed the whole bleeding army, only the three heroes remained alive." In POTANIN's sketchy summaries we find an even closer variant (No. 182 page 621): "Against this army the father and son went into battle alone. They went forward, cut down seventy men, *made a street*; they went back, cut down sixty. In six days they cut down the whole army." He has the same formula once more, but this time to suggest, not a battle, but a hunting scene (No. 183): "He went forward, killed seven (animals), He went back, killed six." It occurs even in VERBITSKI's very fragmentary accounts: "Altyn Tash attacks Er Kulatay with an army, the latter defends himself valiantly, he fights forward and sixty men's heads fly off, he fights back, fifty men's heads roll on the ground, he cut down the entire army." All this shows the widespread use of the formula. It is hardly necessary to say that nothing like it is found in European publications on ballads.

SUN AND MOON AT THE HERO'S HEAD

When we were discussing the ballad of Jesus Seeking Lodging we saw that in place of the illumination from Heaven the Hungarians inserted a singular picture: at Jesus' head the sun rises, at his feet the moon. The origin of this, too, was pointed out by J. BERZE NAGY in the notes to his ballads (BN I, 335-6), similarly without attracting the attention of scholars. He says that in Siberian and Caucasian tales there appears beside the head of outstanding heroes on the one side the sun, on the other the moon. RADLOFF I, 31 Taktäbäi Märgän: On one side of him the sun, on the other the moon, on his forehead the morning star; ibid. III, 355-64: *at his head the moon, at his feet the sun*, above his heart the star rises; DIRR *Kaukasische Märchen**, 17: on one foot the moon, on the other the sun, in his hand the star: CHALATIANZ *Armenian Fables** (in Hungarian), page 47: two suns, one at each side of him, on his breast a star. We might add that this feature is general in the Siberian heroic songs. Of a Shor-Tartar hero it is said when he marries the girl chosen for him (DYRENKOVA No. 14 page 171 para 5): "The old Altyn Khan inclined their heads to each other. Before them the moon began to sparkle, behind them the sun began to shine." POTANIN gives a song (No. 117) in which the hero marries a girl who has the sun at her neck, the moon at her nape. In another of his songs (No. 156) the hero finds the girl who is to be his wife in an iron tower, on her forehead the sun, at her back the moon. In RADLOFF's Karakirgiz songs (III, 32 line 35) we find the following lines: "At my right side the sun can be seen, at my left the moon, on my forehead the evening star, he said. The father said to his elder sons: kill the one you see distinguished by such signs, and bring me the body."

THE UNFAITHFUL WIFE BURNT TO DEATH

But we also find examples of agreement extending over the whole plot of a ballad. The action in POTANIN's song about Tontzhi Mergän (No. 17) for instance is as follows: the hero's mother and sister ally themselves with an enemy warrior. So they send the hero to get the heart of a magic serpent with the excuse that his mother is ill and only that will cure her. They calculate that either he will perish in the difficult task, or, if he does succeed in bringing the serpent's heart, it will only strengthen his enemy. The hero succeeds, after difficult adventures, in obtaining the serpent's heart, the women secretly give it to his enemy, but the latter is still not strong enough to overcome him. Again they send the hero off, this time to get some foam from the sea. This, too, he obtains, but meanwhile his magic horse has told him of the women's intentions. He has a fight with his enemy, but neither is able to kill the other. The women hide their protégé in the family chest. One day the hero returns from a hunting expedition, hungry, and, wanting a meal, asks for his father's cup. (This asking for, or offering of a cup occurs in many poems as a commonplace.) "There it is in your father's chest" say the women. He opens the chest, out jumps his adversary and, supported by the women, kills the hero. His horse and dog fly up into the heavens, but return later, dig up his body, revive it, and then he is victorious over his rival. Then he turns to the faithless women: "Make your choice: either you fill in eighty ditches, or you milk eighty mares." They choose the milking, but the mares are wild ones, and they trample the guilty women to death.

One cannot help recognizing in this story our ballad of the Unfaithful Wife Burned. (See for example GRAGGER 1926 No. 17, ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 21).

It runs as follows (MNGY I, 149): "Husband, go to Kolozsvár, to my father's mansion, and bring back the large pieces of linen and the gift of flax." "Father, do not leave the house, for mother is in love with Barcsai." "Do you hear, wife, what the child says?" "Pay no attention, husband dear, the child is drunk!" So off he went at his wife's bidding to Kolozsvár. When he was half-way there, he remembered his youngest child's words. He turned at once and went back home . . ."

Another variant continues as follows (SzNd No. 34): "Open the door, my darling wife!" "I'll open up at once, my good, kind husband, just let me put on my gold-embroidered skirt, let me put on my red, iron-tipped high boots!" He could not wait so long, but kicked the door in. "What shall we eat, wife, what shall we drink?" "There's peppered pork in the big window." "I'll have no left-overs, I'll just have the walnuts and hazel nuts from the big chest." "Husband, dear, I've been busy in the kitchen, and I've lost the key to the big chest!" He could not wait so long: he kicked the side of the chest in, and out came Barcsai. He seized him by the hair, dragged him to the door, and cut his throat. "Wife, dear wife, which will you choose of three deaths? Will you be a butcher's block, will you be a woodcutter's block, or will you bear a candle to the entertainment of twelve guests at table?"—"I will bear a candle to the entertainment." "Boys,

bring the waxed cloth. We'll start at her feet, and wrap her in it up to her head; we'll light it at her head, and merrily burn her up! Let all take a lesson from this on how a harlot ends."

Variants: 1. MNGY XI, 265 Marosszék, Nyárad-riverine 2. SzNd No. 34 Kibéd, Marosszék 3. MNGY I, 149 Udvarhely C. 4. MF 3719 Jobbágytelke, Maros-Torda C. 5. MNGY I, 151 Székely area 6. MNGY VH, 21 Csitt-Szentiván 7. SzNd No. 85 Istensegíts (Tibeni), Bukovina.

Abridged, more concise, and without the magical parts, changed to a human tale, we have the same main motifs: on some excuse the husband is sent away from the house, he learns the truth from his son (in the previous case from his magic horse); the two errands are left out and so is the motif of the two unsuccessful fights, and all that is left is what is new and important to the development of the tale; the most striking agreement is the scene in which the hero asks for food and the rival appears from the chest; and finally, after the killing of the adversary the choice between the forms of dying: in both texts the woman thinks that what she chooses is the easiest to bear, and by her own choice ensures for herself the most painful death. (Gyula LÁSZLÓ points out that the execution of the rival is carried out in what is perhaps an ancient tradition: even Saint Ladislav drags the Kuman warrior along the ground by his hair before cutting off his head. See DERCSÉNYI, tables XXXVII-VIII from the Vatican Legendarium.) The cultural background, very different in the two cases, naturally makes its influence felt: trampling to death by mares changes to the variant with the mediaeval death at the stake. The whole alteration takes place with remarkable feeling for style: there is not the smallest trace of the heroic song in style of delivery, plot development or characters: our ballad might be a model for the genre.

This heroic poem is not the only one, for VERBITSKI also publishes a fragmentary variant (page 151) in which, though essential motifs are missing, the story can still be recognized as the same. This is nearer to our ballad of adultery in that the rival says he wants to have both women as wives.

However, our ballad is unknown among the European peoples: all that can be found is one or other of the motifs among other nations—the burning to death among our neighbours and in the Iberian peninsula, and the lost key excuse only in the latter area.

YUGOSLAV

1. VUK II No. 31 2. *ibid.* III No. 7 = Hungarian transl. CSUKA, 149 3. HNP II No. 26 4. HNP V, 389 No. 217 5-30. HNP V, 610 Dodatak on No. 217, 26 summaries 31. HNP V, 354 No. 205 32. *Ibid.* 595 Dodatak on No. 205, summary 33. GESEMAN, 166 No. 117 34. STOJANOVIĆ-VITEZIĆA, 418 35. Istarske p. I, 69 No. XXV 36. ŽGANEC 1950, 460, note on No. 375. Doubtful: 37. HNP V, 191 No. 116 38. KURELAC, 155 No. 456.

BULGARIAN

1., 2. STOIN 1939 Trakiya Nos. 1057-8 3-5. STOIN 1931 Sredna Nos. 2358-60 6-8. ARNAUDOV 1913 Elensko Nos. 113-5 9. MILADINOV No. 163 10-12. SHAPKAREV III Nos. 334, 395, 426 13. SbNU I, 294 No. 251 14., 15. SbNU 9, 11 No. 3 and 78 No. 1 16. SbNU 13, 103 No. 11 17-19. SbNU 14, 57 No. 21, 57

No. 60 and 75 No. 8 **20**. SbNU 16, 171 No. 1 **21.**, **22**. SbNU 38 BURMOV Nos. 50 and 138 **23.**, **24**. SbNU 43 VATEV No. 90 and No. 140 **25.**, **26**. SbNU IVANOV Nos. 49 and 52 **27.**, **28**. TSITSELKOVA Nos. 201—2 **29**. DOZON 1875 No. 35 = STOILOV Pokazalets 886 **30**. Izv. Etn. Muz. VI, 118—21 **31**. KACHANOVSKI, 443 182.

ROUMANIAN

1. Ethn 1897, 189 Lagerdorf, Temes C. 2. PAPAHAĞI 1925 Maramureş No. 382 (= Anna Molnár) 3. BRĂILOIU, 94 Muscel, Beleşti.

The Yugoslav and Bulgarian stories are largely identical, often even in name, but really agree with the Hungarian only in that the wife betrays her husband, and that the punishment at the end is similar to ours: she is daubed with pitch, sulphur or gunpowder and then burned to death. The accounts of the betrayal differ: either the hero is invited to visit the sultan, and warns his wife to have nothing to do with a certain man, but hardly has he put his foot outside the door before the wife is entertaining the man; or she betrays him to a Turkish or other enemy, but he escapes, sometimes with the help of his little son; in this category must be put the story corresponding to the Knight and Lady, which we have already dealt with, in which the burning to death also occurs (see VУЈИЋИЋ, 29); in Bulgarian there is also a plot in which the wife asks the knight, who has been an invalid for years, to let her marry someone else; but at the wedding he gets up and punishes her for her faithlessness. In all these stories the burning to death appears to be merely a supplementary element; every one has variants in which the punishment is different: her head is chopped off, she is thrown into prison, he kills her by various tortures, or simply cuts her down while pursuing her. And where he burns her to death there are also differences: either there is a choice between the ways of dying, or he dispenses with the questioning, covers her at once with pitch, and burns her to death. But nowhere do we find the other elements of the Barcsai plot, namely that the wife sends her husband out on excuse, and the child gives him the warning, the request for food, and the rival falling out of the chest—everything we have found parallel with the Siberian song. (And the excuse about the key, and the choice between forms of death, are contained in only one Transdanubian Croat text, **38.**, but the other elements are lacking, yet this is quite different from the Yugoslav heroic songs: a short ballad of a few lines without their details.)

Among the Roumanians we find the burning to death as a motif at the end of various ballads. Of these, **1.**, of doubtful authenticity, follows the Barcsai story completely, **2.** is the Anna Molnár story, and **3.** is a remodeling of a Yugoslav song to be found among the stories above, in which the rival is an Arab, but in the Roumanian the brothers burn to death their sister, who has married the Arab. Here, too, the choice between the forms of death is missing. It is even more obvious among the Roumanians that the most striking motif in our ballad has become absorbed as a supplementary element in various texts.

The Iberian motif in our ballad has been noted by Hungarian researchers (GRAGGER, ORTUTAY, DÁNOS), since GYULAI drew attention to it (MNGY I, 555) through a German translation (**12.**).

1. BRAGA II, 29 **2.** Ibid. 87 **3-11.** COSSIO-SOLANO I Nos. 120—29 **12.** GEIBEL—SCHACK, 350 **13.** AMADES, 428 No. 2322.

The story itself agrees with ours in no more than the outlines, though it is closer than the Balkan ones in that it is the ballad of a case of adultery. The husband is away hunting, or at the wars, and returns home unexpectedly. There is trouble as soon as the door has to be opened: he has to break it down (**1.**, **2.**; in the first the wife has lost the key to the outer door), or she has lost the key to the passage (**3-12.**)—like the key to the chest with us—but the husband nevertheless finds the hidden lover. But this story goes off into details of the “Deceived Husband”, a humorous ballad (CHILD 274): the questions as to whose is the horse in the stable, the clothing, the sword, etc., probably blended secondarily with the preceding details. This rouses the suspicion that this, too, is a transfer, like so many other Iberian ballads, in all probability from the French. In one Portuguese text, indeed, this later addition is missing (**2.**), and here, too, there is a reference to burning: “A woman who talks like that ought to be burned alive. Thirty wagonloads of straw, and the same of branches!”

It was probably a French ballad of this type which gave rise to the Barcsai formulation in Hungary, blending together elements from the earlier heroic poems with effective details found in the new ballad.

THE HEARTLESS MOTHER (e.g. GRAGGER 1926 No. 19, ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 5.)

The ballad of the “Heartless Mother who Abandoned her Children” (“Iona Budai”) has been found only in Transylvania and Moldavia.

1. MNGY XI, 426 Udvarhelyszék, Fehér-Nyikó area **2.** EA 2299, 360 Rugonfalva (Rugănești) Udvarhely C. **3.** Nyr 1875, 287 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia **4.** MCSB No. 5 Klézse **5.** MSZ 6359 Klézse **6.** DOMOKOS No. 26 Trunk (Galbeni) **7.** MF 2475b Trunk **8.** Gr 45/B/a Trunk **9.** MSZ 6692 Lécped (Lespezi) **10-11.** MSZ 6391—2 *ibid.* **12.** MSZ 6777 Gerlén. **13.** FARAGÓ 1965, 117 Lécped (Lespezi) Moldavia **14.** *ibid.*, 121 Somoska (Somuşcă) Moldavia.

No European parallels are known. What has been said about it up to now—based on GRAGGER 1926—corresponds to the ballad, as we saw in Chapter I, not of Iona Budai, but of Vilma Szabó.

In the Transylvanian variants (**1.**, **2.**), only a cow-buffalo gives the hard-hearted mother a lesson, in the Moldavian ones wolves, too, which receive the neglected children among themselves, and protect them from the huntsmen.

6. A poor lone woman was walking along a very long old road, carrying a little daughter weeping on her right and a little son weeping on her left. “O Lord, dear Lord, which shall I put down, which shall I pick up!” “Sit down, daughter, in this cornfield to pick cornflowers and twine them into a garland. There are warm rains to wash you, and warm winds to lull you.” So the woman went on until she met a cow, carrying on her right side a year-old calf, and a little calf between her horns. “O Lord, dear Lord, this is but an animal and yet is kind, yet I have put down my little weeping daughter.” It hurt her, so she went back. But three wild wolves had surrounded

the child. The oldest said: "Let us tear the child in three." The middle sized wild wolf said: "I don't mind if we do." But the smallest wild wolf said: "No, let's not eat the child, but take it back with us to our thicket, we'll bring her up on tender lamb and sucking pig." "Mother, dear wolf-mother, let me go to walk in the woods and rest in the fields." "Do not go daughter, there are many hunters about, and they will take off your head." "Father, dear wolf-father, let me go to walk in the woods and rest in the fields." Her real mother happened to walk that way. "Where are you going to, daughter dear?" "Hold your tongue, mother, if you had been my mother, you would not have left me."

In POTANIN (p. 279 No. 59) there is a record of the story of An-Bogdor, as told by a Buryat-Mongolian shaman, in which the following detail occurs. The daughter of the khan is expecting a baby. He fears the arrival of the child, thinking it will try to kill him. He therefore has his daughter thrown into prison, so that he can destroy the child as soon as it is born. The daughter bears twins, and manages to get them out of the prison in secret and have them put into the forest. There the twins are adopted by seven wolves, who tend them and bring them up. Their grandfather hears of this and sends soldiers out to the forest to bring back the children, but the wolves eat up all the soldiers' horses, and they have to return without accomplishing their task.

The beginning of this tale has been preserved in a fable recorded by MERÉNYI (pp 81-4), telling the circumstances of the birth of Peter and Paul Vízi. A king has a dream which his wise men interpret to him as meaning that his daughter will bear sons who will overthrow his power. So he has an enormous iron house built on top of the highest mountain, and shuts his daughter up in it so that she will get to know no man. The girl conceives by the spring which rises in the earth on which the iron house stands, and she bears twins. When they are seven years old they force the walls of the house apart and go out into the world to try their fortune. Then follows a series of adventures which are properly the subject of the "Two Brothers" type of folk tale. In this type the opening motif above—according to verbal information by Ágnes Kovács—is not found elsewhere; RANKE's monograph on this type (*Die zwei Brüder*, FFC 114 Helsinki 1934), while listing seven other opening motifs, does not mention this story. Moreover, the *iron house* which figures in it clearly points, on the basis of what has been said earlier about Siberian scenes, to the era of the mythical heroes. For this tale of MERÉNYI's, according to Ágnes Kovács, probably originated in Székely area, Transylvania, and is hence one of the parts of the heroic poem referred to above which has become a tale, where the other part of it has turned into a ballad.

The opening of the Transylvanian variant of our ballad is fuller: "Ilona Budai, leaning out of her window, heard that an enemy was looting in the neighbourhood. She thought at once of her jewel case, and with that under her arm she took her little girl by her right hand and her little son on her left. She walked and walked through thick pine-woods along a lonely dark road. Then she thought she heard the drumming of horses' hoofs, and forthwith she put down her little girl . . . etc. (1.).

This is, however, reminiscent of the opening of another of POTANIN's tales (page 371, No. 109 Karatty Khan). An elderly Khan and his wife live childless on the taiga, and while he is on a hunting trip, a declaration of war awaits him in a golden letter from another warrior. The old Khan does not dare to resist: the son born to him in the meantime he hides in the forest, then he is driven away with all his staff and flocks. Only an old shepherd and his wife are left behind, and they bring up the child. But wolves come to them and demand that they hand over either the child or their only cow. The old people want to give the cow, but the boy, overhearing what is being discussed, asks to be allowed to go among the wolves. He goes off, and kills them all. In VERBITSKI (p. 140) we find the same story, but starting only with the old woman living on the taiga with the child she has brought up, and the wolves come for him.

In the preceding story the wolves really take the children into their care and look after them, defending them, in fact, against the wicked grandfather (if not against their wicked mother). In the second, they already figure as an enemy, but there is still the common feature of the deserted boy going among the wolves; here, on the other hand, a feature of greater similarity is that the parents, fleeing from war or an enemy, put their child into the woods, similarly to the heroine of the ballad, Ilona Budai. Moreover, the wolf motif is such a singular and striking thing that we cannot regard it as an accidental similarity. (The two well-known fables of children brought up among wolves, the story of Romulus and Remus and the *Wolfdietrich* epic, cannot be genetically connected with our ballad.)

If, then, we accept the idea that the Magyars may have been familiar with such epic material as the two kinds of POTANIN text—which to my mind the peculiar opening motif in the fable of Péter and Pál Vízi puts beyond doubt—then we may picture the way by which our ballad came into being as follows: from the parents fleeing before the enemy and leaving their child in the forest, a heartless mother evolved, who is given a lesson, since the ballad prefers tales built on moral problems. The altered form preserved the motif of the wolves which took care of the children. But for the mother to rue her action and return to her children, an animal example was required, that of the cow buffalo, and this was later thought adequate for the woman's tragedy, so the wolf motif was omitted—as in the most poetic 1. Indeed, in 2. the action is further eroded, and the mother finds only the remains of her children, as in the related ballad from the Szeged area, "Fair Kata Bán".

IZSÁK KEREKES

This ballad (see for example ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 3) was extant until most recent times in only one variant, and neither close nor distant variant, nor even a faint echo of it, is found among European ballads. It runs as follows:

- Have you heard the fame of famous Szeben,
Of famous Szeben and famous Moha,
Of Peter Kerekes, living at Moha
And of Isaac Kerekes, his grown-up son?
5 He once went drunk into the stable
And lay down there in the horses' manger.
Then his father went out
To the porch, and from there scanned the region,
Lo, a big black host is approaching.
10 It seems in the far distance like a dark cloud,
They know not what it may be, Prince's or Emperor's troops,
Although they think they're Serbians from Szeben.
Then Isaac's father went down
To the horses' manger, and spake up:
15 Get up, my son, get up, bold Isaac Kerekes,
For it seems a big black host is coming,
It looks from a distance like a dark cloud.
We know not what they are, Prince's or Emperor's troops,
Although we think they're Serbians from Szeben.
20 Then he turned over in his sleep,
Yet did not rise from the horses' manger.
The second time his mother went out...

Again the young man does not get up, and finally his beautiful betrothed goes to waken her "dear lord".

And then up jumped bold Isaac Kerekes,
Very swiftly they brought out the horses,
He girdled his sword at once to his side,
And neatly mounted his good bay,
And looked back, and spake up:
I'll spill my blood for my father and mother,
I'll get killed for my beautiful betrothed bride,
I'll die for my Magyar nation before the day is out!

Then he gallops off to meet the Serbians, and the account of his battle follows the formula we have already met with:

On his way forward he cut a footpath,
And as he came back he cut a cart-track,
But then his horse's foot stumbled...
So Isaac Kerekes was killed by the enemy.

We publish the following hitherto unknown variant of the song from the collection made by László K. Kovács: Have you heard the tale of Kis Cserepes and St. Margita, of the shepherd at St. Margita, Paul Veres and his son Joseph?—who drank at the Skull inn till dawn for seven nights, danced for seven days, ate seven lambs, and hid himself away (i.e. was in trance) for a whole week to sleep it off, and when he woke up from his trance he had strength of seven, of seventy-seven, and his heart was brave enough for seven; but Joseph slept as though he were dead. His father tried to wake him up: "Get up, my son, there's a wind blowing from the Inta, a big black cloud, a flood of lean-flanked wolves circling our herds, some enemy, Tartars or their like." Joseph woke up at these words, but went to sleep again, more heavily, better hidden (in a deeper trance), eyes tighter than before and his father could not wake him whatever he said. Then his

mother, his own dear mother, went to try to wake him, to tell him of the coming evil with these words: Get up, Joseph my son, but he only half woke up, then fell back asleep. Then his betrothed tried: There's a wind blowing from the Inta, a big black cloud of lean-flanked *wolves* circling our herds, some enemy, Tartars or their like. At the words of his bride, at the tale of disaster, Joseph jumped on his horse at once, and raising his sword and praying aloud he charged the huge heathen army: O God in Heaven, look down on my end, I die for my country, my beloved, my Hungarian people, my father and mother, my good name, and Christ! With these words he cut a path going in, and opened a cart-track coming out, but then his horse fell under him, a javelin pierced his heart, and a Tartar arrow went into his head. He died as he had said, for his country, his father and mother, the Hungarian people, his bride and our Christ. He is buried here in Red Hill.

(Performed by 93-year-old János Kiss,
Nagyiván, Hajdú C. 1951)

In the first quoted version the awkward and fragment-like mention of the drunkenness mentioned at the beginning ("This once he went drunk to the stable") suggests that this opening is not the original, but a newer invention. If it were the original, there would be some motivation, some more detail in it to give meaning and significance to the motif. In this form it is disjointed, the formulation seems accidental and clumsy, and rather gives the impression of a remnant of some clouded old motif, preserved in a single line by the tradition. (The recently found variant is more intelligible: it refers to a dream and to eating and drinking of magical significance.)

This motif is found in one of the most lengthy Siberian epic poems, Yoloi Khan (RADLOFF vol. V No. II), where the epic hero of the Karakirgizes is outstanding in his capacity for eating and drinking: with this they indicate his superhuman power. But as a result of this he gets drunk at every banquet, and in the lay about him all the great dangers spring from this. The first main scene, indeed, begins like this: Yoloi Khan lies drunk in his tent while the enemy attacks and kills his people. His wife tries in vain for three days to wake him. Finally, on the fourth day, she plunges his sword into his heart. At this, as though at an insect's bite, he starts up, jumps on to his horse, and crushes the enemy. Then after many adventures he falls into the enemy's power, and he is kept, half dead, in a pit. The poem contains extremely long adventures, among others his escape from the pit: a wild goose with an injured wing falls down to him; he heals it, writes a letter on its wing in blood from his finger, and releases it; the message is received and he gets free. (This same scene is also found in the Uzbek Alpamysh epic, see *Alpamysh*, 111 and ZHIRMUNSKY 1947, 63.) Other parts of it tell of the adventures of the Khan and his son, that is, the story of two generations.

This type of poem must have been known over a wide area, for its characteristic motifs also appear in Vogul heroic poems. One of them is "The Song of the Hero" VNGY IV, 155, from line 191: "When he reached home he lay down. He says to his wife: "You are not strong enough to wake me if you hear some little sound, so stick a knife in my hip." He sleeps for

a time, long or short, and suddenly an enemy force approaches. His wife is unable to wake him, and weeps. Suddenly he feels he is lying in water. Waking up, he finds that his wife is weeping and that he is lying in her tears. "What are you doing?" "An enemy force is approaching." He gets up and turns against the approaching army, scattering them as one scatters a thick cloud of mosquitoes. Then he says: I'm going to die, and after ten winters, ten summers, I shall rise again. He dies and is buried . . .

This poem incidentally also contains the whole of the Yoloi Khan fable material (page 152 from line 130): He walks for a long or short time, and runs into a thick cloud of mosquitoes, of stinging insects (= enemy). The man fights for a long time or a short time, and suddenly what he has not noticed, a seven fathom deep pit, traps him and they've thrown him into a pit seven fathoms deep. He sits there for a long time or a short, and some young lady is chopping firewood near the mouth of the pit. A chip of wood falls, he picks it up and makes a tambura out of it. From his hundred-haired head he pulls three hairs and uses them as tambura strings and tunes it up. He plays it like an animal walking, like a bird flying. A flock of geese pass that way, he plays the goose song (string). They wheeled round three times and came down. He wrote a piece of writing and handed it to a half-blind goose: "You are to put this piece of writing in front of my horse". This one-eyed goose flies off with it, and puts it in front of his horse. The horse just stares and stares at it, and then neighs and begins kicking. The sevenfold iron-bound house fell to pieces. Later his son was born, and he, too, is given food and drink. Once he just got drunk. He was thrown into a seven-fathom clay-pit. His horse was shut away in a triple iron house. He himself lay for a long time, a short time, then woke up . . . and (on page 165) in the same way made a tambura out of a shaving, wrote a message on a goose-feather, and so on, as his father had done.

But the characteristic motif of the long waking occurs elsewhere, too, (see e.g. VNGY II/1, 300, the tale of the Kaltesh woman): She sat for a long time or a short time, while the woman sat sewing she took a knife from her side, and as her husband slept she stuck the knife in his armpit. He woke up, and said: "After the visitors (= enemy) arrived, could you not have wakened me earlier? . . ." The same is on page 306 (Chapter 17) and at the bottom of page 308 (Chapter 19); also II/1, 38-40: the god of the Teek village. The sleeping hero is twice revived by his wife; idem. 245-6: the song of the Pelim district's god, with a single waking, ibid. 227: the heroic epic of the princes of the Kondai lowlands district: The young princely hero's wife came out, went back, and said: "It looks as though some army is coming towards us, some sort of visitors are coming towards us, they advance like one end of a lopped forest." The young princely hero dressed, put on his armour and sword, and went out, and lo! the armies were beginning to arrive. — And finally, in "The song of the Obdorsk Samoyed" (IV, 141-2): the wife wakes her husband twice, because his younger brother is coming with an army. (And the similar waking scene occurs in the Dighenis songs, too, as I was informed by BAUD-BOVY.)

These details probably got into the Vogul folk poetry from the epic material of the Turkic peoples, because one or two of the stories differ a

little, even in style, from the typical Vogul heroic songs. Other motifs from the Altai type of songs also appear in them, e. g. in "The Lay of the Princes of the Kondai Underworld", p 230: "Through this opening from the lower part of the black earth there rose above the face of the earth, and thus came to their relative, seven men living in the other world . . ." II, 1 in the "Lay of the Upbringing of the Guardian of the World", 112-3: the child hero receives his armour. See also the head-searching before the wrestling, quoted above. It is not impossible that these agreements will throw light on ethnic contacts. The Magyars may have acquired this epic tradition from Turkic peoples, perhaps in several waves, during the pre-Conquest period.

The special triple waking (in Hungarian without the stabbing), is found accompanied by drunkenness only in the Karakirgiz poem and in the Vogul text of "The Hero's Song", and these are closest to the Hungarian ballad. Furthermore, the triple waking of the drunken hero by the wife when the approaching enemy is seen, and the fight afterwards, and perhaps also the hero's words in which he foretells his own death, are a peculiar combination which bear a striking resemblance to the story of Yoloi Khan and the Vogul details. True, it is a thin story, but no thinner than what is usually preserved of the lengthy epic poems in similar cases. It is, for example, no thinner, and no more sketchy than is found in a poem from Gottschée, and which John MEIER regards, on the basis of MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1936, as a remnant of the Kudrun epic (D. Vlr. 4).

The mention of the Szeben Serbs, which has been used to fix the "date of origin" of our ballad (at the period of the Rákóczi rising, 1703-11), naturally has no greater significance than that they were the most recent enemy with whom the old story was associated. That is, it was a record, not of the origin or genesis, but of the most recent association with current events.

This association with current events took place fairly late, much later than our great classical ballads developed. It seems that the story of Izsák Kerekes lived on the lips of singers as a heroic song, and only later did it become a popular ballad. Evidence for this is a host of peculiarities in its formulation which obviously do not belong to the ballad style, and at one time roused the suspicion among our scholars that our ballad had been re-written. However, it appears that the parts which have a professional poetic character are more likely to be the remnants of the style peculiar to the order of singers who kept it alive. Such is, for instance, the enjambment used in several places in it, which is unknown in folk poetry, e.g. between lines 7-8 and 13-14 given above, and again:

The beautiful bride went out a third time
To the veranda, and looked into the distance . . .
But the Serbs with sword and javelin
Slash him and kill him . . .

But further evidence of this is found in the use of the formulas belonging to the epic style, like the opening question: "Have you heard the tale of . . .", or the later phrases, familiar from the historical poems: "I'll spill

my blood . . . I'll die today for my Magyar people!" But the most striking sign is the detailing style of delivery, which is completely foreign to the ballad style, for example in lines 46-55: "After these words he gives his horse the spur, And very bravely gallops it towards the enemy: So the Serbs come, he is still before them, With his sword raised he gallops very terribly . . ." etc. If, then, the style of our ballad is not the result of later interference, it shows that a Hungarian heroic epic similar to Yoloi Khan, or some detail from it, may have lived on in the minstrels' songs, and thus have reached the lower classes in Hungary, among whom it has been preserved, in more or less ballad form, to this day. And though there is little material in it for which parallels can be found in the heroic poems, collation confirms the complete isolation of this ballad in Europe.

From the parallels shown several conclusions can be drawn concerning our ballads and our ancient poetry: (1) Some of our ballads have clearly evolved directly from Magyar antecedents, out of Magyar epic traditions. (2) The heroic poems, details of which entered into our ballads, must have existed among us before the Conquest in a form like those of today in Siberia. And though the Siberian relief proves the existence of a kind of heroic poem in 300 B.C., and the Scythian wrestling scene much earlier, it is none the less important to prove the existence of the details above before the Conquest of 896 A.D. (3) It is very important for us that, according to the comparative evidence, the Magyars brought with them heroic epics of a character such as appears in the parallels above, and indeed sang them until the period when ballads developed. And these represent an ancient, mythical layer in the heroic poem, which exists in its purest form in the Abakan region, which is where we find the greatest number of agreements in detail with the Hungarian ballads.

This last piece of evidence is supported by many other folklore elements preserved in other branches of Hungarian tradition, especially in the tale, of which we have seen one or two examples above. The elaboration and demonstration of these cannot be my present task. (See VARGYAS 1961.)

The last lesson to be drawn, however, concerns our peasants. They have been accused on innumerable occasions of having no memory of history, of preserving nothing from past traditions, no heroic poems, no epic. At the same time they have been called backward, accused of not keeping pace with changing times, of being left behind by progress. And though these two cancel each other out—conservatism and lack of conservatism—it is interesting that both charges are refuted by the results shown above. Our peasants have indeed preserved, practically to the present day, numerous elements of their former poetry, and if these necessarily look different from what was once considered the "historical memory", they nevertheless represent a great power of conservation, and have great importance in the history of culture. At the same time they show why there is not more of these traditions: for our peasants, precisely because they kept up with developments, at least at the end of the Middle Ages, completely accepted the then fashionable form of popular art, the ballad, to such an extent that everything else was pushed out of their culture. But some of their old poetic creations were preserved, and what was suitable for inserting, in a new

form, into the new type of creation, was maintained in their traditions. And *the way* it was maintained, *the manner* of the transformation is a tribute to their sense of style, their artistic taste, and their aptness in formulation: nothing was left of the older form of art which might have spoiled the new, but everything was matched to the new way of looking at things in the new genre, and to the atmosphere of its poetic style. This is why it escaped the notice of scholars and why nobody saw in it the poetry of the Conquest period, thought lost by so many or sought in vain.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN OF THE "WALLED-UP WIFE"

The ballad of the Walled-up Wife has occupied the attention of comparative folklorists for nearly a century. Ever since GROZESCU threw the accusation into the public consciousness that the Hungarian ballad was a fake, translated from the Roumanian, our folklorists have been busily gathering material on the international distribution and connections of the theme. And researchers in other countries were excited by the theme itself: the poetic treatment of the "builders' sacrifice". From 1864 until today many opinions have been expressed on the matter; the most general view has been that the origin of the ballad is to be sought among the Greeks. And it is now 44 years since SOLYMOSSY stated that we acquired the Hungarian ballad from the Yugoslavs. Subsequently the view was accepted by every Hungarian researcher, including myself.

But as information accumulated to show that the great bulk of our ballads were of mediaeval origin, reaching us, or being developed on Hungarian soil, by the end of the 14th century at the latest, and a good proportion of them spread over the Balkans, too, so doubts rose on the validity of this statement of SOLYMOSSY's. For in his deductions a substantial part was played by a reference to be found in an inscription on a bridge not far from the Arta bridge figuring in Greek and southern Balkan variants, namely that it was built by the masters Demetrios and *Manoles* in 1659; and from this, he says, originated the name *Manole* in the Balkan variants. But the origin of the ballad cannot by any means be put at so late a date: in every detail of its style and tone, in every peculiarity of its construction, it agrees with our mediaeval ballads. But when it became clear that a verse formulation of the "builders' sacrifice" story existed in the distant Caucasus, and showed several similarities of detail with our ballads and when in addition to the Mordvin records already known, new ones were also found, it seemed necessary to reconsider the whole conception, the more so since the earlier hypotheses had been based on very slight comparative material. SOLYMOSSY for example based his study on a total of 16 Balkan variants—mostly with only summaries of the texts to go on—and 13 Hungarian texts. They included 2 Gipsy and 2 Aromun variants, too. So we have each of the five large language areas—Roumanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek and Albanian—represented by two or three variants. But even those who were thoroughly familiar with one or other of the language areas (ARNAUDOV with 57 Bulgarian, BAUD-BOVY with the greater part of the Greek variants) judged those of the others on the basis of one or two scattered items, and about some, such as the Hungarian, they knew little or nothing. It thus

became imperative undertake a comparative examination of the whole of the enormous material, at least within the limits what was possible, and so to draw conclusions. The material we were able to review was the following.

HUNGARIAN (see for example GRAGGER 1926 No. 10, ORTUTAY 1936-48 No. 1).

1. MSZ 6746 Zsére, Nyitra C., collected by Tibor Ág = Népr. Közl. 1961/1, 90. On the basis of the Zagiba variant he took from the same singer, at my request, the full text and melody, as well as material on it from several of the surrounding villages. 1a. ZAGIBA, 70 *ibid.* The variant cannot be explained as a later effect of popularizing published versions. It represents a genuine folk tradition. 2. RAJECZKY MS Bodony, Heves C. A woman in Bodony heard from an old woman of Parád a song about a walling-up connected with "Dévaványa". The information cannot be checked. 3. KÁLMÁNY Szeged II, 167 Törökbecse, Torontál C. According to his note, KÁLMÁNY wrote down a few lines of the ballad, but unfortunately does not give them. 4. MSZ 6106 Válaszút, Kolozs C. 5. Ethn 1943, 251 Vajdakamarás (Vaida Cămarăș), Kolozs C. 6. Nyr 15, 287 Nyomát, Maros-szék 7. MNGY I, 174 Nyárad region. 8. MF 435a, Siklód, Udvarhely C. 9. Erd. nép. IV/2, 31 Enlaka, Udvarhely C. 10. EA 2276, 8 Etéd, Udvarhely C. 11. KRIZA No. 584 Fehér-Nyikó region, Udvarhely C. 12. EA 2276, 10 Alsórákos, Udvarhely C. 13. MNGY III, 72 Kisbacon (Bațanii), Udvarhely C. 14. Cs-VARGYAS No. 5 = Gr 113A Szentegyházásfalú (Vlahița), Udvarhely C. 15. SzNd No. 56 = MF 1266 Gyergyóalfalu (Joseni), Csík C. 16. MF 1274a Szárhegy, Csík C. 17. Ethn 1908, 105 = SzNd 124 = MSZ 1225 Gyergyószárhegy, Csík C. 18. SzNd No. 62 Gyergyóremete, Csík C. 19. MF 1275a Gyergyóremete, Csík C. 20. Ethn 1911, 51 Borszék, Csík C. 21. MSZ 1486 Gyimes, Csík C. 22. Zenei Szemle 1926/2 Kászónjakabfalva, Csík C. 23. SzNd No. 122 Kászónaltiz, Csík C. 24. Muzsika 1929/3, 17 = Pásztortűz 1941/4, 211 = MF 1598d Ajnád, Csík C. 25. Pásztortűz 1941/4, 209 = MF 1611c Csíkverebes 26. KONSZA No. 121 Lisznyó, Háromszék C. 27. MF 89a Pürkerec, Brassó C. 28. Bp. Napló 1900/159, 18 = Székely Nemzet, 8 June 1900 = MF 91a Pürkerec, Brassó C. 29. Ethn 1902, 399 Pürkerec, Brassó C. 30. *Ibid.* 398 *ibid.* 31. MF 2489a + 2490a Trunk (Galbeni), Moldavia 32. MSZ 6258 Klézse (Cleja), Moldavia 33. MCSB No. 2 *ibid.* 34. Domokos No. 5 Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Moldavia 35. Domokos No. 6 Trunk, Moldavia 36. MSZ 6257 Lécped (Lespezi), Moldavia. Without place of origin: 37. ERDÉLYI J. III, 151 38. BARTALUS IV, 3 (probably from the area of Udvarhely - Maros-szék and surroundings) 39. MITRULY 1962, 76 Klézse, Moldavia 40. AP 907d Józseffalva Bukovina - Bátaszék, Tolna C.

Unusable data: MF 539c entitled "Kelemen the Mason in Roumanian, impossible to write down", from Zajzon = Manole?; Erd. Muz. 5, 137 and 142 = Jób SEBESI's fakes; EA 2379, 17 Békés C. = text copied from collections; M. Nyj. 1957, 162 prose tale, with elements from other fables interwoven, otherwise entirely from the Roumanian Manole, Trunk, Moldavia. I have not regarded as a separate variant HORGER, 399, which is a variant of 30. recorded two months later from the same singer, and offers a new motif only in the opening formula. Nor have we included in our data Berzsenyi's remark in his letter written to Kazinczy: "With many of my pieces I struggle like Béla II. [King of Hungary 1131 - 1141] with that castle of his which he tried to build on the top of the Ság; what I do by day falls in ruins at night." (Nikla, 25 November 1809. See "Berzsenyi Dániel összes művei", 1956, p. 527). For there is no doubt that this reference was made in the knowledge of some popular tradition, because at that time there was no known record of our ballad, not even the Serbian VUK variant, so that the possibility of any literary influence is excluded. But it does not allow us to decide whether it referred to a poem or a prose legend, whether or not it contained the "builders' sacrifice" motif, or if it did, whether it contained it in the same way as our ballad, or only as sketchily as the various legends known throughout Europe. In the former case this western Transdanubian reference would be the very first mention of our ballad, and the only Hungarian variant unconnected with Déva castle.

BULGARIAN (ST below = STOIN, ARN = ARNAUDOV 1920)

1. ST 1928 Timok No. 3631 Gorni-Chiflik, Belgradechishko 2. ST 1928 Timok No. 1437 Chorlevo, Lomsko 3. ARN No. 47 Strupen, Beloslatinsko 4. ARN No. 1 Kumanichevo, Kostursko 5. VATEV SbNU 43 No. 126 Suhodol, Sofiisko 6. ARN No. 50 *ibid.* 7. IVANOV SbNU 44, 120 Ilientsi, Sofiisko 8. SbNU 14, 34 No. 5 Sofiisko 9. ARN No. 9 Lokorsko, Sofiisko 10. ARN No. 48 Etropole 11. ARN No. 25 Pirdop 12. SbNU 16/17, 141 = ARN No. 23 Koprivshitsa 13. SbNU 16/17, 142 = ARN No. 24 *ibid.* 14. SbNU 46, 52 No. 76 *ibid.* 15. ARN No. 41 Hisar, Sredna-Gora 16. ARN No. 26 Sopot 17. ST Sredna No. 44 Novoselo 18. ST 1931 Sredna No. 9 Gol. - Zhelezna 19. CHEKHLAROV SbNU 26 No. 356 = ARN No. 30 Teteven 20. ST Timok No. 358 Glozhene, Tetevensko 21. ST 1928 Timok No. 148 Yaglen, Lukovitsko 22. ST 1928 Timok No. 1438 *ibid.* 23. ARN No. 54 Lovchansko 24. ST 1931 Sredna No. 47 Suhindol, Sevlievsko 25. *Ibid.* No. 43 Krvenik, Sevlievsko 26. SbNU 14, 4 = ARN No. 31 Gabrovo 27. ARN 1913 Elensko 29/B = ARN No. 35 Gashtyuvtsi, Trevnensko 28. ST 1931 Sredna No. 46 Dragavovtsi, Elensko 29. ARN 1913 Elensko 29A. = ARN No. 32 Elena 30. ARN 1913 Elensko 29V = ARN No. 34 Shumatsi, Elensko 31. ARN 1913 Elensko 29G = ARN No. 33 Lazartsi, Elensko 32. CHEKHLAROV SbNU 26 No. 344 = ARN No. 36 Gorne-Orehovitsa 33. ARN No. 51 Otune, Tetovsko 34. ARN No. 39 Hajilari, Dobruja 35. ARN No. 38 Silistrensko 36. ARN No. 40 Hamamjii, Dobruja 37. ARN No. 27 Berdyansk, Soviet Union 38. ARN No. 37 Razgradsko 39. ARN No. 49 Shumen 40. ARN No. 55 *ibid.* 41. ARN No. 43 Burgasko 42. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 34 Konstatinovo, Burgasko 43. SHAPKAREV I/1 No. 10 = ARN No. 29 Karnobat 44. ARN No. 28 Besarabsko, Yambolsko 45. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 39 Mali Trnovo 46. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 35 Burgari, Vasilikovsko 47. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 36 Satkyoi, Lyuleburgasko 48. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 33 Trnovo, Uzunkyupriysko 49. ARN No. 22 Svilengrad 50. ARN No. 21 Syulakyui, Kharmakhliysko 51. ARN No. 11 Gaytaninovo, Nevrokopsko 52. ARN No. 53 Khaskovo 53. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 37 Dervent, Dedegachko 54. ARN No. 46 Atkyoi, Gyumurdjinsko 55. ARN No. 44 Kushlanli, Gyumurdjinsko 56. ARN No. 45 Yusyuk, Gyumurdjinsko 57. ST 1939 Trakiya No. 38 Karakajali, Gyumurdjinsko 58. ARN No. 57 Enikyoi, Ksantiysko 59. ARN No. 19 Arda, Akhu-Chelebiysko 60. A-V No. 26 = SbNU 3, 21 Ustovo 61. ARN No. 20 Ustovo, Akhu-Chelebiysko 62. ARN No. 56 Katärlü, Plovdivsko 63. SbNU 9 II, 76 = ARN No. 18 Perushtitsa 64. SbNU I No. 304 = ARN No. 17 Radilovo, Peshtersko 65. ARN No. 16 = Hungarian translation STRAUZ 1892 I, 319 = German translation *idem* 1895, 407 Chepino 66. ARN No. 10 Leshko, Gornojumaisko 67. ARN No. 8 Kyustendilsko 68. ARN No. 42 Rodopsko 69. BUKORESHLIEV No. 6 Arda 70. ST Rodop No. 12 Yunuzdere, Pashmanliysko. 71. ARN No. 4 Krushevo 72. ARN No. 13 Bayrakli-Jumaya, Sersko 73. ARN No. 14 Sersko 74. VERKOVIC No. 7 = ARN No. 12 Prosenik, Sersko 75. ARN No. 15 Solunsko 76. ARN No. 52 Lipush, Doyransko 77. STOILOV 1924 No. 4 = STOILOV 1916-18 Pok. No. 317 Lerinsko 78. ARN No. 3 Prilep 79. ARN No. 5 Galichnik and Lazaropolye, Debrsko 80. ARN No. 6 Tetovsko 81. ARN No. 7 Rogachevo, Tetovsko 82. MILADINOV No. 162 = ARN No. 2 Okhrid, Macedonia 83. SYRKU = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 106, no place of origin given 84. SYRKU = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 107 no place of origin given 85. SYRKU = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 107 86., 87. SbNU 38 ARN No. 1 A + var. Rodopsko.

Unusable data: KACHANOVSKY No. 120 Babitsa, Trensko and No. 121 Vasilevtsi, Sofiisko: undoubtedly literary adoptions of the VUK variant. In 121 all the names agree entirely right down to Desimir the servant, as well as the complete plot. No. 120 is less complete. Both are outside the general run of the Bulgarian material, and even of the Serbian. Despite similar views expressed by ARNAUDOV, he lists these among the Serbian variants. Nor have we included MILADINOV No. 424 = ROSEN No. 79, because the story does not involve a girl being walled up, although on the basis of some parts of it and of the name of the master mason this obviously developed from our ballad.

ROUMANIAN

1. ALECSANDRI, 186 No. 18 = Balade, 35 + Antologie, 496 = Hung. translation ACS 1, 29 + VULCANU, 146, 27 = Bulgarian summary ARN, 411 = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 96 2. TEODORESCU, 460 = Balade, 46 = Din folcl., 152 No. 2 = Bulgarian summary ARN, 411 = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 99 Braila 3. PAMFILE, 72 = DENSUSIANU, Flori, 107 = Balade, 72, Tepu, Tecuciu 4. GIUGLEA, 177 Geanava, Serbia 5. GIUGLEA, 183, Costol, Serbia 6. WELLMER No. 36* = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 100 + KÖHLER, 42 7. TOCILESCU, 18 Mănăstireni, Vâlcea 8. TOCILESCU, 21 Novaci-Gorj 9. TOCILESCU, 25 Rosiorii-de-Vede, Teleorman (7-9 quoted in Bulg. summary by ARN, 413) 10. PÂSCULESCU, 188 Orlea, Romanati 11. MAILAND Várhegy, Hunyad C. 12. MATEESCU*, 13 Albești, Argeș 13. SANDU-TIMOC*, 135 Alexandrovaț, Serbia 14. DIACONU* 1934, 40 Orjavu, Rimnicul-Sarat 15. DIACONU* 1930, 254 Nereju 16. Monografia*, 455 Salcau, Timnava Mare (Nos. 12-16 from photographic copies by the Bucharest Folklore Institute) 17-47. TALOS 1-31 from various places in Transylvania. 48. POP, 433 Argeș region 49. idem, 437 Northern Transylvania. The two summaries listed by SCHULLER—alongside 1.—are unusable. The first is obviously a re-arrangement of Șaguna, and of the second we learn hardly anything.

AROMUN

1. PETRESCU, 84* = ILIESCU I, 43* = OBEDENARU, 211 + WEIGAND II, 164-5 = German summary SCHLADEBACH, 85 = Bulgarian summary ARN, 398 Krushevo 2. PAPAHAĞI 1922, Ant., 67 = TOCILESCU II, 1043 = Bulg. summary ARN, 399 Veriya.

SERBO-CROAT

1. VUK II No. 25 = STOJANOVIĆ, 313 = Hung. translation SZEGEDY 1910, 10 + CSUKA, 131 + VUJIŠIĆ, 49 = German translation TALVJ, 117 = Bulg. summary ARN, 403 = Germ. summary SCHLADEBACH, 102 Kolašin, Crnagora - Montenegro 2. HNP I No. 36 = Hung. tr. SZEGEDY 1910, 16 Popov, Herzegovina 3. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 along the Makar 4. PETRANOVIĆ III No. 52 = Bulg. summary ARN No. V Herzegovina 5. HÖRMANN I, 68 = STOJANOVIĆ, 323 Višegrad, Bosnia 6. DJORDJEVIĆ 1931 No. 567 Odadjenovac 7. HNP V, 460 summary Bosnia 8. KRAUSS = Hung. tr. HERRMANN 1894, 302 Osovi, Bosnia 9. HNP V No. 92 Dervent, Bosnia 10. HNP V No. 90 Banjaluka 11. HNP V, 459 between Bihać and Banjaluka 12. HNP V No. 91 = STOJANOVIĆ, 320 Bihać 13. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 Kućište, Lika-Krbava 14. ŽGANEC 1950, 458 = HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 Stativa, Zagreb C. 15. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 Jaške, Zagreb C. 16. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = SZEGEDY 1910 Cavtatske area Belovár 17. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 Novska, Pozsega C. 18. HNP V, 460 summary Rajić, Pozsega C. 19. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summary = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 Novigrad, Pozsega C. 20. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = Hung. summary SZEGEDY 1910 Svinjar, Pozsega C. 21. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = Hung. summ. SZEGEDY 1910 Oriovac, Pozsega C. 22. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = Hung. summ. SZEGEDY 1910 Banovci, Pozsega C. 23. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = Hung. summ. SZEGEDY 1910 Dragovac, Pozsega C. 24. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = H. summ. SZEGEDY 1910 Dragovac, Pozsega C. 25. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = H. summ. SZEGEDY 1910 Novi Mikanovac, Szerém C. 26. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak Otok, Szerém C. 27. HNP I No. 36 Dodatak summ. = H. summ. SZEGEDY 1910 Komletinci, Szerém C. 28. VUK I², 175 = Hung. transl. SZÉKÁCS No. 95 29. SYRKU, 155 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 411 see note 30. INU MS, 7 Bachka 31. INU MS, 1 Primošten 32. INU MS, 50 Bosnia 35. INU MS, 2 Banović (story transplanted to the second World War with nebulous traces of the walled-up twins motif) 34. INU MS, 55 Gospić 35. ŽGANEC 1950 No. 374 Vrhovac 36. RAIĆ, 15 Subotica 37. HNP X, 163 Szabadka.

I used the complete texts of 3., 14-16., 19. and 22-26. from the INU manuscript source. I did not use the text from the "pismar narodni", or popular song-book to be found there on pp 47-49, because it agrees line for line, almost word for word with 3., nor the MS notes on pp 32-37, because they agree with 1. and 38.—46 is also a "pismar" = 1. the MS on p. 9 = 9. and pp 54-64 = 24.

ALBANIAN

1. DOZON 1884 Contes, 255* = Bulg. summ. ARN, 400 = German summ. SCHLADEBACH, 103 Debar 2. Zr. f. Vkke. I, 143 = Rev. Trad. Pop. VI, 138* = Bulg. summ. ARN, 401 = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 103 3. Bosnische Post 1912* = Bălgariya 1913 I 26* = Bulg. summ. ARN, 402 4. KIND, 205 = KÖHLER, 38 = SAINNEAN, 384 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 402 = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 102 = H. summ. SZEGEDY 1910, 15 Skadar-Skutari 5. STRAUSS, 1895, 512 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 402 Skadar-Skutari 6. HEQUARD, 17* = Serb. summ. STEFANOVIĆ 1934, 263 Skadar 7. (BELLOJA*) = Serb. tr. POPOVIĆ VI/2, 274 = Serb. summ. STEFANOVIĆ 1934, 279 Podgorica 8. MIHAČEVIĆ, 67* = Serb. summ. VODNIK, 60 Albania 9. BARLETTI's chronicle* = SANSOVINO, 657 = Serb. tr. STEFANOVIĆ 1937, 263 10-14. MS variants from the south Albanian villages of Podgozha, Rihove, Cakran, Stavje (2) E. STOCKMANN-W. FIEDLER collection (Berlin) in W. FIEDLER's German translation.

GREEK

1. Ho en Konstant., 82* = original + Bulg. tr. ARN, 388 Epirus 2. IATRIDES, 208* = SAINNEAN, 366 = Bulg. tr. ARN, 389 = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 94 Thessaly 3. ZAMPELIOS S.* = PASSOW, 511 = KIND, 90 = POLITIS No. 89 = Hung. tr. ERÖDY, 474 + SARUDY, 46 = Ger. tr. LÜBKE, 265 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 389 Corfu 4. TOMMASEO III, 178 = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 90 Corfu 5. PASSOW, 512 = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 91 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 390 Zakintos 6. Deltion I, 555* = orig. + Bulg. tr. ARN, 391 Peloponnese 7. JEANNARAKI No. 271* = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 92 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 392 Crete 8. ROUSE, 184* = quotations + Bulg. summ. ARN, 392 Island of Kos 9. DIETERICH, 291* = Bulg. summ. ARN, 393 Kos Is. 10. ARN, 396 orig. + Bulg. tr. Stanimaka, Thrace 12. IOAKIMOV, 19 = Bulg. summ. ARN, 393 = SYRKU, 318 note* = Ger. summ. SCHLADEBACH, 91 Trebizond 13. Deltion, I, 716* = orig. + Bulg. tr. ARN, 394 Cappadocia 14. LAGARDE No. 43* = orig. + Bulg. tr. ARN, 395 Ak-Dag, Cappadocia 15. LAGARDE No. 44* = orig. + Bulg. tr. ARN, 396 Ak-Dag, Cappadocia 16-297. Copies of variants from the entire Greek language area in the Archives of the Academy, Athens.

GIPSY

1. Ethn 1903, 458 Serbia 2. (PARPATI* Études sur les Tchingianes, 620) = H. tr. Ethn 1903, 458 Greece.

GEORGIAN-ABKHAZ

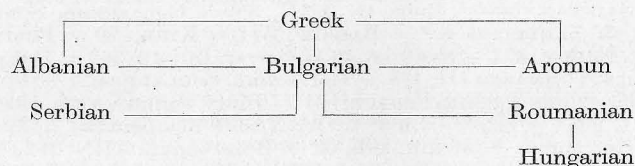
1. CHIKOVANI, 830 (= UMIKASHVILI, Petre Halkuri poeziya, 178 Tiflis 1937*) see ISTVÁNOVITS 1958 124-5 Heltuban 2. CHIKOVANI, 831 = UMIKASHVILI, 178* see ISTVÁNOVITS 1958, 125-6 Kahetiye 3. CHIKOVANI (CHONKADZE var.) 4. CHIKOVANI Rach 5. CHIKOVANI Imereti 6. CHIKOVANI Kelasuri, Abkhazia 7. HAXTHAUSEN I, 136* = ANDREE, 20 Surami 8-14. ISTVÁNOVITS 1958, 124 (after CHIKOVANI 1952) Stepkhantskhminde, Thelavi, Karbi, Marabda, Velist-skhihke, Khodaseni and a 19th century item about building at Manglis or similar theme, without contents.

MORDVIN

1. Ethn 1928, 52 Semiley, Suransk 2. PAASONEN No. 12 3. PAASONEN No. 13 4. ERDÉLYI I. (Népr. Közl. 1950/1-2, 118) Erdza-Mordvin.

Total: 545.

Bibliography: SCHULLER 1858: three Roumanian var. together with VUK + German legends; GROZESCU 1864: Hung. a fake, from Roumanian; KÖHLER 1873: sets side by side German legends and Albanian, 2 Roumanian, 1 Serbian, Hungarian, 3 Greek var.; ERŐDY 1882: translates Greek var. compared with Hung.; MAILAND 1885: Greek > Serbian > Roumanian > Hungarian; KRAUSS 1887: data on "Builders' sacrifice", including Serbian var. + Ger. tr.; SYRKU 1890: based on Roumanian, Serbian, Albanian, Aromun, Greek variants "Greek undeveloped", Roumanian or Serbian the original; STRAUZ 1892: with Bulg. variants Albanian, Serbian, Bosnian, Hung., German data; HERRMANN 1894: Bosnian var. and builders' sacrifice data with the Hungarian; SCHLADEBACH 1894: on basis of SYRKU's material the Serbian or Roumanian is the original; SÁINEANU 1896* = SÁINEAN 1902; ALEXICS 1897: Roumanian—Hungarian parallels, Hung. from Roumanian; SARUDY 1899: translates Greek var. + on basis of Albanian, Serbian, Roumanian, Bulgarian regards Greek and Albanian as oldest, from them the Bosnian, then Serbian, Wallachian, Transylvanian; SÁINEAN 1902: follows SYRKU, on basis of Roumanian, Serbian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Aromun, Hungarian the origin is Serbian or Roumanian, Hungarian from Roumanian; DIETERICH 1902: Greek the original; STOILOV 1902*: Greek the original, Greek culture affected all Balkans; HORGER 1902: Hung. from Roumanian, spread from Hunyad eastward, unknown in Csík; POPOVICI* 1909, ? SZEGEDY 1910: 2 Serbian var. translated and 14 summaries, Serbian—Roumanian influence in Hungarian, its period the Hunyadi era; SEBESTYÉN 1911: summary of publications hitherto, Hungarian of Balkan origin; ARNAUDOV 1920: the original the Greek of Epirus, directions of development were:



SOLYMOSSY 1923: Greek the original (Manoles the bridge builder in 1659), thence Albanian—Serbian—Hungarian (western branch) and Aromun—Bulgarian—Roumanian (eastern branch), in Roumanian only prose tale, poems are fakes; GRAGGER 1926 accepts SOLYMOSSY's findings; SKOK 1929: spread from Aromun stonemasons; STEFANOVIĆ 1931 (2nd edition 1937): on basis of ARNAUDOV, SKOK and literature on the builders' sacrifice the VUK var. original, formed from the Serbian child-sacrifice fable with contamination; GĂZDARU 1932: it reached the Roumanians from the Balkans, but elements went back from them, too; CARAMAN 1934* ? DÖMÖTÖR 1934: on contamination in the cases of the woman suckling her child from inside the wall and the girl suckling her father through the prison window "also of Greek origin"; STEFANOVIĆ 1934: Greek and Bosnian form ancient, starting point for the developed forms the VUK variant in 12–13th centuries; STEFANOVIĆ 1935: Hungarian independent group, not related to Roumanian, but rather to the Slavonian and Macedonian forms; BAUD-BOVY 1935: original the Greek from Cappadocia, thence to the Balkans (Serbian, Bulgarian, Roumanian); ORTUTAY 1936 agrees with SOLYMOSSY, newer literature and Mordvin data; MORICI 1937*: collates material on builders' sacrifice, Serbian, Bulgarian, Roumanian and Hungarian variants, wife of Manu in Rigveda as vietim = Manoil?; DÁNOS 1938 agrees with SOLYMOSSY; ENTWISTLE 1939: from Greeks in Asia Minor to Balkans (Serbian, Roumanian); KÁZMÉR 1940, based on ARNAUDOV, STEFANOVIĆ and SKOK, of Balkan origin; CARACOSTEA 1942 agrees that the Roumanians acquired it from Balkans; ORTUTAY 1948 agrees with SOLYMOSSY, later literature, new Mordvin data; ENTWISTLE 1949: the Greek is old, if not "Akritic" — it inspired the Serbian and Roumanian variants—from it "London Bridge is falling down"; COCCHIARA 1950: the Greek the original, because the most archaic; CS-VARGYAS 1954 accepts SOLYMOSSY; ORTUTAY 1955: the Hungarian from the Balkan western branch; COMIŞEL 1956: numerous Roumanian variants; CHIKO-

VANI 1955: Georgian data with Hungarian and Serbian parallels; ISTVÁNOVITS 1958 newer or more accurate Georgian data on the Hungarian; ERDÉLYI I. 1958: new Mordvin example; MEGAS 1960 gives account of work of COCCHIARA and VARGYAS (the latter in 16 pages)—does not accept final results of VARGYAS, but intends to write a monograph on his theories—criticizes omission of 250 MS Greek variants; HADZIS 1960: Greek the original propagated by Greek emigrants; TALOS 1962 publishes and analyses 31 new Transylvanian variants and lists 27 other variants not included in my material without publishing them,—does not accept my findings—final results will be possible only when all the material is discovered.

This monograph reproaches me with trying to solve the question without a knowledge of adequate Roumanian material, and comes to the final conclusion that the solution can be found only by co-operation in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

That was what I was striving for when, on 30 March 1959 I wrote to the Bucharest Folklore Institute, under which the article above was published, and with which I had long co-operated; I listed the 35 Roumanian publications I had examined and the 11 Roumanian and 2 Aromun variants which I had found in them. I asked them to send me details of any others they knew of in published material or their own unpublished collections, the latter perhaps in microfilm copies. On 26 June 1959 they did in fact send me photocopies of 5 published texts with which I was not acquainted, and for which I expressed my grateful thanks at the end of my monograph. Of the 31 variants now published by TALOS, six, possibly seven, were in existence before my article appeared, mostly in the archives of the Folklore Institute, and which, therefore, I had not received with the other texts sent. The rest were collected immediately after the appearance of my study, in 1960–61. And if my work had no other virtue than that it spurred researchers on to fill the gaps, I would still not regard it as useless. I give an appraisal of the new variants in the appropriate place. (I am still unable to deal with the 27 texts listed which he does not deal with in his monograph.)

POP 1963 rejects VARGYAS: there are three different Roumanian versions, the two from Transylvania are primordial, from these the Regat versions developed.

NATIONAL VERSIONS HUNGARIAN

Let us now have a look at a characteristic Hungarian variant (7.). The text runs: "Lo, twelve masons set out to walk, they walked and walked toward the castle at Déva, And they began to build the high castle at Déva. What they built by night fell down by day; What they built by day fell down by night . . . Kelemen the mason made a rule: Whichever wife should be the first to bring her husband's dinner-bowl, she must be walled up among the stones and burnt alive there; She must be built into the pile of Déva Castle. Lo! his own wife set out, Carrying the bowl of dinner on her head, And carrying her little child on her arm. Her dear husband saw her from afar: "O God, my God, put two wild animals before them, perhaps they will turn them back." But she escaped them. "O God, my God, put a black cloud be-

fore them, Make pebbles rain down before them! Perhaps they will turn her back." But she escaped that, too. "Good day, good day, you twelve masons! . . . O heavens, what can be the matter: to greet them three times without a reply!" "Your dear husband has made a rule: Whichever wife should be the first to bring Her husband's dinner-bowl, She must be walled up among the stones and burnt alive there, She must be built into the pile of Déva Castle." "I care not if that's the only way, If you have come to loathe your life with me." They took the bowl of dinner off her head, They took her little son from her arm; When they built up as far as her knee, she took it only as a joke, When they built up as far as her waist, she took it as a jest, When they built up to her breasts, she took it in earnest: "Don't cry, my little son, There are kind women who will give you the breast, there are kind children who will rock you to sleep, The birds of heaven hop from branch to branch, They will chirrup to you to sing you to sleep." "Father, dear father, where's my dear mother?" "Don't weep, little son, she'll come back this evening". He waited till the evening, and his mother was not back. "Father, dear father, where's my dear mother?" "Don't weep, little son, she'll come back in the morning." He waited till the morning, too, and his mother was not back. (So) both died.

Instead of the opening above we sometimes find "Twelve masons took counsel together how to build the castle of high Déva", or, starting at once with the action "They kept a-building high Déva castle". Five variants also say that "For half a bushel of silver, and half a bushel of gold" they undertake the work, and the sacrifice also becomes necessary because "Only so can they earn its high price."

Instead of Kelemen the Mason making the rule, sometimes all twelve of them "made a strict agreement among themselves". But instead of the walling-up, the majority of the variants speak of first burning the woman alive, then mixing her white ashes into the lime, or of collecting her blood in the lime-pail.

Nor does the woman always go to deliver the dinner-bowl, but sometimes has a bad dream, and hurries to her husband by coach:

Mistress Kelemen had a dream: in her round courtyard was a little round fountain, with blood spurting out, and in her round courtyard a river of blood. "Serving man, serving man most faithful, bring out the coach, let us go to your master! The coach is mine, the six horses your master's, the whip it is yours and the way is the Lord's. Drive, drive now, my servant, your master is waving, perhaps it's a sign we must go faster still . . ." etc.

When she is told that she is to die between the walls, in 11 variants she asks for some delay, so that she can take leave of her child, and in some cases from her women friends, too: "Wait, wait, you twelve murderers, that I may take leave of my women friends and my pretty little son!"

Other variants relate a moving scene in the closing lines: the child goes to the castle and speaks to his mother, who answers him from within the walls. Other texts speak of a spring of milk starting from the breast of the walled-up woman.

Table II shows certain motifs in the variants with their frequency of occurrence. We shall discuss these in greater detail in the following pages.

We shall take as representative of the Roumanian variants the first noted ALECSANDRI variant, in spite of the fact that it has probably been re-written. However, the motifs found in it are also in the later recordings, so that this text will familiarize us with the characteristics of the Roumanian ballad.

ROUMANIAN

I. *Manole*. Along the lower Argeş, in a beautiful valley, following the riverbank, went Negru the Voivod toward the south, with ten companions. He was seeking a place, with nine masons, all of them masters, and the tenth, their head mason, Manole with them. Walking and wandering, they sought a place for a beautiful monastery. And as they went, they met a young shepherd playing his willow pipe and driving his flock toward them. Says the Voivod: "Hey, my fine shepherd, you pipe very well! You've travelled the upper Argeş with your flock, and grazed them in many place along the lower Argeş. Among the tall pines did you not see a wall, in ruins, deserted, and covered with shrubs?" The shepherd replied: "Aye, and not very far along this same valley, I've seen such a wall; a wandering pack of hounds that bark without a break, nor ever go away." The Voivod rejoiced, jumped to his feet, and set out with nine masons, all masters, Manole the tenth, their head mason with them. "This is what I sought, this is what I choose as a place for a monastery! Tomorrow you must start to build, you master masons! Its walls must be higher than any before it, and I will give you rank and lands, but if not, I give you my word that you shall die here, I'll wall you all up alive at the foot of the wall!"

II. At once they set to work, laid out a trench and dug it, marked out positions, measured, and built the wall. They worked with a will all day, yet in the night it fell, the second day they built, again, the third day, and the fourth, yet it was all in vain. Negru the Voivod sees this, and wonders at the start, then anger seizes him, and he swears a fearful oath: He'll wall them up alive, all of them, in the wall. The gang of masons work, and tremble as they work, and tremble as they work into the evening late. But Manole, their head, has stopped his work, he waits and goes to sleep, and as he sleeps he dreams, and hears a voice, and wakes. Then, speaking to his men he says: "Listen, all nine of you, and hear my dream, I'll tell you what was whispered to me: we can build till we're tired of building, it will still fall down at night; we must build into the wall a sister or wife, the first that brings food in the morning, when the sun comes up, to her brother or husband. So I beg you all, if you wish the curse to be lifted, and the high monastery with its proud church to be built at last, to swear with me that the dear wife or pretty sister who rises first and first brings food in the morning, will be sacrificed so that we can build her into the wall!"

III. When the dawn broke, Manole ran up to the top of the fence, to the top of the scaffolding, and looked down into the fields, gazing along the road, and there he saw his wife gaily approaching, with meadow flowers

and food in her basket. Manole spies her and throws himself down, his heart stops beating, and he calls to Heaven: "O God, send a storm, send rain, let it pour, like a river, a flood, let it bar her the way, and stop her, and turn her, my Anna, and make her go back!" And the Lord hears his prayer, and the sky is soon dark with gathering clouds, then drops fall, and showers, and soon it is pouring, yet Anna approaches in spite of it all. Manole sees this, and again calls on Heaven: "O God, send a storm, let a wind tear the earth, uproot the plane forest and tumble the pines, and bring down the mountain to bar Anna's way!" And the Lord God takes pity, and sends a great storm; the tall trees are split and the planes are brought down, and down comes a mountain and blocks Anna's road, yet still she comes on, and stumbling, and falling, the poor girl arrives at the top of the hill.

IV. The masons see her coming, and glad they are to see her. Manole seizes her and folds her in his arms, embracing her with love, then puts her in position and jokingly says: "My darling, stand still, for you're joining in a game, we'll wall you up a bit, but it won't hurt at all." And Anna stood still, fearing not, and laughed confidently. He sighed, and began to build up the wall, for now his dream was coming true and the monastery would stand. He went on laying the stones, and soon her slim ankles were caught, and her legs were tightly fixed. She was no longer laughing, but began to weep bitterly: "Manole, master Manole, this wall is a bad one, for now it is very painful here." But Manole is silent, lays stone upon stone, that now grip her ankles, her legs and her waist, her slim, lovely waist, and soon reach to the little hills of her breast. And now she is sobbing and weeping: "Manole, O master Manole, you're breaking my heart, and you're killing the son that lies under my heart." Manole hears nothing, but builds on in anger; the wall that he's building has tightly enclosed her waist, her lovely slim waist and the round hills of her breasts, her sweet little mouth and her lovely bright eyes. And now she can be seen no more, her dying voice is heard: "Manole mine, Manole, I'm crushed within this wicked wall, and I am dying here . . ."

V. Along the lower Argeş, through a beautiful valley, comes the Voivod, to open today the proud monastery, the like of which has never been seen before. When he arrived, he was overjoyed, and said: O you ten masons, famous master masons, with hand on heart now tell me truly, could you ever build another monastery, bigger, better, to vie with this?" And on the walls and on the roof the master masons stood, and boastfully they answered: "We're famous masons, known to be the best in all the world. Voivod Negru, we'll build a much better, finer monastery where'er required!" And Voivod Negru stands still when he hears them, and gives orders in a rage: "Break down the scaffolds, block the stairs, and stop them coming down, and let the master masons perish of hunger up there on the top." The masons wait on the roof, then make themselves light wings out of shingles, and jump and are killed outright. Only poor Manole, before he jumped, heard a voice from the dead, coming from the wall, the strangled tears of his beloved: "Manole, O master Manole, you're breaking my heart, and killing the son that lies under my heart, because of this wicked wall."

The voice dies away, and a veil covers his eyes, and the clouds revolve as he falls to the earth dead. And where he falls, a shallow stream is formed by a salt spring of tears from weeping eyes.

Although ALECSANDRI's text is one of the most complete, two important motifs are missing in it, which appear elsewhere: the other masons betray the decision to their wives, and the chief mason gives his wife various tasks to delay her arrival. We also find considerable divergences in the manner in which the resolution is arrived at: sometimes the advice is given by the other masons, sometimes Manole decides alone, without a dream, and sometimes an angel or a spirit imparts the decision. The major and minor divergences in details are shown clearly in Table III.

BULGARIAN

The 87 Bulgarian variants offer a fairly variegated picture. To give an impression of this we include two translations: the first (the original of which is (8.)), is a characteristic representative of the average Bulgarian ballad, with its conciseness and tone; yet several motifs are missing in it, which are very common in the Bulgarian variants, whereas the walling up of the shadow instead of a living person is only a rare exception. For this reason we add a second translation, representing the longest text known (27.). In this one we also have the characteristic motifs of the Bulgarian variants—the betrayal of the oath, the master mason's many attempts to send his wife on errands, the search for the ring—while on the other hand it stands out from among the others by its detailed narration and great length. The Bulgarian average form of our ballad should be imagined as having the elements of the second with the conciseness of the first. The first (8.) runs: Manoil the master mason builds a great bridge; what he builds by day falls down at night, what he builds at night falls down by day. Then Manoil the master mason says: O you faithful companions, dear brethren, let us brethren make a blood sacrifice, a blood sacrifice for propitiation, for propitiation an oath: whichever wife rises first and comes first with the hot dinner, we'll wall that wife up in the wall. Comes the dawn, and early in the morning Manoil's wife is the first to rise, the first to come with the hot dinner. When Manoil sees her, he pulls his cap over his black eyes, his tears fall to the black ground. With a line he measures his wife's shadow, they build his wife's shadow into the wall. Their bridge rises, made strong by this. Then Manoil's wife goes home, but as soon as the wife steps into the house, a frightful sickness blocks her throat, blocks her throat and she shakes with the cold. Manoil's wife dies of the sickness, leaving Pavel, her little son, then her soul hides itself in the bridge. Little Pavel cries to be suckled, his sisters try to quieten him, telling him his mother will come out of the big bridge, his mother will come out and suckle him. And they go to the big stone bridge, call Manoil's wife out of the bridge: "Manoilitsa, your son is crying!" Then milk trickles out of the bridge, trickles into little Pavel's mouth. And every time little Pavel weeps and the sisters wail about it, Manoilitsa hears, and the white milk trickles out of the bridge.

And the second (27.): Manoil the master mason built a castle, built a castle, built a bastion, on the top of a high mountain, the proud castle of Pírgos. He worked on it for nine long years, but what he built by day fell down by night. Then a letter came from the Czar: the castle must be built this year, the tenth. But how is Manoil to do it, how is he to build it, when everything falls down? Then one Sunday morning Manoil gets up very early, and collects round him his thirty master masons, two hundred men and three hundred apprentices, and says: "Hey, you men, three hundred apprentices and you master masons, I've just received a letter from the Czar: I must build this castle quickly, this tenth year, but I don't know how, when everything falls down that we build. Plainly, the Devil requires a sacrifice, so all come here, and we'll all swear an oath that whichever wife comes here first on Monday morning to bring her husband's dinner, we'll seize her and throw her into the cellar and wall her up there as a sacrifice. Then what we build will not fall down, and the castle will be finished in this tenth year. If not, every one of us will die." So they all swore a great oath that none would betray the thing to his wife. Then they all went home, and every one told his wife, except Manoil, who, true to his word, told her nothing about it, but gave her many tasks to do, saying: "Listen to me, my beautiful young love, my proud Mariyka, today is a holiday, Sunday morning; tomorrow is Monday, and there'll be work for you to do. So you must get up early, at dawn tomorrow, and bring in from the granary nine sacks of wheat, scatter the husk in the wind, take it all to the mill and have it ground well, and then bake some white bread out of it; then limewash our house from top to bottom; then bath the twins, Peter and Paul, suckle them and rock them to sleep. Then you must make a hot dinner for me and bring it to me up there on the top, but don't hurry, you can walk slowly..." That was what Manoil told her to do, then he went up to the bare hill-top, and proud Mariyka was left alone, and the young wife did as she was told. At dawn on Monday, she rose early, went to the granary, brought out the wheat, shovelled it over and cleaned it, and scattered the husk in the wind, took the wheat to the mill and had the nine sacks ground at once, then baked bread of the fresh white flour, then limed the house and the shed, quickly did the whole of the washing, bathed the twins, Peter and Paul, fed them and rocked them to sleep, then prepared a hot dinner, and was the first wife to set off for the hill-top, leaving all the others behind her. They all knew of the oath, but none said a word about it. "Go on, Mariyka, my proud girl, I'll be going soon, I'll catch you up." So off she went, leaving the village behind her, then reached the fields. Perhaps it was God's will: a storm of wind arose and stirred up the dust on the road, and covered the tasty dinner with dust. So Mariyka turned back and cooked another and set off again. "Go on, Mariyka, my proud girl, cried the woman next door, I'll be going soon, I'll catch you up." So off she went again out of the village into the fields. Perhaps it was God's will: clouds gathered and a rain-storm broke, till she was up to her knees in water, but she was not scared and did not turn back; up to her waist in water, but she was not scared, and went on and on to the top of the hill. Briskly leaving all the other women behind, she

got to the hill-top first. Do you hear, do you see, Manoil? As Manoil worked with a will, dressing and laying the stone, lo! there was his proud Mariyka arriving fresh with the fresh meal. Manoil the mason began to weep, and his hands trembled, as proud Mariyka walked up to him, and gently, quietly asked: "What is the matter, Manoil my darling, why do you weep to see your wife?" Her husband replied: "But you've not come late to the castle, you've come too soon, you've hurried. My diamond ring has fallen off my finger and rolled down among the pebbles, down to the bottom of the cellar. I was thinking of that when you arrived, you gave it to me on the day of our wedding, I was sorry I'd lost it." Proud Mariyka answered: "Just come here, Manoil, eat your dinner while it's hot. Call some of your men to make a scaffold to let me down into the cellar on a rope, and I'll look for your ring. I'll pick up every pebble till I find it, you'll see, I'll find your diamond ring before you finish your dinner." Then Manoil calls his masons and apprentices to set up a scaffold at once. Everyone knew what was afoot, but none said a word. They seized Mariyka, and let her down into the cellar. She turned over every pebble as she sought the ring, from noon till evening, but did not find it. Then proud Mariyka called up: "Listen, Manoil, dear husband, the ring is not here, so pull me up, I've turned over every pebble, but haven't found your ring. I must hurry home now, the twins will be awake, I must hurry to feed them, they will be crying for me." Then Manoil replied: "Oh, if only you knew what you don't know! We've taken a vow with a powerful oath that whichever wife should arrive here first with the dinner, we would seize her and throw her into the cellar, to stay there as a sad sacrifice to stop the bastion from falling down any more, to make sure that what's built stays in place. It was wrong of you to arrive first, Mariyka, to get to the hill-top first, leaving the other women behind. Now that we've pushed you into the cellar, you can stay there for ever and ever. You'll be the sacrifice to hold up the walls, and you'll never, never come out again." Hearing this, proud Mariyka begins to weep bitterly, and wails to her husband: "Manoil, what wrong have I done? where have I sinned? I've done everything you said, why do you leave me here to weep in vain? If you pity not me, then pity your sons, your twin baby boys, weeping for me and wanting me home. What will happen if I do not return? Pull me out, just let me return home to suckle the twins and caress them, then I'll come back here again to the castle, and tomorrow morning you can wall me in!" But Manoil the mason would not pull her out, but set all his men to work, and the apprentices to carry stone, to work fast and raise the wall. And from that time onward the bastion stood firm, nor fell in again, nor fell any stone. And everyone went home happy, except Manoil the master mason, who stayed in the castle, weeping. Down below Mariyka was wailing, and Manoil could hear her. "How can I go home now, how can I look at my two little sons, crying and waiting for their mother? Oh, how I deserve it, I should never have laid the plot, then I would not now have been so wretched!"

Here the hero in the majority of the ballads is Manoil, but very many other names also occur. On the other hand, in a considerable proportion of the variants three brothers are the builders (sometimes one of them

is Manoil); and with them, or with the named master masons we find a great variety of master tradesmen, carpenters, journeymen, and apprentices in varying numbers. Several variants put the period of delays occasioned by the continual starting again at years. The variants do not agree on the nature of the building: it is mostly a castle, fairly frequently a bridge, but rarely a church or monastery.

The designation of the victim falls into two main variants: either the foreman makes the decision, or the master masons agree on it; but there are also instances of dream solutions, bird messages and advice obtained from a monk. The betrayal of the scheme is general. A curious development of this is that the only mason who keeps his word, and for this loses his wife, is in several cases given the epithet of "The stupidest". Another development is that the young wives find all sorts of excuses for not taking on the job of carrying the dinner to their husbands, which in our second example is contained only in a very brief duologue. There also occurs the scene, familiar from the Hungarian, in which the unfortunate victim at first takes the walling-up as a jest, and does not realize her fate till the end. In our second text she asks to be allowed to go home to suckle her babies, but elsewhere she asks instead for an opening to be left for her breast, through which she can feed her child. There are several other occasional variants which we shall come across in various texts, and we shall deal with them later (Table IV).

Among the Serbs and Croats we find such varied forms of the walling-in fable that to show them would require giving more than half the variant texts, so much do they differ from one another, or in other cases, so curiously do they further develop the elements met with elsewhere. The four translations available to us give some idea of this great variety.

SERBO-CROAT

1. *The Building of Skadra*.^{*} Brothers three combined to build a fortress, / Brothers three, the brothers Mrljavchêvich, / Kral Vukashin was the eldest brother; / And the second one was Unglêsha-Voivode, / And the third, the youngest brother, Goiko. / Full three years they laboured at the fortress, / Skadra's fortress on Bojana's river; / Full three years three hundred workmen labour'd, / Vain th' attempt to fix the wall's foundation, / Vainer still to elevate the fortress: / Whatsoe'er at eve had raised the workmen / Did the Vila raze ere dawn of morning.

When the fourth year had begun its labours, / Lo! the Vila from the forest mountain / Call'd: "Thou King Vukashin! Vain thine efforts! / Vain thine efforts, all thy treasure wasting! / Never, never wilt thou build the fortress, / If thou find not two same-titled beings, / If thou find not Stojan and Stojana!; / And these two — these two young twins so loving, / They must be immured in the foundation. / Thus alone will the foundations serve thee: / Thus alone can ye erect your fortress."

^{*} Scutari

When Vukashin heard the Vila's language, / Soon he call'd to Dêssimir, his servant: / "Listen, Dessimir, my trusty servant! / Thou hast been my trusty servant ever; / Thou shalt be my son from this day onward. / Fasten thou my coursers to my chariot: / Load it with six lasts of golden treasures; / Travel through the whole wide world, and bring me, / Bring me back those two same-titled beings: / Bring me back that pair of twins so loving; / Bring me hither Stojan and Stojana: / Steal them, if with gold thou canst not buy them, / Bring them here to Scadra on Bojana: / We'll inter them in the wall's foundation: / So the wall's foundation will be strengthened: / So shall we build up our Scadra's fortress."

Dessimir obey'd his master's mandate; / Fasten'd, straight, the horses to the chariot; / Fill'd it with six lasts of golden treasures; / Through the whole wide world the trusty servant / Wander'd asking for these same-named beings, / For the twins, for Stojan and Stojana. / Then he hasten'd homeward to his master; / Gave the king his horses and his chariot; / Gave him his six lasts of golden treasures: / "Here, my sov'reign, are thy steeds and chariot: / Here thou hast thy lasts of golden treasures: / Nowhere could I find those same-named beings: / Nowhere found I Stojan and Stojana."

When Vukashin had dismiss'd his servant, / Straight he call'd his builder, master Rado. / Rado call'd on his three hundred workmen; / And they built up Scadra on Bojana; / But at even did the Vila raze it: / Vainly did they raise the wall's foundation; / Vainly seek to build up Scadra's fortress. / And the Vila, from the mountain forest, / Cried, "Vukashin, listen! listen to me! / Thou dost spill thy wealth, and waste thy labour: / Vainly seek'st to fix the wall's foundations; / Vainly seek'st to elevate thy fortress. / Listen now to me! Ye are three brothers: / Each at home a faithful wife possesses: / Her who comes to-morrow to Bojana, / Her who brings the rations to the workmen, / Her immure within the wall's foundation: / So shall the foundations fix them firmly; / So shalt thou erect Bojana's fortress." / When the king Vukashin heard the Vila, / Both his brothers speedily he summon'd: / "Hear my words, now hear my words, my brothers! / From the forest hill the Vila told me / That we should no longer waste our treasures / In the vain attempt to raise the fortress / On a shifting, insecure foundation. / Said the Vila of the forest-mountain, / Each of you a faithful wife possesses; / Each a faithful bride that keeps your dwellings; / Her who to the fortress comes to-morrow, / Her who brings their rations to the workmen, / Her immure within the wall's foundations; / So will the foundations bear the fortress: / So Bojana's fortress be erected. / Now then, brothers! in God's holy presence / Let each swear to keep the awful secret; / Leave to chance whose fate 'twill be to-morrow / First to wend her way to Skadra's river." / And each brother swore, in God's high presence / From his wife to keep the awful secret. / When the night had on the earth descended, / Each one hasten'd to his own white dwelling; / Each one shared the sweet repast of evening; / Each one sought his bed of quiet slumber.

Lo! there happen'd then a wondrous marvel! / First, Vukashin on his oath he trampled; / Whisp'ring to his wife the awful secret: / "Shelter

thee! my faithful wife! be sheltered! / Go not thou to-morrow to Bojana! / Bring not to the workmen food to-morrow! / Else, my fair! thy early life 'twill cost thee: / And beneath the walls they will immure thee!"

On his oath, too, did Uglesha trample! / And he gave his wife this early warning: / "Be not thou betray'd, sweet love, to danger! / Go not thou to-morrow to Bojana! / Carry not their rations to the workmen! / Else in earliest youth thy friend might lose thee: / Thou might'st be immured in the foundation!"

Faithful to his oath, young Goiko whisper'd / Not a breath to warn his lovely consort.

When the morning dawn'd upon the morrow, / All the brothers roused them at the day-break, / And each sped, as wont, to the Bojana.

Now, behold! two young and noble women; / They—half-sisters—they, the eldest sisters; / One is bringing up her snow-bleached linen, / Yet once more in summer sun to bleach it. / See! she comes on to the bleaching meadows; / There she stops, she comes not one step farther. / Lo! the second, with a red-clay pitcher: Lo! she comes, she fills it at the streamlet; / Then she talks with other women, lingers, / Yes! she lingers, comes not one step farther.

Goiko's youthful wife at home is tarrying, / For she has an infant in the cradle, / Not a full moon old, the little nursling: / But the moment of repast approaches; / And her aged mother then bestirs her; / Fain would call the serving maid, and bid her / Take the noon-tide meal to the Bojana. / "Nay, not so!" said the young wife of Goiko; / "Stay, sit down in peace, I pray thee, mother! / Rock the little infant in his cradle: / I myself will bear the food to Scadra. / In the sight of God it were a scandal, / An affront and shame among all people, / If, of three, no one were found to bear it."

So she staid at home, the aged mother, / And she rock'd the nursling in his cradle. / Then arose the youthful wife of Goiko: / Gave them the repast, and bade them forward. / Call'd around her all her serving maidens; / When they reach'd Bojana's flowing river, / They were seen by Mrljavchevich Goiko, / On his youthful wife, heart-rent, he threw him; / Flung his strong right arm around her body; / Kiss'd a thousand times her snowy forehead: / Burning tears streamed swiftly from his eyelids, / And he spoke, in melancholy language:

"O my wife, my own! my full heart's sorrow! / Didst thou ever dream that thou must perish? / Why hast thou our little one abandoned? / Who will bathe our little one, thou absent? / Who will bare the breast to feed the nursling?" / More, and more, and more, he fain would utter; / But the king allow'd it not. Vukashin / By her white hand seizes her, and summons / Master Rado, he the master builder: / And he summons his three hundred workmen.

But the young-espoused one smiles, and deems it / All a laughing jest, no fear o'ercame her. / Gath'ring round her, the three hundred workmen / Pile the stones and pile the beams about her. / They have now immured her to the girdle.

Higher rose the walls and beams, and higher: / Then the wretch first saw what fate prepared her, / And she shriek'd aloud in her despairing: /

In her woe implored her husband's brothers: / "Can ye think of God? Have ye no pity? / Can ye thus immure me, young and healthful?" / But in vain, in vain were her entreaties; / And her brothers left her thus imploring.

Shame and fear succeeded then to censure, / And she piteously invoked her husband: / "Can it, can it be, my lord and husband, / That so young, thou, reckless, would'st immure me? / Let us go and seek my aged mother: / Let us go, my mother she is wealthy: / She will buy a slave, a man or woman, / To be buried in the wall's foundations."

When the mother-wife, the wife and mother, / Found her earnest plaints and prayers neglected, / She address'd herself to Neimar* Rado: / "In God's name, my brother, Neimar Rado, / Leave a window for this snowy bosom, / Let this snowy bosom heave it freely; / When my voiceless Jovo shall come near me, / When he comes, O let him drain my bosom!" / Rado bade the workmen all obey her, / Leave a window for her snowy bosom, / Let that snowy bosom heave it freely / When her voiceless Jovo shall come near her, / When he comes, he'll drink from out her bosom.

Once again she cried to Neimar Rado, / "Neimar Rado! in God's name, my brother! / Leave for these mine eyes a little window, / That these eyes may see our own white dwelling, / When my Jovo shall be brought towards me, / When my Jovo shall be carried homeward." Rado bade the workmen all obey her, / Leave for those bright eyes a little window, / That her eyes may see her own white dwelling, / When they bring her infant Jovo to her, / When they take the infant Jovo homeward. / So they built the heavy wall about her, / And they brought the infant in his cradle, / Which a long, long while his mother suckled. / Then her voice grew feeble, then was silent: / Still the stream flow'd forth and nursed the infant: / Full a year he hung upon her bosom; / Still the stream flow'd forth, and still it floweth. / Women, when the life-stream dries within them, / Thither come, the place retains its virtue, / Thither come, to still their crying infants (Bowring).

8. Great master masons are building the castle at Tesany, three brothers, from one mother, master Rado the eldest, master Peter the next, and master Goyko the youngest brother. Any wall they built during the day the Vilas knocked down at night. Master Rado said to his brothers: "We cannot build the castle, we must build a sacrifice into it. When we go home tonight, none of us is to say a word about this to his wife, but the one who brings our breakfast tomorrow we must wall up in the castle." When they went home in the evening, each one went to his room with his wife, and Rado said to his darling: "Listen, dear wife, if you bring the breakfast to us tomorrow, we shall wall you up in the castle." Peter also said to his wife: "If you bring us our breakfast tomorrow, we shall wall you up in the castle." Goyko is silent, and says not a word. When day broke on the morrow, the mother-in-law prepared the breakfast and addressed the three wives: "Radinitza, dear, take the breakfast out to the masters!" (And she replied:) "My child has a fit of crying, I cannot leave the house now, I cannot take the breakfast to the men." She addressed Peter's young

* Master.

wife: "Petrovitsa, darling, take the breakfast to the men." "I cannot, mother dear, my washing is just now in the lye, and if I go, it will be spoiled." So she addressed young Goyko's wife: "Goykovitsa, darling, you take out the breakfast to the men." The young wife goes off with pleasure to take the breakfast to the men. Goyko sees her coming from afar, and his black moustache droops. Wondering, his young wife asks: "What is the matter, Goyko dear?" "Oh, do not ask, dear wife, I had two rings of pure gold, they slipped off my fingers today, and they were both walled up." "Dear Goyko, do not talk nonsense, I have six young brothers, all good, clever goldsmiths, they will make you new rings." Goyko says again: "I had an apple of pure gold, and today it was built into the wall." "Never mind, dear Goyko, I have two brothers I am proud of, clever, good goldsmiths, they will make you a new golden apple." See, what are the two masters doing now? They bind young Goykovitsa, and wall her up in the castle wall, and they finish building the white castle. The master masons go home in the evening. Goyko's two little sons weep and wail loudly, and Goyko tries to quieten them, give them a groat, a silver thaler, but they will not be comforted. Their father bears it till midnight but then can stand it no longer, and has to go out to Tesany Castle in boundless misery and wails for his two motherless children.

2. Sokolovich Pasha writes a letter to Mitar the builder: Good Mitar, will you build a bridge over the Drina? To the letter Mitar replies: Good sir, Sokolovich Pasha, I will not build a bridge over the Drina now, only in the spring, after the feast of St. George. The days passed and St. George's day came, and you should just see Mitar the builder! He hurries into the warm stable and leads out his raven-black horse into his ornamented courtyard, his raven-black, seven-year-old horse which has never been shod nor worn saddle or bridle. Mitar starts to shoe his horse, but not a nail will go in the hoof, and he shakes off the bridle and saddle. But Mitar still mounts and rides off, and spies out the Drina, and reaches the middle of the river. But then his horse refuses to budge, and you should just see Mitar the builder! He beats his horse and runs the spur in, and beats his whip to shreds on him: "Ho, Raven, shameless jade! Do you want me to die here? Have I kept you for nothing these seven years, feeding you on oats and hay, and watering you myself with clean water?" But the horse still refused to move, so Mitar returned to the near bank, and there he saw, clinging to the horse's front legs, a water sprite. Mitar drew his sword at once to strike off the sprite's head, but the wicked spirit screamed aloud: "Do not strike me, good Mitar, before your God I beg you, for if you kill me, let me tell you, you'll build no bridge over the Drina. My faithful companions will destroy your work. But listen to me, good Mitar, jump on your horse Raven and go about through the world till you find a brother and sister called Constant and Constance, and build them into the bridge. If you ignore my advice, you'll build no bridge over the Drina." So Mitar jumped on his horse, and travelled the world, and had good fortune: He quickly found two children playing in the grass in a pretty flower garden. The good bridge-builder, Mitar said to them: "You two flowers, two pretty children, tell me, what are your names?" They

said: One is Constant, the other Constance. So Mitar jumps into the garden, picks up the two children at once as they play, and carries them home on horseback and builds them into the bridge. He builds the bridge over the Drina, and that was how the strong bridge over the Drina was built.

28. There is no whiter castle than white Buda, and there is nothing cooler than the shade of a poplar. The unmarried Dragojlo is sleeping in the shade. The pretty maid Smilyana creeps up to him and climbs the shady green poplar, and from her cheek falls a little tear on to the cheek of Dragojlo. He wakes up out of his sleep: "Heavens, what is happening, the sky is clear and rain a-falling! I am unmarried, and I will not marry till the maid Smilyana becomes my wife." The girl's brothers hear of this, and wall her up in the castle. But Smilyana, the pretty maid, says: "Brothers, dear, I beg you in God's name to leave me a little window so that I can watch Dragojlo wherever he goes, whether his pale yellow horse holds his head high, whether he wears the silken neckerchief I made for him over three years in secret so that my parents should not know. Nobody ever knew anything about it, except my youngest sister-in-law, who bought the gold for it."

It is clear that in the last two variants the details of the story we have been following are completely lost: they are not about the tragedy of the builder's wife walled up in order to stop the walls from falling down continually; the building sacrifice is inserted into an entirely different story, indeed there is finally no mention of a building sacrifice, only of a punishment.

There are several stories of this sort—deviating from all the other plots—in the Serbo-Croat material. Variant 5. from Bosnia is a story broadly similar to 2.; the bridge is built with the sacrifice of the twin children, but when it is finished, a pine tree, swept away by a storm, breaks it down; on the advice of the master builder Mehmed Pasha scatters his treasure in the water, then gashes the pine with his axe, and blood spurts out, and the pine answers him; finally he hears from a minstrel what his sin was: he had had tolls collected on the bridge.

In text 11 the person who commissions the building is a "Ban Kaur", but the castle keeps falling down; he determines to wall up the first person who passes; a young gentleman passes on his way to school, he is seized, and in scenes repeated verse by verse he is robbed of all his clothing, and walled up in the castle. A slave girl is sent after him to make enquiries, but is given various time-wasting answers (he has gone into the meadow, gone to fetch water, and so on); finally his mother sees the blood on the wall and the deed is confessed. On the mother's complaint, Hassan Pasha has the Ban who ordered the building executed, the child's bones are dug out of the walls, and the mother's heart is broken.

In text 4., three Turkish pashas take counsel together as to what to undertake, and finally decide to have a bridge built over the Drina. They write to the master-builder Rade in Malta; but he works in vain with 300 masons—he cannot lay the foundations. In his sorrow he drives into the water, but his horse is unable to move, however much he beats it; finally

a sprite counsels him from a cloud to slash the water with this sword, whereat the water turns bloody; some hair was twisted round his horse's leg. He calls to his companions to set to work briskly now that the water of the Drina is smooth. They manage to get the foundations laid, but what they build by day falls down by the morning. The master-builder secretly rides home to Malta (!), but his companions write to him there that the Pashas are going to cut off their heads if they do not get the work done in time. They start again, and build a stone tower, but the day's work falls down again at night. One night a vila (fairy) informs the master in a dream that he is to go to King Miljutin in Serbia, and ask for his children, Stoja and Ostoja, as sacrifices. The Pashas grant permission for the journey. The king agrees to the sacrifice, indeed, he persuades the children to do what the Christian master-masons want, lest they fall victims to the Turks. The little princes plunge into the water with their valuables; at the sight of this the Pashas jump into the water and are drowned. Several other wondrous passages follow, and the bridge finally bears the names of King Miljutin and his two sons.

But there is even less resemblance than this to the story we find in text 12.: "Dervish Pasha Builds a Mosque". It is built in seven years, and the masons go home, but at night a storm demolishes it. The Pasha reproaches the masons, but they regard the mishap as the work of the vila. Subsequently they rebuild the tower seven times, and seven times it is overthrown by the storm. The Pasha then prays to Allah, and in a dream he learns that a human sacrifice is required: his own son. In the morning he goes to his wife, but she will not let her children go, and the Pasha, in a rage, steals the youngest away, and has him walled up. The mother's heart breaks, the mosque is built, the masons depart, and the Pasha has his wife buried.

We also find quite unique solutions even in those variants which, like the Hungarian-Roumanian-Bulgarian-Greek ballads, tell how the wife of the master mason is walled up. In a series of variants from Croatia and Slavonia the story has a further development, in which the mother who has been walled up escapes at last. In 13., lightning from Heaven brings down the wall, and the woman, thus set free, goes home and reproaches her husband because he did not betray the decision to her as the others did to their wives. The husband, in his self-defence, recalls the sacred nature of the oath. In 14., the woman begs the vila to set her free, and the vila destroys the wall. The woman, home again, kills the men who walled her in. In 19., God sends an angel to destroy the castle. In 23., her child goes round the castle a week after the walling-up has taken place, tastes the spring that gives out milk, recognizes the taste of his mother's milk, and his sad fate moves God to strike the wall down with lightning, and the mother brings up her child. A characteristic picture of the great variety of the southern Slav material is given by setting the two Dragovac texts side by side: one is the walling-up of a wife, with Slavonian modifications while in the other the hero, on the advice of his mother, has the sprite who causes the nightly collapse seized by armed guards, with wolves and falcons, and torn to pieces, and thus summarily ends the ballad.

In 27., a woman wishes to build a castle, but is informed by the vila that she will not succeed until someone of her kin dies. At this she tricks her sister by means of a letter into coming to see her, and has her walled up. The sister has a little child, who prays to Saint Elias, the Virgin Mary and Saint Pantelia to help the mother. They destroy the wall with lightning and fire, and the mother escapes.

The translations and summaries of stories given here, together with Table V, will help to form a picture of the variants of the southern Slav ballad.

ALBANIAN

Turning now to the Albanian language area, we meet again with the walling up of the master-masons wife, mostly embedded in tales like those in some Bulgarian ballads, or like the well-known VUK Montenegrin variant (minus the part about the children with the same name). In addition to this, however, another plot is found: the builder of the continually collapsing castle learns that he must wall up a woman in it. Just at that time his sister comes to see how the building is progressing; the workmen seize her at once and wall her in. From the names of both of them is derived the name of the castle: Rosa + Fa: Rosafa, the name of the hill on which the castle of Skutari is built. Both legends are associated with Skutari, and there is also one about a bridge. One of these (1.), however, is not a ballad, but a legend in prose (Table VI).

A different form again is found among the Greeks in the story of the walled-up wife of the foreman. Let a translation of text 3. serve to show one of the main variants.

GREEK

The Arta Bridge. Forty-five master masons worked with sixty good journeymen for three years on the Arta bridge. They built all day, but it fell down at night. The master-masons weep and so do the journeymen: It's a waste of time and effort to work all day when it all falls down at night! And the ghost replied from the right arch: "If you don't put a human being into the wall, it will not be firm, and you must not put in an orphan or a stranger travelling through, but the beautiful wife of your head mason, who will come late, and in a hurry, to the midday meal. The head mason hears this and becomes at once deathly pale. He writes a letter and sends it by the little swallow: Don't hurry to dress, be late for dinner, come late, and cross late over the cursed Arta bridge. But the bird misunderstands, flies off and gives the message differently: Hurry with your dressing and change of clothing, go to dinner quickly, hurry, and cross the Arta bridge quickly. When her figure appears on the white stony road, the head mason sees her and his heart is shaken. She greets them from afar: "Good morrow, master masons, good morrow, journeymen, what troubles the head mason, why is he so deathly pale?" "I dropped my ring in there in the first vault.

Who will go in to look for it and bring it out?" "I'll go in to look for it, don't be sad, I'll bring out your ring." She went in, and hardly had she got to the middle when she said: "Haul on the chain, my darling, for I've looked everywhere, but found nothing." One and all they shovelled lime, and even the head mason laid big stones: "Woe to us, sad is our fate, we were three children of one mother, and such is our sorry end: one of us holds the Danube, the second holds Avlon, and I, the youngest, now hold the Arta bridge. As my heart shakes, so may the bridge shake, as my hair falls, so may the traveller fall." "Girl, change your words, quickly pronounce another curse, for your only brother lives, let him not cross over, too." So she changed her words, and quickly pronounced another curse: "May my poor heart change to iron, the bridge to iron, the hair of my head to iron, to iron the traveller, too! My brother is in foreign parts, let him not cross over here!"

Although the Greek ballad is in general fairly uniform, there are some deviations in some of its main motifs. Beside the famous Arta bridge there are others which figure, including most commonly the Trihas bridge, the hair-thin bridge of the Muslims, on which souls pass over into the other world. There are rare cases of a building figuring instead of a bridge, but this, too, always stands by some stretch of water. The need for a sacrifice is sometimes imparted to the masons by a bird instead of a spirit, and sometimes they learn of it in a dream, and then sometimes an archangel figures instead of a spirit. There are also, however, occurrences of casting lots, and even of the agreement which is so common among the Hungarians and Bulgarians. The formula for the decision given here is characteristic of many Greek texts: the spirit from the start marks out the wife of the chief mason, in other words what is so important among other peoples, the possibility of the selection of the victim being made by fate, or of a part being played by human treachery, which keeps tension high to the end of the poem, is omitted here. At the same time there are versions in which the head mason himself has to make the sacrifice, and a long duologue follows between him and the spirit as to whom he should give to be buried alive; the master considers that he could not get another father or mother, sister or brother, but he could get another wife (indeed, sometimes even "one more beautiful"), so he designates her as the victim. In some variants the wife refers to the child she has left at home and the tasks she has left undone (what will happen to the bread, the crying child?). But her husband rejects all worries: the neighbours will see to them (Table VII).

It is unnecessary to give the two Aromun and the two Gipsy texts. The Aromun texts follow the Greek formulas entirely: their two stories of the Arta bridge consist of motifs familiar from the Greeks and the Bulgarians, but the manner of their presentation is much more detailed. They have no connection with the Roumanian texts about the monastery at Argeş. And the two texts in the Gipsy tongue show, in consequence of the wandering mode of life of the gipsies, no characteristics specially connected with either the place where the text was recorded, or to a version belonging to a particular language territory; at the same time they contain various mosaic combinations of the elements we have just been considering.

For the moment we shall not extend our view to the more distant eastern territories, the Caucasian and the Mordvin. For there the fable of the builders' sacrifice is formulated in much more deviant ways than in the language areas dealt with hitherto, and it seems more appropriate to our purpose first to make a detailed analysis of the coherent Balkan series of variants, and then in the light of the results obtained to make a comparison with the distant forms.

From the accounts given of the contents it is obvious that in the traditional material of all six neighbouring peoples there is a story, ballad-like in tone, about the wife of a master-mason who, in order to put an end to the continual collapse of the wall, is walled up in it. This poem, in its various forms, has so many details agreeing with, or at least resembling one another, that they argue close textual connections and mutual borrowings, even though we find considerable differences between the nations, and even within them. Let us take the common elements in turn, and separate them from the occasional ones. As a starting point we shall take as common any element which is found among at least two peoples. Later, of course, we must take account of how frequent or infrequent the motif is among those peoples, or how a given element accords with the rest, and especially with the course and development of the story. For evaluating the arithmetical proportions and percentages given at the foot of the tables it must be borne in mind that the Roumanian, Albanian, and also some of the Serbian and Greek variants, are predominantly from old collections, and complete texts, while the richly represented Bulgarian and Hungarian material contains a great many recent, fragmentary records; sometimes the beginning of the Hungarian ballad is missing, and it starts with "Mistress Kelemen had a dream", while in other cases the ending is incomplete. Among the Bulgarians it is mostly the middle and the ending which are fragmentary. In such cases, therefore, the lack of one element or another is a consequence, not of a variant development, but of the decay of the tradition. Taking all this into account, we arrive at the following results.

The command of the ruler relating to the building figures among three peoples. It is commonest among the Roumanians, and the order always comes from Negru the Voivod. Among them this motif is rounded out to a significant story, and it runs through the whole action. Yet, in the recently collected Transylvanian texts it does not occur once! In the Bulgarian it is fairly unusual, and its significance is slight; it often occurs only after the part about the continually collapsing wall, to account for the masons' being ready to take any desperate measures. In the Serbian it is somewhat more frequent, but it occurs without exception in texts which deviate from the main story. Where the story includes the walling-in of the wife, either the builders themselves are princes, or this motif is simply missing. In the Hungarian material there is no reference to a command.

Everywhere there is some mention of the number of masons. In the Hungarian they are twelve. The 72% at the foot of the table really means 100%, because there is no *different* number. (We cannot regard it as a different number when the formula "eleven masons, the twelfth Kelemen the

Mason" in one instance lacks the latter part, nor the casual variant "Twelve masons, the thirteenth Kelemen the Mason".) In the Roumanian the number ten is just as uniform. The reason for these standardized numbers is probably to be sought in the rules of metre. Other nationalities offer a picture of extreme variety. In the Bulgarian and Serbo-Croat we find variously a master, mentioned by name, three (sometimes more) brothers, and with them extremely varied numbers of masters and journeymen. In the Albanian we have either the named person commissioning the building, or three brothers; in the Greek on the other hand many different numbers of masters (here this number goes higher than anywhere else—to as many as ten thousand), and the unnamed head mason.

Not much can be deduced as to the direction of the spread from these numbers. There can, however, be no doubt that variety in the numbers within a language area, and in general compound and large figures should be regarded as secondary developments (for example three brothers, forty masters and sixty journeymen together, or a thousand masters, and similar numbers). But much more cautiously we may hazard the statement that in the case of 9, 10 or 12 to leave the choice to chance—"which wife arrives first"—seems more natural; the odds are better than with the very small number of three. However, this is not a very strong argument, so for the time being we can take the nine to twelve masters and the three brothers as being both equally likely starting points.

The Hungarian variants speak only of a castle being built, with the exception of a single Moldavian text mentioning a church with 44 towers. But this variant shows unmistakable Roumanian influence: Roumanian elements alternate with Hungarian in it, and moreover its whole formulation is improvised, individual, and deviates from the other Hungarian variants. The uniformity of the Hungarian version is emphasized by the fact that it is always Déva Castle which is mentioned in it, or a corrupt form of it. In the Roumanian, in the variants I have listed, we find just as uniformly a monastery, mostly that of Argeş, and in one case the castle of Barcan. This is a Transylvanian variant, and in the modern Transylvanian texts we find alternately a castle, a bridge or a monastery, or that the place is not Argeş but various other named places, or the place is not named, and among the people who commission the building the three brothers also figure. So in Transylvania there is great diversity compared with the old kingdom. In the Bulgarian there is mostly a castle, in a minority of cases a bridge, and rarely a church or monastery; in the Serbian mainly a castle, rarely a bridge; mainly a castle, rarely a bridge in the Albanian; and almost exclusively a bridge in the Greek. Since the fables about the building sacrifice all over the world are associated equally with the three types of construction, we cannot start with any reason to accord any of them an advantage. Of more decisive interest is the fact that in certain variants we find details which do not fit, such as the scene in which the woman is sent down for the ring under the arch or into the water. This idea of sending someone down is more difficult to picture in connection with a bridge than with other buildings, and it is even more unrealistic when in some Bulgarian variants she has to swim to look for the ring, and

afterwards there is a reference to an opening being left for her breast (14.), or she has to bring it up out of the deep Tunja, and then they build on top of her (76.).

Such irreconcilable motifs never occur in connection with a castle or other building. This shows that the story did not develop in connection with a bridge originally, and that in the course of later linkages there was a failure to omit the inappropriate parts.

The names, too, deserve mention. There is only one name occurring among two peoples: Manole. (Two Moldavian Magyar variants also contain it, but this is obviously the result of subsequent Roumanian influence among the Hungarians there, who have lived for centuries isolated among Roumanians, and are mostly bilingual.)

We must point out at once that the name Manoilo does not occur in a single text among the Greeks (as ARNAUDOV and BAUD-BOVY also point out), not even in the variant noted in Arta. Thus deductions made by SOLYMOSY, based on SCHLADEBACH, about the master's name, Manole, found in the vicinity of the Arta bridge, as to the Greek origin of the ballad, all fall to the ground. This is not the first time an attempt to link the treasures of folk poetry to a time and a place on the basis of similar "data" has proved naive. At the same time it must be pointed out that it is a fairly well-known fact that the name Manoilo-Manoil is a very common name for heroes in Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian heroic epics, and also occurs in the Roumanian ballads, in which many Bulgarian epic themes are also found with one and the same name (Gruia), or with place-names showing Bulgarian transfers (Tsarigrad). The list below is by no means complete, but gives a sample of the variants at our disposal.

Yugoslav: VUK III, 45: the master Manoilo (a bandit hero); III, 48: Gričič Manoilo; I, 421: bratac Manoilo; 513: Grčica Manoilo; II, 6: Kumovanje Grčica Manoila; HNP I No. 44: idem III, 6: Grčič Manoilo as the hero's adversary; III, 76: Djirjak i Grčič Manoilo. *Bulgarian*: SHAPKAREV Nos. 472 and 1261: Manoilo Voivod; SbNU 5, 79 and 81: Gracheka Manola; 7, 90 No. 1 Tsar Manoilo; 9, 17: Chuma i Manolo trgovche; 43, 134 No. 55: "Marko zheni sina si Manoilo"; 43, 373 No. 188: "Manoilo grk prodava libeto si"; 44, 27 No. 19: Marko's son Manoilo; ibid., 141 No. 138: "Manol i bezdetnata mu zhena"; 46/I, 17 No. 18 Manol vojvoda; STOIN 1928 Timok No. 2955: Manoilo vojvoda; CHEKHLAROV No. 40: Manoilo vojvoda. *Roumanian*: Antologie, 542 = MARIENESCU, 112 No. 20: Manuila și Mustafa; VASILIU, 44 No. 34: Manole (a different story). It is clear, therefore, that what we have here is not a name indicating a Greek origin, but one of the commonplace names of heroes in the epics of the southern Slav peoples which has also become attached to the ballad of the builders' sacrifice. But we can go further in the matter, and accept the view expressed by STEFANOVIĆ that what we have here is the name of Manuel I Comnenus, the Greek emperor. For the epics of the southern Slavs show several examples in which the names of famous kings and princes of neighbouring peoples were given to the heroes of epics: King Mátyás, János Hunyadi, Pipó Ozorai (Filip Madžarin), among the Serbs the Bulgarian Tsar Shishman, and so on. The great Greek sovereign fits in well with this scheme. This

at the same time gives us guidance as to which people might have been the first to give the head mason this name: obviously the Bulgarian and not the Roumanian. This is apparently contradicted by the fact that in the Roumanian material Manole is practically the only one given to the master mason—though only in the Regat, for in Transylvania, as the modern collections show, several other names also figure in addition to it—while in the Bulgarian it is merely the largest group, but not the only one. How we should evaluate the “uniform” and the “various” national variants from the point of view of originality, we shall see as we go on.

The name of the castle or bridge to be built gives us less trouble. Here we have only two names used in common: the Arta bridge and the castle of Skadar (Scutari). The former is, in both the Greek and the Albanian, one name among others, and has by no means the significance once attached to it on the basis of the first known variants. It occurs in a single Bulgarian variant from Greece (55.), but the other elements in it are also taken from the Greek. (This is the only place in the Bulgarian in which the curse occurs: “May the bridge shake!”) The same applies to the two Aromun texts from Macedonia. What we have here, then, is a local name, incapable of spreading widely even among one people; there is no sign that one winning variant with this name spread the ballad over the whole of a territory. The most significant fact in this connection is that the variant noted in Arta itself (according to BAUD-BOVY’s observations) is apparently quite a modern text, which cannot be considered in the matter of origins.

Even less can we claim this for the Skadar name. The Albanian texts connected with it *fall into two types with two different names*: Skadar and Rosafa. And in the Serbian only the VUK variant mentions it, which is understandable in view of the nearness of the place where it was recorded. Apart from that, there are two references to the waters of the Bojana (16., 31.) but without Skadar. But a glance at the name-lists in the tables shows convincingly that these are always local formations, justifying no conclusions, even where they have developed uniformly among one people or another.

One of the most permanent motifs of the ballad is the castle or bridge which collapses overnight as fast as it is built by day. This is found throughout the Hungarian and Roumanian (or at the most the entire section is missing); in the Bulgarian a negligible number of variants simply mention collapse without the contrast of day and night. In the Serbian the small percentage may not mean much, because I know several variants only in summary form; but it is more significant that even in the variants I know there are fairly frequently other versions. This common motif seems among them to be the least permanent. In the Albanian the position is as in the Bulgarian (here, too, many are summaries), while among the Greeks again the common feature runs throughout.

In several variants in the Roumanian, Bulgarian and Serbian, the vain efforts to build continue over a long period, sometimes as much as nine years. This is so unrealistic that it can only be a corruption of the text. The decision must surely come after one or two collapses. The original must be that formula which sticks to generalities, and does not bind our

imaginations to concrete and improbable numbers. Three days is the most we can consider possible.

The designation of the sacrifice for the building takes place in a similar way in the Hungarian and Bulgarian. In the former there are two forms only: the head mason decides, or the master masons decide together. In three instances the chief dreams what he has to do, and of these two are from Moldavia, and show Roumanian influence, and the third develops the story further with several new and distinct features; so the dream does not belong to the old form of the ballad. In the Bulgarian the chief variants are as in the Hungarian, but in a less predominant proportion, and there are more instances of the dream, the angel, and other solutions. Among the Roumanians the commonest is the dream, then a message brought by an angel, a spirit or something similar, and there are rare instances of an agreement or even a decision by the head mason, especially in Transylvanian texts. In the Serbian the chief solution is the command given by the vila (fairy). The fairy sometimes says only that a human sacrifice is needed, and leaves the men to make the decision, rarely by agreement, and still more rarely according to what the head mason says; but mostly it is the vila who says also who the victim is to be: either the first wife to bring the dinner, or someone else. This fairy motif also occurs in great variety: a fairy clinging to the horse’s leg first predicts that the building will not succeed, before the wall has fallen down; in the well-known VUK variant two twins are first required, and only when it proves impossible to get them is the demand changed to a wife. Dream and other solutions also occur. The few Albanian variants offer a similarly varied picture: a voice, or an old man says what is to be done, or the decision is taken by drawing lots or by agreement. A new element is the bird of the Greek variants, which alights on the arch and tells the masons what they must do; but there are also decisions taken on the basis of what a spirit says, or a dream or an angel announces, or rarely of drawing lots or reaching an agreement.

This brings us to the essential elements of the ballad, in which some form or other of the tragedy comes about. The “agreement” which more or less appears everywhere means that the loss of the wife hits someone who has had a hand in bringing it about. This is still more emphatic where the chief mason himself states the decision, and it is his own wife who becomes the victim. Where a spirit or a fairy or other intermediary indicates the victim, responsibility is not a part of the tragic aspect, but the head mason is simply struck by ill fortune.

This is a feature which we often find in the formulations of the various peoples. Several solutions are aimed at reducing the responsibility of the masons for the sacrifice they make. Such are for instance the ruler’s command, or even threats, in Roumanian, Bulgarian and Serbian poems.

In the Hungarian there is no regal personage who orders the building to be carried out, but there is something similar: the emphatic statement that the work is undertaken for gold and silver, or for a bushel of gold, and that is paid out in fact after the fatal sacrifice has been made. Indeed, in one case the story begins: “Where are you going to . . . you twelve masons? . . . Come, I will engage you . . .” But the impersonalized sentence does not

distract attention from the masons to the person commissioning the work, it is only emphasizing the *undertaking*, leaving the masons in the centre of the picture who carry out the building and want to carry it out. The earning of the high price does not lessen their responsibility, but rather increases it. So we see that in the Hungarian the story is built on a psychological problem: in danger of losing the "high price", they seek the most urgent help; they sacrifice the wife who arrives first. The head mason makes the decision, or they all agree to it, because none of them thinks fate will strike at him. But when it happens, he is all the more heavily hit by the feeling of guilt: "I made the rule, and on my head has it fallen" (25.), and all the more deeply cuts the accusation from her lips: "But I well know that you are committing this murder because you are earning money by it..." (15.). The psychological effect is enhanced where instead of the victim's being selected by chance—the first one to arrive with the meal—it is the wife who, because of a bad dream she has had, is anxious about her husband.

It is true that in the Bulgarian, too, the agreement and the decision by the chief mason are the most frequent (though here the latter is rarer than the former, but it does happen that, even though the agreement is made, the ballad says when the wife appears: "the one who came was the wife of the man who first said it"). But on the one hand some variants lessen the responsibility by introducing the threat by the ruler, and on the other hand the loser's role is made the sadder, and his responsibility seems to be lessened, by the fact of the betrayal of the plan, and the failure of the others to keep their oath. But this solution has its weaknesses. One is that the hero is shown in a repugnant light at the beginning of the poem, as the cause of the fatal action by virtue of the decision or his participation in it, while later he appears as a victim as a consequence of the greater perfidy of the others, while he was the only one who honourably kept his word. This is, it is true, only a fine distinction which would not be noticed by most people, especially in the traditional society. But greater confusion is caused by the necessary inclusion here of a part describing the vow of silence, going home, and spending an evening or some days (Saturday to Monday) with the wife, and the betrayal of the resolution—which only one fails to tell his wife about! This scene, in its realism, becomes unbelievable. Such an "agreement", if they are able to meet their wives, is improbable from the start, differently from the Hungarian, in which they wait at the building site, immediately after the decision, for the first to appear. It is a natural result of this that the hero is called the "stupidest" of them, or that his behaviour is accounted for in some other way. In the Roumanian and Bulgarian variants, for example, while he sleeps, the others go home; he "forgets" to tell his wife, or alternatively he, too, seeks some subterfuge to avoid breaking his oath: he sets his wife many tasks, to delay her return. The Serbs often put into the mouth of the vila the decision that the first wife to arrive is to be the victim, in other words it is presented as compulsion by fate, and only the betrayal of the plan is left as the crime of the men. The responsibility is least here: a supernatural being is the cause, the hero's brothers betray the scheme, he is the only one who does not, and that is why he is the victim. At the same time there is long and detailed description of the time the

men spend with their wives, which makes the "honourable" behaviour even more incredible, especially as there are mostly three of them, so that the chances are great.

The Greek variant which shows the head mason's wife designated from the start by the spirit gives us a clean slate in this respect. Here there is no responsibility, but only an evil fate. This—although it deprives the poem of any further tension and turns it into a mere evolution—is nevertheless logical in itself. The fated tragedy is just as powerful as the psychological, and perhaps more ancient, too. But less convincing is the Greek variant in which the spirit demands only a member of the family from the master mason, who decides on his wife because he can get another. This "cynical calculation", as BAUD-BOVY calls it, deprives the character of the husband of all sympathy, and only the fulfilment of the wife's fate remains as the substance of the poem, and deserves our pity.

If, then, we take into consideration the construction of the ballad or of its main motifs, we can accord the advantage to two formulations: the Hungarian (and that part of the Bulgarian variants which has a structure similar to the Hungarian) or *one* form of the Greek, in which there is no "calculation".

But we must clearly recognize that we may encounter in folk poetry not only decay, but also improvement. Wave peaks may follow wave troughs. The version which appears the best is not necessarily the first, quite apart from the fact that in determining the "best" a decisive part may be played by the judge's bias or personal taste. It was on the basis of such a subjective judgement that SYRKU-SCHLADEBACH-ŞĂINEANU accorded priority to the Serbian or the Roumanian variants over the Greek—but would not venture a decision between the two. That judgement concerned primarily the long and detailed exposition, which satisfied a taste used to professional poetry better than brevity, jerkiness and conciseness. That was why the Greek is often called "undeveloped", "incompletely expressed". It is curious how far the last century, the era of romanticism and enthusiasm for the Ballad, stood from the style ideal of the ballad! Besides, ŞĂINEANU calls the Greek "barbarous" compared with the delicacy of the Roumanian, and STEFANOVIĆ calls it "petrified", "lifeless" in comparison with the vigorous, flourishing Slav variants.

The point of view of *style* is more objective: conciseness, the stylized glimpses of states of mind, human and spiritual conflicts as factors giving body to a story—all these are characteristic of the ballad; whereas a detailed, copious and expansive style of delivery, realism in details yet the character of fable, fantasy, myth are all characteristic of the heroic song. But it is also plain that if a story, with characteristics of the heroic song, reached the Magyars, among whom only the ballad flourished, it would take on ballad characteristics, and *vice versa* in the territory of the heroic song, among the Serbs. If, therefore, we do not know in advance from which style-area a story set out, this difference cannot be a guide to us. It does, however, give some foothold. Among the southern Slavs, where the cult of the heroic song has been preserved till the present day, and a clear distinction is drawn between it and the "women's songs", this item is mostly included among the latter, and only occasionally among the heroic songs. This at once elim-

inates the heroic song as its origin. Nor does the story itself suggest such an origin, but is rather of ballad character. It follows that two peoples can be considered as the distributors of it: the Magyars, among whom there exist only ballads, and the Greeks, from whom similarly many ballads spread to the Balkans, although the heroic songs were also preserved among them. This again, obviously, will not decide the question of origin. So let us return to the examination of the elements held in common.

The victim is not always a wife: in the Serbian, Albanian, and Roumanian she may be the sister of the builder. This appears to be a secondary element: in the Serbian and Albanian in such a case the story, too, alters, and matches our story only loosely, in a few common motifs; but in the Roumanian it really has no significance, because the wife or sister who arrives first figures only in the resolution (and that rarely) while the victim is always the *wife* of the head mason.

In the Hungarian, Roumanian and Bulgarian a common element is the head mason's prayer to God to bar the way, with rain or some other hindrance, to the young wife who is approaching. In the Hungarian and mostly in the Bulgarian this is merely a stylized picture representing a psychological state, while in the Roumanian and in some Bulgarian variants it is a realistic or fantastic scene with a dragon or a scorpion, or a wife who spills the dinner or turns back several times. This, with several other Hungarian-Bulgarian-Roumanian agreements, will be dealt with later in detail.

In the Hungarian the wife who arrives greets her husband, only to be met with silence, then, at her questioning the resolution is pronounced a second time, now with stupefying force: the woman learns her fate. Among other peoples only the greeting is found (Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek) and only very occasionally is her fate divulged, too (Bulgarian, Serbian). Instead there is very generally another scene: the husband dupes her by telling her he is lamenting his ring, which he has dropped between the walls; by this means he tricks the woman, who volunteers to look for it, into entering the space in which they wall her up. This part is general in the Bulgarian and Greek, and rare in the Albanian and Serbian. In the latter, indeed, it is usually meaningless, for the real object, to send her down into the foundations, is omitted. In several cases he weeps for his golden apple, whereat his wife consoles him, saying he shall have another to replace it; this part has no connection with the rest, finally loses all meaning, and there can be no doubt that it is secondary.

The Hungarian, Roumanian and Bulgarian are linked by the woman's (sometimes her husband's) words: the abandoned child will be washed by the rains, suckled by kind women, sung to sleep by the birds, and rocked by the winds. In addition we may recall two other scenes which may be regarded as common. In the Hungarian ballad there is consistently a closing scene in which the child asks Kelemen on his return home where his mother is. And in some variants he even goes to her in the castle and speaks to her, and the mother replies from the wall. In the Roumanian there is no trace of this; the Bulgarians only mention the child: "If you've no pity for me, take pity on your son", and the milk trickling out of the wall is sometimes described realistically, as the woman goes on suckling her child

in this way. In the Serbian, too, similar scenes are found: the child, who tastes the milk, begs the wall to fall, and it does so; the child prays to the saints for his mother's release. Among both peoples the child plays a part earlier, too: when the mother is getting ready to take the dinner out, she has to bath the child. This also occurs, very rarely and only as a passing reference, in some Greek variants too. But the Hungarian is unique in having the duologue between the child and his walled-in mother.

The other scene which might be called common is that of the spring of milk, of which there is a faint reminder—deprived of its original meaning—in the Roumanian: the spring of water which starts to flow at the spot where Manole falls down. In the Bulgarian it also figures, sometimes similarly to the Hungarian, but more commonly in another form: the woman asks for an opening to be left for her breast so that she may feed her child. But even in the Bulgarian, this is sometimes replaced by her request for a window to be left for her eye: she only wants to see her child. This form becomes predominant in the Serbian, but there we also find the opening left for the breast and the spring of milk occurring—the latter sometimes in a quite fantastic form, indeed as a final variant three springs: of milk, tears and blood. In the Albanian the spring of milk turns into such a picture of fantastic realism that a tube of goatskin is led to the mother's breast in the wall, and she feeds her child through that for seven years, or until it is weaned, then she turns into a spring. Here and in many Bulgarian places a spot is shown on a wall—a white or a damp spot—which they say is the remains of the mother's milk. The lime rubbed off, or the stone knocked out of the wall has magic power in many places to mothers whose milk has dried up. In the Greek the entire picture is missing.

From the list above can be seen the central position of the Bulgarian ballad among the others: we have Hungarian-Roumanian-Bulgarian resemblances ("Lord, send the rain!", "There are warm rains, they will wash it", "They built up to her knee, she thought it was a jest"), or the Roumanian-Bulgarian (monastery), or Hungarian-Bulgarian-Serbian-Albanian (castle, spring of milk, child's role), or Hungarian-Bulgarian-Serbian (the woman is told what awaits her), or the Roumanian-Bulgarian-Albanian-Serbian (the betrayal of the decision, the tasks set by the mason for his wife), or the Hungarian-Bulgarian (agreement, head mason's decision predominant), or the Bulgarian-Greek-Albanian-Serbian (ring, bridge, three brothers, various numbers of master-masons), or Bulgarian-Serbian (window for her eye), or Bulgarian-Albanian-Serbian (opening for her breast), or Bulgarian-Greek (message sent home).

(We have not taken into account here "common" elements which appear only isolatedly in variants among foreign surroundings: Roumanian elements in two Moldavian Magyar texts—33. and 36., and the former even has a verse in Roumanian tacked on to the end—Bulgarian motifs in two Bulgarian Greek variants from Stanimaka—13. and 14.—and Greek details in a Bulgarian text from Greece—55.)

The Bulgarian contains every motif. This shows that the Bulgarian was either the original starting point, or the main intermediary among the peoples.

Something of this was seen by ARNAUDOV when he set up the genealogical tree already quoted (page 178), in which the Bulgarian has influenced every single variant, at least in part, has borrowed only from the Greek (and this is also a connection), and lacks direct contact with only the Hungarian, but he was not even in a position to judge the links with the latter on the basis of the single AIGNER-ABAFI translation quoted by KÖHLER. He derives the details, too, in a corresponding way, for example from the southern Bulgarian the northern variants and so on.

A similar picture is shown by the converse test: if we review the elements occurring among a *single people*. Here we will not take into account single, occasional modifications, but only such elements as appear uniformly in at least a few variants. In the Bulgarian we find only two such; both occur only dispersedly, here and there, and do not affect the development of the story very much. One is the fateful epithet "most stupid", and the other the circumstance that the young wife is not walled in, only her measured shadow, and she herself dies at home. Both of these are visibly newer developments, the latter obviously through the influence of the practice in the well-known modern "building sacrifice".

There is similarly little or nothing significant in the way of "individual" peculiarities in the Hungarian variants. One such, a difference in formulation rather than a motif, is that when the woman is informed of what her fate is to be, she utters words of complaint ("Do it, if you have come to loathe your life with me" etc.), and another, that she asks permission to say goodbye to her child and women friends. The action is not altered by ending several variants with the death of the child. Only in the Hungarian is it rare to find the elsewhere general motif of the dinner being carried out (three instances), and instead one often finds the woman hurrying by carriage to her husband because of an ominous dream. The main action is unchanged, except that instead of simple chance it is the woman's love for her husband which causes her own destruction—and this only increases the strongly psychological character of the Hungarian version. There is only one special peculiarity of the Hungarian ballad which can be regarded as deterioration: instead of the walling up alive we find her blood or ashes being mixed into the lime. However, not even that changes the development of the story: here, as in the other solutions, the woman dies amid the walls, the tragic aspect remains unchanged; but there is a motif—and it is in the Hungarian that it is most strongly represented—which stands in contradiction to this version: the scene of the gradual walling-up, in which it gradually dawns on the woman that what is being done to her is no joke. But a careful study of just this motif helps to make it clear that in the Hungarian, too, the original idea was walling up alive. For where the formulas "let us burn her with fire" or "let us take her blood in the lime-bucket" occur in both places—at the beginning, in the resolution and at the end, when they tell her of it—there is never a gradual walling up. And when the latter is in fact found, then either a) there is only a faint trace of the formula, "Let her be put among the stones and burnt to death there" (which is rather difficult to imagine), and elsewhere the masons talk of "putting among the stones" as also in the example we have quoted, as well as in the summary quoted by

ERDÉLYI; or b) the formula is found at the beginning only, but not when the time comes to put it into practice. There is one other variant in which there is a trace of the walling up alive, in which incidentally killing is mentioned in both places; the father says to his child "Your mother stands *amid the great stone wall*". This might, indeed, be understood as a figure of speech, if it were the only instance. But in view of the other indubitable instances we must regard this, too, as a trace of the walling up alive. The other similar cases are: 20. "Well, now that you've come to the site of your death, stand among the stones, and let's put you into the lime. When they had built up to her knee . . ." etc.; 24. in verse, she is killed, but in prose is added "The woman was with child, and far gone, and when they were walling her up, her little son was born. For they didn't kill her, they walled her up alive." etc.; 30. at the beginning, too, only in general "Let's seize her, and kill her, and put her in the wall", but at the end, in prose: "Well then, if you'll pardon me, they walled his wife in up to her teats, and a spring of milk came out of her teats."; 32. at the beginning: "We'll wall her in here, and perhaps the great castle of Gyivó will stand", and at the end (in the only corrupt passage): "They took her blood in the lime-bucket, and they began to build her into the high castle of Gyivó. They built up to her knees . . ." and so on. The beginning shows that the insertion of the killing at the end was done later. In the same way details from the Roumanian Manole were inserted into this variant, also secondarily. The beginning of 34. is missing, and at the end we have: "They laid hands on her. Was it a jest or in earnest? Oh, it was in earnest! They built up to her waist . . ." etc., and similarly in 39. We shall not use 36., a completely individual formulation, as part of our proof.

The discordances still visible in these assemblies show that the alteration could not have happened very long ago, and that the walling up alive had previously figured in the Hungarian, too.

The Roumanians uniformly relate—in the Regat—their own very lengthy and significant variant: the destruction of the scaffolding, the attempts of the master masons to escape with or without wings, and their death. This part grows in significance to equal the woman's tragedy. The part played by Negru the Voivod is related with equal uniformity, although both this and the scene in which the shepherd boy appears, to point out the way to the monastery, can be regarded, in spite of their lengthiness, only as an epic development by detail and delay, rather than as a transformation of the story. In the more modern, Transylvanian texts all this is completely lacking. These texts do not mention Negru the Voivod, nor the closing scene; they are short and ballad-like and, compared with those from the Regat, they are very close to the Hungarian formulation.

Individual versions are most numerous and most significant in the Serbo-Croat. There are lengthy preliminary stories, the scene with the fairy, especially where the fairy is clinging to the leg of the master mason's horse, the walls which collapse in a storm, the great variety of victims—the first wife to appear, two twin children, a sister, the master-builder's own son, a shepherd in the fields, a passing child—(which at the same time alters the entire course of the action), the motifs concerned with the escape of the

woman and in general the great differences in presentation that we have seen; and with all this there is practically no motif which does not appear in several basically different forms; and practically no version which by the number of examples stands out among the rest. Everything is found in only a few instances; there is great variety of everything with but few examples of each.

In the Albanian variants the walling up of the sister, associated with the place-name Rosafa is the individual version, together with the tube to the mother's breast. The first means a basically different plot, while the second stands out among the elements met with hitherto for its astonishing nature.

The Greeks, too, are distinguished by their substantial individual conceptions. One such is the undoubtedly secondary image of a "Hair-thin Bridge", others are the curse at the end and the references to the fate of the three sisters; a less important motif is that the woman has to put on her finery—often in order to go down into the foundations for the ring; but a difference which is of decisive significance in marking them out among all the other nations is that the spirit indicates in advance that the head mason's wife is to be the victim, and the song thereafter tells only of how the thing is done, and of the "calculation" we have mentioned.

Thus, if we were to take the "individual divergences" to mean deviations from a common "main text", such deviations to be a measure at the same time of the secondary nature of the version concerned, then we should have to exclude the Serbian, Greek, Roumanian and Albanian from any possibility of being original and consider in this connection only the Bulgarian and the Hungarian.

Some, however, hold a view which takes precisely such details as are found among one nation and nowhere else as evidence in deciding origins. For example STEFANOVIĆ (1931) starts by establishing that the walling up of the two twins is found only in the Serbian, and that it is precisely the tales about them which include the least of the "common" plot, from which it follows that this is a peculiarly Serb invention. At the same time he points out that the sacrifice of two children is a very old and widely distributed traditional story. It is even found among the Irish—he quotes the walling up of twin children in THURNEYSSEN's work *Irische Helden*, as well as, from NENNIUS' 6th century *Historia Britonum*, the legend of the Celtic king Vortigern, who tries to build a castle, but material collected by day for the building disappears by night in a miraculous fashion. On Druid's advice a child born without a father is killed, and his blood is sprinkled on the place where the castle is to stand, and thus the undertaking succeeds. Here we have the child, indeed, and it is also killed beforehand, but we also have something like the motif of the wall that falls at night. (On this, cf. also ANDREE, 18–23 and WESTERMARCK. Among the Irish there is also another part of the formula to be found, also separate: Saint Columba's building of a monastery is also hindered by the continually falling wall, on the other hand there is no mention of "night"; and he has his companion Oran buried alive in the foundations.) He also analyses the sacrifice of the two children (following ČAJKANOVIĆ) from the Bible, that passage in Jo-

shua in which, after the miraculous fall of the walls of Jericho, Joshua pronounces a curse on whoever should rebuild the walls: that he may build the walls with the loss of his firstborn and youngest sons. His view is—and this, too, is very likely—that what we have here is a reformulation, turning it into history, of an originally popular traditional story in which the falling wall is made firm by having two children built into it. This makes the walling up of two children an ancient image which only the Serbo-Croat variants have preserved, and have particular importance in considering the question of origins.

In order to assess this argument we must make a little detour into the literature on the building sacrifice. (Cf. TYLOR I, 104–110, ANDREE, 18–23 "Einmauern", SARTORI, SOLYMOSSY, Hdwb d. d. Aberggl. I Bauopfer headword.)

The belief was found to be widespread in various forms throughout the world when interest in it was roused at the end of the last century. One of the most general forms of it—especially in Europe—was the child sacrifice, as witness the innumerable German instances of it. Often the child was bought from poor parents or gipsy women, and there is a record of such a case being prevented in 1615, and the mother being punished, but it was attempted even in 1717. According to a Copenhagen record, in order to stop a wall falling down a little girl was procured, with toys and food, and seated at table while 12 master masons built a vault over her to the sound of music. Many German records say that the only child of the master builder had to be walled in. There are others which speak of the sacrifice of twins. When the cathedral at Strasbourg was founded two brothers were buried. In Galam in Africa a little brother and sister were buried under the town gate—just as in the Serbian case of Stojan and Stojana. Ancient Greek records speak of unmarried girls: when Antioch was founded an unmarried girl was killed, another called Makedonia was sacrificed by Alexander the Great when Alexandria was founded, the maid Antigone by Tiberius when building the theatre at Antioch, a beautiful girl called Kalliope by Trajan when rebuilding Antioch after the earthquake. The same story was found in Columbia, and we even find it in the Mordvin songs we deal with later. A woman was found buried to the west of Lake Baikal, near Balagansk on the river Angara, beside a recently discovered 6th–7th century Kurikan fortification; the unnaturally distorted position of the body, with her two hands beside the head, the fingers bent in like claws, as though she had clawed at her face, are evidence that she was buried alive. (Oral information by Vilmos DIÓSZEGI.)

But we also find, similarly quite generally, blood being mixed with the lime. Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages there are records of it, indeed, SOLYMOSSY makes this a primitive European form (on the basis of BASTIAN, BARING-GOULD and GALFRID of MONMOUTH), indeed, even the church of Quetzalcohuatl was built with lime mixed with the blood of murdered 2–3-year-old children. In Kumasi in Africa the blood of victims was mixed in the clay for plastering the royal tombs.

Incidentally a practice found all over the world is that of sprinkling the site, the builder or the foundation stone with blood.

The voluntary character of the sacrifice can be shown in many different cases: a youth in Japan, the Strasbourg cathedral, records of child sacrifices in Germany, the unmarried girl in an Estonian fable are evidence of it, and so are our Mordvin songs 1. and 4., in which the girl consoles her parents, indeed, regards her walling up as glory: "Do not weep, father, do not weep, mother, there will be old folk's tales and young folk's talk about us. A great song will be sung, a great tale told about us!"

We hear of a specified victim even from Burma, the sacrifice of a designated person in Georgian and Indian fables, of the first passer-by or a child in Nizhni-Novgorod, and Siam, and in the town-founding traditions of the ancient Slavs on the Danube. And while the ancient records speak of a beautiful virgin, that is, of a sacrifice of value, more recent ones refer to a pauper child bought for money and also people condemned for wrongdoing, indeed a mediaeval German record tells how peasants trying to re-establish a broken dike made a beggar drunk and pushed him in as a sacrifice. More recently we find quite generally the measurement of the victim's shadow, which is then walled in, and the person concerned dies shortly afterwards. I am informed of a north German record by WESTERMARCK (quoting NYROP) in which *the master mason is walled in by a knight as a punishment because he boasted that he could have built a far finer castle, had he wished.*

From this review it is plain that while STEFANOVIĆ is quite correct in regarding the walling up of twins as an ancient tradition, he is incorrect in arguing, on these grounds, the primacy of this motif. For on this basis we could claim equally ancient origins for the Hungarian form, because the mixing of blood into the lime is a similarly ancient and widespread practice. However, this is undoubtedly secondary in the ballad of the wife built into the wall. We can also see that in the traditional material on the building sacrifice can be found every variant associated with the identity of the victim and the manner of the sacrifice which has been found in the different national variants and has been shown to be secondary in relation to the narration: the two children with the same name, a passing child, an unmarried girl, a shepherd found in the fields (among the Serbs), the builder's sister (among the Serbs and Albanians)—this may even be a late descendant of the ancient Greek traditional version, although in that the girls were killed before being built into the walls—blood in the lime (among the Hungarians), a voluntary victim (in Serbian-Albanian variants), walling-up of shadows (in the Bulgarian), and even the Greek formula that the victim must be "neither child, nor passer-by, nor beggar" agrees with the more modern, "cheaper" practice and shows that here the unfamiliar walled-up wife is contrasted with the customary valueless victim. The last-mentioned German reference, moreover, gives the fable-like basis of the closing scene in the Roumanian variants. Had this been known of only in north German areas, it would still be easily explained by the presence among the Roumanians of the Saxon (and Magyar) inhabitants as early as the period when the voivodships were set up, where they founded towns and villages, or lived, and may thus have passed this feature on just when the Roumanian ballad was emerging (see JORGA, AUNER). Some sort of analogy to the wife of the master mason is offered by the German instances in which the

master builder's son is to be sacrificed. Incidentally it is precisely the walling up of the wife—the central occurrence in our ballad—which lacks an analogy in the practice of the building sacrifice. In other words every "customary" form of building sacrifice penetrated in some way into the ballad, since it is precisely a building sacrifice that is involved in it. The secondary nature of these elements can be seen clearly everywhere, and most clearly in the VUK Serbian variant.

To STEFANOVIĆ it is plain that this text is an amalgam of the ballads of the child sacrifice and the master mason's wife. The part which concerns the twins is quite obviously a subsequent interpolation, which made it necessary to find the structurally strained solution in which the sprite's wish proves impossible to fulfil, and the demand is thereupon changed. STEFANOVIĆ calls this solution "naivety amounting to genius", nevertheless both from a poetic point of view, and in the knowledge of the forms of folk art we must condemn it. A long and colourful episode which subsequently proves to have been superfluous in a construction, and an episode, moreover, which in a folk tale or verse epic alike would be adequate for a main story, cannot be a satisfactory solution. At all events it was attached, as an opening, and secondarily, to an already complete story. It was only the great respect accorded to VUK's variant and his entire collection which led people to regard this variant as a prototype of the whole group of ballads about the walled-up wife. This was the first known variant! Indeed, the VUK collection and Serbian folk poetry were the first known eastern European folk poetry, and its especially rich heroic epics have, since Goethe's time, rightly earned international recognition. It is, therefore, no wonder that some researchers at the end of the century regarded the Serbian, on the basis of the VUK variant, as the starting point of the whole range of ballads. And another circumstance helped: the "scientific tradition" which always quoted the VUK variant, and at the same time referred to the others only to the effect that the fable of the building sacrifice was known all over the southern Slav language area. Thus the dominant impression was that the VUK variant existed everywhere in the Serbo-Croat area, and there was no awareness of the considerable differences that exist, in particular that this variant is itself rather isolated among the other southern Slav texts. Among the names occurring, Gojko appears once only, in 3. Ogljesa, also alone, in 19. and the waters of the Bojana without Skadar in 16. and 31. And the complete story, and individual motifs from it, do not occur even once in any other place.

Yet of the argument advanced by STEFANOVIĆ we might accept this much: that the variants which describe the walling up of the twins and which, we might add, relate other, divergent stories, while containing nothing of the common story, are original formations which grew in verse form, directly out of the builders' sacrifice, and represent an old European tradition. But there are two big snags in this. The first is that the European traditional legend is entirely in prose; it developed its own component parts as fixed formulas, in particular those that deal with the child sacrifice—in the duologue between the mother and her child—and this part, on the evidence of the Georgian variants, is a very old form of the European tradi-

tion, indeed, as we shall see, it was in the Georgian that these parts were cast in verse form; but in the Serbian ballads these parts are entirely missing! Neither in the variants resembling the main text, nor in the more independent variants do we find anywhere any trace of them.

Nor on the other hand, can it be said that these texts are very independent of the common tradition. Even in the four most independent texts we find links connecting them with the common tradition. In 23. a window is left for the woman's eye, and this can only be the last stage in the process of development which started with the spring of milk originating in the walled-in woman, after which came the feeding of the child, which changed to the opening left for her breast, and finally to an opening left for her eye. We cannot imagine how, out of this motif from a single legend about a walled-up sweetheart the whole development could have taken place in the reverse direction. Similarly striking are the compound and large numbers of masons, corresponding to variants among other peoples, in 4-5., together with the unsuccessful attempts to build extending over several years and the wall falling, night and day. If these, and 2. were texts which closely resembled each other in formulation, and did not greatly differ from one another, and if we found in addition to them in similarly uniform variants the ballad of the walled-up wife, then indeed we could speak of an independently developed Bosnian poem about a building sacrifice, which in the VUK variant had merged with the Walled-up Wife. But the position is not that at all: what we find is crumbling stories re-assembling the various motifs, in variegated new combinations so that we must regard them as the final variants on a single tale into which the various concepts of the builders' sacrifice penetrated, increasing the process of diversification, and the final stage was text 2., in which practically nothing can be found of the elements of the "common" story.

If we take the whole of the Serbo-Croat material into consideration, it becomes obvious that it can have been neither starting-point, nor the intermediary which spread the Balkan concept to the Magyars, but only, as we have seen, a final stage on the route followed by the development of variants. The view hitherto has been that the Hungarian is linked to the Serbian by the child figuring in the ending. But this is also found in the Bulgarian, while in the Serbian it appears only in the fantastically further developed stories, in which this, too, is only a subsequent bit of colour added to a motif inherited in the form of a reference. The duologue between child and walled-in mother, specifically characteristic of the Hungarian, is missing, so that a direct link is not very likely.

We must, however, look to see what justification there is for the argument that material compounded of many different versions is secondary to a uniform variant in a language area. For we have seen how, even in the Bulgarian texts, the individual motifs alternate with one another in a fairly wide range of variants, yet from among the various interrelations a certain central role emerged for the Bulgarian ballad.

It would, of course, be a mistake to measure the variegated nature of the Bulgarian material against the Serbo-Croat. In the Bulgarian the variants appear at the most in such differences as a bridge or castle being built, how

many builders there are and what their names are, and even the greatest alterations, such as the oath-breaking woven into the story with its associated motifs, or the ring scene, only modify the main story, but do not guide the whole action into a different direction. Moreover the Bulgarian variants form blocks of 30-40-50%, of which two, or at the most three are opposed to each other, and not a large number of small variant groups substantially differing from each other, without any close interconnections. The significance of the Bulgarian must therefore be judged in a markedly different way from the southern Slav.

And yet it seems quite natural to take the view that the uniform variant has primacy in the process of development over what is not uniform. But it would not be correct to use this principle as we find it used by BAUD-BOVY in contrasting the uniform Greek with the variety to be found in all the other areas. Of course if the Roumanian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Hungarian are put together we have a colourful manifold variety, but in exactly the same way the Hungarian or the Roumanian is uniform in relation to all the others, and then the Greek, too, is included in the "manifold variety". If we take the language areas one by one, we get the following picture: the most uniform is the Hungarian, in which even the minor details and the names are identical, and at the most they are missing from the fragmentary texts. The Roumanian falls into two large groups: the one from the Regat, with Negru the Voivod, and the Transylvanian, which greatly differs from it, but both groups are, within these limits, fairly uniform. The Greek is less so, though it could still be called uniform. But the Bulgarian varies greatly. (And now we will leave the Serbian and Albanian out of account.) Should we, then, in every case, take the "uniform" to be an earlier stage and the "varied" a later?

To this question even a little thought will give an answer. The uniform Greek differs greatly from the Hungarian (or Regat Roumanian), which is also uniform. Linking threads run only through the Bulgarian, in which there are on the one hand features which also appear in the Greek, and on the other hand elements common also to the Hungarian and Roumanian. And if we do not wish to assume the impossible, namely that the story developed in two (or three) different areas, in each case independently of the others, and influenced the Bulgarian, then we can only reckon with only the following possibilities: either the uniform Hungarian passed to the Bulgarians, became diversified, and then gave rise to the Greek, again uniform, or *vice versa*, from the Greek, via the diverse Bulgarian to the uniform Hungarian; or the Bulgarian itself was the original, and then from the varied Bulgarian arose the uniform Greek and Hungarian. In all three cases in at least one instance the uniform has arisen from variety, so that we not only may, but must reckon with such a possibility. And that means that if among one people a motif is found in two or three variants, and of these only one can be found among the neighbouring people, occurring generally, that does not signify necessarily that the latter is the original. It may also mean that the neighbouring people took over only one variant, and from it formed its own national version. It also means at the same time that the motif occurring in the greater proportion does not necessarily accord pri-

macy to a nation. These phenomena should be taken into account only with a certain deliberation, where they are striking and occur together, and where several points of view coincide.

But there are also decisive criteria which are enough in themselves to solve the problem of primacy. If in the mutual relationships between the texts from two language areas we find that the characteristic motifs of one are to be found in the texts from the other, but that the outstanding characteristics of the latter are completely lacking in the former, then it is beyond doubt that the first was the giver and the second could have been only the receiver. There is no doubt, for instance, that the Roumanian type from the Regat, characterized by the role of Negru the Voivod and by the closing scene with the wings and the falling masons, could not have been a starting point, could not have given rise to the others, because then the characteristic and general motif must have appeared in some form in the other two, at least in fragmentary form. This is such a striking motif that where the Roumanian influence is really felt—secondarily—it appears (for example in the two Moldavian Magyar variants). The lack of this in the Bulgarian and the Hungarian, with the presence at the same time of a series of common elements which prove on detailed examination (below) to be obscured, misunderstood or otherwise secondary in nature, shows the Roumanian language area to be the same sort of final stage as the Serbian, to which the story came from elsewhere, but, in the form acquired, did not then pass on elsewhere.

However, what have the texts recently published by TALOŞ to tell us on this subject? In these, as already pointed out, the opening and closing stories connected with Negru the Voivod and Argeş, the punishment of the masons, and also, indeed, for the most part the episode, common also to the Bulgarian, about the breaking of the oath, the betrayal of the plan, and the tasks set by the head mason are missing. At the same time these texts from Kolozs County, the Bánát, Hunyad and Brassó tell the story in short, concise ballad style (42–137 lines, average 78 lines) compared with the rambling style of those from the Regat (300–800 lines). Thus the Roumanian material is sharply divided in two territorially and by metric differences, on the one hand the Regat formulation known up to the present, and on the other, the Transylvanian version, which is much closer to the Hungarian.

From this TALOŞ deduces that the Transylvanian variants influenced the Hungarian. But this could have been possible only in one way: if the whole range of ballads had developed among the Roumanians in Transylvania and had passed by way of the Hungarians to the other peoples. For even if they had reached them from the south, and the Hungarians had been the last stage, how does he explain the difference between the two Roumanian areas? True, TALOŞ simply calls the whole Icarus scene a later interpolation, which is therefore supposed to have developed after the people in the Regat had passed the story on to their fellows in Transylvania. But even if that were so, there would still remain considerable differences between the two concepts. Moreover, it is very difficult to explain why the subsequent transformation also remained in so strict a territorial isolation. And

the Roumanians of Transylvania, as the starting point, do not explain the Caucasian connections—so TALOŞ pronounces them not proven. But even then we have still to explain something: the short, ballad-like forms of the Transylvanian texts. The Ballad in the narrow sense of the word is just as unfamiliar there as in the Regat, so that if they receive a ballad theme from us, as we saw in Chapter I, they loosen it up into a narrative style. In Hungary, however, the ballad and the ballad style are general. Just this one text, then, is supposed to have been produced in a ballad-like form, but only among the Roumanians in Transylvania, and to have influenced the Hungarian, in which it fits in well with the general poetic style; but to have crossed the Carpathians and changed in form among the Roumanians of the Regat, separating out into two versions, sharply divided from each other, among one and the same people! I do not believe this view is tenable for a moment. A simpler explanation is that the Roumanians in Transylvania got this ballad directly from the Magyars (partly from Bulgarians), while it spread to those in the Regat in the area of Hungarian-Bulgarian-Serbian-Roumanian contacts, from the territory of the former Banate of Szörény, as it did generally to the other peoples, and took on individual characteristics in the Old Kingdom.

There remain for further consideration the Greek, Bulgarian and Hungarian ballads. These three are close to each other in that they are the shortest, and their style the most ballad-like.

An argument against the primacy of the Greek is the large number of substantial peculiarities which occur nowhere else, and which play a large part in the moulding of the story. However, we could, at a pinch, envisage a solution in which the first recipient altered the story at certain points, which then became so compelling that the other peoples took it over, and it went on along the road of diversification without the original version. Even then there would be the difficulty arising from the question of why the ballad reached the Serbian and Albanian via the Bulgarian, since all three peoples are next-door neighbours of the Greeks. Then there is the decisive argument that in the Greek texts we come across several details which are meaningless in the Greek plot, and fit only into the Bulgarian. To begin with, there is that part of the text quoted, in which the master mason sends for his wife with a message that she must come late, but the message is misunderstood, and she hurries to the scene. Since in this case it has been decided in advance that it is to be she and no one else who is to be built into the wall, and there is no question of which of several wives will arrive first, this can only be a once meaningful motif from the Bulgarian variants which has become meaningless. For in the Bulgarian many variants tell of the masons sending messages to their wives, telling them not to arrive too early (in 2., 13., 15., 20., 50., 29., 26., 22., 17., 35.; and in 3. they make the head mason drunk, and he does not hear them agreeing to tell their wives). In the other variants they go home and tell their wives themselves not to leave early. On the other hand in many variants which I know only from ARNAUDOV'S summaries, it is not clear whether the warning was given to them personally or in a message. (That is why I have not set out this motif separately in the tables.)

Nor is there any motivation for the action in variant 10., in which, after the "cynical calculation" the master mason is sorrowful when he sees his wife arriving, just as in other variants and as in all the Bulgarian texts. One or two place-names betray even more. In variant 2. the name of the place where the sacrifice is made is Manoli, which can only be a preservation of the Bulgarian mason's name. Further evidence for the northern source is the name of the Danube among the list of the places where the sacrifice took place, which, mentioned in distant Cappadocia with the local Euphrates, undoubtedly preserves the memory of the motif in the variant taken over. The answer given by BAUD-BOVY (and after him by MEGAS) to this was that these were the two bordering rivers of the Byzantium of the period, and that is why they both appear in the ballad. Yet I do not believe that the peasants in any mediaeval realm would use geographical names in this way in their wordings. They included in them only the well-known local names of rivers, mountains, towns and so on, or names they took only over with the texts and so preserved, knowing nothing of where the places were or whence the names came. And why does the Euphrates figure only so sporadically in the other parts of the Empire, as a border river, while the Danube is fairly often recorded (in the greatest number in the North, gradually diminishing towards the south and the east)?

Another thing which is very characteristic of the distribution routes is that the "hair-thin bridge" image, which marks the process of blurring, occurs particularly in Asia Minor and on the islands of the Aegean, Crete and Cyprus, in other words, becomes more regular as one goes from north to south and east.

After reading my article, BAUD-BOVY also agreed that the form in Cappadocia (Asia Minor) cannot have been the most ancient. For even in Cappadocia and Ak-Dag three types of version have been recorded (10-12.). In them we find all together the nine master masons with forty-two, a thousand with ten thousand, the bridge of Atana with hair-thin bridge, the casting of lots with a different version; in both occurs the "calculation", and in the third it is not stated who is to be walled in. In all the other motifs, too, we find divergences (see Table VII). So we cannot say the picture offered by the variants recorded in this small area is one of uniformity. At the same time there are also plentiful corruptions of the texts to variegate them, with omissions to take away their meaning. ARNAUDOV also, like us, regarded the Greek version in the Epirus as the basic type, and the most divergent from it the texts from the island of Cos, Cappadocia and Thrace.

The fact that among the corrupt and fragmentary details we also find here and there some which appear to be genuinely original, does not signify the primacy of the variants found there. The position is always similar with a fragment of a people living in distant, foreign surroundings, isolated from the main body of the people: we find among them on the one hand one or more tenaciously preserved, very archaic elements, and on the other hand the most corrupt texts, with individualistic further developments. Thus it is with the Moldavian Magyars, in the islands of German-speakers in Gottschee, southern Slovenia, among the French in Canada and in the scattering of Greeks in Ak-Dag.

The distinguished author is therefore correct in saying that the victim designated by lots, or the agreement between the masons, is more original than the spirit's words: "Les maçons n'ont pas besoin du conseil d'un être surnaturel pour se décider . . . ils en prennent l'initiative, conformément aux rites séculaires de leur corporation . . . il est pour nous hors de doute que les chansons cappadociennes nous ont conservé la forme primitive de la chanson; en l'adoptant, les habitants des autres parties de la Grèce ont tenté d'atténuer la responsabilité du maître-maçon . . ." Except that he himself says that in the overwhelming majority of the Greek variants a supernatural being decides in the matter of designating the victim. It is only by taking into account the material from the whole area, and also all the Cappadocian variants, that we can solve the question of origins.

Elsewhere, too, there occurs in the Greek material a variant which might be regarded as "original". BAUD-BOVY quotes a variant from Adrianople, which he calls "totalement aberrante", and we find in it the well-known Bulgarian variant: the masons decide that the victim shall be whichever of the wives appears first. He recognizes this as a link between the Greek and Balkan variants, but does not draw the conclusion which we think should be drawn: the Bulgarian solutions appear in the Greek, but the individualistic Greek solutions are completely unknown in the Bulgarian (the previous designation of the wife as victim, the calculation, the curse, and the fate of the three girls). Let us add that in the Greek the *bridge*-building has become the exclusive type, and we must regard it as secondary on account of certain meaningless elements, and that in the listing of the master-masons we find here the greatest—frequently astonishing—numbers. These facts, together with the evidence offered by losses of meaning, in our view put it beyond doubt that it must have been the Greek which developed from the Bulgarian and not the other way round.

The judgement of BAUD-BOVY, STOILOV, ARNAUDOV, SOLYMOSSY and others is strongly influenced by respect for Greek culture (both antique and Byzantine). The high level of culture in Byzantium does not make it impossible for the Greek peasants to have taken over effective stories from the neighbouring peoples, nor essential that in every case the Greeks should have been the givers.

Now let us try to throw light on the relationship between the Hungarian and Bulgarian variants, too. In the Hungarian ballad there is not a single motif which is not found also in the Bulgarian, apart from peculiarities of little significance which do not affect the thread of narrative in any important way. Not even the visions in dreams or the coach are decisive, since the dinner-carrying is also found. So the dinner-carrying scene may have originated in the Hungarian and passed to the Bulgarian and other territories, just as the few cases of monastery-building in the Bulgarian may have given rise to the Roumanian. Nor is this statement contradicted by the undoubtedly later change from the walling-up alive to the killing followed by the walling-up. This is just as much a later development as the walling-up of the shadow in the Bulgarian. The greater number of examples of this in the Hungarian is explained by the fact that the Hungarian variants are from a comparatively small, cohesive area, where one arrangement was

easily able to spread in a uniform version. There are also other examples of this with other ballads from other areas (for example the more recent highwayman details of the Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, from the banks of the Danube, in the south). But the very general fable-spinning factors from the Bulgarian are unknown in the Hungarian—the breaking of the oath, the excuses offered by the other women, the tasks the mason sets his wife, and the ring scene. This seems to show that the Bulgarians took the ballad over from us.

But of the extra elements in the Bulgarian not one is exclusive as in the Roumanian of the Regat, where the last scene with the Icarus motif figures in some form in every variant. But alongside the Bulgarian specialities we also find other solutions, though fewer in number, which agree with the Hungarian: the head mason decides, or all the masons decide jointly, and the lot falls on the wife of the head mason. However, what we said above about the “uniform” and “variegated” areas, is valid here, too. It was even possible for this rarer version to become general in the Hungarian. Final conclusions can be drawn only from the parts which have become blurred.

The motifs we have to consider are the following: the master mason’s prayer for obstacles, the motif of the “warm rains”, the gradual walling in, the spring, and the head mason’s decision or the agreement. All these figure in the Roumanian, too, so we shall review the three similar national versions together from this point of view.

We saw the master mason’s prayer in the Hungarian sample text. Other forms of it are as follows: “O God, send heavy rain, to stop my wife getting here, may the coach break down to prevent her!” — “Good morrow, sirs!...” (4.); “O God, send heavy rain, send a shower to stop her coming here”. But the faster fell the rain, the more she hurried; and when she arrived... (5.); “Send a full cloud, a big storm of rain, and make my wife turn back.” God sent it, but she did not turn back. (6.); “O lord, take her somewhere else, may all my four bays break their legs, may all four wheels of my coach break to pieces, may God’s arrow (lightning) strike the road, and make my horses turn back snorting!” But they kept on and on towards Déva Castle, and no ill befell either horse or coach. (11.), and almost word for word the same (14.). In 13., after the prayer: “God does not hear the pleas of Kelemen, but helps his dear wife to approach”. In 16. and 17. the prayers for wind, and a wolf to eat the horse’s leg, and immediately after it comes the wife’s greeting. In Moldavian variants he asks, in addition to bad weather, for wild wolves, and the summit of “reality” is “God sent those, too, but still they did not turn back”. Thus 20. too: “There was a tall forest, there was a rain-storm, but my wife still came on” and 33. in which he prays for a wolf, a bear, a shower of stones, and after all three “God gave that, too, yet they did not turn back”. Thus the Hungarians stick to the stylized depiction of a psychological state, even when, in any particular variant, the miracle prayed for is brought about. We find this in eighteen variants, in seven cases the master mason only tries to warn them to turn back, in three cases there is only (without a prayer) a storm, in a few the same, together with what we have had before, and the servant takes it to be an omen, advises

turning back, but is unable to change his lady’s will. These are paler and paler versions of the story, but the poem and the original motif still keep their stylized character.

In the Bulgarian there are altogether seven instances in the following formulas. 1. (O God,) “send dark clouds, fine rain from the clouds, may my darling’s foot slip and may she drop the dinner, and turn back.—The Lord does not listen to Manojlo, and his dear wife arrives”. Here there is some realistic detail, but the whole thing remains a wish. In 12., similarly to the Hungarian, he shakes his head to warn her, and when she gets nearer signals with his hand. In 14. he prays for wind, and that she may spill the dinner and go back home. God grants his desire, the rain falls and the wind blows, but no ill befalls her. Thus the picture becomes realistic here, but inconsequential. In 20., too, he asks for strong wind and a storm, but the text breaks off here, and the fragment does not show how it would have developed. In 27., our example quoted in full, there is only bad weather, without any prayer, as in some Hungarian variants, but the young wife sets out three times, turns back to various sisters-in-law, and the third time reaches her husband: a completely realistic version in much detail and without any psychological intensification. Text 30., which is close to it, goes further in its realism: the rain soaks the dinner, the young wife turns back, and then we hear the excuses of the sisters-in-law for not undertaking to carry the dinners to the men. This text can really be called corrupt in comparison with the clearly outlined, effective, short formula. There is also the Rhodope variant, 69., in which the husband signals to his wife to turn back, which she interprets as a sign to hurry (as sometimes in the Hungarian, too). Apart from this last one, all the variants are from the northwestern strip of territory.

In the Roumanian area the realistic air of the scene becomes quite fantastic, and although we find it in the greatest proportion here, its secondary nature is still obvious. In ALECSANDRI’s text the motif is an amply detailed, realistic scene, but still only the detailed description of a shower, a storm. But in 2. we find a thicket growing up in front of her, then a wolf appears, his tongue dripping blood, then a scorpion. Twice she is frightened, tips up the stew and goes back. But at the sight of the scorpion she is no longer frightened, but turns off the road, goes another way, and arrives. Text 3. combines these with the tasks set by the husband: he prays for heavy rain, which is given in great detail; then for darkness to frighten her and make her tip the food up, then for God to put the thought into her mind to look for the ox—in other variants she has to find an ox missing for a year, and prepare a dinner from it. It all happens, she tips up the dinner, but having found the ox, makes a new dinner of it, and delivers it. In subsequent variants she is frightened by a dragon, a bear, a wolf, a snake, a thorn, even a flock of sheep with savage dogs, always with triple repetition and turning back. So we see that what, in the Bulgarian, is still only a minor alteration, here takes on fantastic proportions. And if anyone should still take this unrealistic realism to be a sign of primacy, he may well find much to ponder in the contradictions and confusion in the scene in 3., which are nowhere to be found in the Hungarian, are slight in the

Bulgarian, and are commonest in the Roumanian. It is also to be found, apart from this, in the scene of the tasks set by the husband, in the Bulgarian and Roumanian. This is not altered by the fact that the recently found Transylvanian variants in general employ this picture in a similar way to the Hungarian, in a shorter and less "realistic" form, and the same applies to the other things to be dealt with below. This even more clearly shows the Hungarian origin. It is used in the same way as in the Hungarian by the Roumanian groups which are near to the Hungarians, and as we move away from the latter, so the picture recedes from its original content and character. For this reason we shall not deal separately with the Transylvanian variants in what follows.

Now let us look at the woman's prayer, which we have met with in the Hungarian text quoted. Other examples are to be found in the fragmentary 4., to which is added at the end: "Kind women will give you the nipple, kind girls will do the washing"; 5.: "Sleep, sleep, kind women will give you the nipple, wash your clothes, and dry them in the warm sun"; 12.: "Put him into a cradle in the middle of the yard, kind women will come and suckle him, soft rains will come and wash him, gentle winds will come and rock him"; 23.: (when already walled up) "O God, what will become of my tiny boy?—There are cradles to rock him in, kind women to suckle him"; 25.: "Put my rocking cradle before me, and put my child in it. There will be soft rains to wash him, gentle breezes to rock him to sleep"; 26.: "Put my child in a rocking cradle, beautiful women will come to suckle him, mild rains will fall to wash him, soft breezes will blow to lull him"; 33.: "Who will bath my child?—There are gentle rains to wash him.—Who will wrap my child up?—There are kind women to wrap him up.—Who will give my child his dinner?—There are kind little birds to bring him food.—Who will rock my child to sleep?—There are soft winds to rock him to sleep." Only in the doubtful BENEDEK-SEBESI collection (13.), which appears to have been re-written, do we find the request realistically fulfilled: "God heard her request... He sent warm rain..." etc.

We might add that in the ballad of Beautiful Kata Bán, from Csanád County, we also find this formula, when a mother abandons her children under a tree: "When the birds flap their wings, just imagine it is your mother talking to you. When the rain falls, just imagine it is I, your mother, bathing you" (KÁLMÁNY 1881-91 II, 169). And we also find it in some variants of Ilona Budai — EA 2299, 360 Rugonfalva, Udvarhely C.: "Kind women will come to suckle you, soft winds to rock you to sleep"; MSZ 6359 Klézse, Moldavia: "Pretty little birds will come to bring you food, warm rains will come to wash you, gentle winds will come to rock you to sleep"; DOMOKOS No. 26: "Warm rains will come to wash you, and warm winds will come to rock you to sleep"; MF 2475b Trunk, Moldavia: "Warm rains..." etc., almost identical. In the following two only a blurred form remains: MSZ 6391 "The birds of the air must be your fathers, and the wild woodland creatures your mothers" and the same in MSZ 6392. (Both are from Lécped, Moldavia.)

In the Bulgarian it occurs twice: 38., at the wife's question "Have you no pity for your son?" the husband, to console her, says that the cradle

will be brought, and *that will be walled in, too*, "when the wind blows, it will rock the child to sleep; when the rain falls, it will wash him; when the birds fly thither, they will feed him, too." In 49. the picture is worn away, but has a textual link with the foregoing: "Who will feed my little boy?—My sister will feed him.—And who will feed my child?—The wild birds."

It is not, however, impossible that the picture has simply been lost from several variants—for many are fragmentary in the Bulgarian collections—for we find it several times, and in clearer outlines, separately in the Bulgarian tradition in the poem corresponding to our "Beautiful Kata Bán". The Turks abduct a mother, and she has to put her little son down under a tree, or at the foot of the mountains. She offers him to the Stara Planina, then comes the above motif turned into a realistic scene, except that the young hinds that run past suckle him. He grows up, and he is often the rescuer of his imprisoned mother. See A-V 147 lines 38-48, *ibid.* 148 lines 13-18, *ibid.* 149 lines 27-32, STOIN 1931 Sredna No. 181 verse 3, the end of No. 182, then Nos. 183-4, the end of No. 185, No. 186 line 39, STOIN 1939 Trakiya, the end of Nos. 115, 118 and 119, STOIN 1928 Timok No. 2885 from line 34, *ibid.* in 2886, 2889, 2892-2897, IVANOV 1949 No. 178 from line 16, TSITSELKOVA at the end of Nos. 168-9, IVANOV 1936 Nos. 162-4. For example STOIN 1931 Sredna No. 181: "Then Todorka said: Sleep, my son, Danyanka, when winds blow, they will rock your cradle, when the hinds go past, they will suckle you, when the soft rain falls, it will wash you, so that you will grow up and free your mother from the Turks!" So here again we find that the stylized picture which gives glimpses of fate, feelings, a psychological state, has been replaced by a scene developed into a realistic, fable-like story, with a greater or less degree of corruption.

The latter is increased in the Roumanian. Text 2. has: "The woman keeps on wailing, as the building proceeds, that her child is weeping. Finally her mouth is walled up, then Manole replies: God will look after your child, as you left it in its bed. Fairies will go to it and suckle it, when it snows it will be anointed, when it rains it will be washed, when the wind blows it will be rocked, and that is how it will grow up." The best is in 3.: "Who will suckle my child?—Fairies.—Who will bath him?—The rain.—Who will rock him?—The wind." 4.: "Have you no pity for Yolan, I left him hung up between the plum trees, unsuckled, unbathed!—The rain will fall and bath him, the snow will wet him, when the wind blows it will rock him to sleep, the sparrows will come and sing till he goes to sleep." 7.: "Make a silken cradle and... (only vaguely comprehensible parts)... I will bring the baby here and lay him in the cradle, so that the wind will rock him, the snow anoint him, and the rain wash him." 8.: "Ivanka will weep for me!"—Manole replies: "... my son will be brought up by God, snow will anoint him, rain will wash him, wind rock him, bird-song lull him, my two dove-sisters." In 9. all that is left is "... fear not, God will look after your Iorguleți (little George). 10.: "When... you have killed me, put a tower on the building, and a cradle on the top, and Ivanka in it; he is still very tiny, poor little thing, the wind will rock him, if there is snow, it will anoint him, if there is rain, it will wash him."

We can see that even where the picture is broadly similar to the Hungarian, something creeps into the formulation which is either too detailed, or unreal, which pushes the motherlessness from the purely symbolic, stylized plane towards reality, naturally a fable-like reality. The process goes furthest in the Greek, where the formula develops into household tasks: what will become of my child in his cradle, the bread in the oven? And this is frequently asked at home, when she is called to the bridge!

The "jest or reality" motif is shown in its most perfect form by the Hungarian text quoted. In the fragmentary 4. all that is left of it is: "Is it truth or jest that I am to climb on to the wall?"; 20.: "When they had built up to her knees, she asked her husband: Husband, dear, is this a jest or earnest?—No jest, my darling wife, this is as we swore it should be, and this is how it must be now. When they had built up to her waist... (etc.) When they had built up to her neck (with verses identical but for one word). Now if it be no jest, Kelemen the mason..." 30.: "They seized her, and walled up her legs first, brick on brick, and built up to her waist. Then she asked her husband: Surely this is no jest? Her husband was grieved..." 31.: "Well, they built up to her knees: Is this earnest or a jest, you eleven masons?—Earnest, my lady, your husband made the ruling. And so they built up to her waist.—Is this earnest...? etc. And if it is earnest..."; 32.: "They built up to her knees, and then she asked: Is this a jest or earnest, you twelve masons?—Earnest... They built up to her armpits... And they finished building to the top of her head." In 33. they build in the same way up to her knees, her armpits, and she keeps asking, and later asks for her child. 34., already quoted in part, is similar. In 39.: "They began to wall her in, and built up to her knees.—Is this a jest or earnest, you eleven masons?—Earnest, my lady, your husband made the ruling. They built up to her waist.—Is this a jest or earnest, you eleven masons?—Earnest, my lady, your husband made the ruling.—My God, my God... etc. Even in the improvised, wordy text of 36. the common formulas stand out: "Kelemen builds up to her knees.—Kelemen, Kelemen, great master mason Kelemen, tell me, sir, are you building in jest, are you building in jest, or in earnest?—Let me tell you..." "...they wall her in up to her breast... O woe!, they have walled her in up to her head." In these she no longer asks, only complains that the wall is crushing her.

In the Bulgarian text 1.: "When they build up to her knees, she just laughs and laughs, when they build up to her waist, she just laughs and laughs, when they built up to her breast, she grew frightened and wept." 2.: "Then they built her in up to her knees, she only shouted and laughed, They built her in half-way, then she cried out and burst into tears." In 34. the number of degrees goes down to two: "They walled her in up to her waist, she only looked about her and laughed, then asked: Perhaps you are just having a joke with me? The masons just went on building. Quickly, a stone to her breast, on to her head... Pavelica burst into tears..." What has happened here is that a formula has turned into narration,

however shortly conceived. 36.: "They built up to her knees, Radka did not take it seriously, they built up to her breast, her white milk flowed, Radka now took it seriously." In 60. all that is left of this is that when they had walled her up completely, she burst into tears. 71.: "They walled her in up to her knees, Then she did not shed a tear, They walled her in up to her throat, then her tears began to fall." 76.: "They build her in, but she, O Lord, only laughs. They built half-way up, and she still laughed. When they had built up to her head, she realized that they were leaving her as a human sacrifice in the deserted tower." 80.: "They build, one after the other, the young wife does not realize the truth, and calls to the masons to let her go home to her child, and tells them the things she has to do. They build her in up to the waist, then she realizes the truth and prays for her child."

It is obvious that it has now lost the clear outline which is to be seen in the well articulated, formula-like Hungarian, but still resembles it in its contents. In the Roumanian this, too, has become a continuous, detailed narrative, in which even the incremental repetition, changing one word each time, of the gradual walling-up is lost, and in which now one, now another part of the formula is omitted. We saw that in the example, too. The story of the lengthy 2. is, put briefly, that Caplea only smiled as they built, but when she could no longer see out very well, she was frightened: "If this is your jest, it is not a good jest." They paid no attention, but spread the lime and laid the stones, while she only wailed: "Manole... if this is only a jest... the wall is pressing on me..." etc. in multiple repetition. They wall up her mouth entirely, then he replies to her. Even where there is a graduation, it is not the real thing, because the formulation is a sort of contents-narration, as for example in 3.: The masons play a joke on her. "It is not a good joke" says the woman. Manole says nothing, the wall rises, from her ankles to her knees, from her knees to her breast, from her breast to her eyes. The masons hurry, and she says: Manole, dear husband, the wall is crushing me..." etc. In 4. and 5. no gradation remains: "They put her into the wall. She says: Manole, you're playing a joke on me by walling me in. Have you no pity..." etc. 7.: "While they built, the wife laughed, she thought they were jesting. The wall grew up to her waist, then up to her breast. What did she do? She tried to break out, she wept aloud: Manoles, Manoles!" Then follow the husband's excuses, and the wife's wailing, why had she come here, then again: "Hurry with the building... from her waist to her breast, anyone seeing her breasts from the outside would think them marble..." etc. In 8. there is no gradation: She is walled in, and thinks they are playing a joke. "The wall is crushing me, my breast is running, Ivanka is weeping for me!" In 9. all that is left is: "As they got higher and higher, Vilaya cried: Manole, enough of this jest, for it is not a good one! The wall is pressing me, my breast is flowing!" 10. "... the building rose. When it squeezed her, she began to laugh, she thought they were jesting. The masons went on building, they were not jesting, the building rose, they reached her waist. She saw it was no jest, began to weep, and said..." We find similar arrangements in 12-16., too.

This motif occurs, as an exception, in four Serbo-Croat texts, too, with two-part gradation. The already quoted Vuk variant (1.), and 30. are still close to the Hungarian: "When they had walled Janja in, When they had walled Janja in up to her waist, Janja thought it was all a jest. But when they had walled Janja in, Walled her in up to her dark eyes, Janja saw that it was no jest." Text 19. on the other hand is quite an individual version: "When the brothers were walling her in, she said: Oh, Ugljeso, your little wife's hand is being walled up. It has embraced you enough, it will not embrace you again. When they reached her white neck, young Ugljesinka said: Your little wife's neck is being walled in—you have embraced it enough, you will not embrace it again. When they reached her white mouth, young Ugljesinka said: you are walling my mouth in, Voivod Ugljesa. You have kissed it much, you will not kiss it again. When they reached her black eyes, young Ugljesinka said: Oh God, you two brothers, leave a window..." In 37. only the first degree is left, the rest goes off in a different direction: They walled her in up to her white knees, she thought it was all a jest. They walled her in up to her white hand, Miyan's wife said: "For the love of God, friends, leave my white hand out, so that I can stretch it out to my orphan child." They heard her, but said nothing, only went on building the white castle. At that Miyan's wife said: "Leave my black eyes out, let me see my orphan child..." etc.

I think the examples shown make it clear on the uniform evidence of several details that the Hungarian formulation shows the purest form: formula-like components for conveying a state of mind and behaviour in stylized form all together conform completely to the requirements of ballad style. The same thing, with a greater or smaller degree of blurring, robbed of its formula-character, without its signs of style, yet by no means endowed with the signs of any different style, is to be found in the Bulgarian and, changed entirely from its original nature, in the Roumanian. We find the same thing with the spring of milk, too. The Hungarian variants quite laconically mention that a spring of milk or water rises from the walled-up wife. The Bulgarian developed from this in many cases a suckling scene, as in our sample texts, and finally and most generally employs it in the realistic form in which an opening is left, or is asked for by her, for her breast. In the Albanian this has become a tubular conduit, and in the Croat a stream of milk from which the strolling child drinks, and recognizes the taste of his mother's milk. The original meaning is lost when the Bulgarian develops the variant in which a window is left for her *eye*; this becomes the only form in the Serbian, and finally is completely contradictory to the spirit of the death sacrifice when we see in the two Roumanian variants from Serbia that she asks for an opening for fresh air. And in the traditional Roumanian of the Old Kingdom there is no more than a blurred reminiscence of it in the form of a spring rising from the place where Manole falls to his death.

As for the common agreement or the chief mason's decision, the picture is similar in that in the Bulgarian the proportion changes to the advantage of the agreement, but the part quoted also shows that this is frequently simply a case of the chief mason's decision having been "worn away"

with much repetition (in a later interpolation: "the one who arrived was the wife of the one who spoke first"); while in the Roumanian both solutions play a subordinate part (relatively more often in the modern variants from Transylvania).

If, then, we are to draw conclusions from what we have seen, we must regard the Hungarian as the original, from which our ballad first passed to the Bulgarian—this is proved by the north Bulgarian variants, too, which preserve the forms that are closest to the Hungarian—and to the Roumanian partly from the Bulgarian, which is proved by such motifs shown in common with the Bulgarian as are not found in the Hungarian: the betrayal of the scheme, and the tasks—rather bizarre here—set by the chief mason; and partly, somewhere in the area of the Szörény Banate, directly from the Hungarian, since certain Hungarian motifs are more frequent in the Roumanian than in the Bulgarian.

Let us now see what can be added to our results by an examination of the Georgian-Mordvin variants.

In 7., the legend of Suram Castle, what is built by day falls down by night. On the advice of a Persian man of God the only son of a widow, Zurab, is walled up. His mother is present during the walling up and calls out to her son: How do you feel, my child, are you still alive? He replies from the wall: Oh, mother, I'm walled up to the knees! The mother goes on questioning and the replies come: "Oh, mother, the wall has reached my waist" "... my breast" "... my neck", and finally "Oh mother, I'm dying!" The wall never dries, but always remains wet from the mother's tears, as the quoted text has it, elsewhere from the boy's. From the record it appears that only the duologue is in verse. ("Im Volksliede hat sich das Zwiegespräch zwischen der Witwe und ihrem Sohn Zurab erhalten" it says, after giving the story of the whole legend.) Further evidence is also given by those records which we know word for word, and in which tradition has preserved only the duologue out of the entire story (1., 2.). Here the mother's question is, in the first, "How high, my son?", and the gradations are: to his ankles, knees, breast, throat, head and death, and in the second he wails, his mother brings water to wash his face, and wants to give him bread and shoes, then comes the question: "How far?" and the answers: to the waist, to death. In 3., in a literary elaboration of the last century, details of which, confirmed by folk records, we can use, a fortress is being built at a Czar's command. When the wall has attained five arshins, it collapses. On advice obtained from a soothsayer, Zurab, a woman's only son, must be walled up in the foundations. The mother shouts to be allowed to go there, her son is crying out for her help. Then follows the duologue: "How far, my son?"—"To my shoulders" "To my death". Where her son was, the wall became wet, and drops of water fell like tears. No. 4. is about the building of Mindeli Castle. A child is walled up in the foundations. The mother rushes there, but cannot save the child. Here, too, follow the questions "How far?". Text 5. is about the building of the church at Hon. As fast as the foundations are built, they collapse again. The idea is reached, jointly, that a human sacrifice is

required. Lots are cast, and it falls on a woman's only son. The mother is unable to prevent the execution of the plan, and then follow her questions: "How far?" "To the ankles", then, according to the person who recorded the version, the questioning is continued until the walling-up is finished. Text 6. is from Abkhazia, and refers to the castle of Kelasuri. "After unsuccessful attempts to lay the foundations of the castle" a woman (and a cow) are walled up. That is all the quotation has to say.

So it can be seen how, even from the brief reports of contents and occasional word-for-word fragments, we can list the following agreements in detail with our ballad: A castle (or church) under construction; what is built by day falls down by night; duologue with the walled-up victim; gradual walling-up; a wet wall at the site of the sacrifice. The victim is a mother's only child, rarely a woman.

The best-developed and most permanent part of the Georgian legend is the duologue, with the gradual building up. ANDREE put alongside this a much-quoted German legend type (in his case, about the castle of Liebenstein, in Thuringia): in order to make the castle impregnable, a child was bought from its mother and walled up. It ate cakes as they walled it up, and called to its mother: "Mother, I can still see you!", later "Mother, I can still see you a little", and when the last stone was put in place: "Mother, I can no longer see you!". This duologue is, it is true, in prose, but it occurs as a formula in traditional German material. There can be no doubt that the Georgian and German forms are distantly connected. They have the situation in common, the theme is the mother and the walled-in child, and the gradation, too, agrees, if only faintly. It is obvious that a very ancient common European tradition has been preserved in them, and even in the German, the part which has the more developed formula-like formulation is the part which, in the Georgian, developed into verse.

However, it is equally undeniable that the Hungarian ballad is close to the Georgian in two places: in the gradual building up of the wall, and in the scene of the final duologue. In one respect ours is further away: the roles are reversed, with the mother walled up and the child speaking to her from outside, while the gradual building of the wall has gained an entirely different aspect. But this scene itself is much closer to the Georgian than the German is: the *word-for-word* agreement in the gradations, one after the other, repeated in stereotype formulas; and this is in such close agreement that we involuntarily think of a direct transfer. In view of the series of other motifs which agree, it is clear that there must be a direct connection between the southeast European ballad and the Georgian texts. *Yet this connection is complete and textual only with the Hungarian.* Only in the Hungarian is to be found the closing scene: the duologue between the child and its walled-in mother. Only in the Hungarian is the gradual walling-up as vivid and as formula-like as in the Georgian (in the Bulgarian the number of steps is reduced to two, or the formula character is beclouded, while the Roumanians completely dissolve it); in the Hungarian, as in the Georgian, we find the "spring" merely mentioned, but since the roles are reversed between mother and child, and it is the mother who has been walled up, it was easy for the idea to arise of the milk coming from her.

And the primacy of the castle (or church) building is decided, too, in comparison with the bridge.

If we start from the motifs which agree with the Georgian, the route followed by our ballad in its spread becomes still clearer. The connection is most direct with the Hungarians. Among the Bulgarians, the duologue with the walled-up victim is gone, but there is often a reference to the child with its mother, indeed, it is often taken out to where she is walled up, to suckle. In the Greek there is only a passing reference to the child in one variant or another, but in the Trebizond variants—near to Georgia—the texts contain no mention at all of it. The same applies to the "graduated walling up" scene. The clearest connection is with the Hungarian, it is still clearly visible in the Bulgarian, too, but the outlines begin to blur here; they become fainter in the Roumanian, and are completely lost in the Greek (and also the Albanian and the Serbo-Croat). The position is exactly the same with the "spring" motif. The Hungarian can still be explained by reference to the Georgian, but the Bulgarian only from the Hungarian, and it grows steadily distant from the original picture: the most distant are the Serbian and the Roumanian, and at the end of the line it is entirely lacking in the Greek. If we put the Trebizond—or any Greek—variant in its entirety alongside the Georgian, we find practically no agreement beyond the falling wall and the bare fact of the building sacrifice.

We naturally do not wish to explain the Hungarian-Georgian parallels by a direct connection, but as due to the fact that in Georgia and Abkhazia an element of the old Caucasian tradition has been preserved which once spread over a wider area, an area which extended to the Hungarians, too, in their homeland Lebedia, in the 6th-9th centuries, whether this ancient home was at the mouth of the Don or between Don and Caucasus. But it might have been brought by the Alans (Oslars or Varshanyes) who joined the Magyars, or even the Yases (who were also Alans) who came with the Kumans. On this joining up and the opportunities for influence we can quote our historians and philologists. Thus GYÖRFFY, 607: "In Hungary the roots of the goldsmith's craft may be sought in two ethnic groups which joined the Magyars in the Etelköz: the Alan and the Kaliz.

A tribe of Alans from the Caucasus area joined the Magyars; these were the Mohammedan Oslars, otherwise known as Varshanyes. The advanced state of metalworking among the Alans is a known fact; we know of a village of the Alans in the Caucasus which occupied itself entirely with sword-making. A relic of the Alan sword-making art may be our word *kard* (sword), which is of Ossetian (Alan) origin, ultimately from Persia." BÁRCZI 1958, 53-54: "... with the Kumans there came into the country to settle Greek Orthodox Alans, otherwise known as Yases (letter of privilege from 1323 and 1325)... Recently... a small Alan-Latin vocabulary from Hungary has turned up (Alan words explained in Latin, occasionally in Hungarian), and this makes it plain not only that the Yas inhabitants in Hungary at the beginning of the 15th century still knew the Yas language... This circumstance may put the study of our Yas loan-words in a new light, that of the possibility that Alan words may have penetrated into our language even here in Hungary... This possibility does not, how-

ever, affect the fact that Alan words were enriching our vocabulary long before the Magyar Conquest . . . The language of the Alans of the Caucasus . . . undoubtedly left traces in Hungarian. . . . On the other hand it appears that loan-words from Hungarian also penetrated the Alan language," (and then follow Magyar–Ossetian correspondences). On the basis of all these facts it is easy to explain the appearance in Hungary of a folklore tradition from the Caucasus.

How far the traditional material from the Caucasus spread may be gauged from the version of it among the Mordvins living to the south of the bend in the Volga. Among them we naturally find considerable differences in the legend of the sacrifice, in the style of the epic poems.

Of the four variants, 1. and 4. are about the fortress or town of Kazan, and closely related, while 2. and 3., which differ somewhat, relate the building of the village church in Sedelkina. This is decided by the village assembly, and what is built by day falls down at night, in fact in 3. the formula is amplified as in the Hungarian: what is built by night falls down by day. (It is preserved in this form, apart from the Hungarians, only in one or two Bulgarian variants.) In the other two there is only mention of a wall which is built and falls down. But in these we seem to hear the opening passages of the Hungarian: "What shall we do, what shall we think of? Let us go and build Kazan . . ." the equivalent of the Hungarian "Twelve stonemasons took counsel together how they should build the high castle of Déva", "Twelve stonemasons set out to build the high castle of Déva", "Whither away, you twelve stonemasons?" etc. In the first one, the builders are master masons, in 2–3. the village community, and in the last, two brothers. The sacrifice is decided upon jointly in the two about Sedelkina (because "without a human head it will not succeed"), and for various reasons no old person, no man and no woman will suit, only an unmarried girl. In 1. it is proclaimed that a sister of seven brothers is required, and yet the victim is selected by casting lots in the assembly; in 4. the castle of Kazan begins to speak (and designates the same victim); and here the girl regards her fate as a source of glory, while in the others she is enticed into the forest in one case and ambushed and seized in the other. In each case she is bathed, dressed in finery like a bride and so carried to be sacrificed. In 2–3. the victim's bones are broken—as also in some Hungarian variants—, in 4. she is quartered, and only in 1. is she put without comment into the wall. Then follows the duologue we met with in the Georgian: the *mother* goes on three consecutive days to the wall and asks: "Are you still alive, my child?"—"It is tight round my breast . . ." and similar answers are given by the girl, and by the third day she is silent. The same thing happens in the cases where she is quartered! In 3. there are also traces of this scene: (after her bones have been broken up!) a table is spread before her, she weeps as the church is built, utters complaints in the evening, and is silenced by early morning. (A three-step intensification, but without mother or duologue. In other respects it can be seen, when the entire Mordvin tradition is taken into account, that many varied images of the builders' sacrifice have here been laid one over the other.) The duologue is still exactly like the Georgian: a mother speaks to her walled-

up child, but the child is now a grown girl, a woman, just as in the Hungarian. From the Mordvin, the Estonian, the Abkhaz and Lake Baikal archaeological finds perhaps we may deduce the existence of an eastern European–Siberian legend area in which the wife (or woman) sacrifice dominates, and that this gave the Hungarians the stimulus to reverse the relationship between mother and child?

The table spread before the girl is reminiscent of the German and Danish legends, and we may count it among European elements in the building sacrifice. In the same way as the Mordvins—but obviously entirely independently—the Greeks have inserted an ancient element into the ballad where a bath and fine clothes are ordered for the master mason's wife. It is not impossible that the two brother builders, together with the three brothers in the Balkans, are also an ancient European tradition of the building sacrifice. The legend of Romulus and Remus used to be mentioned in the literature of the building sacrifice as though that were an obscure version of the sacrifice! It may have penetrated into the text in both places independently.

In other respects, however, a particular motif—the duologue—and some more general ones, like the nightly falling wall and the methods of selecting the victim, connect the Mordvin song with the Georgian, and witness to its distant distribution in a thoroughly reformulated version.

But is it possible that the Georgian–Hungarian link is the reverse? Could not the Magyar–Balkan ballad have spread to the Georgian and later taken on its present-day form?

Every argument is against it. We have seen how the variants which were geographically nearest, that is, chiefly the Greek and Roumanian, are furthest from the Georgian in character, and do not contain its most striking elements. And if the spread had been from the Hungarians, it could have taken place only before the Magyar Conquest, whereas at that time we were not in contact with our Balkan neighbours of today, so that there could have been no common traditions which we took over from them. It is also impossible that the Balkan–Hungarian poem should regress into a more elementary poetic conception consisting of ancient elements among the Georgians, such as still exists there today. And that the duologue between the walled-in child and the mother should subsequently have come to resemble the European legends, and should later have been merged into a traditional story of a building sacrifice found from the Caucasus to the Punjab, to the borders of India and Afghanistan, relating how the only child of a widow was to be chosen as the victim. It is quite obvious that in the Georgian poem a very ancient, local tradition rose to the level of folk poetry in verse. Furthermore, a poetic conception so vividly worded as our ballad is incapable of losing so much of its outline and detail as to become so changed and simplified; that is shown by its course in the Balkans, where it broadly maintained its main features, and any national version here, however deviant, looks more uniform with another than it does with the Georgian. Indeed, even a route taken by the reformulation in the reverse direction—from Georgian elements to the formation of the ballad of today—can be imagined only in one way: that a nation comes to

a period of style-change, passing, for instance, from the heroic poem to the ballad style. The fashion for the new art form may bring about such an extensive transformation: as a re-assessment of the elements, the story, and a change in the whole poetic character. The Magyars carried out such an alteration in some of their heroic epics of the time of the Conquest, when they were fitted into the ballad style—as we saw in the preceding chapter. Thus the only solution that remains—if we do not wish to deny the clear similarities between the Caucasian and Balkan traditions—is that we took over the Georgian legend, reversed, perhaps right at the beginning, the roles of the mother and child, that is, transformed the action into the sacrifice of a woman, and later turned it into a ballad on becoming acquainted with the ballad style. Pointers to its being formed here are also traces which would suggest the acceptance of the more western European tradition: the role given to the twelve masons (Copenhagen legend) and the walling in of the chief mason's son (German legends), which may have given the inspiration for the solution with the chief mason's wife. It is in any case evident from the preceding chapters that the ballad subjects and the ballad-like presentation spread from the Hungarians to the neighbouring peoples, since it was we who acquired them first from the French who were living here. Yet this poem is ballad-like among every Balkan people, even though it shows, in its style, epic detail in many places; and it does not fit into the range of themes of the heroic epic. This, too, strengthens the view that the eastern traditional story, after taking on the ballad form, passed in the Hungarian remodelled form further on to the neighbouring peoples.

The route taken in its spread is also clear: first to the Bulgarians, and from there to all the other nations, Greek, Albanian, Serbian and Roumanian, where, however, the direct Hungarian influence can at the same time be seen. The Serbians must have taken the ballad over somewhere in the southern, Macedonian areas, and also in the one-time Banate of Szörény. But as we pass over Serbian territory from Macedonia toward the north and west, so it changes more and more. Very instructive in this respect is the motif of the three brother builders, which can be studied well in the tables. In northern Bulgaria it is completely missing: only the master mason solution, shared with the Hungarian, figures there (name + number, or name only); in the central parts it appears among others; and in the south it is practically exclusive. From here—Macedonia—the route takes us to the Albanians (where there is a branching off: Rosafa, two brothers, and one of them the victim), and up to the Serbians, where it is practically exclusive. The geographical distribution of one or two other motifs is similarly revealing in Bulgaria. The master mason's prayer for rain and wind is also only to be found in northern Bulgarian territory, where the Hungarian influence could be felt; towards the south there is no trace of it. Thus it is understandable that it should not have reached the Greeks, Albanians and Serbians. The appearance of the "gradated walling up" is broadly similar, yet here it does appear in a small area in Macedonia, and accordingly in the VUK variants, too; and in a different presentation, less distinctly, in three variants along

the edge of the Magyar language area or in mixed areas [two in the Bachka, in fact from Szabadka (Subotica) itself, and one from Pozsega County]. These latter indicate another route, which can be seen clearly in southern Slav territory: from the Iron Gates area, between the Sava and the Drava, westwards. The sacrifice of the wife, together with the betrayal of the plan (Bulgarian version), turns up again in Slavonia, above the Bosnian area and, with various additions and alterations, moves westward. Everything indicates that it passed from the centre of Hungarian-Bulgarian contact (the area between Orsova and Viddin-Bodon) by two routes to the Serbs and Croats: one along the Danube and Sava, the other first southward via the Bulgars, then through Macedonia northward and northwestward. The area both routes lead to, is the western Bosnian territory, with the texts containing the most distant remains. In this way the "psychological evolution" of the ballad among the nations also becomes quite clear (cf. BAUD-BOVY: "... l'évolution psychologique qui se marque d'une version à l'autre qui peut nous emmener ... à accorder la priorité ..."). Among the Hungarians the following psychological kernel of the story developed: the master builder announces a weighty decision, and it is turned against him by Fate, and he loses his wife; his tragedy is intensified by the fate of his child. The Bulgarians kept this structure in a few instances, but, not adequately realizing the depth of the psychological tragedy, they tried to lessen the builder's responsibility, and interpolated the motif of the betrayal of the plan. The Greeks, being more familiar with the Bulgarian modification, tried to resolve its contradictions in two ways: either the builder is completely absolved of responsibility—the spirit's word settles the matter and must be obeyed; or his behaviour must be shown to be fatally repugnant by means of the "cynical calculation". In every case, including the Bulgarian alteration, the force of the tragedy is markedly reduced. Among the Albanians and Serbs the tragedy of the husband disappears entirely in the variant ramifications: in the legend of Rosafa it is supplanted by that of the builder's sister, in the Serbian by the various forms of the child sacrifice and other things. The Roumanians keep the Hungarian conception in Transylvania and the Bulgarian altered story in the Regat—and elements of it, the betrayal, filter into the Banate texts, too—but they lengthen it with the Icarus legend and frame it in the fable of Voivod Negru's commission to the builders, and finally punish sometimes the husband as well, sometimes only the other—treacherous—masons.

We have still to establish the approximate period when the ballad arose. ARNAUDOV holds this to be impossible. STEFANOVIĆ offers for it an Albanian record recently discovered by Serbian research: BARLETI, Skender Bey's Italian priest and biographer "noted" the Albanian Rosafa variant, so the Albanian tradition existed as early as the middle of the 15th century. But STEFANOVIĆ himself rejects the deduction by some Serbian researchers that therefore the Albanian variant and Skutari were the starting points. It goes without saying that any chance which leads to the written record of a point in the series of variants confirms merely the existence of the whole series, but not the primacy of the variant recorded. But if we examine the original text itself, it becomes clear that we

can only with great reservations call it the "noting" of a variant. Cf. SANSOVINO, 292 fol. (STEFANOVIĆ refers to a publication of 1654 with 304 a): "Ma ne vennero già alle mani alcuni, piu tosto fragmenti, che annali, ne' quali si ragionava piu tosto della ristaurazione fatta da' nostri bisavoli di quella città, che della edificatione. Vi era scritto in volgare, che un certo Rosa, con un' altra sua sorella, chiamata Fa, furono i primi fondatori di Scutari; onde la sua fortezza per questo si chiamava Rosafa, iquali regnarono lungamente, et felicemente in riposo." STEFANOVIĆ summarises it as follows (1937, 263): "... u drugoj polovini XV. st. poznati pisac Barletije zabeležio je—samo vrlo kratko i to na osnovu nekih fragmenata od spisa s pisanog na narodnom jeziku onog kraja—predanje o postanku skadarskog grada pod imenom 'Rosafa'." KÁZMÉR (178) adds: "... its first written record was the Albanian, made in the 15th century. The ... story of the fortress ... in legend-like form was recorded by a Catholic priest in Skadar. Fa, the heroic sister of Rosa, is walled in where the wall has been falling continually ..." and he relates the *modern* legend. But in the original *the building sacrifice itself is not mentioned!* It is plain to see how the learned priest tried to make the folk-song, or legend, appear as a historical source, and to remove from it any feature which did not fit in with an "authentic" historical source. Perhaps that was why he stated that he had taken it from "written" records. And that was his reason for preserving only the names of the characters, Rosa and his sister Fa. Nevertheless we cannot reject in advance the possibility that the Albanians had their own legend of the foundation, to which was later attached the building sacrifice. Or, disregarding this, perhaps the record refers only to the separate Albanian branch legend, which might in theory have existed separately and earlier, until the ballad of the wife later influenced it. So we must turn to other historical considerations.

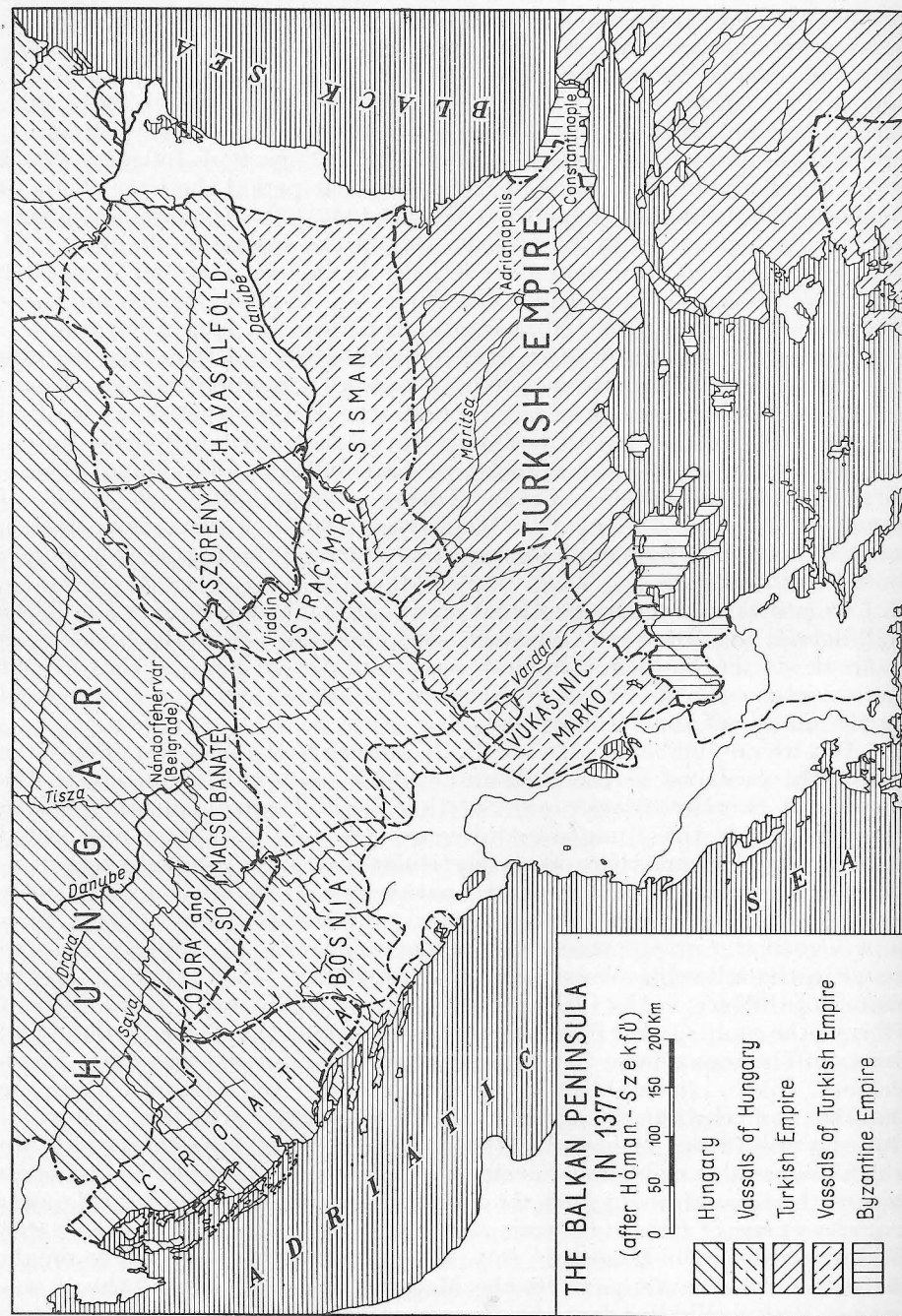
Nor can the second proof offered by STEFANOVIĆ be adequate, namely that the Mrnacheviches figuring in the VUK variants refer to the period before the middle of the 14th century, because theirs were pre-Kosovo traditions, and were later absorbed by the cycle of Kraljevich Marko legends. This theory is inaccurate, partly because the historical personages mentioned in the text, Vukašin and Uglješa, reigned from 1365 to 1371, when they fell in the battle against the Turks before Adrianople; and partly because historical names may get into texts in popular traditions without regard to their original dates—for example in Hungary the name of King Mathias (Mátyás) has been put into folk tales practically till the present day. We need a firmer footing, and we find it in the fact of the Hungarian-Bulgarian transfer.

For these two peoples are not today, and for a long time have not been, neighbours. At the time of the Magyar Conquest the Szerémség, the area between the Danube and the Sava and the Belgrade area, was under Bulgarian domination. A relic of this is the old Hungarian name for Belgrade: Nándorfehérvár, which means Bulgarian White Castle. Later Byzantium occupied the Bulgarian territories, and a Byzantine-Hungarian frontier was created. When Salamon and Géza first occupied Nándorfehérvár (1071), they found Greek and Bulgarian guards and inhabitants in it (see HÓMAN—

SZEKŰ I, 271, and for further information I, 566 and II, 224, 627, and also both of THALLÓCZY's studies and HUBER). The contact was not, however, restricted to frontier strife. Ratislav organized the southern, Magyar banates (those of Bosnia, Kucsó, Macsó and Só) received as fiefs from Béla IV, among which that of Kucsó must have had Bulgarian inhabitants, too. From 1241 to 1246 Béla's nephew reigned in Bulgaria as Tsar Kálmán I, and Magyar influence increased. From 1255–63 part of Bulgaria was a fief of the King of Hungary, and indeed, at that period the title "King of Bulgaria" was used. Under Louis the Great (1342–82), Hungarian influence reached its highest point. In 1366 he set up the Bulgarian Banate, with Dénes Lackfi, then Péter and Benedek Himfi as governors, but from 1369 with the Bulgarian Shtratsimir in charge. In Viddin (Hungarian name Bodon), in Byelogradchik (Hungarian name Fejérvár, in which variant 1. was found) and in Lagany there were, between 1365 and 1369 (and perhaps later, too) Hungarian garrisons. (Map 3.) Indeed, it is probable that villages of Magyar settlers came into being beside the Magyar castles, as we find in the case of the Roumanian vassal provinces, such as Oláh-Bodza = Buzeu, Putna near Focșani, Hosszúmező = Langfeld = Campolung, Vásárhely = Tîrgoviște, Bákó = Bacău, Tatros = Trotuș, etc. (cf. works of JORGA, AUNER K., HUNFALVY). We have information of similar cases in Croatia. Thus what we have here is contact between the people, not merely feudal relationships.

As late as 1377 Louis the Great won a brilliant victory over the Turks in Bulgaria, yet from 1400 onwards our connections with the area began to break, as the Turkish conqueror swept all before him. So that in fact the acceptance of the ballad of Kelemen the Mason must have happened by the middle of the 14th century.

But we are unable to give a definite answer to the question of why the loan took place just in the Bulgarian banate, and why it did not in the banates of Szörény, Macsó and Só, that is, in Roumanian and Serbian territory, where the Hungarian influence was much stronger and lasted much longer. Perhaps there was a particular mixture of peoples there, conditions for settlement and joint occupation, which we are not sufficiently familiar with, and which were particularly favourable to the transfer. Perhaps a good clue to the transfer from the Magyars to the Bulgars is to be found in the following observation by THALLÓCZY (1898, 118–9): "In the history of Bulgaria in the 13th and 14th century the Kuman (Kun) element overran the country, and from among them sprang the Terteriy family of Tsars, ... The reason why the Árpád dynasty was, in the face of this tough element, able ... to establish its claim to rule over Bulgaria only along the Danube, and why this area came into direct contact with the history of Hungary only in the 14th and 15th centuries, was the tenacious resistance which this capable ruling race exerted up to the Osman invasion ... It seems to us to be beyond doubt that *the Kuman element which had settled in the Danubian plain of Bulgaria between 1229 and 1242 ... remained in contact with the Kuman element in Hungary,*" (my italics) "and in this fact must be sought the reason for the conquest by the Magyars. It is also clear why it was against Bodon (Viddin) that the Magyar attack was directed. *In the castle*



and area of Bodon the heathen Yases were under arms, who, in groups, as guards along the line of the Danube, continually harassed the Magyar outposts... This Yas-Kun element lived in the area stretching from Bodon to the Dobruja, and played a part in the history of Bulgaria similar to that of our warlike Kuns in the last decades of the Árpád dynasty and under the Anjous. Whoever had the Kuns on his side in Bulgaria, that side won." The Magyar features in the Bulgarian ballad appear in precisely this strip of territory. An additional item on this link is to be found in GYÖRFFY (580): "Even in 1365 Miklós Kont took Yas inhabitants of Vidin and resettled them in Hungary." It is interesting that Vidin-Bodon belonged to the Magyars even in the 10th century. In the words of the Gellért Legend the empire of Ajtony extended "... a fluvio Keres usque ad partes Transilvanias et usque in Budin et Zeren d. h. vom Flusse Körös bis Viddin und Severin" (see HUBER, 4). All this may indicate that we can assume the existence of Magyar settlements in this area, for the defence of which the military efforts were made.

There is, however, no doubt that in the middle of the 14th century and into the seventies there were possibilities of transfusions from Hungary to Bulgaria, but scarcely any after that time. And if we now set the other data side by side in relation to this fixed point, it all fits together astonishingly well. The tradition which reaches furthest back in time, the name Manuel, is found in the ballad among the Bulgarians (1143-1180); this is followed by the Voivod Negru of the Roumanians, who is probably identical with Basarab, the Voivod who in 1324 founded his seat, Curtea d'Argeş; somewhat later we have Vukašin and Uglješa to bring matters "up to date" (1365-71), later still the chance recording of the Albanian offshoot in the middle of the 15th century; and the latest of the modernizations which can be historically confirmed, the building of the Drina bridge by Mehmed Pasha (who figures, in fact, in one text), in 1570. It is as though we were following the probable course taken by the spread of the ballad and its gradual blurring!

But let us not fall into the error of trying to explain everything: names cannot be such accurate pointers. Let us be satisfied with less, namely that: from the history of Bulgarian-Magyar contacts it follows that our ballad evolved by the middle of the 14th century, and passed to the Bulgarians, and with the fact that this statement is not contradicted by the historical names and data.

The ballad of the Walled-in Wife, therefore, evolved at the latest by the Anjou era on Hungarian soil, from pre-Conquest elements, and by the middle of the 14th century had spread, via settlers in Bulgaria, soldiers and other intermediaries, to the Balkan peoples.

CHAPTER IV

ON THE GENRE AND ITS HISTORY

The three most important forms of European folk poetry of narrative type are the prose tale, the heroic song in verse, and the ballad in verse. The anecdote, as well as the secular and religious legend, can hardly be distinguished from the folk-tale, nor the heroic song from its own later descendants right down to the historical poem, and beyond that to the "*istoria*" (Zeitungslied) which, on the other hand, is related to the later descendants of the ballad, i. e. the modern thrilling in verse. But the first three mentioned (tale, heroic song, ballad) are the most significant because of the part they play in the tradition, their geographical and chronological distribution, the clearly developed characteristics as an art form, and not least their aesthetic value. If, then, we wish to see the genre-characteristics of the ballad clearly, we can learn most if we compare it with these three.

Let us say first of all that all three of these epic art forms *exist* and spread *in the folk tradition*. No one doubts that this applies to the *present*, nor that all three differ in essential elements of content and style from the familiar art forms of written literature. And though there are some—chiefly among literary historians—who regard one or both of the verse forms as being of literary origin, the product of poets and minstrels, and spread by them among the peasants in very early times, yet on the basis of the state of affairs in recent times everyone regards them as *forms of folk poetry*.

However, within the broad resemblance shown by all three as folk poetry of epic character, there are still substantial differences between them, apparent to even a superficial glance. One such is the difference in their "way of life"; the tale and the heroic song are recited by *performers* to an audience, while the ballad can be sung by anyone, either alone or with others. Thus the tale and the heroic song are always inseparable from a performer, no matter if the audience happens to be only a single person, perhaps a child, which, however, is rarely the case with the tale, because *genuine* story-telling is tied to a large audience, and in the recitation of heroic songs *always*. In this respect these two forms are closely allied. But the ballad is always sung in a group except when a single person is singing to himself; but the story-teller or the singer of heroic songs can never do this. Thus the manner of performance draws a sharp distinction between the ballad and the other two forms.

We also find this distinction between the heroic song and the ballad in their divided geographical distribution. (We cannot say the same, however, about the tale.) In western and central Europe, where the ballad enjoys

great popularity among the peasants, in French, German, English, Czech — Polish, Magyar, Portuguese and Italian language areas, we find no heroic epic of any kind, and traces of it in popular traditions can be established only by scientific research. On the other hand the cult of the heroic song, in various stages of development, is still alive in the Balkans, in southern Slav, Bulgarian, Albanian and Greek language areas, exists similarly among the Roumanians, and has been preserved as a well-developed form in the Russian *bylina*; but more archaic than all of these are the *Kalevala* of the Finns and the *Kalevipoeg* of the Estonians. The more distant eastern European and Siberian heroic folk poetry, moreover, reveals to us the whole course of development of this art form from the entirely mythical songs to fully developed epics.

There are transitions, of course, even here. In the ballads of the Scandinavians many elements have been kept from the heroic songs further developed in the knightly spirit, while among the Spaniards this type of poetry was preserved parallel to the ballad. Many of the themes and formulas of European ballad poetry have also filtered in at many points to the territory of the east European epic (to the Greek, southern Slav, Bulgarian, Russian and Finnish areas) and, in part becoming more epic (for example as "women's songs"), and in part amalgamating with the heroic poetry, live on alongside its pure forms. But if the lines separating them have become vague, two main masses are still clearly distinguishable: a ballad block and around it the mass of the heroic song.

These two facts, together with the differences in content and style, which we shall discuss later, clearly separate the two art forms from each other. This was seen as early as 1922 by HEUSLER (page 22): "... dieses epische Tanzlied hebt sich scharf ab von allem, was germanische Länder bis dahin an Dichtarten gekannt hatten. Es ist etwas handgreiflich Neues. — Irgend nennenswerte Züge der Balladenform aus der Stabreimdichtung, der eddischen oder der skaldischen, herzuweisen, diese Versuche dürften endlich zur Ruhe kommen! Hier gibt es keine formale Brücke. Aber auch vom reimenden Heldenlied, wie wir es für die deutsche Ritterzeit ansetzen können, ist die Ballade deutlich getrennt." On the situation in the north DAL (1956) writes similarly today (page 425): "... the ballad and Old Norse poetry differ so widely in style and form that any considerable heritage of form is out of the question." The same is observed of the heroic song by PROPP (page 8): "We do not count the songs of ballad-like character, either, among the epics, however beautiful and interesting they are, and in spite of the fact that such songs are found in the *bylina* collections and were recited as *bylina* poems ... In the ballad, just as in other forms of folk poetry, certain national ideals were expressed ... but an active struggle, the basic sign by which one recognizes the epic, is not found in them. The subjects used in the ballad are different from those of the *bylina*: it embraces chiefly the sphere of family and personal relationships. The number of ballads included in the *bylina* collections is very large, but they have nothing to do with the sphere of the heroic epic." Similarly V. ZHIRMUNSKY 1961 observes (102): "Der Inhalt der Ballade ist vor allem ein persönlicher, amou- reuser, familiärer, sie trägt in gewissem Sinne einen "novellistischen" und

keinen heroischen Charakter, wenngleich sie unter bestimmten historischen Bedingungen auch mit einer kriegerischen Heroik, die in den gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen der Feudalepoche vorherrschte, ausgeschmückt sein kann. Sie schildert keine Geschehnisse von historischer Bedeutung, sondern stellt das persönliche Leben dar, wobei sie allerdings auch auf historische Persönlichkeiten bezogen sein kann. So z. B. werden im südslawischen Epos familiärnovellistische Sujets dieser Art besonders häufig der beliebten Gestalt des Marko Kraljević zugeordnet," — and let us add: in the Danish similarly to many historic personages; and in view of what we shall later deal with let us quote further: "obwohl die Leichtigkeit, mit der ein und dasselbe Sujet von einer historischen Persönlichkeit auf eine andere übertragen werden kann, den rein äusserlichen Charakter solch einer Zuordnung beweist."

And yet we find that researchers do not always clearly distinguish the characteristics of the two. Indeed, there is one view (that of ENTWISTLE), according to which the various kinds of European heroic epic, namely the southern Slav and Bulgarian songs, the Greek *Dyghenis* cycle, and the Russian *bylini* are all to be included in the concept of the ballad, which can be defined briefly as a short epic poem, a definition applicable, in his view, to all of these. Although this extreme view is not held by any serious investigator, we still find, in the great ballad publications of some nations, pieces which are rather different from the bulk of the ballads, and resemble the other genre in their characteristics. However distinguished scientific interest in the ballad has been in the past, we cannot say that a clear picture has been formed of the art form itself, and even less that this picture has been expressed in a generally accepted definition.

Yet such a definition, or at least the drawing of a distinction between the ballad and other forms of popular and literary expression, is indispensable if we are to find our way about in questions of the history of the ballad. First we must see clearly *what* the ballad is, so that we may then also obtain an answer to the questions of *where*, *when* and *why* it evolved, and in what historical and social conditions. We shall naturally deal only with the closely interrelated ballad poetry of the European peoples, and not with occurrences which are not genetically related to it. The European ballad is a genre of marked and clearly definable character; and to explain the laws which govern it we have at our disposal the most elaborate preliminary studies. Only after this can we turn to the study of more or less related phenomena.

But even so, our task is not simple, since we cannot compare the ballad-collections with collections of heroic epics. CHILD himself more than once apologizes in his great canonical work for including one piece or other (for example No. 304), which, in its tone and the make-up of its contents is entirely distinct from the other ballads; sometimes he calls them vulgar chapbook literature (147, 149–54, and a large part of the Robin Hood cycle), at others unlike the oral tradition, minstrel productions, "individually composed", "short romance" (29–31, 111, 175–6, 272, 305). Yet he publishes them with the thought that perhaps they may preserve elements of lost ballads. A similar endeavour and the vague nature of the ballad's bound-

aries make the material in the great German compendious publication (D. Vlr.) heterogeneous in places. And the PROPP quotation above made it clear that in the Russian bylina collections a similar diversity reigns. Under such circumstances no practical results would come from any statistical method aimed at seizing the essential character of the two genres on the basis of the deviations to be found in the material of the publications, or of the numerical proportions in which certain peculiarities occur (as was recently done by ROBERTS with regard to the gay and comic elements of the ballad, by a statistical appraisal of CHILD's material). We cannot take for our starting point, for instance, which themes appear in the greatest numbers in the collections of heroic songs and which in the ballad collections, or how long the texts are in the one and the other. However objective such a method may appear, it would be misleading, because it would count elements in the ballad which should be eliminated.

We get a safer result if we start with the hypothesis that the ballad replaced the heroic epic in folk poetry. This is to be deduced from, among others things, the extent of its spread. Heroic poetry still exists among peoples from the Nyivkhe (Gilyak) to other peoples at various stages in development, right up to advanced European peasant societies (cf. PROPP, 30-32 and rest of chapter, also ZHIRMUNSKY 1961), while the ballad is found only at the last stage, at the level of the European peasant cultures. This is also shown by the "infiltration" of the ballad into the territory of the heroic song: something "modern" appears in the traditional material beside the more archaic, better established earlier layer. But it is proved beyond doubt by the fact that most peoples which today have only ballads, once possessed heroic poetry as well, which was preserved in written records (Hildebrandslied, Edda, Beowulf, chansons de gestes, etc.). To this may be added the results obtained from the more recent comparative research: among some peoples, motifs from the earlier heroic songs slip, in an altered form, into the ballad (cf. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL 1936 on the Spaniards, the works of John MEIER and especially SEEMANN 1955 on the Germans, and the second chapter of this study for the Hungarians). Here we see quite clearly the *sequence of genres* in the course of the transformation, and it is a *direct* sequence. This shows that the ballad replaced the heroic song among those peoples which today have only the ballad. If, then, we wish to know what the essential character of the ballad is, we must find out *what is new* in it compared with the heroic song, in other words we must *separate* it from the various developments of the heroic song, not confuse it with them. We must sort out every element which is peculiar to the poetic works more or less related to the heroic song (one such, among popular art forms, being the fairy story), and separate it from the semi-literary epic songs—the minstrel, jongleur and Spielmann compositions and their other relatives, the knightly romance-gest genre and the Magyar historic songs—which are also epic texts performed as songs. (For the relationship between heroic song and fairy tale cf. VARGYAS (1961), and also the works, then unknown to me, of MELETINSKY, ZHIRMUNSKY and PROPP. And ZHIRMUNSKY (1947, 1960) calls an earlier, mythical stage of the heroic song simply a "heroic tale" (боятырская сказка).

If after all this we discover from the comparison that the ballad possesses something new in content and style, which distinguishes it from the epic productions we have listed, and that this new thing is found in a considerable part of the ballads, then it will be obvious that this is the characteristic feature of the genre; this will be the compass with which we can find our way about among the other kinds of art form which have been counted as ballads. But because of the transition forms we must as far as possible take opposite poles as our starting points: the older forms of the heroic song, not yet mixed up with ballads, and the characteristics of the ballad *which differ most* from it.

We are fortunately in a position, thanks to the important work done by the Soviet folklorists (books by PROPP, ZHIRMUNSKY and MELETINSKY and the works on theory and material referred to in them), to gain a clear view of the main lines followed by the development of the heroic song, and to determine what phenomena constitute, and in what degree, the peculiarities of the genre, from what stage of social development they originate, and how general they are. For instance, the origin of one of the most general epic themes reaches back into the most ancient times: that of the struggle to gain a wife. The young hero sets out from home, and after a long series of adventures in which he conquers dragons and enemies, he wins his wife. This forms the only theme of the epic among such peoples as the Nyivkhe (Gilyaks), who have reached the stage in which the clan system breaks up. For at this stage of development the new economic and social formation is the independent family, and its founding is exalted in a heroic tale (PROPP 42-3, 56). After this it remains one of the characteristic themes of the heroic song right up to the bylina (Sadko, Potyk, Ivan Godinovich), the southern Slavs' Marriage of Prince Marko, and similar tales. In archaic Turkic songs there are, in addition to this, other common plots: the abduction of the spouse while the hero is absent, and his recovery of her after strenuous adventures, or another: the hero's parents are killed, and his people and herds are driven away by an enemy warrior, and the son, who escapes miraculously, grows up to have his revenge on the enemy, and regain the family wealth. These tales, frequently gathered round one hero, are recited either as a cycle or as a single connected tale, but they may be mixed with other related subjects, too. In such cases the songs are composed of several plots starting afresh one after the other, in loosely connected parts, which often relate the doings of even more than one generation. Thus the structure is not stable, and does not proceed quickly to one single destination, but links the happenings in chain form. And the happenings are really adventures, even if they are taken seriously as adventure-tales of gigantic struggles; in other words, they are always about battles and struggles.

The length of the ancient heroic poem may be from 1000 to 12,000 lines. Its performance takes the entire night, sometimes even several in succession. This great length is due not only to the multiplicity of the adventures, but also to the method of recitation. The heroic song favours the embellishment of details, and the lengthening of the delivery. This is found in the most archaic Abakan songs, yet there the formulation is very stylized, and is never as realistic as in the later stages of development. Also the formula-

like parts are comparatively long which relate, in typically stylized descriptions, the most important and most exciting details, the struggles of the heroes. These, too, may consist of twenty, forty, or even more lines. In the course of later developments we find long lists of those who took part in the battle (RADLOFF V, lines 1485–1523)—while in the Abakan songs there is only the one hero in each case in the centre of interest—and long, detailed accounts of the preparation of the hero's weapons (ibid. 1680–97) and of the course of the battle. Similar detailed description is also to be seen in the heroic epics of the Balkans, and sometimes in the bylinas, too.

The view of the world and of man in the heroic song is at first mythic, and later turns to magic and fantasy. The heroes are superhuman beings, and lived mostly in the period after the world was created and *before the world of men*, somewhere at the edge of the world, as is often stated clearly in the text. An example is, in DYRENKOVA, No. 11, "Ölen Tayji", 73": "Long, long ago, before the present generation of men, after the previous generation, at the time when the world was created..." At other times it refers only to some ancient period when even the ancestors of the shepherd people with their flocks lived by hunting (for example SCHIEFNER No. 8 "Katai Khan and Buzelei Mirgän", in which the hero always distributes the spoils of hunting among "his father's good people", and so supports them. See also ibid. No. 14, VERBITSKY No. 159, POTANIN No. 178). Usually he is related to or in league with the heavenly beings, his strength is of mythical proportions, and in practically every case it also appears in very early, rapid development: he fights his life or death battle as a 3, 4 or 7-year-old child. (Something of this is also preserved in the Russian bylinas: Dobrynya is 11 years old—in other variants 15—when he begins his heroic adventures.) His strength and that of his adversary are both characterized by extravagant measures: the width of his forehead, the breadth of his shoulders, the power of his voice, the weight of his step, under which the earth caves in. Examples are RADLOFF III No. 13, line 1472: "Dein Kind, der Sain ist ein Held mit Klawer breiter Stirne." SCHIEFNER No. 8, line 55: "Ist gar gross der Kopf der Schlange, Dass man zwischen beiden Augen Zwölf der Spannen messen konnte..." ZHIRMUNSKY 1947, 98: (Alpamysh) "Between the eyebrows of our son-in-law was a cubit's distance..." Ibid. 140 (Kazan Tartar Alpamysha) "between his eyes a flock of thirty sheep could graze, they could walk through between his shoulders." RADLOFF II No. 14, lines 2509–10: "Sein Hals ist am Rücken sechzig Spannen, Sein Hals ist bei der Schulter fünfzig Spannen." Ibid. III. No. 15, p. 301: the child hero defeats his enemies one after the other and stuffs them into his arm pits; the distance between them is twenty versts, so that they cannot talk to each other. Similar exaggerations also occur in the Russian bylinas, but here only in describing the adversary. PROPP, 216: "...in the Russian epic hyperbole is used in derisive description of the enemy." 215, Alyosha i Tugarin: "In height this Tugarin is three fathoms, the distance between his shoulders touching a fathom, between his eyes a red-hot arrow." 235 Ilya i Idolishche: "The head of the accursed one is like a brewer's vat." The heroic song also favours characterization by enormous weapons, for example

RADLOFF II No. 6, line 563: "Den von sieben Männern nicht umspannbaren kupfernen Stock hebt empor", and one of the greatest exaggerations is in No. 13: the seven-year-old boy is flayed on a false accusation, his bones are taken out, and he is buried. Later an order comes that a big bow must be bent, which six men are hardly able to carry into the tent; if no one can do it, a tax must be paid. The boy is dug up and brought back to life. "There is no strength in my arms!" "You must still bend it!" When he bends it, the bow breaks in pieces. "Take it back, it's no good, I can't bend such a little bow!". Finally we quote DYRENKOVA No. 14, page 209: Aba Kulak's future father-in-law calls quietly for his daughter, at the mere sound of which our hero loses consciousness from evening till morning.

These heroes are able to fly on their magic horses, their adventures happen in this world and the next, or above and below ground; their adversaries are monsters. This feature was also inherited by the non-mythical, human and knightly heroic poetry: it is found in the bylinas, the southern Slav heroic songs and the mediaeval knightly romances. The child hero also appears in them, for example there is the 4-year-old Bulgarian Golomeshe boy, whose strength is more monstrous than anyone else's.

We must hasten to point out that the other popular epic genre, the tale, is very closely related in these features to the heroic song. The hero of the tale, though an ordinary man, goes everywhere, to regions above and below the earth, to the end of the world and beyond, and his adversaries, too, are always monsters; and the action in tales, too, is very often a series of adventures, at the end of which the young hero gains his wife. He, too, is often endowed with superhuman strength. And the tale, too, favours the embellishment of the details, even if its scale does not match the extraordinary proportions found in the flourishing period of the heroic poem.

Do we, then, find anything in the ballad which differs from these elements of the heroic epic and the fairy tale? Even the definition of the ballad which exists in popular consciousness gives some sort of answer to this: the ballad is a concise, short epic story, which tells of a single short event, and often only a single scene of it, and that, too, with omissions, by hints, and in haste. If we take a look at the average length of the ballad, we find even among the longest Danish ballads at the most 200–300 lines (omitting the refrains and the repetitions); but the average ballad is much shorter, between 40 and 120 lines, and there are even shorter ones. There is no doubt, then, that the ballad is distinguished from the heroic song by its brevity.

It is not so simple to define the contents. In Danish and Scottish ballads there are very many battles, very many superhuman, miraculous beings, monsters, fairies, and there is a great deal of magic, in other words of the "supernatural" element which is regarded even today by most investigators as the "ancient" and most genuine characteristic of the ballad. Yet these are just as much present in the other two genres, and represent nothing new in relation to them. Their *antiquity* is undoubted, for they were general, indeed the rule, before the ballad. The only question is, does the ballad not contain something else which is not in its turn found in heroic songs, and is in fact the contrary of this supernatural world?

Anyone who even superficially turns the pages of the ballads of several peoples can at once point out this radically new thing; it is found in the *psychological problems*, the *social situations*. These appear here as the core of the events, as causes of dramatic clashes; in other words the *problems of man in society*, of relations between men, and of their social positions. For here it is always people who figure, if not average people, at least not mythical heroes or supernatural beings. And the stories about them, too, are not about battles and adventures, but about the clashes originating in their lives, positions, their relations with one another, and especially about the clashes which originate in their faults, their passions: the husband thinks his wife is unfaithful, and tortures her to death, and it turns out that she was innocent; the mother will not let her son take in marriage the girl he loves, the daughter of a serf, she has the girl murdered, the boy follows her into death and with his dying breath curses his mother; the parents of the seduced girl have her executed, and her lover, arriving too late, also kills himself; the mother, disguised as a beggar, puts her proud, rich daughter to the test, the latter has her thrown into prison, and the mother, her identity disclosed, pronounces a curse on her head—and similar things; and above all, and in the greatest variety, love, with all the complications and suffering that go with it. And even where the story concerns a hero fallen in battle—which is in itself a novelty compared with the old epic heroes, who can only win their battles (or at the most they die after many victories, and then the song about them closes with this)—, the emphasis is always on human behaviour: on his leave-taking from wife and child, or just on his wife's feelings as she waits in vain for her husband's, her lover's return; that is, on human psychological motifs. Not even the one "supernatural" element is an exception to this, which is found in every nation, often in a very ballad-like form: the *legend domain*. For in these the supernatural element is represented by the Christian miracle, some figure from the next world in the Christian belief, which was, to the mediaeval man, reality, and by no means a departure from the "realistic" view of life, freed of myths—as were fairies, magic and similar things. But, and this is even more important, in these, too, the *human, psychological, social content* is the essential thing, which is merely increased and emphasized by the introduction of the miracle or the heavenly being. The Saviour, in disguise, is sent away from the door as a beggar by the rich husband, and the kind-hearted wife takes pity on him; the mother takes leave of her daughter when the latter is carried up into Heaven, and her amazement at the miracle and the pain of the parting fuse in her lament for her living daughter. But even in those elements which are really magical in character, the emphasis may be on the human, if the ballad is a genuine one. Not even in the French ballad of the "blanche biche" is the important thing the fact that the girl is a doe by day and a girl by night—which the text tells us in a single line—but that her brother arranges a hunt, with her as the prey, and serves her up at the feast which follows, when he hears her accusing words and recognizes her. The theme here is the *unknowing sister-murderer*, which is made possible by the motif, probably inherited from an earlier period, of the doe-maiden.

I have attempted an assembly in table form of the theme-types of this kind found in the Hungarian, German, French and English ballads, so that we can run through the middle of Europe from east to west (Table VIII). From this table it is clear that these themes include all the old Magyar ballads, and also nearly all of the French (with one or two exceptions, but for the French there is no complete edition, such as to represent the view of investigators on what have hitherto been regarded as ballads). Of the German material so far listed as ballads some 60–70% has been included, and of the English, which includes the greatest proportion of foreign pieces in ballad collections, just half of what has been declared ballad material. This "modern" material thus makes up a very substantial, one might almost say predominant, part of the material in ballad collections. We can therefore regard it, without fear of error, as the full range of ballad themes. This is confirmed by the fact that the great majority of the cycles of themes found among these four nations agree with each other, and sometimes several ballad types are found in them in the individual nations; indeed, the most decisive fact is that all the ballads which spread among several peoples in broadly similar form, that is, which must have been the most popular pieces when the ballad was fashionable (printed in *italics*), are always found in these groups of psychological-social themes, while the themes of epic character are predominantly single instances! (These include all the CHILD numbers which we have left out of our table.)

Some of these groups, or of the ballad-types figuring in them represent themes which were familiar in the earlier epic, heroic song, or knightly romance: the French 2/3 husband returning to a wedding, and its German parallel, CHILD 53, 266 and also groups 6 (the wife's abduction and recapture), 8 (the abduction and birth in the forest), 21 (incest), 44 (soldier girl), 64 (impossible tasks group) (and perhaps also 43c) and in 18c the D. Vlr. 4b. The other themes and ballad plots are completely new in relation to the earlier epic. (We do not include here those cases where a ballad evolves from a heroic song or part of one, but in such a transformation that the gist of the story cannot be regarded as the same.) This also supports our view that these themes are really characteristic of ballad poetry. From now on we shall examine only these common, "ballad-like" themes.

The texts which fall under this heading are built on a single problem, in which two or three threads are never found interwoven; events rush along a single track irresistibly towards the catastrophe or the sensational end. Their manner of telling the story is well described by the familiar definition: they relate the happenings with omissions and by reduction to the essential motifs; everything is left out which can be understood from later events and is not a dramatic motif in the action. In these texts we never hear "and then they went to . . ."; instead, the action carries on in the place they go to; and we hardly ever hear "and then so-and-so said" or "he replied": we hear his words at once, often in long consecutive duologues, as in the drama. Everything becomes obvious from the words of the characters: the antecedents, the preceding or present action, the state of mind of the heroes. The hero of the myth had nothing to do with states of mind, or at the most, and very rarely, knew fear, and that is only stated, not described.

TABLE VIII

TYPES OF BALLADS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEMES

Number	Theme-group	Hungarian types	French types	English types (CHILD-numbers)	German (Dutch) types according to D. Vlr. and E—B
1.	Fidelity — Fidelity-test	<i>The test of fidelity</i>	1. <i>Roi Renaud</i> (+54d) 2. <i>Germine</i> 3. <i>L'épreuve</i>	63 105 263	D. Vlr. 21 E—B 67
2.	Infidelity		1. Le mari assassiné 2. <i>Re- tour du mari-soldat</i> 3. <i>Re- tour du mari aux nocces</i> 4. <i>Retour de l'amant</i>	17 53 235 253 256 257 266 295	D. Vlr. (11?) 33 E—B 49 191 211
3.	New wife beside old (sisters)		—	62	D. Vlr. 74
4.	Adultery	<i>Adulterous Burnt to Death, The Clever Adulterous, Wife Caught in a Lie</i>	—	81 82	D. Vlr. 32 (Danish and Dutch)
5.	Suspected infidelity	—	<i>Les anneaux de Marianson</i> (+22)	83 204	(E—B 55)
6.	Abduction of wife (+ recapture)	—	1. <i>La marquise empoisonnée</i> (+22) 2. <i>L'escrivette</i>	—	D. Vlr. 35 (+22) E—B 138? (+7)
7a.	Elopement (faithful lover)	<i>Marvellous Corpse</i> (+68)	1. <i>L'enlèvement au couvent</i> 2. <i>L'enlèvement par le malade</i> 3. <i>L'enlèvement par le</i> <i>jardinier</i> 4. <i>La mort d'en-</i> <i>levée</i> 5. <i>Le capitaine et</i> <i>la fille prisonnière</i>	7 8 24 (+62) 25 41 97 200 298 (303)	D. Vlr. 3 4a (b, c?) E—B 120 (138)
7b.	Flight regretted	—	—	—	E—B 116
8.	Flight—birth in forest	—	1. <i>La mort au bois</i> 2. <i>La ma-</i> <i>lade au bois</i>	15 101 102	D. Vlr. 7 8

9a.	Enticement (faithless lover)	Girl with Peacocks	<i>Le séducteur marié</i>	9 (48?) 241	D. Vlr. 42 59 E—B 113—4 118
9b.	Mockery after seduction	—	—	—	D. Vlr. 60 (+40)
10.	Brother or father against lover or seducer	—	—	69 70 71 297	D. Vlr. 62 63 (+35) (88?) E—B 128 (mercy)
11a.	Seduction—finally marriage	—	—	217 218	—
11b.	Unsuccessful enticement with money, marriage	—	—	—	E—B 74
12.	Foiled enticement	—	—	98	D. Vlr. 84 (+45a)
13.	Enticed woman returns	<i>The Enticed Wife</i> (+26) Wife Fleeing Home from Seducer, Seduced Girl Runs Home	1. <i>Renaud tueur de femmes</i> (+26) 2. <i>La fille qui ne</i> <i>voulait pas boir</i>	4 (+26)	D. Vlr. 41 (+26)
14.	Suspected enticement	—	(<i>Les anneaux de Marian-</i> <i>son</i> +5, 22)	291	D. Vlr. 33
15a.	Use of force	—	—	—	(E—B 131?)
15b.	Use of force + marriage	—	—	110 290	—
16.	Use of force + robbery and murder	<i>The Girl Who Set out with the Soldiers</i>	1. <i>Les larrons et la bague</i> 2. <i>L'assassinée dans le</i> <i>bois</i>	—	E—B 57
17.	Attack by robbers, pirates, nobles	(Three Young Thieves) (Mur- dered Mountain Shep- herd?) <i>Knight and Lady</i>	<i>Les deux frères</i> (+49a)	114 115 183 250	—

Number	Theme-group	Hungarian types	French types	English types (CHILD-numbers)	German (Dutch) types according to D. Vlr. and E—B
18a.	Abducted Girl does not resist	—	1. La Péronnelle 2. L'enlevée au bocage	—	—
18b.	Abducted Girl defends her virtue (dies)	<i>Girl Abducted by Turks</i> <i>Girl Abducted by Soldiers</i>	1. (<i>Se jette dans la mer, breton</i>) 2. <i>Se jette dans la rivière</i> 3. <i>Fait la mort</i> 4. <i>Virée en cane</i> 5. <i>Les trois dragons</i> 6. <i>Meurt après souper</i> 7. . . . <i>par les trois Allemands</i> 8. <i>Se tue</i> 9. <i>L'embarquement aux chansons</i>	223	D. Vlr. 45 46
18c.	Other abduction of women	—	—	104 224 225	D. Vlr. 4b (E—B 3?)
19a.	Sister sacrificing her virtue	<i>Sister of the Condemned to Death</i>	—	—	—
19b.	Lover sacrificing her virtue	—	—	—	(some variants in E—B 43)
19c.	Sister sacrificing her pudicity	—	—	—	D. Vlr. 22
20.	Test of morals	—	L'épreuve de la soeur	—	—
21.	Incest (brother)	<i>Mother Abducted by Son (Wife Sold?)</i>	Le frère-amant assassin	50 51 52	D. Vlr. 72
22.	Murder for jealousy	—	1. <i>Les anneaux de Marianson</i> (+5., 14.) 2. <i>Le galant assommée</i> 3. <i>Cathrin d'amour</i> 4. <i>La marquise empoisonnée</i> (+6.)	94 212 (unsuccessful)	D. Vlr. 35 (+6.) E—B 48 55 (+5.)

23.	Wife sent away through jealousy	—	—	229	—
24a.	Rival murders	—	—	73 (+40., 34.) 215 262	D. Vlr. 17 30 31? (+40) 43 (61) 83
24b.	Husband has lover executed	—	—	—	D. Vlr. 16
24c.	Lover kills husband	—	—	—	D. Vlr. 37 (87?)
25.	Unfaithful wife murders (tries to)	—	<i>La Dame Lombarde</i>	80 (213)	—
26.	Lover kills lover (let kill)	<i>Poisoned János</i> (+45) <i>Girl Danced to Death, The Enticed Wife</i> (+13)	1. <i>Renaud tueur de femmes</i> (+13) 2. <i>L'écolier assassin</i> 3. <i>Le chasseur de sa mie</i> 4. <i>L'amant assassin</i> 5. <i>La fille militaire</i> (+44c)	12 68 86 88 (+many) (90?) 242 260	D. Vlr. 41 (+13.) 29
27.	Seduced girl	<i>The Disgraced Girl, Girl with Peacocks</i> (+9a.), <i>Girl's Affair with Servant</i> (+40)	1. <i>La soeur substituée</i> (2. <i>La damnée</i>) 3. <i>La fille enceinte et l'oiseau</i>	5 16 28 65	D. Vlr. 55 (+37) 67 68 73 E—B (11?) 56 122
28.	Seduced girl kills in revenge	—	1. <i>La délessée tueure et suicide</i> 2. <i>La meurtrière sauvée par son enfant</i>	—	—
29.	Seduced girl kills her child	<i>Unmarried Mother kills her Child, The Tripled Child-killer</i>	1. <i>L'infanticide</i> 2. <i>L'enfant noyé</i>	20 21 173 264 (fails, happy end)	E—B 56 212 213 (+45a)
30.	Seduced girl finally married	—	—	99 100 240	—
31a.	Forced marriage	<i>Bride Dragged to Death, Bride Dying on the Way, Bride Found Dead, Bride Married off in Poland, Brigand's Wife, Rich—Old Husband</i>	—	64 (+34) 222 239	D. Vlr. 47 48? 49 50 51 54? (E—B 43)

Number	Theme-group	Hungarian types	French types	English types (CHILD-numbers)	German (Dutch) types according to D. Vlr. and E—B
31b.	Forced marriage, finally marries lover	—	—	221 254	—
32.	Girl married abroad in pov- erty	—	—	226 227 228	—
33a.	Forbidden marriage	<i>Mother's Curse</i>	—	—	—
33b.	Forbidden love	—	—	216 (Mother's Curse)	—
33c.	Girl hidden away from suitors	(Girl Married in Poland)	—	234	—
34.	Separated lovers die	<i>Two Royal Children</i>	1. Some variants of <i>La fille du roi Loys</i> (+36.) 2. <i>Per- nette</i> 3. <i>Les tristes noces</i> 4. <i>Le flambeau d'amour</i>	64 (+31) 92? 73 (+24a and 40) 74	<i>D. Vlr. 20</i>
35.	Lovers separated by social differences	<i>Two Chapel Flowers</i> , Magyar Emperor's son Lázár, <i>Heathen King's Daughter</i>	1. <i>L'amant du Dauphin</i> 2. (<i>Le fils du riche mar- chand</i> +45.)	269	<i>D. Vlr. 65 (E—B 89—90?) Happy end: D. Vlr. 63 (E—B 98)</i>
36.	Apparent death of separated lovers (happy end)	—	<i>La fille du roi Loys</i> (+34.)	96	—
37.	Lovers separated by death	<i>Speaking Corpse</i>	1. <i>La mie resuscitée</i> 2. <i>Le galant qui voit mourir sa mie</i> 3. <i>Le soldat arrivé aux funérailles</i> 4. <i>Le jeune soldat</i>	75 78 85	<i>D. Vlr. 9 55 (+27) 56 57 E—B 93 (E—B 95+54b.)</i>
38.	Lover caught at meeting place + happy ending	—	—	247	—

39.	Sorrowful girl finally wins sweetheart	—	—	293	—
40.	Social difference in love (see group 69 too)	<i>Girl's Affair with Servant</i> (+27) (Some var. of <i>Danc- ing to Death</i> +26)	1. <i>Le roi danse</i> 2. <i>Le capi- taine et la fille prisonni- ère</i> (+7.)	73 (+24a and 34) 232 (+70) 233 236 237 252 (300)	E—B 141
41.	Sorrows of love	—	1. <i>La fille du roi abandon- née</i> 2. <i>Le soldat par chag- rin</i>	74 (+34)	—
42.	Friends, brothers as rivals in love	<i>Young Gentlemen Escaped</i> from Emperor's Prison	—	66 (+31)	—
43a.	Dying in task for lover	—	<i>Le plongeur noyé</i>	—	—
43b.	Dying in task at king's command	—	—	58	—
43c.	Dying in task in rescue from enemy	—	—	286	—
44a.	In disguise seduction	—	<i>Le garçon déguisé en fille</i>	67	<i>D. Vlr. 6</i>
44b.	In disguise rescue from prison	—	<i>La fille s'habille en page</i>	—	—
44c.	In disguise girl soldier	<i>Soldier Girl</i>	1. <i>La fille soldat</i> 2. <i>La fille qui est soldat avec son ami</i> 3. <i>La fille en guerre</i> 4. <i>La fille abandonnée en soldat</i> 5. <i>La fille militaire tue son amant</i> (+26) 6. <i>Le retour de la fille- soldat</i>	—	<i>D. Vlr. 95</i>

Number	Theme-group	Hungarian types	French types	English types (CHLD-numbers)	German (Dutch) types according to D. Vlr. and E-B
45a.	Killing a member of family	<i>Cruel Mother-in-law, Wife Kicked to Death, Poi- soned János? Poisoned Hermán</i>	1. La blanche biche 2. Tueur de sa femme 3. La fille parricide 4. Le fils du riche marchand (+35.) 5. Les parents assassinés 6. La princesse et le bour- reaux 7. Le meurtre de sa fille 8. Les amants et la mère assassinée?	10 11 12? 13 14 49 51? (+21.) 87 194 261	D. Vlr. 77 78 79 (80) 81 82 84 (+22.) (85) 40? (+48.)
45b.	Member of family sold to robbers	—	—	—	(D. Vlr. 86?)
46.	Husband sacrificing wife	<i>Walled-up Wife</i>	—	—	—
47.	Family destroyed for unpaid debts	—	—	93	—
48a.	Cruelty-love in family	<i>Heartless Mother, Three Or- phans, Test of Love</i>	1. <i>La porcheronne</i> 2. <i>La mauxmariée vengée</i> par ses frères 3. <i>Les deux frè- res</i> (+49a) 4. <i>Les trois orphelins</i> (+66)	95	D. Vlr. 40? (+45a) 76 (Dutch) E-B 78 189 (202?)
48b.	Cruelty to lover	—	—	84 292	—
49a.	Lack of mercy toward poor	<i>Rich Wife's Mother (+44) The Two Captives, Jesus Seeking Lodging</i>	1. <i>Les deux frères</i> (+48a) 2. <i>Jesus en pauvre</i> (+66.) 3. <i>Les trois anges</i> (+66.)	—	D. Vlr. 75
49b.	High-handedness with ser- vant, with poor	—	—	—	E-B 43 (+19a. 31a) 213 (+29.) 56 (+27) 57

50.	Disobedient child's punish- ment	—	La danseuse noyée	—	—
51.	Death for offending King	—	L'hôtesse de Paris	—	—
52.	Death accepted for faith	—	La fille huguenotte	—	(E-B 98)
53.	Murder for faith	—	—	155	—
54a.	Husband, lover fallen in battle	Izsák Kerekes, Soldier of the Prince	1. Malbrouk 2. Le porte- enseigne 3. Les funérail- les du Duc	210? 214	E-B 10
54b.	Lover killed	—	—	—	E-B 95
54c.	Lover wounded, dying	—	—	—	E-B (47?) 96
54d.	Dead husband, lover	—	<i>Le roi Renaud</i> (+1)	259 289	D. Vlr. 36
55.	Knight killed by enemies or in duel	—	<i>Prince Eugène</i>	26 193 181 230	D. Vlr. 28? (E-B 30?)
56.	Taking prisoner	László Rákóci	1. La prison du roi 2. La captivité du Maréchal	—	—
57a.	Prisoner-before execution	Young Sir Mezöbándi, Young Noble	1. <i>L'écoliers pendus</i> 2. Les trente voleurs 3. Le condamné 4. Le vol d'ég- lise 5. Le vol d'Hôtel	72 208? 171?	E-B 65
57b.	Prisoner pardoned before execution	—	—	209	—
58.	Love of prisoner	—	1. La fille du geôlier 2. Le prisonnier de Nantes	—	E-B 63 65 (+57a)

Number	Theme-group	Hungarian types	French types	English-types (CHILD-numbers)	German (Dutch) types according to D. Vlr. and E-B
59.	Exile	Dávid Dancsuj	—	—	—
60.	Woman dies in childbed	—	—	91 170	—
61.	Love of one chosen by lots for death on ship	—	La courte paille	57	—
62.	Seduced girl cause of danger	—	—	24 (+7. and 27.)	—
63.	Girl won by ship race	—	—	245	—
64.	Impossible tasks — riddles	<i>Young King Mátyás and the Clever Girl</i>	—	(1 2 3) 45 46 (44)	E-B (117 1063—4 1090—94)
65a.	Dead man returns	<i>(Dead Bridegroom) (Dead brother?)</i>	(La jeune morte?)	(47) 77 79	E-B (197?)
65b.	Message from the dead	—	—	—	E-B (199?)
65c.	Dead man speaks	<i>Speaking Corpse (+37.) (Two Chapel Flowers +35.) Three Orphans (+48a, 66)</i>	1. <i>La mie resuscitée</i> (+37.) 2. <i>Les trois orphelins</i> (+48a, 66)	—	E-B (201?) (202?)
66.	Legends	<i>Pretty Maid Julia, Jesus Seeking Lodging (+49a) Three Orphans (+65c)</i>	1. <i>Les trois orphelins</i> 2. La nourrice et St. Nicolas 3. La nourrice du roi 4. (St. Nicolas et les trois en- fants) 5. <i>Jesus en pauvre</i> 6. Les trois anges 7. La passion du Jesus 8. Le mi- racle de blé 9. La pénitence de Marie-Madeleine 10. Les trois enfants de Berse	22 23 54 55 56	—

67a.	Short-symbolic love-idyll	Goose Girl, Evening in the Spinning Room	1. Les trois beaux canards 2. Le roi et la fille dans le jardin 3. <i>Le joli tam- bour</i> 4. Le bateau de blé 5. La fille aux oranges 6. Le Prince d'Oranges 7. Le fils du roi et la bergère 8. La mie malade aux neufs mois 9. Le pommier doux 10. Le merveilleux navire 11. <i>Les métamorphoses</i> 12. (Le chasseur qui tue sa mie)	44	E-B 71 125 852
67b.	Obscure (fragmentary)— symbolic? love story	—	1. La fille de Bazas séduite 2. Le tonnelier de Libos	—	—
68.	Winning (or getting to) lover by degrees	<i>Marvellous Corpse (+7a) Ferryman's song</i> Servant and his Mistress	1. <i>Le fils du roi et la bergère</i> (some variants) (+67.)	—	E-B 460 (+71b). D. Vlr. 58
69.	Revenge of poor on rich	King's Son Wooing (+70) Two Kinds of Bride, <i>Haughty Wife, Lazy Wife,</i>	<i>Jesus en pauvre</i> (+66. and 49a)	277	E-B 70
70.	Rich lover thought poor	King's Son Wooing (+69.)	—	(232) 280 294	—
71a.	Humorous ballads	—	1. Le mariage anglais. 2. Duel avec la quenouille	219	—
71b.	Ridiculed types	<i>Bride Taken Back, Bad Wife, Doubting Husband, Sni- velling János, Timid Lover, Where did you Sleep Last Night? János Ugron, De- ceived Husband</i>	1. <i>Le mari trompé</i> 2. <i>La veuve</i> 3. <i>L'occasion manquée</i> 4. (Le moine?) 5. <i>Celui qui demande d'entrer</i> 6. La fille, la mère et l'andouille 7. La femme du vieillard	112 274 (276)	E-B (460) (668?) 910

Explanation of Table VIII

We have included in the table as far as possible only mediaeval ballads. We have applied this standard more strictly in the case of the Hungarian ones, because there the older ballads are more easily separated from the modern ones. In the French and German publications, however, it may be suspected, or has been established, in the case of many ballads of modern tone, that a mediaeval text is concealed in them in an altered form; and we have, therefore, extended the limits wherever that possibility was found. We have also sometimes included a piece, for the sake of a comparison, which cannot be regarded as a traditional ballad among the people concerned, but can among another. Such doubtful cases we have put between brackets, with a question mark. Ballads between brackets, but without a question mark, are those which do not entirely conform to the group of themes indicated. *Italics* indicate those which occur among several peoples as ballads. These often belong to different groups among the various peoples, according to the alterations they have undergone. Indeed, a ballad may belong to different groups among one and the same people, because of the multiple references of its action (e.g. the *Bride Dragged to Death*: 31a = Les Anneaux de Marionson: 22 + 5 + 14).

Since there is no complete edition either of Hungarian or of French material, by reference to whose numbering we could indicate the types, we have no option but to indicate them by titles. For the Hungarian, see the lists of variants in previous chapters, and under similar titles in Cs-VARGYAS. Titles which differ, or are not found in the above, are: *The wife (or maiden) fleeing to her home from the seducer* = Cs-VARGYAS 42, 43, *The girl abducted by soldiers* = MCSB 8, *The wife who was sold*, manuscript, *The mother's curse* = Cs-VARGYAS 40-43, *The poisoning of Herman*, manuscript, *King István Magyarai* = KALLÓS No. 1, *Young King Mátyás and the clever girl* = MCSB 14, with complete text = KALLÓS No. 2 *The dead brother* = MCSB 17, *The lazy wife*, manuscript.

For the French, see similarly the variant lists in preceding chapters. Those not to be found there are listed below. (If the type occurs in DONCIEUX, the reference D is given; if another collection of variants is available, there is a reference to it; if there is none, I give my own list of variants, without any claim to completeness, numbered according to theme-groups, and where several types are included in the group, numbers are given within the group.) 1/1: D 7 1/2 BARBEAU 1935, 65 CHAMPFLEURY, 195 PINEAU, 394/VII D'HARCOURT No. 7 FLEURY, 264 MILLIEN 1906, 206-12 BEAUQUIER, 259 CANTELOUBE IV, 327 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 8 SMITH I, 353 2/1: BUJEAUD II, 244 2/2: D 36 2/3: FLEURY, 268/II TARBÉ II, 122 ROSSAT 1917 23a-d PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 20 LEGRAND X SMITH IX, 289 2/4: MILLIEN 1906, 173 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 27 6/1: D 23 7/3 LIBIEZ, 16 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 39 SMITH VII, 72 SIMON 1926, 529 7/4: MILLIEN 1906, 177 7/5: PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 44 ROLLAND I-II No. 138 NERVAL, 129 LEGRAND XI DECOMBE, 100 DELZANGLES, 128 8/1: MILLIEN 1906, 153 BUJEAUD II, 198 DECOMBE, 106 CHAMINADE-CASSE, 12 8/2: SIMON 1926, 128 9a: ROSSAT 1917 No. 16a LIBIEZ III No. 15 13/2: GAGNON, 155 16/2: MILLIEN 1906, 254 18/1: D 2 18a/2: DECOMBE XIV 18b/3: D 21 18b/4: PINEAU, 394/III BUJEAUD II, 173 D'HARCOURT No. 2 MILLIEN 1906, 88 AMPÈRE, 229 18b/5: CANTELOUBE III, 163 SMITH III, 368 18b/6: WECKERLIN 1887 Ancienne, 73 BEAUREPAIRE, 153 18b/7: CANTELOUBE I, 28 BARBEAU-SAPIR, 135 ARBAUD I, 133 18b/8: MILLIEN 1906, 143 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 93 18b/9: D 42 20: PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 54 LEGRAND V SIMON 1926, 178 21: SMITH X, 201 22/2: MILLIEN, 141 25: D 11 26/2: PUUYMAIGRE 1885 Folk., 127 ROLLAND I, 145 ROSSAT 1917 No. 12 MILLIEN 1906, 266 BEAUQUIER, 256 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 85 SMITH X, 196 26/3: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne III, 364 26/4: SMITH X, 198 BEAUQUIER, 17 27/1, ROLLAND IV, 207 BEAUQUIER, 254 MILLIEN 1906, 110 LEGRAND III 27/2: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 142 27/3: LEGRAND XV 28/1: ROSSAT 1917 No. 7 28/2: ROSSAT 1917 No. 4 29/2: BARBEAU 1935, 46 CANTELOUBE III, 227 MILLIEN 1906, 90 BARBEAU-SAPIR, 93 34/1: D 6 34/2: D 1 34/4: D 22 35/1: MILLIEN 1906, 147 35/2: BUJEAUD II, 235 CANTELOUBE II, 379 37/2: MILLIEN 1906, 169 LIBIEZ III, 17 37/3: D 27 37/4: BLADÉ 1879, 28, 30 MILLIEN 1906, 179 BEAUQUIER, 197 LIBIEZ III, 18 CANTELOUBE III, 321 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 29 COMBES, 138 40/1: BUJEAUD II, 350 41/1: GAGNON, 303 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 31 LEGRAND XVIII 43: D 25 44a: TIERSOT 1903 Alp., 179 SIMON 1926, 158 44b: D'HAR-

COURT No. 25 BLADÉ 1879, 37 LIBIEZ III, 12 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 51 LEGRAND VIII SMITH VII, 74 44c/6: SMITH X, 198 45/1: D 16 45/2: BUJEAUD II, 231 ROSSAT 1917 Nos. 13-14 MILLIEN 1906, 263, 267 NERVAL, 134 LIBIEZ III No. 10 (No. 11) ROLLAND II, 145 SMITH X, 194 Rev. Trad. Pop. 1889, 133 45/3: BUJEAUD II, 239 MILLIEN 1906, 275 45/5: CANTELOUBE III, 176 45/6: BARBEAU-SAPIR, 37 45/7: SMITH X, 200 45/8: SMITH X, 201 48/2: D 12 49a/3: CANTELOUBE III, 161 ROSSAT 1917 III, 28 50: D 35 51: MILLIEN 1906, 117 52: MILLIEN 1906, 152 DECOMBE No. CVI AMPÈRE, 242 54a/1: D 44 54a/2: ROSSAT 1917 No. 25 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 178 54a/3: AMPÈRE, 243 55: BARBEAU 1935, 34 WECKERLIN 1887 Ancienne, 47 = AMPÈRE, 246 BARBEAU-SAPIR, 12 56/1: D 4 56/2: AMPÈRE, 245 57/1: D 14 57/2: BUJEAUD II, 228 57/3: MILLIEN 1906, 241 57/4: SMITH X, 206 57/5: SMITH X, 207 58/1: D 28 58/2: D 26 61: D 17 65a: ROLLAND IV, 206 MILLIEN 1906, 49 66/2: D 33 66/3: CANTELOUBE I, 22 SMITH X, 204 ARBAUD I, 105 AMPÈRE, 278 66/4: D 32 66/7: D 5 66/8: CANTELOUBE I, 32 III, 139 MILLIEN 1906, 4-8 ROSSAT 1917 III, 1 ARBAUD I, 33 66/9: D 9 66/10: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II No. 33 67a/1: cf. BARBEAU 1947, 97 67a/2: BUJEAUD II, 177 67a/4: D 43 67a/5: D 20 67a/6: BARBEAU 1935, 31 BARBEAU-SAPIR, 4 67a/7: GAGNON, 97 CANTELOUBE II, 77, 335 III, 175, 257 BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 110 SMITH VII, 60 DECOMBE No. XV 67a/8: MEYRAC, 263 TARBÉ III, 57 CANTELOUBE III, 111 IV, 134 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 390 ROLLAND I, 56 II, 50 67a/9: D 3 67a/10: D 37 67a/11: TIERSOT no date Provinces I, 10 CANTELOUBE I, 34 II, 295 III, 201, 286 IV, 402 BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 360 LEGRAND XXXIX SMITH VII, 623 ARBAUD II, 128 DELZANGLES, 86 67a/12: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne III, 364 67b/1: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 242/XII 67b/2: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 148 71a/1: D 24 71a/2: BUJEAUD II, 197 BEAUQUIER, 296 TARBÉ III, 105 CANTELOUBE II, 82, 357 IV, 170-71 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 180 POUËIGH, 131, 228 71b/1: CANTELOUBE I, 68, 252 IV, 279 D'HARCOURT No. 96 PUUYMAIGRE 1874, 265 ROLLAND II, 162 TIERSOT no date Provinces II, 38 POUËIGH, 446 TRÉBUCC, 205 SOLEVILLE, 45* TARBÉ II, 98 LAMBERT II, 320 PUUYMAIGRE 1865 Messin, 217 BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 122 ARBAUD II, 152 71b/3: D 20 71b/4: CANTELOUBE II, 60, 395 BUJEAUD II, 284-9 FLEURY, 325 ROLLAND I-II No. 75 II No. 78 BLADÉ 1879, 120 BEAUQUIER, 271, 307 GAGNON, 129 TARBÉ II, 250 SIMON 1926, 503, 506 71b/5: ROSSAT 1917 II, 57-60 ROLLAND I-II Nos. 70a-b BEAUQUIER, 266 Mélusine I, 187 71b/6: WECKERLIN 1887 Ancienne, 71 BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 326, 330 71b/7: BLADÉ 1881-2 Gascogne II, 214

(Cf. PROPP, 150: "The singers never refer to Nastasya's psychology, since the epic, generally speaking, never dwells on complicated feelings in its heroes". And let us add the following (ibid. 116): "It must be emphasized that the motif of individual love is unknown to the epic in the earlier stages of its development... it is present in the Russian epic. Potyk in particular is in the grip of passion." But not even here is there any psychological description. Transitional forms appear at the end of the epic's development, with romantic complications, and here and there a psychological problem. We might set beside Potyk Momčil's song from the Balkans: the lover, after killing the husband, abandons the treacherous wife, for if she has betrayed such a hero, she will do the same to him. But all these are rare cases, and even in them there is no representation of states of mind, no realistic human character in the conditions of life, none of the elements of form—brevity, conciseness, stylizing—which are characteristic of the ballad. A style is not marked by the scattered occurrence of single elements, but by many elements together. We must also bear in mind that genres also affect one another, since the old one goes on existing alongside the new. Thus, for instance, PROPP writes about the *Kozarin* bylina (154-6): "The bylina, too, must have acquired the ballad-like character comparatively late, since the ballad is in general a later genre than the epic."

Since the epic, then, does not deal with the psychology of its heroes, this is a decisive difference in comparison with the ballad, for the latter is chiefly concerned with representing the psychological state, and that is the main secret of its effect. Its tools are those of the drama: the words and actions of the characters themselves. But this psychology is different from what we have grown accustomed to in the realistic, personalizing representation of man, from the Greek tragedy, via Shakespeare and to the modern drama. The girl in trouble is asked by her mother why her skirt is getting shorter at the front and longer at the back. The girl's naive defence, that "the tailor cut it badly, the sempstress sewed it badly, may the Lord punish the one who spoiled it" evokes the human being in trouble with inimitable clarity; yet *never a particular girl*, not even *the girl in trouble*, but the human being who cannot find a way out of his troubles, the *behaviour of the confused human spirit*. But since this behaviour appears in a common human situation, it thereby becomes the expression of a *characteristic attitude*, and gains its power of characterization thereby, without being a convincing piece of reality torn out for a single occasion. What we have here is stylized, typical reality. It evokes, without a single individual feature, and on the poetic plane, a typical human situation and state of mind. At every step we meet similar ideas. "Why is there blood on your sword?" the murderer brother, father or lover is asked. He defends himself with "I killed a dove". The mother of the girl who has been handed over to the hangman, questioned by the girl's sweetheart, does not dare to confess the truth, but attempts, with naive excuses, to stave off the inevitable: "She is out in the garden picking flowers" "She has gone out to the river to wash handkerchiefs" and so on; the wife caught red-handed desperately tries to hold her husband up with transparent excuses that she has lost the key to the door or the chest; the chief mason, whose wife is the first to set out with the dinner, prays God for improbable hindrances to keep his darling wife from being walled in. The despair of the girl whose brother has married her off to a stranger is concisely expressed in the four lines of her reply to her brother's announcement of it: "I have never heard of him, brother dear. May God grant me instead a merry supper, after the merry supper a little sickness, in a lovely red dawn departure from this world..." And if the characterization is a caricature—which is the gay form of stylizing—, then a gay ballad is produced like the one which, in the figure of the snivelling lover, at whose tearful requests the married woman allows him further and further in, depicts in an amusing way an eternal type of the relation between a woman longing for love and a timid suitor.

The representation of the human being in states of mind, the problems of society, the illumination of events in staccato, almost exclusively dramatic duologues, are all so novel compared with the heroic song and the tale, but also so unique in relation to every other genre met with till then, that we can justifiably regard them as the chief characteristics of the ballad.

With these observations in mind we can easily find our way about among the ballads recorded by the different peoples. We can exclude from them everything in which these psychological themes do not appear, but only battles or adventures, or supernatural, fabulous and fantastic elements

without psychological problems, and we can exclude every manner of presentation which contains any motifs of crude reality and is lengthy and detailed, and especially if the action is made up of several threads. Thus we shall leave out the Robin Hood cycle, which contains only adventures, often very loquaciously described, with casual and individual details, not seldom in the tone of the broadside. (Broadly similar views are expressed by CHILD, too, whose observations we have already quoted, by HODGART and by BRONSON: "... Some two dozen—or two thirds—of the Robin Hood cycle are in comparable case", that is, "existing only in untraditional broadsides" and "individually composed"—obviously purely on the basis of style considerations.) Similarly we must exclude every text which contains only a description of some feudal battle. Among these are some which are quite ballad-like in tone, or if not that, very poetic texts, like the famous Chevy Chase. But this is still the description of a battle, containing a detailed list of the fallen and epic commonplaces, and with a detailed style of delivery. This is, without doubt, a knightly, feudal continuation of the heroic epic, in which, similarly to many other English texts, the influence of the ballad style is more or less perceptible. A late feudal continuation of the heroic epic is similarly represented by mostly unpoetical, informative, semi-literary descriptions of battles as the Hungarian Sabác Viadala (end of the 15th century), the lays of Tinódi (middle of the 16th) or the Lay of István Kádár (mid-17th century). These verses are in the same way, as far as their content is concerned, a continuation, in their written, minstrel form, of the heroic epic, but with inherited knacks and formulas from the former style of the popular heroic epic. Their authors were minstrels with literary culture ("deáks"), who had taken service in the feudal system. Beside their descriptions of battles we find a whole range of amusing tales with the background of the feudal surroundings, amply interlarded with personal details, and in which the basic idea is some comic situation or complicated family story, which, however, never contains psychology or shows the ballad style. These are the songs for which CHILD and BRONSON several times use the term "professional", in that they were the creations of professional poets—the minstrels. An example is the story about a magic garment (CHILD 29 "Boy and Mantle"), which shows, when worn, whether the wearer has deceived her husband or not, and which is brought—characteristically—by a harpist, a minstrel, to the royal court. All the noble ladies try it on in turn, and in the process we get a realistic picture of life at the court; finally one lady is found whom the garment fits. There is a song in which even such a trifle is found worth mentioning as how much the noble gives the innkeeper as a tip when he leaves after drinking at the inn (CHILD 211). Characteristic features of the heroic song also appear, such as the boy hero and the excessive exaggeration of strength (CHILD 59—here a four-year-old boy hero enters the lists in defence of the heroine's innocence—33, 38, 251), or the plot of pronounced heroic song character (203): the noble who is attacked is betrayed by his wife, he is killed, his wife makes merry with the victorious adversary, while the dead man's son, escaping, promises vengeance when he is grown up. The exaggeration of strength is a complete copy of the Siberian and east European

heroic epic: the breadth of the brow and shoulders is exaggerated, and even the distance between the eyes (33A, v. 7): "His teeth they were like tethersticks, His nose was three fit lang, *Between his shouthers was ells three, And tween his eyne a span*", and similarly in this same ballad (C verse 9 and E verse 7, 38 verse 2): "His legs were scarce a shathmont's length, And thick and thimber was his thigh; *Between his brows there was a span, And between his shoulders there was three*"; 251 v. 2: "The sword that hung by Johnny's side Was just full ten feet lang" v. 3: "Just full three yards around the waist, And fourteen feet in hight"; v. 21: "Whan on the plain, these champions met, Twa grisly ghosts to see, *There were three feet between their brouws, And shoulders were yards three*". In exactly these terms, with the distance of three spans between the brows, the German Ermenrichs Tod indicates the strength of the 12-year-old boy hero Blödeling: "De ys twischen synen Winbranen syner drier spenne widt" (v. 5). This must have been at one time a commonplace of the Germanic heroic song.

We can also omit from the start those texts in which the plot is built on a person bewitched, a fabulous monster and similar fantastic phenomena, yet which contain no element of the ballad character as detailed above. Here, however, we again run foul of an obstacle in a current conception. Scandinavian research claims, and the claim is approved by some scholars, that the process of shedding myths is a modern one, found in the most recent period: the "supernatural" elements in the earlier ballad variants gradually disappear from the more recent records, and this is due to the influence of the increasingly civilizing, rational view of the world. They hold that from this it follows that the reverse of the process leads to the "ancestral" form of the ballad: in other words that in ancient times the ballad had its myths, and where it had none, that that was a secondary state.

It cannot be denied that the world of fairies is an archaic phenomenon, nor that it gradually disappears from folk poetry. What is not acceptable is that it is a characteristic, genuine element of the ballad, too. Our review of ballad themes has shown that it is almost completely missing from the French, German and Hungarian ballad, and in English texts it appears only in those from Scotland. Thus it is a characteristic of the Scottish-Scandinavian area, as distinct from the central areas. And evidence supplied by the 16th century records shows that the national divergences of today were also present then: the "de-mythed" French-German-English-Hungarian ballads, and in contrast to them the "mythic" Danish-Scottish types. In other words all that happened was that the "de-mything", which the new genre of the ballad meant, did not take place completely in the fringe-areas; there the ballad was mixed with the old genres, the remnants of the old tastes, which lived on in it: the battles of heroes, the world of monsters and fairies. The gradual disappearance of that world in the new era was merely the belated occurrence of the myth-loss, which had already taken place in the central areas, and was practically completed when the first pieces in the new genre evolved. It is no cause for surprise that in the romantic era this fairy world was regarded as the main requisite of the ballad, and that this view holds on tenaciously among scholars in this field; but it

is time to state categorically that that is not the essence of the ballad, in fact it is exactly what it rejected on its appearance.

Modified pieces from other mediaeval genres also found their way among the ballads, e. g. songs of the aubade-Tagelied type (CHILD 248, 255, 299; D. Vlr. 32, 61; E-B 128), with their contents made slightly more epic—or in the variants sung by the Scottish mendicant singer, Buchan, with ghost and with a lover torn to pieces.

The strange genre, especially the epic poem, is often betrayed by peculiar elements of style in it. In the most detailed and longest English texts we nearly always find in the middle of the tale a well-defined formula: CHILD 48 v. 33 "But let vs leaue talking of this ladye, And talke some more of young Andrew"; 53N v. 20 "Now will we leave young Susan Py A while in her own country, And will return to Young Bichen . . ."; 109A vv. 30 and 51 "Now lett us leaue talking of this ladye faire, In her prayer good where shee can bee, and I'll tell you hou Thomas Pott . . ."; 134 v. 46 "Now leave we Robin with his man, . . . Now pass we to the bold beggar."; 167 IV 504 Addition v. 37 "Nowe will we leave talkinge of Harry Hunt"; 211 v. 24 "Now we'll leave talking of Christy Grahame, And talk of him again belive; but we will talk of bonny Bewick . . .", v. 52 "Now we'll leave talking of these two brethren . . ."; 271A v. 36 "Let vs leaue talking of the Lord of Learne, And let all such talking gow; Let vs talke more of the false steward, That caused the child all this woe."; B v. 25 "Now let vs leave talk of the child . . . And we'l talk more of the false steward."

It occurs in Spanish romances, too: GEIBEL-SCHACK 30: "Lassen wir zur Zeit die Gräfin, Die in heissen Thränen klagt, Und berichten von Gayferos, Von dem Wege, den er wallt" in an epic song of some 800 lines; and in Hungarian we have in *Sabác Viadala*, lines 69–71: "Ezt mi hagywk Alybeg ywueseth . . ." ("However, we will leave all this, for it will bring us nothing useful, but we will tell of Ali Bey's coming . . .") Indeed, perhaps we can include here a passage about a Serbian hero, in PARRY-LORD I, 76 = II, 15 No. 1, lines 659–60 (in a song of several thousand lines, as it turns from one thread of narrative to another): "E! No da jada pričam za Fatimu, Za Fatimu sa grada Budima" = "Now let me tell you the strange tale of Fatima, of Fatima of the city of Budim!"

Since this appears in English, Spanish, Hungarian (and Serbian) poems, in the last three in clearly epic poems, it is obvious that this is an international commonplace of the epic style, a "professional" poetic device, by all the signs an element of the style of the oft-mentioned minstrels, Spielmann or jongleur, the entertainer of the late Middle Ages. It was they who composed the witty tale of the "harpist" who unmasked a wife, or the amusing story of the deceived husband whom "minstrels" carry in a sack to his home, where his wife is revelling with her lover, so that he can see everything with his own eyes (cf. ANDERSON 1952)—to mention only texts in which the entertainer himself is involved in the story, so there can be no doubt about its origin. (He is a "harpist" in the one case, and a "skomorokh", an entertainer in Russian, in the other.) These entertainers sang of the feudal clashes which took the place of the old heroic songs in develop-

ment, but also in the same way of piquant, surprising, and entertaining matters. The Hungarian Tinódi was also one such, who wrote his authoritative informative reports of battles, besieged castles, and duels, but at the same time pointed songs of court judges, drunkards (it may have been he, or perhaps someone else, who wrote of Lóriné Tar's descent into Hell, with a scabrous description of the sins of King Sigismund and of his punishment in the next world), weaving his own interests into the songs as well. It has been the custom to ascribe the spread of the ballad to them, whereas everything we know for certain about them and their compositions is the complete negation of the ballad genre. HEUSLER also draws a clear distinction between ballad and Spielmann poetry: "Auch die innere Art des spielmännischen Heldengedichts unterschied sich von der stoffverwandten Ballade" and refers to the continual intermingling and disintegration in ballads, the astonishing phenomenon of the "Unfestigkeit ihres Szenenbestandes", the plentiful use of commonplaces, the continuous process of erosion by repetition, all foreign to the Spielmann poetry, which "hatte mehr Sondereigentum und mehr Festigkeit" while the ballad is a "Volkslied".

It is very revealing that there is practically no text of obviously minstrel character among the English ballads in the collections after CHILD, that is, in the traditional folk material discovered after his time. For his material is in large part obtained from written sources, and other material is from a Scottish mendicant singer (Buchan). Since then collection has proceeded on a gigantic scale, in part in the English and Scottish field, and in part—on an even greater scale—from the living American tradition. As a measure of its scale let us mention only one fact: the English parallel to the Hungarian "Enticed Wife" (CHILD 4) is represented by only nine examples in his collection. But BRONSON, in his recently published material, gives 141 variants, yet he included only the variants recorded together with the melody, whereas even since CHILD, ballads have been recorded often enough without melodies. So that we may put the total number of records at 170–180. Only now are we beginning to see what the real English ballad-heritage is! And we find that it includes none of the minstrel-type pieces, and those with magical content are also mostly omitted, except in the Scottish collections (cf. HYMAN). Among the texts of "non-ballad" character the widest distribution is shown by those of broadside type—and all those discovered since CHILD are of that type (cf. LAWS' material); but that is understandable in view of the influence of the broadside, which has operated, and increased, till today. And it is in that direction precisely that the ballad style is disintegrating among every nation where it still exists in some form.

It seems that among the English many anonymous minstrel texts were handed down, partly in writing, partly through street singers, but also, perhaps, by folk tradition. Let us not forget that in Hungary also the people have preserved, in a fairly large number of variants, Farkas Ködi's "Song of István Kádár", but no one ever considered it on that account to be a ballad. The English, however, have included every piece of that type in their collection of ballads—but then, it is true that the tone there is often closer to that of the ballad. For among them the ballad was so fashionable in the 16th–17th centuries that ironic comments are made on it in the literature

of Shakespeare's time; it must obviously have influenced the half-popular, half-literary minstrel style.

The vagueness of the ballad concept, and the striving to consider all the related phenomena together, also influenced the German complete edition. "Tannhäuser" betrays its origin, the court epic, even today, in spite of the fact that short variants of it still exist in the folk heritage. Its formulation, the Venusberg cave and the appurtenances of the court poetry (Minnesang) are foreign elements among the other folk pieces. An obvious heroic song has been preserved in the younger Hildebrandslied (D. Vlr. 1) and in Ermenrichs Tod (D. Vlr. 2). The twelve-year-old hero, with his eyes three spans apart, the listing of the twelve knights, their long discussion before the adventure, the detailed vassal relationship and bearing of the castle's gatekeeper, the battle, in which the boy hero despatches, on his own, 350 adversaries, are unmistakable signs of a late heroic song. The same view is taken by HEUSLER, too: "Auch die innere Art des spielmännischen Heldengedichts unterschied sich von der stoffverwandten Ballade. Sogar unsre zwei späten Vertreter, das Junge Hildebrandslied und Ermenrichs Tod, sind stofflicher, lastender, minder beflügelt als die heroischen Balladen von Sivard-Brynhild, Hagbard-Signe oder Herr Hjelm; und doch haben wir Grund zu glauben, dass die deutschen Vorgänger der guten Zeit noch breiter und reicher waren . . . Im Satzbau spürt man kaum etwas von der kenntlichen Balladenart." The same origin has been proved beyond argument by SEEMANN 1955 for the Jäger aus Griechenland (D. Vlr. 5), only that it did not turn into a ballad: in spite of its brevity it remained entirely a story of adventures among monsters in search of a wife. Among the Germans, too, we find that in the folk tradition there was for the most part no continuation of the songs of professional minstrel character, and they are met with only in the contemporary broadsides or manuscript form (D. Vlr. 10, 12 = Der edle Moring, 14, 18, 19 = Pyramus and Thisbe, 26, 38, 64, 66, or the one or two popular variants developed from broadsides: 13, 15 = Tannhäuser, 27).

Nor should the Kölbigk dance-song be included among the ballads, either, for we can know nothing of its contents, not even whether it was epic or lyric, nor can most of the modern-toned ballads included by D. Vlr. and E–B be called ballads on account of their style; they are either derivatives of popular literature (85), or late in origin, from a period when the feeling for the tone of the ballad had been lost (88). The individual tone, the tone of the minstrels, which is so different from that of the ballad, is continued in that broadside literature which seems to have been the direct continuation of the tradition of the entertainers and minstrels (see Lajos TAKÁCS' conclusions).

The difference between heroic song and ballad is quite clear in cases where a ballad has evolved from a detail of a heroic poem. Of the Kudrun all that was preserved was the finding of the sister on the seashore, the recognition and the return home: a single setting, a single scene, the most gripping circumstance, in which the relationship to the lost brother is stressed. Hind Horn sprang from a 13th–14th century gest (CHILD I, 17), of more than five thousand lines in both English and French, and the ballad con-

tained only the catastrophe, the meeting with his wife, now marrying again, and a description of their behaviour in 46 and 72 lines of verse respectively. The Italian "Donna Lombarda" translates the chronicler's story associated with a 6th century ruler into ballad form (cf. NIGRA No. 1 notes): of the complicated action all that remains is the cup of poison offered to the husband on his return home, the child's warning words, and the cup of poison being drunk by the wife herself: that is, the scene of the final catastrophe with its problems of adultery and husband-murder. MENÉNDEZ-PIDÁL (1936) mentions similar cases, also referring to the links between chroniclers' records and ballads. In every case where two datable pieces can be compared with one another, the shorter is the later. In one of his examples, in a poem of 1300 lines two people pursue a traitor. The later romance is 22 lines in length, and only one person is the hero, who kills his adversary. The lesson he draws from it is that "... eine Romanze in detaillierter oder spielmännischer Ausführung Quelle für eine kürzere episch-lyrische Romanze ist". (The further observations, however, if they are true for the Spanish examples, can refer only to them: "... denn ich wiederhole es, der episch-lyrische Stil des sog. "Volksliedes" ist im allgemeinen kein ursprünglicher Stil, sondern umgekehrt, er ist ein abgeleiteter Stil, der dadurch entsteht, dass ein Bericht, der für die Schrift und für die breite Stilisierung erfunden wurde, später mündlich weiter übermittelt wird." This, in my view, proves only that in the Spanish there is essentially no ballad style, only an epic poem which has become shorter.) Among SEEMANN's examples the D. Vlr. 5 "Jäger aus Griechenland" referred to cannot be used as an example here, because it is not a true ballad. However, from the same Woldietrich epic some genuine ballads also developed: Der Verkleidete Kaufmannssohn (D. Vlr. 6) from Hugdietrich's Wooing, the "Geburt im Walde" (7) and the Pilgrim ballad (E-B 138b) from the Drasian episode, the latter with the story, in quite an obscure form, of the recapture of the abducted wife, which on the other hand lives on in its complete form in the French-Italian *Escrivette*. The change of style is clearest in the Hungarian examples. Here the mythical view of the world and men is replaced by a concept of human psychology and society, and instead of an action consisting of many adventures, and continually starting again, we find a condensed story with only one thread of narrative, and practically a single scene, while the mythical heroes are replaced by men with human problems: in the "Faithless Wife Burned to Death" (Barcsai) the punishment of adultery, in "Isaac Kerekcs" — the least ballad-like text — the hero suffering death in defence of wife and home, in the "Cruel Mother" the remorse and shame of a mother who abandons her children for the sake of her valuables, and in the "Enticed Wife" the central decisive scene, which developed from the most mythical motif of a heroic poem, is between the lover-murderer and the wife who has been seduced, and is fearful of the fate awaiting her, but then very capably finds a solution and saves herself. Infidelity occurs in the heroic poem, too (mostly not between man and wife, but between mother, sister and man), but this is of entirely a different nature from what we have in the ballad. An alliance with another man has not the character of a love-affair: the important thing is joining him, securing his wealth,

or helping him in battle, that is, a *matter of power*, alliance with one head of a family against the power of another i.e. *treachery*; whereas in the ballad the essential thing is always *deception* in love affairs. On love, as we have seen, the heroic poem, in its antique stage, had nothing at all to say, and it only appears in epics grown gigantic in the hands of great poetical personages, like Fazil Yuldash, or Jambul. The remodelling demonstrated in the Hungarian, the complete alteration of the psychological content and formal elements show that here two genres, different in spirit and elements of form, alternate with one another in folk poetry during the Middle Ages, and have since existed side by side.

Where did this change first take place, where did the ballad genre first develop? Having recognized the special properties of the genre, we can compare the ballad material of the nations and decide where its most typical form is to be found. It goes without saying that we can consider only texts of more or less ballad style from the living popular tradition, because any other epic material mixed up by publishers or collectors with the material of the individual peoples cannot decide what their ballad poetry is like. The most it can show is that epic poems of other types were also preserved among them — which also incidentally tells us something about their ballad poetry, too. We must also bear in mind the greater or less degree of *subsequent* alteration in some examples of the genre preserved since the Middle Ages in every nation (as we showed in our first chapter in relation to the Hungarian and French material, and is continually borne in mind by the German and English researchers).

A striking phenomenon is that the ballads of the individual peoples are not of uniform lengths, or rather are not uniformly *short*. This was emphasized by JONES, too (34-35): the French folk-song "seems to be more concise, and hence more dramatic in its use of dialogue and its choice of incident. Simplicity of diction and rapidity of action are characteristic of all ballads, but one seldom finds in the French folk-song more than one episode actually described. Incidents leading up to this one important bit of action may be hinted at and sometimes briefly described, but the interest from the outset centres in one scene which is usually of dramatic intensity. All superfluous matter, everything which takes place before and after the action, described, is off stage." "Thus the songs of the French people are dramatic in nature, not epic, if compared with the Scandinavian *vise* or with the English and Scottish popular ballad." The appended comparison (Table IX) is sufficient proof that the ballad is shorter in the central areas, and towards the outer edges — towards both the north and the south — grows longer and longer, even reaching here and there the length of the shorter epic poems. The shortest are the French ballads, those from Piedmont are broadly similar, and also the Hungarian, German and English texts; we have given a few examples to show the lengthening among the Dutch, and the jump when we come to the Danes and the Portuguese is strikingly evident. The secondary nature of the amplification among the Dutch is quite clear: the padding-out takes place in parts which do not carry the action forward, but rather hold it up, in other words the amplification is in contrast to the essence of the ballad. An example of

this is the Dutch version of CHILD 4, in which the young woman puts the question, may she go off with the enticer, to the members of her family in turn, asking her father, mother, sister, brother, and even her godfather, all before the real action begins. John MEIER also comments on this (D. Vlr. II/2, 96: "... auf Motiven, die z.T. typisch ndl. Erweiterungslust entspringen.") And among the Portuguese it can be seen how the further south one goes among the variants—right to Madeira and the Azores—the longer grow the texts, in spite of the fact that essential elements are omitted from them. Here, within one language area, we can see the gradual change in the ballad from north to south, with erosion and loss of character. We had similar experiences in the Slav-Roumanian variants taken over from the Hungarian, and here the influence of the style of the heroic poem can be clearly seen in the acquired material. (Examples were to be seen in the discussion in Chapter I of the Marvellous Corpse, the Soldier Girl, the Knight and the Lady, the Cruel Mother-in-law, and others.)

The figures are also supplemented by the contents analysis. Where we find extensive lengthening, the contents are also amplified by the accumulation of subsidiary details (such as in the Dutch version of the Child Murderer) where the intensifying triple repetition, with increasing effect, is also employed in unimportant details, where four and even five degrees of intensification are met with (in the Portuguese, Dutch and Italian), and instead of the emphasis being put on the real kernel of the action, the preliminary story or the ending is expanded; and the latter often gives the impression of an explanation of the tale after the point has been reached. The inflation of the preliminaries often witnesses to the misunderstanding of the subject. The Roi Renaud is one of the most characteristic pieces in the entire body of ballad poetry. The husband returns home, fatally wounded (from a battle or the hunt), and, keeping his presence a secret from his wife, who is in childbed, dies. The wife sees and hears signs—sobbing hammering, preparations for the funeral—and when she asks questions everything is explained away in stylized naive excuses. And when the secret can no longer be kept from her, she, too, wants to die. The ballad consists almost entirely of duologue and the glorification of married faithfulness and love: every explanation given to her reminds her of her husband, and she speaks of him until she is engulfed by the tragedy. This is the essence of the ballad to which all that is added is the starting point, the necessary setting, by the few lines mentioning the death of the returning husband. And yet among the Bretons a long preliminary story is made of this: the husband meets fairies while hunting, who tempt him to join them, but he is not prepared to leave his new wife; and so they punish him with a fatal illness. Among the Danes the change is a further distortion: as the bridegroom is on his way to the wedding, fairies invite him to join them in the forest to dance, and for his refusal they maim him, so that he cannot even take part in the festivities, and his bride enquires after him in vain. This less credible arrangement has nevertheless been regarded by more than one investigator as original compared with the French, on account of the fairies and its "more complete" character. (Where there is more of anything, to philologists that is generally *more complete*.) Those holding this view have

not been ruffled by the fact that in the very rich Scandinavian ballad area this type has a total of 69 variants to show (according to the records of BARBEAU 1935, 60), while the not very thoroughly investigated French heritage has 90, and even the southern Latin neighbours 67, so that the French language area plays a central role in its spread.

With this example we have come to two decisive points. The first is that there are two opposite conceptions: the French psychological and human one, (and this is the ballad of Europe's centre) and the northern world of the fairies, as we see it in the whole material of Scandinavian and Scottish ballads. (Cf. with D. Vlr. No. 48, Vol. 2, 211 note: "... beides wohl märchenhafte Aus- und Umgestaltungen des Zuges, wie sie im Nordischen sich gern einstellen", and with JONES, 35: "Another notable difference is the almost utter lack in French folk song of any supernatural elements. There is no mention of fairies, witches, ghosts, or demon lovers, whereas such elements are common enough in Northern ballads, even if they never dominate them. The French have plenty of fairy tales, ... they tell of the supernatural, but seldom sing of it.")

The second point offers us even better guidance on the problem of evolution: the *direction in which borrowings took place*. This points unmistakably to French soil as the source in the case of the southern Latins (Italians, Spaniards, Catalans, and Portuguese), as has long been acknowledged for their common ballads by every researcher. Nor can it be doubted of the Hungarian, either, on the evidence presented in our first chapter. We have only to add that the examples discussed there are to be supplemented by a few less clear cases, and that on the other hand there is in the case of the Hungarian material hardly any question of any other source. There are two or three Hungarian texts which either have very doubtful German connections or are not genuine ballads. And one or two texts of Balkan origin are similarly not genuine ballads, and are found only in the Magyar fringe in Moldavia. So there is no doubt that the ballad reached us from the French.

Research today says the same of the Scandinavians, too. Here, of course, we have only the Danes to consider, for what has been published up to now shows that the Norwegians and Swedes acquired the genre from them (save for some Norwegian pieces of Scottish origin). Scandinavian scholars long ago elaborated the French connections of the northern treasury of ballads, especially in the matter of form (the most thorough was, however, the French VERRIER in his third volume). But even HEUSLER made an unequivocal statement on the resemblances in contents; ("Die Zahlen würden noch eindrucksvoller geraten, wenn für die ... Menge der dänischen Balladen eine ... Zusammenstellung zu Gebot stände. Dann würden die Beziehungen zu der romanischen Masse stärker hervortreten.") while DAL, in his summary of the question (1956), awarded an academic prize, set down as accepted facts their relationship in both form and contents (p. 424): "... the French scholar Paul VERRIER has in *Le vers français* ... given an exhaustive treatment of the history of the French metres on Germanic soil; according to this broad and highly interesting, though one-sided account, dancing, as well as stanza, *stevstamme* and ballad, ...

spread from France to both Great Britain and Scandinavia"; (425:) "The folk song in French and Breton of mediaeval France ... undoubtedly influenced the Scandinavian ballad, both matter and especially form offering many points of resemblance, ..." "It is therefore assumed that Great Britain has ... been instrumental in bringing about the borrowing from France ... Not many scholars believe Germany to have served as the mediator, ... E. FRANSEN, however, again argued in favour of Germany as the connecting link between France and Scandinavia." I must observe that among the formal influences he lists should be included the verse-form he calls the "linked stanza" (see his article on it), which may be compared to the half-line repetitions which exist also in the Hungarian, and to which, and to its French counterparts, we referred at the end of Chapter I.

Similarly to the Scandinavians, English-American scholars emphasize the French origin of their ballads. HODGART, 85: "... a good deal of folk-song seems to have travelled from France to Britain and Scandinavia". The same is pointed out by JONES.

The fact that in relation to the German ballad we do not see the role of the French as donors so clearly can be largely ascribed to the circumstance that the French material as a whole is hardly known, while on the other hand in order to appreciate it correctly we must bear in mind the deductions drawn from our first chapter, namely that many texts of modern tone have not been preserved in their original form, which is proved by the many more archaic pieces corresponding to them in Hungary; further that the French texts figuring in the comparisons are older than the 15th century, and that a great many French ballads have been forgotten in the course of subsequent development.

In addition, we must free ourselves from the spell of the "supernatural", which held even CHILD in its grip, when, for instance, he regarded The Two Magicians (44), of which he quotes only one variant, and of which only one or two further examples have turned up here and there since then, as original compared with the French *Les Transformations*. In this French ballad-like duologue between two lovers, existing in countless variations, the young man asks for the girl's love, but she would rather be a bird, a fish, etc. than be his, to which he replies that then he will go shooting, become an angler, and so on, to win her. Finally she gives in. This poem reached the southern Latins, the Greeks, the Poles and the other Slavs, without doubt from the French. (Cf. Chapter I; it is only in Hungarian that the poem is not found.) This playful piece was changed by the Scots into a real transformation, a story of magic, interpreting the figurative speech as a fantastic narrative.

A good example of the transfer route is given by the "international" ballad of the lover-murderer. (CHILD 4 = Enticed Wife). The English version preserved the French murder-by-drowning, amplified and rationally explained. For instance, the undressing is given its motive in the seducer's wish to take the girl's valuable clothing away with him lest they rot away in the sea, while the French, in stylized naivety, simply shows it as a natural concomitant of the drowning, or an act of sexual passion before the murder. The scene of the return is also similarly amplified in the English—as also

in the Hungarian and all other recipients of the ballad—whereas the French texts give only a brief reference to it, effectively closing the story. The somewhat frivolously realistic conversation with the parrot cannot in any case be more original than the French. The French version includes only the essential parts of the story: the roaming together (with a brief mention of the seduction), the ominous conversation from which the girl is able to suspect what her fate is to be, the announcement of the previous victims, and the escape. This is slightly amplified by the English, and by the Dutch to an unwarrantably great extent, weaving unessential elements into it in an inorganic way and with much repetition (the girl's plea to be allowed to go, her visit to the young man's dwelling, his meeting, on returning, with the victim's relatives, to whom he relates what the French ballad only hints at). The derivation of the story from that of Judith and Holofernes was rejected by CHILD and John MEIER, and I do not think it can be seriously entertained in determining the origin of the tale. And what was demonstrated in our second chapter clearly shows the French derivation of the Dutch-west-German version of this ballad, and the partly Hungarian origin and partly independent German evolution of the Ulinger type, followed by the further evolutions, the further three German variant types.

In the German material, too, we must take into account the French origin of several pieces, particularly after the demonstration of the *lost* French ballads, and on the basis of those ballads. The few scattered acquisitions shown by others (for example D. Vlr. 35 "*Marquise empoisonnée*"), do not give a complete picture of the position. We have, we think, also correctly perceived the French-German connections of several Hungarian ballads (Three Orphans, the Bad Wife, the Disgraced Girl, and the Test of Faithfulness). Without going into the connections of individual ballads in detail, we would like to draw attention to one important circumstance. As already mentioned, we cannot really speak of ballad acquisition by the Hungarians from Germany, but at the same time there are cases of one type here and there passing in two directions, from the French and the Hungarian, into German territory. This is understandable only if the French had the ballad first and if we acquired it from our French settlers practically at the same time as it began to spread from the west into German territory. Thus we had acquired it before it could possibly have reached us from the great German language area. In this way it became possible for some eastern German fringe areas to acquire ballads from us before the new genre spread to them from the west. Then from them some effective stories must have spread towards the centre of the language area.

If the new genre had appeared first among the Germans, then we should find only absorptions from Germany in Hungary, and no French correspondences at all. In other phenomena where there is no possibility of such special intermediaries having served, we did in fact acquire the western influences via German or Slav connections. However, in the ballad field the mixed character of the neighbouring Slav material is itself a vivid proof of the special distribution route: in one type the ballad was acquired from the Germans, in another from the Magyars, and sometimes there is in one and the same type a mixture of the Hungarian and the German

version (The Unmarried Mother who Killed her Child). The route traversed by the "Schwester Giftmischerin" also demonstrates this: from the French to the Polish, and thence in scattered examples to the Germans, as is pointed out by SEEMANN in the complete edition, and which he is unable to explain (D. Vir. 78: "... so muss Polen, in welchem Gebiete nach unseren obigen Darlegungen ohnedies der Schwerpunkt der Überlieferung liegt, Heimat und Ausstrahlungsland unserer Ballade sein. Aber wie sollte die Kenntnis der "Donna Lombarda", die Grundlage der "Schwester Giftmischerin", nach Polen gelangt sein? Dass D. L. auch in Frankreich gesungen wurde, ist bereits oben angeführt worden. Es lassen sich tatsächlich auch noch andere analoge Fälle aufweisen, in denen das polnische Volkslied gemeinsame Züge mit dem französischen Volksliedschatz, ohne Teilnahme des deutschen zeigt." (Here he refers in a note to the Polish variants of the Transformations and the Renaud tueur de femmes = CHILD 4.) "Wie sind sie zu erklären?" His conjectures are: either through individuals—the French connections of the Polish aristocracy—or through the medium of Germans, with the link disappearing from the tradition in the meantime, and being taken back from the Poles later in a new form. Here is a case where science reaches a result even when the cause cannot be known to it. It is a tribute to Professor SEEMANN's great knowledge and skill in research that, while knowing nothing of the existence of Walloon settlers in the Szepesség (Spiš) in the Middle Ages, he correctly solved the problem of primacy, even though his further deductions should be ignored. At the same time this is a caution to us to bear in mind that we are late in producing our material and its evidence for the common research, which has therefore been held up.

VERRIER's observations on prosody, too, show that both the English and the Germans were affected by extensive French influence in folk poetry at the end of the Middle Ages, especially in the ballad.

The central position of the French ballad was recognized by some English—American scholars (HODGART, JONES) in spite of the earlier learned tradition which classified the folk ballad as a Germanic genre. Even ENTWISTLE (1939) assumes a French ballad centre; but as this scholar included all sorts of things, from Dyghenis' heroic cycle to the Russian bylina under the heading of ballad, he assumes that there were *two* centres: an 11th century Greek, and a 12th century French one. The Greek was of course not a centre, but—as far as the ballad is concerned—a deposit for French poetry, in which the ballad loses the outlines of the genre. The most one could accept is the Hungarian as a second centre, from which the French genre spread further to the peoples of eastern Europe. But this was only a subsidiary centre—the genre passed from the French in all directions, that is, it first developed there. It is to the French peasants that we must give the credit for evolving the stylized representation of a few basic attitudes of the human soul, a few poetic knacks in that representation, a few basic motifs, and the ballad's manner of formulation through concise suggestion. In all of this they provided models for the other peoples, too, so that they were able in similar ways to participate, with new inspirations, in the new poetic fashion.

This conclusion now offers us a certain illumination on how the further spread took place. For France's immediate neighbours no explanation is needed, but it is needed for the fact that the ballad tradition is stronger among the Portuguese than the Spaniards. The French kings of Portugal, however, give the reason why we find only the ballad, and no heroic poems there, while at the same time the ballad style is so little represented in Spain compared with the rich field of the heroic romance. The rule of the French meant on the one hand the transplanting of their social organization, and the speeding up of social development, and on the other hand the presence in the country of a large military retinue and staff, that is, a lengthy stay by large numbers of ordinary French folk. The French kings in Cyprus meant the same to the Greeks. The Danes inherited the tradition of direct contact with French territory from the time of the Norman Frankish—Scandinavian links; later they had an indirect contact with French ballads via England and Scotland. In eastern Europe it was the French settlers in Hungary [and possibly four Walloon villages near Wrocław, which disappeared towards the end of the 15th c., cf. ROUSSEAU (1937)], who provided the channel, handing on French themes, formulas and peculiarities of formulation directly to the Magyars and Poles, and through them to the other east European peoples. The demonstrable traces of lost French ballads, moreover, explain the apparently isolated correspondences existing among several peoples. There is no longer any need to reckon with "inexplicable" wandering motifs, or artificially to explain as transmission by wandering minstrels cases for which we have the possibility of direct transfer from people to people. The ballad was a peasant genre in the past, just as it is today; it was passed on by one neighbour to the next, and so on, in geographical order of distribution, except that by geography we must understand *geographical relationships interpreted historically*: the places occupied and the contacts in being *at the period of the ballad's evolution and flowering*.

Other circumstances of this process of transmission are also vivid proofs of the transfer by peasants without the intervention of professional singers. Let us take the formation of variants in areas or related languages, for example French—Italian, French—Portuguese, or French—Catalan, where there is strictly speaking no language frontier, because the dialect goes over by practically imperceptible steps from one language to another. In just the same way the ballad, too, moves in an unbroken chain of tiny deviations over the French language area, and thence over the Italian or Catalan frontier. Every village understands the language of the next village perfectly, and they *take over* the texts, making only as much alteration in them as in any variant, from one person to the next, from one village to the next. The formulation is maintained, and only trifles are exchanged, omitted or inserted. Among the Italians of Piedmont the ballads are practically identical with the southern French texts—which are already similarly battered and worn by the time they have reached that area from their real home, northern France.

It is a very different picture along a language frontier, and in adoptions, where unrelated languages meet: French and German, English, Danish,

Hungarian or Greek, or Hungarian and Serbian, Bulgarian, or Slovak. In such cases decisive differences arise, even the story suffering changes, while the formulation—in spite of similarities of details—is entirely recast. For in this situation the text *must be translated* (it cannot be taken over as it stands) so that it can and must be re-created. In this re-creation a yet greater part is played by things being forgotten, by divergent tastes and states of mind, and by different standards of development. There would not be such differences in the transfer, if minstrels had spread the ballads in all directions. For the minstrels, as we know, roamed from one country to another, and often assembled from many countries for great competitions and celebrations (see the works of SALMEN), thus meeting their colleagues speaking other languages, and being able freely to acquire stories from one another. (On bilingualism among minstrels, in relation to Albanian and Bosnian, see PARRY-LORD I, 60.) They, as professional adapters, would obviously have adapted the material they acquired on these occasions. Accordingly, we ought to meet with the greatest possible variety in ballad stories and details of formulation among the peoples of Europe between the various language areas, indeed also within each language area. Instead we find that every language area knows the individual ballads in one or more clearly defined formulations, that these show clearly defined deviations from those of other nations, some large, some small, and within the separate language area, too, groups of local interconnected variants linked together in gradual transitions. And “variegation” is only to be found where the peasant groups themselves once lived in “variegation”. Thus the conditions found in the 19th century can be traced back even to the era of the ballad’s first appearance and spread. The distribution of the French ballads in eastern Europe also vividly demonstrates their transmission by peasants. For it should be realized that in Germany and Bohemia, too, there were French settlements in the Middle Ages, along the trade route Cologne-Prague-Esztergom, but only *urban merchant quarters* (see AMMAN). And there is no direct adoption among the Bohemians, while it can be shown that the French texts filtered into German territory over the language frontier. Only among the Hungarians were there *French peasant settlements*, too, and that is where the strong, direct influence is found. And there is no reason why we should not ascribe this poetry to the peasants.

The objection is raised to this view that the heroes of this poetry are the higher nobility, often mentioned by name: kings, members of great feudal families, and that theirs are the surroundings and customs described. But this is only apparently so. If we compare the bulk of the ballads with stories taking place against a noble background and the epic texts actually played out in the society of the court (a good example of which is the Boy and Mantle text already mentioned, CHILD 29), in which the life and people of the court really come to life, we see the difference: the ballad does, it is true, mention a king as a hero, and evoke the world of the nobles in one or two typical strokes, yet neither that world, nor the nobles themselves appear in concrete form, but only *man* and *human relations*. Something of this was seen by HEUSLER’s sharp eye: “In der Ballade erscheint die Welt der Könige und Helden—um die handelt es sich ja zumeist—in

zweithändiger Darstellung: oft darf man sagen, ohne tadelnden Beiklang: in Travestie. Darin gleicht ihr das Märchen, mit seiner Verkindlichung, und Verbauerung der Grossen.”

But then why do the peasants always select nobles as their heroes? Because the hero is always the outstanding, admired man, living on the elevated peak of society, never the grey everyday figure; even when the hero of the story is the poor child, the youngest, held up to ridicule, the logic of the tale brings him to the highest eminence, makes a king of him. It is the projection of the desires of the ordinary people which imagines its heroes among the surroundings of the highest form of life; and at the same time it expresses the attitude of the ambitious class. This phenomenon is found in the epic, too, although its heroes often have a conspicuously popular-democratic way of looking at things. But the position is the same today: a film is most likely to draw large crowds when it shows the most attractive people in the wealthiest surroundings, while the daily life of the poor can count on the approval only of a much smaller and more discriminating minority. In literature, too, only since the triumph of realism has it been possible to have an ordinary man as the hero of works of art, that is, for a relatively brief moment in the history of world literature. So why should not the young women and the knights of the aristocracy have been the heroines and heroes of the peasants in their ballads centuries ago? The life of the aristocrats went on before them, and, where it was possible, they watched it admiringly; their family dramas stirred the life of the surrounding area a great deal, as important happenings in it.

I know that many motifs can be quoted against this view, demonstrating a clearly aristocratic standpoint in the ballads, for example: the Glasgeirion (CHILD 67), in which the treacherous servant, instead of bringing the girl to his master by night, seduces her himself by impersonating his master, and the ballad contrasts the base manner of his love-making—that he did not even kiss her, but merely took her—with that of the noble lover; and also, especially many Danish details. To this my reply is that as regards the *modern* texts of the English-Scottish ballads we have to bear in mind the strong *subsequent literary* influences, especially in pieces not known from an extensive popular tradition, but from a few records in writing or taken down from singers. And among the Danes the peculiar development of their society, and the large-scale preservation of their oldest ballads in manuscripts of the nobility provide ample explanation for these elements, for of course in those records there was plenty of opportunity for changes of style.

But everywhere else—in *general*—the ballad gives only stylized glimpses of the motifs known and observed by everyone in the life of the aristocratic heroes: wedding processions with banners, horses and coaches, some elements of the dress, cases where the head of the house takes the law into his own hands and similar things—but these do not contradict the peasant origin of the genre.

The ballad, then, was created by European peasants, the first being French-Walloons. It existed once among them in the purest form, which was imitated by other peoples, and as we move away from that centre,

so the pure characteristics of the genre become more blurred; it becomes longer and longer, and more and more merry towards the south, and towards the north longer and longer, full of battles and the world of fairies; in other words more epic in all directions. It loses its original character in the same way in the transitional territory of the ballad and the epic poem, too. A very enlightening example of this is what happens to the following opening formula: "Pretty Anna Bíró sat in her window, sewing her embroidery with black silk. Where she had no silk, she filled it with tears. But as she looked out of the window..." MNGY III, 20 (Hungarian and European variants are listed below). This is the formula in a situation seen a thousand times, giving a characteristic picture for the peasants of the young aristocratic lady of Gothic times, so that it is suitable for *representing the heroine* to whom something is about to happen; her tears in the midst of her embroidery give a forewarning of the approaching complications. It is thus perfectly in place in this stylized, concise genre. Where, however, neither the picture came clearly to life, nor was this the manner of stylizing, the formula changed to an accidental situation, and not even a likely one at that. So in STÖIN 1939 Trakiya 641 the young man sits under the archway, sewing his white cotton jacket; his mother comes to him and asks whom he is sewing it for, and thus the tale begins.

Variants of the formula are: "Katalina Bíró sat in the window, sewing her embroidery with black silk. She filled in the gaps with many tears. Then she looked down into the cornfield and the Turkish emperor's son was approaching". Moldavia, manuscript. "So pretty Iona Langos was sewing in the window, embroidering with silk, and filling in the gaps with her thickly falling tears" *ibid.* "... In the window Borbála Sepródi was sewing her mourning dress, with black silk, embroidering it with plentiful tears. Why do you weep, why do you mourn..." DOMOKOS No. 24. "In her window sat Mistress János Mónusi, doing embroidery with black silk. Where there was no silk, she filled it in with tears. Beli, my child..." MNGY I, 233. "Leaning on her elbows, at the window, was Mistress János Mónusi, embroidering with black silk. Where there was no silk, she filled it with tears. With her foot she rocked her baby boy" MNGY III, 17. "The girl sat at the window, sewing white embroidery. Two white doves flew on to her shoulders. Two golden rings rested in her apron. And the girl went down and said to her brother..." Ethn. 1938, 373 Szatmár C. "Out went the young lady to sit on a golden seat, and sew a golden shirt, she put her foot on a little golden stool, and two golden rings fell in her lap. Mother, mother, mother, what is that a sign of..." Ung C. MNGY I, 180. "Up there on the balcony sits a pretty young lady. Three golden rings rolled into my lap..." Ethn 18, 127 Bereg C. *English parallels*: CHILD 28: "Burd Ellen sits in her bower windowe (refr.) Twisting the red silk and the blue, And whiles she twisted, and whiles she twan, And whiles the tears fell down amang. Till once there by cam Young Tamlane." 52A-B: "The king's young dochter was sitting in her window, Sewing at her silken seam; She lookt out o the bow-window..." Similarly 41A, 86 (IV, 478), 291, 260 v. 9 GREIG No. 16 (= CHILD 41), 21 (= CHILD 52). In the *Spanish* the second element of the Hungarian formula appears. COSSIO-SOLANO

I, 215: *Sentadita en silla de oro*, bordando en un bastidor. Vino por allí don Carlos..." (i.e., she sat on a golden seat, embroidering). See also *ibid.* 121-129 (on a balcony), and also *ibid.* Nos. 108, 109-113; in the following she sews with a golden needle: XIV 392-4, 396-7; MENÉNDEZ PIDÁL 1885 Nos. 31, 32, 35: while at her sewing she has birth-pangs. *Among the Germans* I know of none, except in two fringe language islands. Gottschee, D. Vlr. 49 (3) in the German translation from there: "Es kleidet sich gar schön an. Es steigt hinauf in die Giebelfenster hoch, Es hebet an, es nähset schön, es singet schön." Transylvania Beszterce Saxon, D. Vlr. 46 4b: "Es sass ein Mädchen gar wohl hinterm Fensterchen, Das näht das näht mit Gold und Seid. Es kam ein Ritter..." (Not to be found in the German variants of this same ballad, nor in any other German ballad. Here it is a borrowing from the Magyar.) *Among the Danes* it is a little longer, woven into the story: "In bower sat Hilleli (refr.) And sewed her seam so ill (refr.) She sewed with silken thread. Where she should broider the gold so red; The red gold did she choose, Where she the silk should use. With word unto the Queen they go..." OLRIK 15 (= DgF 83). *Among the Moravians* (in a ballad of Hungarian origin) BARTOŠ-JANÁČEK 1901, 17 No. 17: "Ten Prešpurský mýtný peknú cerušku má, ona nic nedělá, l'en v okénku sedá. V okénečku sedá, zlatem, stříbrem šije, hedbávem vyšívá, tenkým hlasem zpívá" (The customs officer at Bratislava has a pretty daughter, and she does nothing but sit in the window. She sits in the window, embroidering with gold and silver. She embroiders beautifully, and sings softly) and in several other places. In the *Bulgarian* there are also variants closer to our formula. TSITSELKOVA SbNU 46 II, 228 No. 301: the young wife sits in the garden, sewing a shirt, and weeping as she sews. Her mother-in-law comes and asks her why she weeps. A-V 103: Mariyka went into the garden, sat under the red apple tree, bent over her embroidery frame and sewed a white kerchief. A nightingale lighted on the rose-tree, and said to her..." SbNU 9, 4 No. 2: the girl sat down in the garden under the white and red rose tree, she sews the sleeve of her dress, and sings a wondrous song. (On this, see ERDÉLYI I. I, 422: "Where a sweet apple tree grew... a poor orphan girl sat under it, twining her own garland. Where the edelweiss did not reach, she filled it in with pearls, ... and pressed it with gold. She sang the songs she had learned, and wiped away her bitter tears.") SbNU 8, 135 No. 18: Jána sat in the little gateway under the white grapevine, turning her slim ring, and weeping copious tears.

Thus the northern French-Walloon centre is encircled by the ballad territories in rings: in the inner ring are the English, Germans, Piedmontese Italians, and Hungarians with the most ballad-like traditions; these are surrounded by the zone of greater or lesser deviations, the Danish-Scandinavian, Scottish, Portuguese, Catalan, Spanish, Czech-Slovak, Polish, and Croat-Slovene areas; and outside these again stretches the zone of the eastern European epic style, where several pieces of less ballad-like character exist side by side with epic poems: the Greek, Bulgarian, southern Slav, Ukrainian, Russian, Finnish and Estonian areas.

What position does the ballad occupy between the earlier epic recited by singers and the semi-literary and literary epic contemporaneous with

it, as a form of poetry independent of minstrels? The heroic poem of the eastern European peoples was also folk poetry, but there were specialists among the people, the singers, who possessed the necessary special powers of remembrance and ability to improvise, but they practised their skill within the limits of their tradition. These singers might in the course of development rise to become conscious re-modellers, or even creators, and in their hands the heroic poem might develop into such large-scale, poetically elaborate, but still unwritten epics as we find among the Kazaks or the Uzbeks. The same development became, in mediaeval Europe, a tributary of written poetry. The former traditional epic rose to become a court epic, or changed into bardic-jongleur-Spielmann poetry, and finally into literature. Beneath this form of poetry there went on developing, without an order of singers, the poetry of the peasants (sometimes borrowing themes from the "higher" epic, too), and created at a certain period its own new-style epic, the ballad, designed for singing together by everyone.

The next question is *when* did all this take place? The answer has been long sought, and answers have been given; the limits between which the ballad should be placed have continually been made narrower. Instead of the earlier estimate of "primitive poetry", talk has now been for a long time of the late Middle Ages (HEUSLER: "... dass die Ballade eine spätmittelalterliche Neuschöpfung ist...") "Die Ballade ist ein Kind der vollreifen Ritterzeit..." HODGART, 73: "The ballad... is essentially a development of the late Middle Ages."). But the limits of this period are drawn from the 12th (indeed, sometimes even from the 11th) to the 15th century, and more scholars incline to the earlier than to a later dating. (HEUSLER speaks of a genre belonging to the 13th-16th centuries, KEMPPINEN, on the basis of Scandinavian research writes that the ballad and the round dance reached Scandinavia from France with the Vikings in the 12th century. He quotes GRÜNER-NIELSEN: "The heyday of the Danish ballad 1200-1350". ZHIRMUNSKY 1961, 101: "An die Stelle des Heldenepos tritt zugleich mit dem Ritterroman in Westeuropa vom 13-14. Jahrhundert an die Volksballade.") If, however, we are to find a firm basis for a solution, we must eliminate assumptions which have not stood the test of time in fixing the period. Names of personages figuring in the ballads, or the dates in history of happenings "identifiable" with their themes, cannot provide guidance for the genesis of ballads. We are well aware that names long survive their era, and may be introduced into the creations of folk poetry much later, separated from the personalities of their original bearers, and may be preserved in traditional material as mere concepts. An even stronger argument for caution is the fact that the names and events may be preserved in *other types of epic* material: legends, lays, and even chronicles, from which they may later pass to other poetic productions, and indirectly into the ballad, too. Among the Danes in particular there is special need to bear in mind the way in which the sagas and epic traditions played the part of intermediary. In most cases, however, a link between names and events in ballads and historical data is itself a completely unreliable assumption. Evidence of this sort and deductions from it must therefore be completely eliminated from our considerations.

MAP 4



MAP SHOWING THE PRE-1918 HUNGARY,
WITH COUNTIES, MAIN TOWNS, AND
MAGYAR ETHNIC GROUPS FIGURING
IN THE TEXT



We must also delete from our list of ballads the earliest "dated" piece: the Kölbigk dance-song. This little two-line song, or fragment of a song, in Latin, with a refrain, is supposed to have been noted, in connection with events of the 11th century, in manuscripts of the 12th-13th centuries, and is registered as the oldest German ballad (D. Vlr. 39). But it must be pointed out that either it was longer, in which case we know nothing of what it contained, or else this is all there was of it, and it is certainly not a ballad. The fact that it has a refrain tells us nothing, for a large proportion of lyrical songs have refrains, and there were such before the ballad ever appeared: on that scholars agree. The fact that it is a dance-song is no better argument: there are at least as many lyrical dance-songs as ballads in existence. And what we know of its contents, the first two lines, might just as well be the beginning of a lyric as of an epic poem.

Facts proving beyond doubt that the ballad existed at any period can only be the following: (1) the datable recording of a ballad text or part of a text, (2) recorded lines, quotations, possibly remodelling of ballads, references to ballad melodies, if they refer to *indisputably known ballads*. In addition to data with such absolute value we may use information obtained from comparisons of ballad material which can be evaluated from the point of view of chronological order, if it *agrees with the evidence of the absolute data*.

I realize that a piece of folk poetry does not begin to exist only when it has been recorded, much less a whole genre. But if a certain regularity is perceived in the appearance of the examples, then we can, after mature consideration, draw conclusions from them. Let us see, then, what the records have to tell us. To facilitate the review I have assembled them in Table X.

In writing, then, the ballad appears earliest among the French: in the second half, or at the end, of the 15th century. Among the English there is an earlier, and doubtful case in the "13th century" manuscript of "Judas". The dating was done some eighty or a hundred years ago, and by no means satisfies scholars of today, when a single document can be dated with an accuracy of ten years. There may be a mistake here, but it may belong to the last decade of the century. The text itself (the Biblical story of Judas related to some extent in the spirit of the ballad) is not a typical piece, and is in any case to be regarded as a transition form, the more so because after it there is a gap of three centuries. The true ballad appears in the 16th century, and is found from then on ever increasingly in broadsides, and in the 17th century it was so fashionable that derisive comments were made on it in literature.

The ballads of the Germans, who had an extremely rich and early written tradition, also appear first in the 16th century in full length in written records. On the other hand, there are references to their tunes or contrafacturas (church hymns starting with the opening line of a lay song, and with a different interpretation) from the 14th-15th centuries. We may add to this the Dutch literary work remodelling the "Marvellous Corpse" at the end of the 14th century.

In Denmark noble ladies first noted in 1550 some two hundred ballads and this manuscript collection was closely followed by written, and from

TABLE X

THE EARLIEST BALLAD RECORDS AND REFERENCES

Ballads	French	English (CHILD-numbers)
<i>Ad notam</i> reference, quotation, mention, detail		
Complete record of ballad	Roi Renaud (Gerold) XVth c. La fille du roi Loys (Gerold) XVth c. La Pernette (Ger.) XVth c. Les tristes noces (fragments contaminated) (Paris) XVth c. La Péronnelle (Paris) XVth c. La fille aux oranges end of XVth c. (Donci-eux)	Judas (23) XIIIth c. (end?) Dives and Lazarus (56) 1557 Fair Flower of North-umberland (9) 1597
Not authentic ballads, literary creations (notes, mentions)		"rhymes of Robin Hood" reference Piers Plowman 1377 Robin Hood and the Monk (119) about 1450 Gude Wallace (157) 1460—88 Gest of Roby Hode (117) 1492/1534 Cow and Pie (111) beginning of XVIth c. The Battle of Harlaw (161) 1549

German (D. Vlr. numbers)	Dutch	Danish	Hungarian
Totenamt (61) contrafactura: 1358, ad notam 1439 Schloss in Österreich (24): 1480 (first line quoted in polyphonic arrangement. Complete: 1600.) Herr von Falkenstein (21): 15th c. end, ad notam Bernauerin (65): 1488/1501, 1551/52 first line quoted, "old song"	Marvellous Corpse (parts in literary arrangement) from 1385—1400 in 1400/1410 manuscript		
Der gerächte Bruder (28) 1518 Degner u. Lussewinne (29) 1537 Vriesken: (see under Dutch) Mordknecht (37) 1547 Bremberger (16) 1550— Frau v. Weissenburg (30) 1550— Steutlinger (31) ad notam 1550— Ulinger (41) 1550/65 1560 Gr. Friedrich (48) 1552/84 Die elfjährige Markgräfin (53) 1556 Des Grafen Töchterlein (63) second half of XVIth c.	Souterliedekens 1540: many ballads Vriesken (D. Vlr. 32) 1544 Antwerpener Liederbuch 1544: many ballads	Ca. 200 ballads 1550 in Ms 100 selected ballads printed in 1597	Story of the Sister of Condemned to Death in letter 1547, in Bornemisza 1578 Young Gentlemen Escaped from Emperor's Prison 1561 + 1571 Soldier Girl = King Béla and Bankó's Daughter 1570 Two Chapel Flowers = Telamon 1578
Tanzlied v. Kölbigk (39) event in 1020, XII/XIIIth c. Peter Unverdorben (26) 1439 Tannhäuser (15) 1453 Kerenstein (18) 1454 Moringen (12) 1459 Hl. Elisabeth (66) 1470 Jüng. Hildebrandslied (1.) 1472 Abendgang (19) XVIth c. Graf v. Rom (14) 1510 Mutschelbeck (64) 1524 Ermenrichs Tod (2) 1560			

1591 printed ballads in their hundreds. In Hungary, too, ballad themes appear in the 16th century, yet not in an original, folk form, but in remodelled versions by professional singers: the complete story of the young gentlemen escaped from the Sultan's prison—Szilágyi and Hagymási—, only with the more detailed formulation of the “bella istoria”, and even with its identical names; partial folk texts of Bankó's daughter (the Soldier Girl), almost perfectly preserved, though the whole was re-written; and the Two Chapel Flowers, re-written in the Telamon as a moralizing “bella istoria”. In the same genre, in my opinion, we may count the report, recorded in a letter, of the Sister of the Man Condemned to Death, which refers to it as though it had happened in Italy at that period and had become a subject of gossip in Vienna. We may be certain that the “actual happening” was nothing more than the appearance among literate people of a hitherto unknown folk poem, whether Italian or Hungarian, and naturally the “educated people” took it to be, and passed it on as, something which had really taken place.

The written records, then, mark the period when the folk ballad penetrated into the consciousness of literate people—that is, the 16th century among all European peoples except the French, where the process had started half a century earlier. (A more accurate dating of the manuscripts here, too, would be useful). But that the beginnings of this interest belong to an even earlier period, and particularly that the ballad also existed earlier, is shown by German references and the Dutch version from the 14th century, as well as the isolated English Judas text, no doubt a border-line case, but indubitably existing from the end of the 13th century. Into this picture we can very easily fit our conclusions as to the period when French ballads reached Hungary, which must have been in the 14th century. As this conclusion is in harmony with the data given above, we may, without hesitation, build on it. Thereby we gain a new, important basis for understanding the process. Let us recall that some of the ballads which arrived were *earlier versions* of themes which later became fashionable, and that there is no trace in Hungary of any French ballads recorded at the end of the 15th century and later becoming popular. From all this it follows that the texts recorded came into being in the 15th century, and became fashionable suddenly when the contacts with Hungary had thinned out. In other words, it was not ballads which had been hidden for hundreds of years which came to the notice of the literate, but pieces which had come into being 25–50 years before, and appeared as fashionable “hits”, in spite of the fact that ballad poetry itself, with other pieces, had lived in the mouths of the people for at least a century and a half, and had aroused gradual interest. Before the 14th century there is no record (apart from the Judas piece); quotations and indirect proofs show that it existed in the 14th century; at the end of the 15th people were beginning to record examples, and this became general in the course of the 16th century. The rise of interest in the genre could not have been several centuries subsequent to its appearance—and that uniformly among all the peoples! It is much more likely that the rising interest followed the gradual flowering and spread of the genre, with a delay of fifty or a hundred years at the most. In other

words we may place its beginnings at the turn of the 13th–14th centuries, with the first characteristic pieces being produced in the course of the 14th, and the fashion rapidly spreading thereafter.

That we cannot easily place its genesis earlier is also shown by the extent to which remnants of the preceding genre, the heroic poem reach into that era. The younger Lay of Hildebrand was first printed in 1472, and must have existed in the oral tradition before then, and the text of Ermenrichs Tod is from 1560. The 14th–15th century representations of the Hungarian legend of Saint Ladislás also witness that the heroic poem tradition, now become a legend, was still vigorously alive in popular consciousness. And the English–Scottish and Danish examples show that even in later centuries the two genres lived side by side, and that is why the Spielmann poem and the earlier heroic poem are mixed up with elements of the ballad.

The elements of the contents also point to the mature, late Gothic era. If we consider, for instance, the formula “she sat in her window sewing”, that is, the phrase describing the type of the young ladies of the castle, sitting in their Gothic window-nooks, at their embroidery, we can see that it could not well have become a characteristic descriptive tool of the ballad in the 13th century!

Of course, not even art genres appear in the world from one day to the next, or from one year to the next. If we accept the idea that the ballad flowered in the course of the 14th century, then we must also assume that the current which brought it into being must have started moving before then, that transition forms must have begun to appear earlier, and that current taste must already have re-shaped examples of the earlier genre. The early “Judas” in England may have been such a transitional phenomenon. But in my view the ballad did not appear in any great quantity before the 14th century.

Next the pressing question arises of *why* the ballad evolved at that period to replace the earlier genres. Had some extensive alteration taken place in the life of the people, that their taste, their demands on poetry should so change? Can we discover any change in the life of the European peasantry, which can be placed at that period, and which will give an explanation for this change in poetry? For if we express the difference in spiritual content between the heroic poem and the ballad in a sociological form, we can say that the ballad is *more urbanized* than its predecessor. A parallel to such a difference in higher culture is offered by the middle-class psychological novel of the 18th century which took the place of the 17th century picaresque novel. Instead of travel and adventure, psychology and social problems, a society beginning to be concerned about itself, and finding time to consider its spiritual problems. Was there in fact some change of this kind at the period indicated by our information as that of the genesis of the ballad?

This period coincides in a striking way with the great change observable in the life of the Hungarian and west European peasantry from the turn of the 13th–14th centuries. (The summary of European development which follows was produced for me by Márta BELÉNYESY, to whom I wish here to express my grateful thanks.) Both in the West and in Hungary there

appeared a new system of ground rent, in which money was to replace what the peasant had formerly, in the self-sufficiency system, paid to his landlord entirely in kind and in labour. (Cf. LAMPRECHT's ample documentation on this.) A more intensive method of cultivation was needed in order to keep pace with the rising demands, and the improvement in agriculture represented by the three-crop rotation, which advanced in peasant holdings from the turn of the 13th–14th centuries, manuring in places, the improvements in the plough (GRAND), multiple ploughing: all are marks of the change; indeed, in the 15th century, the use in places of the more effective implement, the scythe, instead of the sickle, in reaping corn, goods produced for the market to satisfy the demands of the developing town life, the fact that the peasant, both in the West and in Hungary, endeavoured to meet his rising requirements in money by marketing his agricultural surpluses, especially the products of his grape and wine-growing, and the meat and wool from his animal husbandry (WACKERNAGEL, POWER): all this led to affluence in money. There are many references in documents of that period to acts of violence in which the serfs, hurrying to the market, had *their money* taken away; for by that time the serfs were already acquiring some parts of their clothes and items for the household from the market. (For the West, see BAUMANN and HAGELSTANGE's data, and also SCHULTZ.) As a result of the economic rise, their material culture began to include middle and upper class items (jewellery, decorated belts, imitating the aristocrat's clothing in less valuable materials), the fashions of the upper classes in clothing and furniture (interiors arranged in corners containing tables made with the pegged construction, wall-cupboards, a bed instead of sleeping on the floor)—all this, of course, characteristic of only a thin upper layer of the peasantry, because from the middle of the 14th century sharp differences in wealth began to develop within the ranks of the peasants; and the layer of indigent cotters and hired workmen makes its appearance (DOPSCH, SÉE, HON-FIRNBERG). The greatest wave of development, according to the chronology given by western historians, too, lasted from the second half of the 13th to the middle of the 14th centuries (ABEL, POSTAN, BLOCH), although they all write either about the great poverty, or about the great affluence, and do not mention the changes in production indicated above alongside the phenomena of production for markets.

Márta BELÉNYESY's research has made it clear that in Hungary, too, this development made its influence felt, at the beginning of the 14th century, on the hitherto broadly uniform and more primitive land-utilization, as well as on the cultural aspects. At that period there was, for instance, a serf who lent a noble seven gold florins, and received as a pledge a belt with goldsmith's work on it. (On 26 March 1489 György Byzereni declared that about twenty years previously the noble Mihály of Mackkas and his mother had pledged *unum balteum* for seven gold florins *cuidam iobagioni suo, videlicet condam Michaeli de Maal*; when the serf died without heir, the belt descended to him; for this reason he called on the owners to redeem it, because in the disturbed times he dared not accept responsibility for its safe-keeping. But it was left with him for ever for the seven gold florins

The data is from Dl. 65432 Sombory cs. "A Magyarország Anyagi Kultúrája a XV. században". The material culture of the Magyars in the 15th century; information kindly supplied by M. BELÉNYESY.)

There was a large-scale urbanization of the peasant class at that period, which was also a time of a boom in the peasants' market towns, and of a growth in their consciousness as citizens. We see before us in the 14th–15th centuries a peasantry producing goods for the market, and becoming a middle class, whose productive labour provided the basis for the wealth of the contemporary Hungary. MÁLYUSZ, 171: "As a result of the work of the peasants the country's agricultural production showed a steady growth throughout the 14th century, the number of villages grew, there emerged a number of market and country towns, and as a result of the lively exchange of goods life in the trading towns was prosperous. . . . not only the owners of the great estates, but also members of the lesser nobility enjoyed the fruits of their serfs' zeal and industry. . . . living standards rose higher and higher on the shoulders of the serfs, . . . This peaceful development in the 14th century could not be held back either by the years of feudal anarchy which followed the death of Louis I, or by the first Turkish inroads . . ." In the absence of great trade routes and a seacoast there were no western European types of trading towns in Hungary; and although trade in wine, wheat and livestock brought about considerable urbanization here, too, it could not rival the wealth of the western towns with their cathedral building. On that level our position was poorer, but let no one be deceived on that account in his assessment of the cultural standards of the court and nobility or of the peasants: they were equal at that time with the most advanced in the west.

This great economic and social upsurge makes the new spirit in the ballad comprehensible in comparison with the heroic poem. We need only think of what is demonstrated by the groups of subjects: how many types deal with the problem of the girl who, in defence of her virtue, chooses death. There is no mention of the question in the heroic epic, the folk tale or the earlier literary epic: it simply does not exist. The woman is abducted in them, she lives for years with the abductor, she is recaptured, and interest is centred only on the success of all this, on the successful recovery of lawful property. As far as the woman is concerned, the only question is whether she helps her husband, her betrothed, or breaks faith and helps his enemy. Virginity could not, indeed, have existed as a value amid the continuous insecurity of life and its violence. Moreover, at the earlier stage the requirement of virginity before marriage did not even exist; all that was obligatory was marital fidelity. Yet in the world of the heroic poem not even that was secure. On the other hand the society in which at least the demand for it developed regarded its repeated infringement, and the still plentifully occurring cases of violence as serious grievances. It was a society which lived in comparative security, and with higher material standards, in which it was not the questions of the family wealth, or of establishing domination, which were in the forefront, but those of how life was to be lived, of happiness: of love, of the obstacles to it, violence instead of love—whether the violence was committed by a parent or a stranger—whether people were

kind or unkind to one another within the family and outside it; and the great social problem: the contrast between rich and poor within one social class or between the classes, the contrasts between the social classes expressed in human relations, chiefly in matters of love. All this reflects on the one hand the differences in material things, increasing within the peasantry, and on the other hand the demands of the rising class, which for the time being is expressed only in tragic defeats: the proud aristocratic mother would not allow her son to marry a serf's daughter. But it was already possible to imagine such a love affair! For how could such a problem arise where the possibility of it was excluded in advance, or where the demand did not even arise?

István HERMANN writes (pp. 165—6) on the basis of the Scottish and Transylvanian "typical" ballad areas, that "the date of origin of the ballad may be placed at the period when the clan society was belatedly decomposing, not in the usual way, with a certain gradualness, but under the influence of a higher order of class society, and with relative suddenness . . ." Disregarding the historical and ethnographical untenability of such a statement, such a derivation of the ballad proves on the basis of our observations to be completely unacceptable. The ballad was the result of a new development of the peasantry in the late Middle Ages. Moreover, every *new genre is a consequence of a new development*, and hence a progressive development, as has been well proved by Soviet research in relation to the primitive heroic epic, too. Only in the course of further development is it outstripped, but its poetic value is not dimmed even then, except in pieces which have evolved in periods of decadence.

The minstrels of the period were already singing for the upper class. The peasant, left to himself, was taking a great step forward in his development, and the old epic would no longer have been adequate to his tastes and thinking. What reached him of the professional entertainers' material would have offered only occasional diversion, and made occasional borrowings of themes possible. But for the expression of his new life he had new requirements: he needed songs expressing the ideals of his own life, which would accompany his life continuously, and which *the whole society could sing at any time and together* at various occasions of their social life, at the dance and at their spinning. Thus there was born a genre that matched the abilities and mental processes of everyone, (ZHIRMUNSKY 1961, 101—2: "... die Volksballade, mehr eine Massengattung, für die . . . eine breite und nicht berufsmässige volkstümliche Vortragsweise charakteristisch ist"), an epic sieved and shortened to its most exciting motifs, which anyone could remember, which reflected their new world of human beings, fitting into their new "urbanized" form of life, the brisk life of the society: the ballad.

Leaders in this development were the French-Walloon peasants, and in their wake, the inner ring, at a similar stage of development, brought the new genre into complete being. Among the French and the Hungarians there is no trace of the heroic epic: popular tradition knows only the ballad. This is the reason for the oft-repeated complaint that we lack a "naive epic". Our ballad, however, is very "ballad-like", with a social and psychological character. Among the Germans, too, it was the use of writing, appear-

ing very early there, which preserved their heroic epic, rather than the oral tradition. Among the English we should need to go further into the question of how much of the large quantity of late minstrel poetry preserved (from the last period of the epic's development) should be put down to the more backward Scottish tradition, and how much to traditional material which was taken up by the broadsides, and which thus reached even the peasants.

In the outer ring, among the Danes and the Scots, the peasants obviously did not go entirely through the same social development as went on in the more southerly and the flatter lands. Probably it was the more backward production (in the mountainous parts and with the northern climate) which did not permit the same development and upward surge in their lives. It is characteristic that in many English ballads the girl who is married to a Scot is represented as going into penurious and primitive conditions. In this way, the new taste became mixed, when it reached them, with qualities of the old picture of the world. And it was only to a restricted degree that the new genre was experienced in the southern fringe areas, too, among the Portuguese, and especially the Spaniards.

The reason for the more markedly "aristocratic" character among the Danes is to be found in part in the strong connections between the strata of the small holders and the lower nobility. There was hardly any difference between the two in mode of life or in culture. A further reason was, according to HEUSLER, a certain provincialism in the literary life of the Danish nobility, at least in relation to the German, where there was an elevated court poetry in the face of the folk ballad. Among the Germans, he says "an Dichtarten hatte man genug . . . eine mannigfache Erzähldichtung, spielmännisch und ritterlich, sangbar oder nicht. An den kleinen Adelshöfen des Nordens fehlte dieser Aufwand. Diese Armut liess Raum für einen neuen Reichtum: das erzählende Reigenlied, die Folkviere." Similarly OLRIK says: "The class of society depicted in the Danish and other Northern ballads differs totally from that which produced the picturesque ballad of chivalry in other countries. Denmark had no Troubadours or Minnesingers, who earned their bread at one castle or another by the delivery of long narratives of knightly adventure. Nor did it possess those minor courts of princes or nobles where such minstrels found most congenial quarters. . . . The patrons of Danish song were the Danish gentry in general, . . . The class in question were scattered in a thousand gentlemen's seats, great and small. . . . a minor "nobility" which degenerated in time to peasant status . . ." "Even in the early Middle Ages, this latter class had adopted the ballads of chivalry, for the yeoman often sat at the feast with his own overlord, and the squire from the castle sometimes set up house as a farmer." (Except that we imagine this contact to have been a transfer from below upwards, just the opposite of what this writer imagines.) So among the Danes the ballad existed and developed among the nobility and lesser nobility to a greater extent, and sooner, than among any other people, as well as in peasant society. Hence the plentiful and early written records of ballads among the nobility, and hence also, I believe, the aristocratic view of life in the Danish ballad, its intertwining with the battle epic, not

due to the ballad's better preservation of "originally aristocratic" characteristics.

The later course of the ballad, too, remained closely allied with the differing development of the peasantry in the various countries. For in France a whole series of the mediaeval type was preserved, but with the further development of the peasantry in the 17th-18th centuries the tone of many was changed, "modernized"; and so many of their pieces now exist in two forms, one and the same theme appearing in an older, ballad form and one (or two) new treatments, with a broadsheet flavour side by side; more than one ballad has been preserved only in this new, remodelled version, and several ballads were entirely expunged from memory by the new taste.

Developments among the Germans, too, are characterized by the later marked transformation and disappearance of ballads. Here a lower middle-class, perhaps Meistergesang, and broadside influence must have affected folk poetry very early; and this early influence of written matter is also shown in the numerous early records of ballads in broadsides. For the ballads which were forgotten, we have unfortunately nothing to guide us like the French in the French-Hungarian connections: only the logic of the parallels forces us to our conclusions. Scholars also continually refer to certain phenomena as being comprehensible only by assuming the loss of German ballads (as, for instance, in D. Vlr. 71 and 78, notes, although not always the most convincingly), indeed, on this basis they include in the complete edition Danish and Dutch material (32). At the same time we must assume from our knowledge of the archaic ballads that in the ballads in the newer style and in broadsides there must lie concealed older ballads which have been re-modelled.

In England and Scotland broadsides confused the lines dividing minstrel poetry, the ballad and the newer broadsides, and that is why early collectors found in their zeal so many transitional pieces in writing and among the Scottish mountains, while the American settlers preserved mostly material from the old folk tradition and the later broadsides.

Among the Danes the situation as it was in the Middle Ages was maintained till the beginning of the 19th century, when the ballad was re-discovered. From then on, the spread of modern civilization stamped them out in rapid succession.

In Hungary, during the Turkish conquest of the 16th century the peasantry of precisely the most developed areas—the lowlands—was halted in its development, and remained in the state it was in at the end of the 15th, that is, at the level of the *ballad era*. That accounts for their preservation of a large number of our finest ballads in their original, mediaeval form. Later, in the 18th century, our lowlands peasantry made up, in a great jump in development, for the ground lost, and the new momentum brought a new transformation in culture and taste. But just because this was such a jump, it did not bring about the transformation of old ballads—only a few such have been discovered, such as the Speaking Corpse, the Unmarried Mother who Killed her Child, and the opening of the Sister of the Man Condemned to Death—but resulted on the one hand in the expulsion of

most of our old ballads (from Lowlands and other Hungarian parts into Transylvania and Moldavia), and on the other in the *new ballad style*, the *highwayman ballad*, and in songs at a still later period about a few local events. These, however, are clearly separate from the classical ballads, and the distinction has been preserved ever since.

Thus in Hungary the halt which was called to development had one fortunate aspect: it preserved our mediaeval ballad poetry. The advantages of this for the theory cannot be adequately assessed. For in other places, where the most characteristic forms of the ballad existed in the Middle Ages—among the French, Germans, and English—, later development altered them or squeezed them out, or laid new elements on top of them. For this reason it is just these areas which today are unable to offer pure examples to the researcher. It remained in its mediaeval form in those countries where it was then already existing in a secondary, altered, or mixed form: among the Danes, their Scandinavian neighbours, and the Scots. There it was much more "ballad-like", and looked much more "original" than it did where it once evolved. That is why the Danish material has been used till today as a model, and why it has been regarded as the prototype of the genre. Only the interrupted development of Hungarian society offers an opportunity for the study of the developed ballad poetry of the one-time "inner" belt in practically its former shape, which has led us to the recognition of the laws of development and of how it in fact proceeded.

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TABLE II

Hungarian variants	There set out — There joined together +	Come and I'll hire you + For silver and gold —	Began to build	Twelve master masons	Kelenen the Mason + The greatest mason —	Déva Castle	Built by day, falls down at night	Agreement	Kelenen makes the decision	Victim walled up alive	Ashes or bones of victim walled in	Wife has dream (ill omen)	He sends servant home	She arrives in coach + With basket of food	God, send rain, signals, storm +	She greets them + Greetings not returned —	She is told of her fate	Her reproaches	She takes leave of child + of her friends —	Kind women . . . birds, etc.	Up to the knee . . . etc. Jest or earnest?	Where is my mother? + Speaks to mother —	Spring (Milk)	Kelenen dies + His son dies, too —	Miscellaneous
ÁG 1. Zagiba, 70 Nyitra C. Zsére	—			[12+1	+ 1]	+	+	+		+	+			+	+	+—	+					+			Curse
2. Rajeczky Ms Bodony (Parád) Heves C.			reference only to traces																						
3. Kálmány Sz. II, 167 Törökbecse Torontál C.			reference only to traces																						
4. Ms Válaszút Kolozs C.			+	+	+	+	+	+			+			+	rain, forest +	+			+—	+	+				
5. Ethn. 1943, 251 Vajdakamarás Kolozs C.			+	+		+	+	+			+				rain, forest +				+	+					
6. Nyr. 15, 287 Nyomát Maros-Torda C.	+			+	+	+	+	+			+			—	+	+—	+	+	+						
7. MNGY I, 174 Nyárád valley Maros-Torda C.	+			+	+	+	+		+	must be walled in among stones + (?)				—	2 wild animals, clouds, hail of stones +	+—	+	+		+	+	Carried him on his arm +		+—	
8. MF 435a Siklód Udvarhely C.	+			+		+																			
9. Erd. Nép. IV/2, 31 Énlaka Udvarhely C.					+						+	+		+	storm +	+	+		+—			+	—	—	
10. EA 2276, 8 Etéd Udvarhely C.					+	+					+	+		+	storm +	+	+								
11. Kriza No. 584 White Nyikó valley Udvarhely C.	+	—		+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	storm	+	+		+—			+	—	—	
12. EA 2276, 10 Alsó-Rákos Udvarhely C.			+		+	+	+	+			+	+		+		+	+	+		+		2 springs from breasts +			
13. MNGY III, 72 Kisbacon Udvarhely C.	+			+	+	+	+		+		+	+		+	mildew lamed horse +	+—	+		+	+					
14. Cs—V No. 5 Szentegyházásfalu Udvarhely C.	—	—		+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+		+—			+	—	—	
15. SzNd 56 Gyergyóalfalu Csík C.	+	+—		+		+	+	+		+	+				+	+	+	+				+			
16. MF 1274a Gyergyószárhegy Csík C.					+										+	+—									
17. SzNd 124 Gyergyószárhegy Csík C.			+	+		+	+		+		+				+	+—	+								
18. SzNd 62. Gyergyóremete Csík C.	+			+		+	+		+		+					+	+								
19. MF 1275a Gyergyóremete Csík C.	+			+		+	+		+		+					+	+								

TABLE II CONTINUED

Hungarian variants	There set out - There joined together +	Come and I'll hire you + For silver and gold -	Began to build	Twelve master masons	Kelemen the Mason + The greatest mason -	Déva Castle	Built by day, falls down at night	Agreement	Kelemen makes the decision	Victim walled up alive	Ashes or bones of victim walled in	Wife has dream ill. omen)	He sends servant home	She arrives in coach + With basket of food -	God, send rain, signals, storm +	She greets them + Greetings not returned -	She is told of her fate	Her reproaches	She takes leave of child + Of her friends -	Kind women... birds, etc.	Up to the knee... etc. Jest or earnest?	Where is my mother? + Speaks to mother -	Spring (Milk)	Kelemen dies + His son dies, too -	Miscellaneous
20. Ethn. 1911, 51 Borszék Csík C.	+			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+				+	+		-	
21. M. Sz. 1486 Gyimes Csík C.			+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+			+	+	+		+			+-		-	
22. Z. Szle 1926/a Káson- jakabfalva Csík C.	+			+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+										extended ending
23. SzNd, 122 Kásonaltíz Csík C.			+			+	+				+	+		+		+	+			+		+			Curse
24. Muzsika 1929, 3, 17 Aj nád Csík C.				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+-	+								Turns into fairy story
25. Pásztortűz, 1959, 4, 209 Csíkverebes Csík C.	+	-!		+	+	+	+		+		+	+		+	+	+-	+	+	+	+					
26. Konsza No. 121 Lisznyó Háromszék C.			+		-	+	+		+		+	+		+	+	+-				+					
27. MF 89a Pürkerec Brassó C.			+			+	+	+		?	+	?													
28. Bp. Napló 1900/159, 10 Pürkerec Brassó C.			+		-	+	+		+		+	+		+	+										master mason goes mad
29. Ethn. 1902, 399 Pürkerec Brassó C.			+		-	+	+		+		+	+		+	+								+		
30. Ethn. 1902, 388 Pürkerec Brassó C.			+	+	-	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+						+		+		
31. MF 2489a + 2490a Trunk Moldavia			+	+	-	+	+		+		+	+			+		+				+		+		
32. M. Sz. 6258 Klézse Moldavia			+	+	-	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	+						+				wings
33. F.-J. No. 2 Klézse Moldavia			+	+	Mestere Manole	+	+		+		+	+		+	+	+-				+	+				Roumanian stanza at end
34. Dom. No. 5 Bogdánfalva Moldavia										+		+		+	+	+			+		+				
35. Dom. No. 6 Trunk Moldavia			+	+		+	+	+			+	+		+											
36. M. Sz. 6257 Lécped Moldavia		I'll go to the king		+		church with 44 towers	+		+	+			go home	+	+						+	+	-	+-	Wings, spring
37. Erdélyi III, 151			+	+	-	+	+		+	+				-											
38. Bartalus IV, 3	-	-		+	+	+	+	+			+	+			+	+	+		+-			+	-	-	
39. Mitruly 1962, 76 Klézse Moldavia			+		-	+	+		+		+	+		+	+					+	+				Roumanian stanza at end
40. AP 907d Józseffalva Bukovina	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+		+	+	+-			+	-	-	
Totals:	3 11	2 5	17	27	18 8	34	33	15	18	9 (2)	32	24	2 (-1)	23 3	33 -	24 12	21	6	12 6	10	10	12 7	4	2 9	
% of 38 variants (without Nos 2-3)				71		89	86.8	39.7	47	23.6	84	63		60.5 7.8	86.8	63 31.5	55		31.5	26	26	31.5 18	10.5	23.6	

TABLE III

Roumanian variants	Negru Yoda	9 + 1 masons	Manole	on the Arges + elsewhere —	Monastery + Castle —	Shepherd shows the place	Voiced promises valuable, threatens	built by day, falls by night	building time	Manole has a dream	Agreement between masons	Manole decides (prophecies)	Miscellaneous	Wife + Sister —	Definite day	Oath	Treachery by the others	Manole sets tasks	Prays for rain, etc.	Joy of others + Leave opening —	Gradual walling in, jest?	“Warm rains”	Negru pleased “Can you build a better?”	Scaffolding broken down	Wings	Spring rises from Manole	Manole lives + The others —
1. Alecsandri	+	+	+	+	+	+	twice +	+	4 days	+				(+)	+	+			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
2. Teodorescu Braila	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	3 years	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
3. Pamfile Tecuciu	+	+ 12	+	+	+	+	+	+	1 week	+				+		+	+	(+)	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
4. Giuglea—V. Geanava, Serbia		+	+	—	+	+		+			+			+		+			+	—	(+)?	+		+	(+)	+	
5. Giuglea—V. Costol, Serbia		+	+	—	+	+		+			+			+		+			+	—	(+)?	+		+	(+)	+	
6. Wellmer (Transylvania?)			+	Barcan —	—			+					angel	+			+							(+)	(+)		+
7. Tocilescu, 18 Valcea	+	+	+	+	+	+		+						+	+	+		(+)	+		+	+	(+)	+	+	+	—
8. Tocilescu, 21 Novaci Gorj	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	3 days	+			angel	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
9. Tocilescu, 25 Teleorman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+				(+)	(+)	+	+		+		+						
10. Păsculescu Romanați	+ at the end	+	+		+	+		+		+				+	(+)	+	+	+	+		(+)	+	+	+	(+)	blood from one pillar	
11. Mailand Hunyad C. Transylvania			+	—	(+)			+		+					+		+		+								+ he kills the others
12. Mateescu, 13 Albești, Argeș	+	+ teacher, judge	+	+	+	+		+		+				+		+	+		+		+	+		+	+	+ out of all	
13. Sandu-Timoc, 135 Alexandrovat, Serbia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		(+)				(+)		+	+		+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+ in the town	—
14. Diaconu 1934, 40 Orjavu, Rîmnicul-Sărat	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		(+)				+			+		+		+	+	+	+	+	turn into stone	
15. Diaconu 1930, 254 Nereju	+ at the end		+	+				+		+				+			+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+ out of all	
16. Monografia 445 Șâlcău, Tirnova Mare C.	+	+	+			+		+		+	+			+			+		+	—	+	+	fragmentary				
Total	12	13	16	+10 —4	+13 —1	13	4	16		12	3	1	2	+15 —4	7	11	12	6	15	+2—4	14	12	9	13	13	10	+3 —2
in per cent	75	81	100	62 25	81	81	25	100		75	18	6	12	93 25	43	68	75	37	93	12 25	87	75	56	81	81	62	
17—47. Taloș’ 31 variants Transylvania																											
Total	—	13	12	+1 —9	8 4	—	—	31		11	5	8	5	31	—	18	13	—	26	—	22	20	—	—	—	—	—
in per cent		42	37	3 29	25 12			100		33	16	25	16	100		58	42		83.6		70	64					
		Other: 5 16	Manojlo etc. 6		bridge 3					all ma- sons! 2											begs to fetch the child: 7						
		not indi- cated: 13 42	Other: 13 42		church 1																opening for breasts: 4						

TABLE IV

Bulgarian variants	N a m e	Brothers	Number of master masons	Castle + bridge –	Building + monastery –	Place-name	Built by day, falls down at night	Time of building		Ruler threatens	Woman brings food				Treachery by the others	“The stupidest”	Miscellaneous	Master mason sets tasks	Woman's excuses	Sses her, weeps	Prays for rain, etc.	Other things		Ring scene	Gradual walling in, fest?	Measurement of shadow	Opening for breast	Opening for eyes	“Warm rains”	Mention of son	Spring (Milk)	Remarks, other motifs
											Master mason's decision	Agreement	Dream	Bird, monk, etc.																		
1. Stoin, Timok 3631	Manojlo		+ 70 carpenters 80 journeymen		+		+	3 days			+				+	Manojlo sleeps, others go home			+	may flood over-whelm her, may she go home			+	+		+	*		+		* her right hand left free, too	
2. Stoin, Timok 1437	Manoil			+		Pergul	+				+				+	go and report			+					+					+			
3. Arn. 47	Manuil			+		Pirgoda	+				+				+	Manojlo made drunk		+	+						+							
4. Arn. I	Mitre		+ 300 masters 200 journeymen	–		Struma	+				+				+		+		+												at the end: child and vessel taken away and she thrown into river	
5. Vatev 126	Manoil (wife Struma)	3		–		Derven	+					+			+				+										her husband asks her			
6. Arn. 50	(Manoil) (wife Struma)	3		–		Derven	+					+			+				+						+				her husband asks her			
7. Ivanov 120	Manoil, Pavel, Petar	3		+		Derven	+	3 years				+			+				+				+						+		ending: Bring me my son that I may suckle him	
8. SbNU 14, 34 No. 5	Manoil (child Pavel)			–			+	*				+							+						+				+	sister-in-law brings child, milk flows	* by day, during night; during night, by day	
9. Arn. 9	Manoil			–			+	*				+							+						+				+	son weeps, milk trickles from stone	* by day, during night; during night, by day	
10. Arn. 27	Pavel, (Marinka)			–		Tundja	+					+											+					+				
11. Arn. 48	(Milen)		9 masters	+			+	9 years					+			she is told her fate		+	+								+					
12. Arn. 25	(Manoil) (Petkana)		70 masters 80 journeymen	+			*					+			+		+			signals with head and hand			(+)						+		* what they build collapses	
13. SbNU 16/17, 141	Manuil		+9 masters	+			+	9 years			(+)	+			+				+										her husband asks her		fragment	
14. SbNU 16/17, 142	Manuil		+ 300 masters 500 apprentices	–			+			+	+				+	pledge in church at home		+	+	may she lose food and turn back			+	*			+	**	+		* fell into water, ** calls from water: let her be walled in with her baby so that she may suckle him	
15. SbNU 52, Nr. 76	(Pavel)		(9 masters)	–		Usun	+					+			+	suckles and baths her child			+				+					+				
16. Arn. 41	Manol		+1000 workmen	?	?	Hisar	+			+		+	(+)	+																visible white spot		
17. Stoin, Sredna 44	Manoil (Manoil's twins Petar, Pavel)		+200 masters 300 journeymen	+		Pirgosa	+					+			+	Manoil goes home	+														fragment	
18. Stoin, Sredna 45			9 masters																												Only the first line extant	
19. SbNU 26. 356	(Manol)		9 masters carpenters	+		Pendjer	+					+			+	Woman's morning tasks			+				+									
20. Stoin, Timok 358	(Manuil)		9 carpenters	+		Pirgula	+					+			+			+	+	that she turn back											fragmentary	
21. Stoin, Timok 148	Manoil			–		Tundja Maritsa																									fragmentary, contaminated with the Tartar song	
22. Stoin, Timok 1438	(Manoil)			–		Tundja Maritsa	+					+							+													

TABLE IV CONTINUED

Bulgarian variant	N a m e	Brothers	Number of master masons	— Castle + bridge	— Building + monastery	Place-name	Built by day, falls down at night	Time of building	Ruler threatens	Master mason's decision	Woman brings food			Treachery by the others	“The stupidest”	Miscellaneous	Master mason sets tasks	Woman's excuses	Sees her, weeps	Prays for rain, etc.	Other things	Ring scene	Gradual walling in, jest?	Measurement of shadow	Opening for breast	Opening for eyes	“Warm rains”	Mention of son	Spring (Milk)	Remarks, other motifs
											Agreement	Dream	Bird, monk, etc.																	
23. Arn. 54	Manuil (Stefanka) twins: Peter, Pavel		+ 40 master masons	— (+)		Pirche Parguda	+		+				monk	+			+		+		copper flute betrays her fate	+			+ *		+	(+)	Tsar makes agreement with Manuil, who undertakes the work alone * bring me my twins to suckle	
24. Stoin, Sredna 47	Pavyal (Pitranka)			—			+									+		+			she greets the masons			+						
25. Stoin, Sredna 43	Manoil		+ 300 masters	+		Tirgoda	+			+									+								(+)*		* the earth shook, her son wept bitterly	
26. SbNU 14, 4	Minuil (Doine-Tudorke)		+ 200 masters 300 journeymen	+		Pirudya	+			+				+			+		+			+								
27. Arn. Elensko B	Manuil		+ 300 carpenters 200 journeymen 30 masons	+		Pirgus	+	9 years	+	+				+			+	+		goes from one sister-in-law to the other, turns back	she is told of her fate	+			*		+		*let me go home to suckle my child then I will return	
28. Stoin, Sredna 46				—			+																						* Whoever comes along the road is to be the victim. The woman who arrived was the wife of the man who said: “whoever... etc.”	
29. Arn. Elensko A	Manuil (Tudorka)		+ 500 masters 300 journeymen	+		Pirgusa	+				+			+			+		+			+					+			
30. Arn. Elensko V.	Manuil		+ 30 masters 50 journeymen	+			+	3 months	+					+		swears to finish the work in 3 months	+	+	+	the rain spoils the food, she fetches fresh meal								let me go to my son		
31. Arn. Elensko G.	Manuil Tudorka	5 carpenters		+			+				+			+	+		+	+	+			+								
32. SbNU 26, 344	Manuil		9 masons	+			+	9 years	+	+				+			+		+			+					bring my son here to me			
33. Arn. 51	Marko (Losana)			+ 3	— 3								+															a spring with two channels from her breasts		
34. Arn. 39	Pavli		+ 60 masons	—		Maritza	+			+				+					+				+				+			
35. Arn. 38	Manoil			+		Pirgoda	+			+							+		+			+								
36. Arn. 40	Manolcho (Radka)	4		+			+		+		+			+	+	the Tsar hears of it	+	+	+			+	+				+			
37. Arn. 37	Manuil			+		Pasardchik	+						bird then priests	+	+		+		+			+							* phrase at beginning	
38. Arn. 49	Manoli	3 carpenters		+		Tsarigrad	+			+				+		Manoli “forgot” to say		+	+			+							* from Saturday till Monday	
39. Arn. 55		3 masters	+ 12 journeymen	+		Pryaslav	+				+			+	+			+	+			+							* on Monday	
40. Arn. 43	Doyna			+		Pirguna	+																						fragment	
41. Stoin, Trakiya 34		3 masons		+		Mender	+				+																		fragment	
42. Shapkarev F/1, No. 10	Manoil		+ 300 carpenters	—		Tunja	+		+	+				+					+			+								
43. Arn. 28.	Mitka			+		Bender	+		+		+			+							he, too, must be walled up						+			
44. Stoin, Trakiya 39	(Proto-majstor)			+		Solun	+			+				+															fragment	

TABLE IV CONTINUED

Bulgarian variants	Name	Brothers	Number of master masons	Castle + bridge –	Building + monastery –	Place-name	Built by day, falls down at night	Time of building	Bulgar threatens	Woman brings food				Treachery by the others	“The stupidest”	Miscellaneous	Master mason sets tasks	Women's excuses	Sees her, weeps	Prays for rain, etc.	Other things	Ring scene	Gradual walling in, jest?	Measurement of shadow	Opening for breast	Opening for eyes	“Warm rains”	Mention of son	Spring (Milk)	Remarks, other motifs
										Master mason's decision	Agreement	Dream	Bird, monk, etc.																	
45. Stoin, Trakiya 36	Manolcho (Saranja Pasha)		+ 200 carpenters 300 masters	—		Tunja	+		+	+					for Easter Monday														fragment	
46. Stoin, Trakiya 33	Manoil (Stano)	3		+		Zender	+			+			+			+		+			+			+	*				*opening for her right hand, for her left breast	
47. Arn. 22	Manol	3	300 journeymen (at the end)	— +		Mihal Usun	+			+			+		woman's tasks in detail			+			+						the child to be brought to her for suckling			
48. Arn. 21	Manoil		9 journeymen	—		Ergenden	+				+		+																	
49. Arn. 16	Manoil	3		+		Smilen Strunja	+					+	+					+			+			+		(+)	+	from her breast		
50. Arn. 26	(Manuil)		9 masons	+		Pergyule	+				+		+				+	+			+									
51. Arn. 11	Manuil		+ 200 journeymen 300 masters	2 —		Sruma	+			+			+			+		+						+			+			
52. Arn. 53	(Pavel)	3		+		Kemero-kyuprik	+				+		+			+	+	+			+			+						
53. Stoin, Trakiya 37			300	+		Inder	+								*“the wife of the team leader” to be the victim			+			+									
54. Arn. 46	(Peicho)	3	+ 300 carpenters	+		Dimnya	+						+				+	+			+						+			
55. Arn. 44		3	+ women	—		Arta	+				+	+	+					+		may the bridge rock										
56. Arn. 45	(Peicho) (Pretty Stana)	3		+		Dimnya	+						+												(+)				at the end the carpenters sing the song of this happening	
57. Stoin, Trakiya 38	(Becho) (Pretty Stana)		carpenters	+		Kaldar	+				*	?	+				+	+			+								* it is not expressly stated that the wife who arrives first is walled up	
58. Arn. 57		3		—			+				+		+				*	+	+			+					+		* the others ask her; she finds excuses	
59. Arn. 19	(Stoinin)	3		+			+				+		+			+		+			+			+						
60. A—V 26	(Struno)	3		+			+				+		+			+		+			+	*		+					* as she is finally walled up, she bursts into tears	
61. Arn. 20	(Struin)	3		+			+				+		+			+		+			+			+					fragment	
62. Arn. 56	(Pavel)	3		+			+						+			+	+	+			+			+			+	+	“in the cradle”	
63. SbNU 9, 76	(Miall)	3		+		Pirguw	+	1 week			+		+					+			+									
64. SbNU I, 304	(Manuil) (Struma)	3		+		Pergiw	+			+			+				+	+												
65. Arn. 10	(Manuil)	3 masons		—		Struma	*			+					also 9 oxen and 200 sheep?		+	**											* it fails— ** team leader says: “you told them at home”	
66. Arn. 8		3 masons		—		Struma	*				**	+	+											+	+		she fed her child for a long time	* they cannot build the bridge ** they learn that a sacrifice is necessary		
67. Arn. 42		3 carpenters		+		Smindel	+																						fragment	

TABLE IV CONTINUED

Bulgarian variants	Name	Brothers	Number of master masons	Castle + bridge –	Building + monastery –	Place-name	Built by day, falls down at night	Time of building	Ruler threatens	Woman brings food				Treachery by the others	“The stupidest”	Miscellaneous	Master mason sets tasks	Woman's excuses	Sees her, weeps	Prays for rain, etc.	Other things	Ring scene	Gradual walling in, jest?	Measurement of shadow	Opening for breast	Opening for eyes	“Warm rains”	Mention of son	Spring (Milk)	Remarks, other motifs	
										Master mason's decision	Agreement	Dream	Bird, monk, etc.																		
68. Bukor. 6		3		+			+	9 years			+																				
69. Stoin, Rodop No. 12		3		+		Vidin	+				+							+	(+) he waves		+	*									
70. Arn. 4	the oldest mason Struma		9 mason		+		+				+	*		+				+			you have broken the oath				+				* text breaks off at the challenge		
71. Arn. 13	Manoil	(+11) 12			+		*			+											she bakes bread, takes her child in her arms		+				begs to have her son brought	* what they build collapses			
72. Arn. 14	(Manoil)	9 masons		+			+					+		+			+	+				+	+	+			+				
73. Verković 7	(Struma) (Manoil)	3			–	St. Mary's Church	+				+			+				+						+			her husband asks her	* goes home, asks mother-in-law to make her bed; the latter fetches the husband			
74. Arn. 15	team leader	3 sons	+300 masters		–	Church of the Resurrection	+					+	*					+										* a girl appears and imparts the decision – as he is recounting his dream, his wife appears			
75. Stoin Trakiya 35	(Todoro) (Stoyan)			–		Tunja	+			+				+								+	*					* must be brought up out of the deep Tunja			
76. Arn. 52	Manol	3		+			+			+		+		+			+	+					+				walled up with the child at her breast				
77. Stoilov 43	Mitre			–		Struma	+		+			+						+													
78. Arn. 3		3		– (+)		bridge over the river by the castle	+	(3 years) 2 years	+				black hen			the wife of the younger one to be walled in					may the bridge shake	+			+		*		* takes up food and child, sets out		
79. Arn. 5	Marko		9 masons		+		+				+	*		+				+			the masons see it and laugh				+			* not stated what the agreement is			
80. Arn. 6		3	+70 masters	+			+	3 years			+	+		+			+				take the vessel from her		+		+		+		let me go home, my boy is weeping! – let my son come to me!		
81. Arn. 7	Danail				+		+					+	*			silver and golden ducats									+			* dreams his wife is to be walled in, tells her; she is ready for the sacrifice			
82. Milad. 162	(Manole)		+9 masons		+		+				+			+				+						+							
83. Syrku I.		3		–			?	a long time			+			+										+	+		she suckled her child for a long time	stone gives plentiful milk			
84. Syrku II.	Pavel, Rade			–		Maritsa				?				+	?						she is heard calling her husband at night	+						(+) marks on the wall	* Rade warns Pavel, who forgets to tell to his wife		
85. Syrku III.	Manoly Tutorka										+			+		wife's tasks detailed			+			+									
Total	Manoil 44; 51% others 24; 28%	35; 41%	9 masons 12; 14%	+49 57% –28 32%	+6 7% –3 3%				12 14%	28 32%	37 43%	9 10%	7	63 74%	5 5%		21 24%	21	58 68%	7 8%			39 45%	9 10%	6 7%	24 28%	4	2	33 38%	6; 7%	

TABLE V

Serbo-Croat variants	Preliminaries	Pasha's command	Brothers	Number of others	Name	Castle + bridge	Place-name	Fairy detains horse	Fairy brings wall down	Fairy forbids building	Buildings time	Falls at night	More fall + through storm –	Completed building falls	Fairy says		Team leader decides	Agreement	Dream (etc.)	Victim						Ready to be victim	They go home (scene)	Treachery by others	Women's excuses	Sorrow at sight of her	She is told her fate	Golden apple + ring –	Gradual walling in	Refused –		Right hand left free	Spring of milk	3 springs + I am no spring –	Mother freed	Subsequent developments			
															Human sacrifice needed	Who is to be?				Wife brings meal	Younger sister	Twins	His son	A passing child	Someone else									Opening for breast	Opening for eyes								
1. Vuk II. 25 Kolašin			3	+ 300 masons	Vukašin Ugljesa Gojko Mason Rada	+	Skadar on the Bo-jana		+		3 years	+			+	twice +				+		(+)			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+							Desimir, the servant seeks the two children		
1a. Vuk II. 25 Variant																											+																
2. HNP I, 36 Popovopolje		+			Pasha Sokolowich Mason Mitar	–	Drina	+		prophe-sies +					+	+						+																				master mason's written reply: he will start building on St. George's day	
3. HNP I Dodatak Makar coastal strip			3		Cvilić	+			+			+			+		+			+				+	+	*		+			+			+								*Why did you come? Who is looking after your child?	
4. Petranović III. 52 Herzegovina	3 pashas hold siege	+		+ 300	Pasha of Rumelia, Anatolia, Jedren mason Rade	–	Drina (Višegrad)	(+)			2 years	+			several times +	+			+			+			the father allows it									+							the pashas drown		
5. Hörman I, 68 Višegrad	+	+		+ 300 + 1000	Pasha Mehmed mason Mitre	–	Drina (Višegrad)	+	(+)		7 years	+	(–)		they ask (+)	the fairy (+)						+																		at the end they start again, the storm destroys the building again; singer tells the reason: the toll	master mason replies in letter: will start building on St. George's day		
6. Djordjević 537 Ogladjenovac					master mason Manojlo	+			+			+									fragment																						
7. HNP V, 460 Bosnia			3		Gyulberg Alaga Hasanaga	+			+								+		+						+	+								+									
8. Krauss Baupfer 19, 23 Osovi			3		Rado Petar Gojko	+	Tesanj		+			+			+				+						+	+	(+)		+													father goes to the walled-up woman because her child cries; he complains	
9. HNP V, 92 Dervent			9		Atlagici	+			+			+			+	+																		+									
10. HNP V, 90 Banjaluka			3		Ali	+			+			+			+	+				+					+	+		*	+	(–)	(+)	+		+									*you come in a fateful hour
11. HNP V. 459 Bihać-Banjaluka		+			Ban Kaur Pasha Hassan	+							+									+										(+)							mother dies; pasha has the Ban, the builder, be headed; the child's bones are dug out	the mother sends a slave girl to follow; the latter is sent away on various excuses	undressing of child with repetitive formulas		
12. HNP V. 91 Bihać		+		+ 30	Pasha Dervish	Dsha-mi					7 years		–	+			(+) Pasha		+				+																	his wife dies, he has her buried	quarrel with his wife over the child		
13. HNP I Dodatak Kućiste			3		Tatkovici	+														+					+																lightning strikes wall, mother goes home — “why did you not tell me, too?” — “Swear!”		
14. HNP I Dodatak Stativa			3			+			+			+					+			+						+	+					+									at home murders the husband		
15. HNP I Dodatak Jaske			3		Yuryevici	+			+			+								+					(+) **	+								+									* her children shower her with flowers, kisses, tears ** decision and report merged; distorted text
16. HNP I Dodatak Cavtatske			9		Yugovice	+	on the Boyana		+			+			(+)	+		+	+	+					+	+	+		*	+		–		+					the husband weeps at home, seeing his child, commits suicide		* you will get another; she nevertheless goes to look for him		
17. HNP I Dodatak Novska					Filipovica	+																																					
18. HNP V, 460 Rajić			3		Marko Gjurog Ivin	+											+			+						+	+						+		+	+							
19. HNP I Dodatak Novigrad			3		Ugljesa Nikola Pavo	+			+			+			+	+				+					+	+	+		–	+		+		+	–			angel of God destroys castle	the spring of milk rising from the wife kills the three sons-in-law and the two sisters-in-law	Ugljesa carries the child to the castle and asks for three drops only — “Why did you not tell, as the others did?”	in the ring scene: “I cannot go, my washing is out, the child is weeping.”		
20. HNP I Dodatak Svinjar			3			+	Biograd																									+	+		+								

TABLE V CONTINUED

Serbo-Croat variants	Preliminaries	Pascha's command	Brothers	Number of others	Name	Castle + bridge -	Place-name	Fairy detains horse	Fairy brings wall down	Fairy forbids building	Buildings time	Falls at night	More fall + through storm -	Completed building falls	Fairy says		Team leader decides	Agreement	Dream (etc.)	Victim						Ready to be victim	They go home (scene)	Treachery by others	Woman's excuses	Sorrow at sight of her	She is told her fate	Golden apple + ring -	Gradual walling in	Refused -		Right hand left free	Spring of milk	3 springs + I am no spring -	Subsequent developments			Miscellaneous motifs		
															Human sacrifice needed	Who is to be?				Wife brings meal	Younger sister	Twins	His son	A passing child	Someone else									Opening for breast	Opening for eyes				Mother freed	Others overtaken by death (death of one of the innocent parents)	Miscellaneous			
21. HNP I Dodatak Oriovac			3		Filipovica	+																																						
22. HNP I Dodatak Banović			3		Marko Pavle Simanić	+			+			+			+	+				+						+	+						+		+						the child drinks from the spring of milk and dies			
23. HNP I Dodatak Dragovac			3		Filipovica Ljulin Stjepan Mara, Iván	+			+			+			+	+										+	+						+					God takes pity on the child and overthrows the wall by lightning		the child passes the place a week later, drinks from the spring and recognizes his mother's milk	the mother brings the child up			
24. HNP I Dodatak Dragovac					Ivica	+			+			+																													on the advice of the mother he has set the sentries, wolves and falcons on the fairy, who begs in vain for her life to be spared			
25. HNP I Dodatak Novi Mikanovac			3		Jakšić	+			+			+			*																											*** to see his mother: 12 line fragment	* "something is calling from the castle" ** "tanjeno latince"	
26. HNP I Dodatak Otok			3		Jakšić Bogdan Mitar, Pavle	+			+			+			+	+				+						+	+						+									so that I can see when my darling comes to see his mother		
27. HNP I Dodatak Komletinci			1 sister		Mandalia Katarina	+			+	+		+			+	+					+												+					her child prays to Elias, Mary and Panteliya to destroy the wall		* until she has walled in someone from her clan—letter to sister				
28. Vuk I ² , 175?					Dragojlo Smiljena	(+)	(Buda)															+																				not building sacrifice, but punishment	brothers hear of girl's affair and wall her up	
29. Syrku?					Rade (Stoje, Ostoja)																		*	+											+							the milk spring has healing power	* the girl is pregnant	
30. INU Ms Bachka			3		Ojla Manojla Dragolja Šiberkinja Janja	+	Biograd		+			+			+		+									+	+						+								asks uncles, aunts and grandmother where his mother is; castle is pulled down, the mother bedded on the sword; the boy dies			
31. INU Ms 1, 1958 Primošten			3	+300	Mrnjajagovića Gojko	+	on the Boyana		+			+									Fragment										+			(+)			*	(+)					* for women whose milk has dried up, the spring has healing power	
32. INU Ms 50, 1898 Bosnia			3			+			+			+			+	+		(+)		+																								when voicing her uneasiness, she is calmed by the others
33. INU Ms 2, 1946 Banović	+				Tito, Sava Ivan, Janja	-	on the Neretva				several times		+					** (+)				(+)																					*** girl and boy "swim across river," receive a distinction	* is swept away by water ** take counsel; on proposal by the oldest they interpret dream out of holy scripture
34. INU Ms 55, 1905 Gospić			3		Sujtan Nikola Milošćoban	+			+			+			+		+										+	+															"You broke your oath!" they part; the castle is not built	
35. Žganec 1950. Nr. 374 Vrhovac			3		Yuryeviči	+			+			+								+														*	+							* that her children shower roses and tears on her		
36. Raić, 15. Subotica			3		Rajla Manojla Radojla	+	Beograd		+			+			*	(+)		+		** +						+	+															** would be a sin to sacrifice mother or sister, but not wife	* something speaks out of the ground: "Something living is needed"	
37. HNP X, 164 Subotica			3		Ivan Stepjan Mijan	+			+			+			*	+		+									+	+				** +		+	+						the child asks after the mother; the father curses himself because he did not divulge the plan	* "something living" ** "till the building reached her ankles she took it as a jest." Remaining gradations different		
Total:	3 8%	5 13%	23 62% 2 5% 1 2%			+31 83% -4 10% church 1 2%		3 8%	25 67%	2 5%		25 67%	+2 5% -2	1 2%	18 48%	12 32%	2 5%	10 27%	4 10%	18 48%	2 5%	6 16%	1 2%	1 2%	2 8%	2 8%	3 8%	19 51%	19 51%	7 18%	3 8%	+6 16% -3 7%	5 13%	4 10%	20 54%	3 8%	11 29%	+3 %8 -1 2%						

TABLE VI

Albanian variants	Foundation-legend Preliminaries	Nobles + 3 masters—brothers—	Name	Brothers	Castle + bridge —	Building time	Falls down by night	Simply falls	A voice speaks	Old man	Lots cast	Agreement	His wife	His sister	Ready to be victim	Treachery by others	Women's excuses	Sees her, weeps	Signs to her	Greeting	Ring	Opening for breast	Pipe-conduit	(Milk) spring	Traces of spring, healing powers	Remarks
1. Dozon, 255 Debar		—			—	3 years		+		+			+			+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		*+		*milk flows even after woman's death, till son grows up, thereafter water
2. Zschr. f. Vlkde III, 143					—	3 years				+			+				+	(+)		+	+					fragment
3. Bosnische Post 1912?				+	+		+			is sought +				+	+							+				
4. Kind, 205 Skutari	+	+	Skand Ali Amska		+ Skadar				+		+		+									+	+	*+		*after child is weaned
5. Strausz Volksdicht. 512 Skutari			(1 king 1 team leader) Roša		+ Skadar	for years		+	team leader					+												saga explaining name
6. Hecquard 17 Skutari		(mas- ters)	Rosa Fa	+	+ Skadar	a few days	+			*+				+								+		+		*a woman is to be walled up
7. Popović VI/2, 274 Podgorica		—	Ilira		+ Skadar	3 days	+			*+		(+)	+			+	+	+				+			+	*a woman is to be walled up
8. Mihačević 67 Albania			Rosa Fa	+	+ Skadar			+						+								+			+	
9. Barleti XVth cent. Skutari	(+)		Rosa Fa	+	+ Skadar																					
10. Ms BVA 72/I/10 Podgozhan		+			church		+			+			+			+		+				*+				*“I have 9 brothers, goldsmiths, they will make another” — “What does the ring matter to me, slip into the wall.”
11. Ms BVA 73/II/10 Rêhove					—	3 years		*		+ (woman)			+				+	(+)		+	+	+				* cannot complete building; curse at end as in Greek
12. Ms BVA 79/II/7 Cakvan					—	3 years		*		?		+					+	+		+	+	+				“I left my child there” * cannot complete building
13. Ms BVA 111/I/2 Stavje		beginning worn away			—	3 years		*									+			+	+	(+)				* cannot complete building
14. Ms BVA 111/I/3 Stavje		beginning worn away			—	3 years		*				+					+	(+)		+	+	+				* cannot complete building
Total:	1(2)	4		4	+7 —6 church 1		4	3 (7)	1	7	1	3	6	4	1	3	7	7	1	6	6(+1)	10	1	3	2	

TABLE VII

Greek variants Total: 295	Motivation for building plan (treasure, inheritance)	Number of master-masons (and assistants) is given in	Name of the bridge Arta + Other —	Half-bridge (Trihas)	Other construction (not bridge)	Built by day, falls by night	Ruler threatens	Masons troubled	Choice of victim by					Person of victim				Message by			Changed message	Dressing	Sees her, weeps	Greeting	Why do you weep?	Her fate is told	Ring scene	What will happen to the bread, to my child?	Fate of three sisters (names of buildings)	Curse
									Bird	Spirit	Agreement	Let's cast	Other	Wife of team leader	A man	I cannot get another father, etc., but a wife	Whoever arrives earlier	Bird	Man (apprentice)	The master-mason him- self										
North-eastern Greece (Macedonia, Thrace) Total: 45 in per cent	1	37 17 variations	+ 6 —17	13	5	34	11	3	30	6	2	—	7	37	—	—	2	6	22	3	5	21	6	13	16	1	35	26	38 23 variations Danube 23 Beograd 8 Euphrates } Avlon 4	37
			+13 —37.7	28.8	11	75.5	24	6.6	66	13.2	4.4		15.5	82			4.4	13.2	48	6.6	11	46.5	13.2	28.8	35.5	2.2	77.7	57.7		
Middle Greece (Epirus, Thes- saly—Attica) Total: 81 in per cent	3	59 13 variations (most fre- quent: 45+60, 40+62)	+39 — 5 +48 — 6	2	25	70	15	24	65	4	—	(1)	4	73	3	(1)	—	10	44	13	15	51	25	20	20	15	49	23	111 41 variations Danube 12, Timovo 10 (most frequent: monas- tery, church, well)	55
				2.4	30	86.4	18.4	29.6	80	4.9			4.9	90				12.3	54	16	18.4	6.2	30	24.6	24.6	18.4	60	28.3		
Peloponnese Total: 44 in per cent	6	38 9 variations (most fre- quent: 40+62)	+35 — 7 +79.5 —15.9	2	—	44	7	20	43	—	—	1	1	41	1	—	—	7	10	19	15	19	5	22	8	24	8	4	58 32 variations Danube 6 Euphrates 2 most frequent: church, monastery	34
				4.5		100	15.9	45	97.7			2.2	2.2	93	2.2			15.9	22.7	43	34	43	11	50	18	54.5	18	9		
Aegean Islands Total: 37 in per cent	—	21 5 variations (most fre- quent: 45+60)	+13 — 5 +35 —13.5	16	2	35	2	9	16	7	—	3	6	25	(1)	11	—	10	16	7	8	20	9	16	16	11	24	15	51 16 variations Danube 5 Euphrates 1 Galata 9 Misiri 9	29
				43	5.4	94.5	5.4	24	43	18.9		8	16	67.5		29.7		27	43		21.5	54	24	43	43	29.7	64	40		
Southern Islands (Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus) Total: 44 in per cent	4	8 7 variations	+ 8 —13 +18 —29.5	22	—	42	1	1	16	8	—	1	14	17	—	24	1	3	24	12	2	27	22	33	33	5	40	23	84 26 variations Danube 6 Euphrates 3 Avritis 12 Galata 15	32
				50		95	2.2	2.2	36	18		2.2	31.8	38.6		54	2.2	6.6	54	27.2	4.4	61	50	75	75	11	90	52.2		
Asia Minor Total: 44 in per cent	10	38 12 variations (most fre- quent: 9 and 1000+ +10 000)	+ 0 —21 47.7	25	—	43	1	9	7	1	1	14	20	12	—	23	(1)	18	7	—	15	13	21	18	18	5	22	25	13 7 variations Danube 2 Euphrates 2	29
				56.8		97.7	2.2	20.4	15.9	2.2	2.2	31.8	45	27.2		52.2		40.9	15.9		34	29.5	47.5	40.9	40.9	31	50	56.8		

TABLE IX
LENGTH OF BALLADS

French (Italian)	Hungarian	German (Dutch)*	English-Scottish (CHILD-numbers)	Danish (DgF-numbers)	Portuguese (Braga, page)
Italian (6) 24—64 44 Renaud tueur des femmes 24—48 32.8	Enticed Wife (8) 40—110 65	D. Vlr. 41 Der Mädchenmörder 37—120 65.4	4 Lady Isabel and the Elf- Knight 48—120 (+24) 74	183 Kvindemorderen 48—114 72.5	
	Poisoned János 14—20 16	D. Vlr. 79 Die Schlangen- köchin 14—20 16.6	12 Lord Randal 12—33 20		
	Two Chapel Flowers (8) 40—110 65	**	17 Hind Horn 46—72 56.4 75 Lord Lovel 28—68 43.7	**	263—77 Conde Nillo 46— 114 74.6 277—305 Princeza Peregrina 30—74 49.2
	Marvellous Corpse (8—12) 23—76 47.1		25 Willy's Like-Wake 32— 34 33?		
	Disgraced Girl (12) 32—70 43.8	Dr. Vlr. 67 Der König von Mailand 58—136 97.3	65 Lady Maisry 40—126 (+156 B.) 86.2		356—407 Dom Carlos d'Alem- Mar + 309 Claralinda 52—154 91.8
Les tristes noces (6 or 12) 22—58 33 (or 11—29 17)	Girl Danced to Death 15—65 28.7		73 Lord Thomas and Fair Annet 76—172 130.7	210 Herr Peders Sleg- fred 22—210 45	
	Test of love 12—65½ 36.6	E—B 78 Die Losgekaufte 36—90 60	95 The Maid Freed from the Gallows 56—60 58?		
	Haughty Wife (12) 32—60 39.3		277 The Wife Wrapt in Weth- er's Skin 12—24 18.8?		
	Fidelity Test (12, frag- ment) 18—24 36?	E—B 67 Liebesprobe 28—72 49.4			33—69 Bella infanta 58—106 81.2
Les trois orphelins (12) 22— 78 40	Three Orphans (8) 12—53 24.4			89 Moderen under Mulde 26—92 47	
Italian 60 Les larrons et la bague 32—64 44.4	Girl who set out with Soldiers (12) 59½—99 79.8				
Italian 70 Les anneaux de Marianson 56—104 70	Bride, Dragged to Death (12) 31—51½ 38.5				
Jesus en pauvre 24—92 39.2	Jesus Seeking Lodging (12) 18—24 20.6				
	Soldier Girl (12) 44—63½ 54				95—144 Donzella que vae à guerra 80—218 116.6
Roi Renaud 20—68 48				47 Elveskud 40—108 63.6	
L'occasion manquée 12—32 24.5					230—260 Infantina 36—108 64.6
La courte paille 18—20 18.6					1—32 Nao Cathrinata 50—136 81.7
Total*** 12—104 40	12—121 40.5 19th c. examples: 42.3 if 12 = 1½ lines: 52.9	D. Vlr. 55. Ritter und Magd 32—80 58.4 (Dutch: 72, 200) D. Vlr. 24 Schloss in Öster- reich 32—92 48 (Dutch 74) Total: 14—152 55.5	12—216 69	22—456 82.2	20—220 78.2

* For the Dutch we have quoted some examples from D. Vlr.
** The two ballads contain only a few details of the plot in the Hungarian
*** Including several ballads in addition to the above, see text

Explanation of Table IX

At the beginning of the table we see a few types in which we can observe the differing lengths of versions in two or more areas. Below is the average text length in the individual ballad areas. For calculating this several considerations had to be borne in mind. To begin with, all incomplete and fragmentary variants had to be left out. Secondly the extensive "urbanization" of the French and German ballads had to be taken into account, which in later centuries brought about a continuous and large-scale loss of colour and meaning, with a simplification and shortening of the action. Thus, if we wish to draw conclusions as to the French and German ballads at their prime, we must take into account only types which are rich in action, unbroken in ballad style, and lack no element of their action, that is, which have not been reduced to fragments and are available in sufficient numbers of variants. (In addition to those in Table II, Pernette, Germinie, La fille du roi Loys, as well as D. Vlr. 20, 24, 48, 51, 55, 72.) Exceptions have been made to this rule only in one or two cases, in order to show comparable types, and to represent a few lyrical French ballads among the general average, which is more significant there than elsewhere. Among the English ones, on the other hand, we have omitted the texts which were not characteristically ballad-like, because these are often distinguished from the others merely by their length, and we have in nearly every case, omitted Buchan's variants, which are, without exception, longer than all the other variants. We have included all the entire variants of every "typical" ballad up to CHILD No. 75 (4, 5, 7-17, 20-21, 41, 43, 49, 51-4, 58, 62-70, 72-5) and beyond that those of some selected, very characteristic, fine pieces (84, 95, 173, 200, 209, 277). Thus texts of varied character have been included without special selection, in equal proportions, in the assembly. Among the Danish material we have examined the first two volumes of DgF, adding the two pieces used for purposes of comparison: Nos. 183 and 210. This means Nos. 1-114 + the two above in several hundred variants. Among the Portuguese the mean is obtained from all the whole pieces in the first volume of BRAGA. The Hungarian ballads are represented by—in addition to those listed—19 other ballads, mostly "classical", by a few lyrical, rather short ones, with a repetitive structure; more than one of them with 100-200 variants.

After the title of the ballad will be found the figures for the shortest and longest texts, joined by a hyphen, followed by the figures, in italics, for the average number of lines of all the variants. The number in brackets refers to the number of syllables in the line.

In the tables we have disregarded the refrain and the repetitions of lines, but not the stanza repetitions, where sometimes only one word is altered at a time, and the essence of the poem is "incremental repetition". However, in this way the normal and the stanza-repetition treatment of the same contents give different lengths at the expense of the latter (Marvellous Corpse—CHILD 25, Haughty Wife—CHILD 277). Inequality is also caused by differing lengths of line. More text will go into a twelve-syllable line than an eight, so that a larger number of the latter is needed for narration of the same amount of story. Among the French, half the twelve-syllable line is a separate line itself, separated by a refrain and repetitions, and in comparing it with the poems of other peoples this had to be shown as a separate line; on the other hand, when we compare it with our twelve-syllable lines, we have to take it as one, and then the French texts count as even shorter. For this reason I have also calculated the Hungarian mean with the excess shown by the twelve-syllable line in relation to the eight, and even the separate mean for the records of the last century, since the records for the material of the other nations are predominantly of the last century, and the modern records, of which ours constitute the great majority, are somewhat shorter. In spite of all this lack of uniformity, certain regularities in averages clearly emerge.